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APRIL, 1914

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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



THE CRUCIFIXION FROM AN EVANGELARY OF ST. GALL.  
An anticipation of futurist art. (See page 206.)

**The Open Court Publishing Company**

CHICAGO AND LONDON

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THE CHRIST OF THE TRANSFIGURATION.

Detail from Raphael's great fresco reproduced on page 216.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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VOL. XXVIII. (No. 4)

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## THE SCIENTISTS.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE LATE HENRI POINCARÉ.

THESE men, though differing widely in many ways, nevertheless have many traits in common.

All of course are workers. However well endowed one may be, nothing great is accomplished without work, and those who have received the sacred fire from heaven are no more exempt from this law than others; their genius itself only gives them a great deal of trouble.

But there are different ways of working. There are those whose entire life is only one long patience and who, though never stopping, advance only a step each day; on the other hand, there are those who abandon themselves to their ardor and madden themselves in furious assaults against obstacles, instead of waiting for time and perseverance, in the end, to wear them out. The first sort accomplish their work as a duty—I do not say a painful duty, but in brief as a duty. They think they have received I know not what orders, and in these they do not wish to fail. For the others, work is above everything a necessity, a pleasure; they love their work as the artist loves his. It is their different temperaments which explain these divergences, and the differences of character contribute thus to make the differences of mind.

Moreover, all are impassioned. Their passion, which is the love of truth, the love of science, is generally mute but it is none the less ardent. Consequently, all are in a sense men of faith. Every passion presupposes a faith; every motive for action is a faith; faith alone gives perseverance, gives courage.

<sup>1</sup> Translated by George Bruce Halsted.

And yet a man is not a scientist unless he be endowed with the critical spirit, which seems to exclude every sort of faith and often causes scientists to be considered sceptics. What does this mean? When faith has a definite object it does not like to face criticism; it fears it and is irritated by it even when it professes to have nothing to fear. But the case is not the same with a faith which has no object other than a vague and indeterminate ideal. Such a faith dwells at ease with the critical spirit; it is like a goad which drives us incessantly forward; but it does not forbid us, at each crossing of the ways, freely to examine what route is the proper one to take. The men of the eighteenth century criticised everything, yet set sail full of confidence for an unknown Eldorado.

The faith of the scientist is therefore not that of the Christian; but what is more, religious faith is not always the same. There are two kinds of religious needs, the need of certitude and that of mystic love; it is rare that both meet in the same soul. It is the first that makes the orthodox, it is the other that makes the heretic. The faith of the scientist does not resemble that of the orthodox in their need for certitude. Do not believe that the love of truth is the same as the love of certitude, far from it; in our relative world all certitude is a deception. No, the faith of the scientist resembles rather the unquiet faith of the heretic which always seeks and is never satisfied. It is more calm and in a way more sane; but like that of the heretic, the faith of the scientist gives us a glimpse of an ideal of which we can only have a vague notion and gives us confidence that, without ever enabling us to attain this ideal, our efforts to approach it will not be fruitless.

The scientists of whom I have written are almost all physicists, astronomers, or mathematicians. Cultivating neighboring sciences, it would seem that their bent of mind should be nearly the same. Not at all. Side by side with workers who have confidence only in a patient analysis, we find the intuitives who rely upon a sort of divination and who are not always obliged to repent of it. Certain mathematicians love only broad vistas; in presence of a result they dream at once of generalizing it, seeking to unite it to allied results to make of all combined the base of a loftier pyramid whence they shall be able to see still further. There are others with distaste for these too extended views, since, however beautiful a vast landscape, the far horizons are always a little vague. They prefer to restrain themselves, the better to see the details and to



bring them to perfection. They work like the sculptor; they are more artists than poets.

Shall I now add that all true scientists are modest? Do not smile; there certainly are degrees. But the proudest member of the Institute will always be more modest than many second rate politicians or newly elected deputies, for whom, moreover, modesty would be a terrible embarrassment which would promptly arrest their career. When we measure ourselves by a lofty ideal we cannot but discover that we are small.

It would be grievous if this modesty were to engender distrust of self which would be an obstacle to every extended enterprise. Happily the scientists who are most distrustful of their own powers have confidence in their methods. The majority even estimate justly what they may expect of their own abilities, and if they never dream of making them an adornment to feed vanity, they love them as a useful instrument.

Thence comes that good nature noticeable in many scientists. They are appreciative since they do not seek to parade their superiority, while their vague consciousness of it produces in them an eternal good humor.

They are optimists because their passion gives them continual delight, while sparing them sadness; they never despair of finding the truth, and are easily consoled since they are never deprived of the pleasure of seeking it.

We note another trait; most of them remain young at heart. Perhaps they have not been as young as others, but they have been so for a longer period. Chevreul was still young when already past a hundred. And their very naïveté, which is evident to all eyes, is a sign of youth. This doubtless is because sorrow alone makes one grow old, and we have just seen that their passion brings only joys without griefs.

Disinterestedness is also a general virtue among scientists; to them the lust for money is almost always unknown. There have been tales I know, but these are only legends; the person most often involved was a chemist. Think with what facility his specialty would have enabled him to make a fortune in the industries, if he so wished. Those scientists who pass for selfish appear so only by contrast; in another company they would have a wholly different reputation.

But there are ways of being disinterested other than with regard to money, and here it is proper to make distinctions, to discriminate degrees. There are men who seek influence and others

who disdain it. The first have an excuse, which is that they do not desire it solely for themselves, but for their ideas; also that the scientific world cannot get along without administrators who occupy themselves with its temporal interests. But my own preferences go out to the others, whom no outside cares can distract from their toilsome dream.

Scientists should also be indifferent to glory. When one has had the good fortune to make a discovery, what is the satisfaction of giving his name to it compared to the joy of having for an instant seen the truth face to face? May we not say that the world is just as grateful to the anonymous inventor of the wheel or of fire as if it could speak the syllables of his name? I need not add that not all the world thinks thus, or at least it does not act as if it did.

And yet I have known scientists who cared little for glory. They rejoiced in their conquests, not as a personal triumph, but as a sort of collective success of the army in which they fought. In this army many brave soldiers have doubtless died and left no name, and that too after having to good purpose contributed to the common victory.

What enables us above everything to judge the scientists who are already successful is the way they receive the younger generation. Do they see in them future rivals, who will perhaps eclipse them in the memory of men? Do they show them only a provisory good-will, which will take alarm or speedily be irritated in the presence of too rapid or too brilliant a success? Or on the contrary do they regard them as future companions in arms, to whom they shall pass on instructions when retiring from the fight; as collaborators who shall continue the grand work undertaken but destined never to be finished?

Shall they submit to these young people, sometimes timidly contradicting them? Ah, the mania always to be right! There are observers who know how to deduce a law from facts, they clearly see that every one makes mistakes, that the greatest men have been convicted of many errors and are not the less honored because of it, and yet they are unwilling to conclude that neither are they themselves infallible!

## THE VALUE OF ARCHEOLOGICAL STUDY FOR THE BIBLICAL STUDENT.

BY G. H. RICHARDSON.

THIS topic was suggested to the writer by three particular incidents coming under his own notice during a period of three weeks. Going into a Bible-class presided over by a minister he heard him quote from Canon Farrar to the effect that the Ten Commandments was "not only the earliest historic code which has come down to us, but also the most profound and the most comprehensive." Not only this but the minister went on to apply this to the whole of the Mosaic legislation.

Visiting another Bible-class we listened to a solemn teacher as he told of Samson. With marvelous imaginative power the teacher, a graduate, pictured the gigantic effort of Samson when he tore down the pillars against which he had been leaning. A picture was hanging on the wall before the class representing these pillars as about thirty feet high and having a diameter of between four and five feet.

The third case was a conversation with a student of the fourth year in residence at a theological seminary who questioned the writer's exegesis and who, to prove his point, talked of the "Hebraisms," the "Semitic idioms," the "special renderings" of the "New Testament Greek." Repeatedly we heard of "Biblical" Greek.

Can it be possible that all the archeological light of the last fifteen to twenty years has not yet been shed abroad in our theological seminaries and preachers' studies? Can it be that not even a ray has found its way to these places? Can it be that our responsible teachers do not know, or do not care to know, what is going on in the great world where the Bible scenes took place? We do not like to think so, and yet such unwelcome truth is forced upon

us, especially when we recall that a few minutes before giving a lecture on the papyri last spring (1913), a graduate of two leading American universities gravely stated that "the Papyri must be a very interesting people." (We will overlook it by charitably hoping he meant the Habiri mentioned in the 'Tel el-Amarna tablets, but even then it is lamentable.)

Looking around us we note, with some astonishment, that very few theological seminaries spend much time on the study of archeology. Where it is taught only too often is the matter dealt with in order to prove that every historical reference in the Old Testament is correct, or that the higher critic is wrong. Turning over the catalogue of an eastern college, and reading under the head "Archeology," we find these words: "Passages once triumphantly paraded by the skeptic and the critic have been vindicated and set in their true light, while the pages of the Divine Book have been illustrated and explained in a manner formerly impossible." Leaving aside the latter part of the statement we note that the former part of the statement is an indication of the general attitude of our seminaries toward archeology. In passing we ask: "Why should skeptic and critic be so joined? Is there any relationship between the two, or is this due to a misunderstanding of the work of the critic?"

There are notable exceptions, e. g., Dr. R. W. Rogers of Drew Theological Seminary, and Dr. F. C. Eiselen of Garrett Biblical Institute, who are willing to deal with the subject in all its bearings.

But we come back to the three incidents mentioned above.

When Canon Farrar wrote the book from which the minister-teacher quoted the above extract, the Mosaic legislation was "the earliest historic code" which had come down to us. But was the minister in charge of a modern Bible-class not aware that in December 1901 and January 1902 there was discovered on the acropolis of Susa by M. de Morgan, excavating for the French government, a block of black diorite, nearly eight feet high, on which are to be read sixteen columns of text containing the famous code of Hammurabi (c. 2250 B. C.) written one thousand years before Moses? We do not need to ask how this great block found its way to Susa from Babylon, for this is not at all material to the discussion. What is of importance is, that this code, or some edition of it, has unmistakably influenced the whole Mosaic legislation. Space forbids any detailed discussion or even exhibition of the parallels which are numerous. The literature on this subject is easily accessible. Enough to state that "the Hammurabi code must

have been the immediate or remote progenitor of the Hebrew legal system."<sup>1</sup>

Illustrators of the Biblical stories are directly responsible for many of our crude ideas concerning the Bible. Take the case mentioned above. Where did the artist derive his information concerning Philistine buildings? Is not the desire to exaggerate the seeming miraculous the cause of exaggerating the narrative in picture? It is simply inconceivable that any human being could break into pieces, by mere push or pull, such gigantic pillars as are represented, only too often, in our illustrated Bibles. Commentators and apologists seem to realize this for they speak of the pillar as formed of sections built one upon the other. The evasion is too plain. On the other hand there is no need to bring in mythology and the growth of legend. The slightest acquaintance with the archeological discoveries in Palestine since 1903 would have settled the difficulties and saved many from scepticism. Professor MacAlister while excavating at Gezer found a temple whose column bases still remained in position, and on these wooden pillars were erected such as are mentioned in 1 Kings vii. 2. The temple where Samson performed his feats to amuse his Philistine lords would have a large portico on which the people would sit to watch him. Underneath, the lords and their wives and friends would sit. When Samson was tired he would be led to the portico. Now the portico was supported by pillars resting on column bases such as MacAlister found. It would be possible for a very strong man to move these pillars out of the perpendicular seeing that they merely stood on the top of the stone base, and when they were thus once moved, the weight of the building would push them off their bases. This is all the story asks for. It does not ask for an enormous stone building and gigantic stone pillars. These are the creations of the artists. Does it take away the early glamour from the story? Perhaps so, but in doing so it gives us the truer representation.<sup>2</sup>

Coming to the third case we were not much surprised, for almost every theological seminary has still its chair of "New Testament Greek" where the student of the Greek Testament is taught that the Greek he studies in his class-room is a distinct variety. We have found very few professors who have even the slightest acquaintance with the remarkable discoveries of papyri since 1897.

<sup>1</sup>R. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi*; Kittel, *The Scientific Study of the Old Testament*; Chilperic Edwards, *The Oldest Law in the World*; L. W. King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*; Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*; Driver, *Exodus* (Cambridge Bible Series).

<sup>2</sup>MacAlister, *Bible Sight-Lights from the Mound of Gezer*.



Occasionally one hears of the "Logia" as if this were the only discovery. In fact papyrology is a science still unknown to the majority. Perhaps this will sound like an exaggeration to many, but we speak from our own knowledge of conditions as we have found them in our experience with faculties before whom we have spoken.

Yet if any fact is proven it is that there never was such a special kind of Greek as to claim the specific title "New Testament" Greek. After years of careful research among the papyri "the assumption of a special 'New Testament,' or 'Biblical,' Greek is hopelessly refuted by the observations made in this field." The language to which we are accustomed in the New Testament is, on the whole, just the kind of Greek that simple, unlearned folk of the Roman imperial period were in the habit of using. In the time of the New Testament writers the various dialects of Greek had become unified and men no longer spoke their own Attic, Doric, or Ionic, but a single Greek language,—the KOINH. As to the "Hebraisms" of the New Testament on which so many "special renderings" and dogmas have been built we find that one after another has been exactly paralleled in the papyri and ostraca. Deissmann, who is the master in this field of research, estimates that the total number "of 'Biblical' words in the New Testament is (at the utmost) 1 per cent of the whole vocabulary." Space again forbids discussion or exposition in this most fascinating theme, and we refer the reader to the sources of information.<sup>3</sup>

These are but three specific cases happening, practically, at the same time. We fear, though, that this is the prevailing condition of the average Bible-class. Wherever the writer has gone and dealt with the evidences from the monuments it has been evident that ministers and laymen alike were hearing "a new doctrine." Numerous incidents of an amusing character rise before us as we write, but we will refrain from quoting them.

The value of archeology is not yet fully realized. To many the very name suggests what is dry, dead, and uninteresting. It is the mere collecting of "curios" for museum cases. No doubt much depends on one's make-up. We know more than one person to whom archeology is the most fascinating of studies. It gives us back the life, literature, customs, manners, religions, of our ancestors. We see their hopes, we know their fears, we learn what manner of men they were. It is an all-important study for the

<sup>3</sup> Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East; Bible Studies; New Light on the New Testament; The Philology of the Greek Bible*; Moulton, *Grammar of the New Testament Greek*; Dr. James Hope, *The Science of Language and the Study of the New Testament*.

Bible-student, or the student of history in general. The Bible is an eastern book, written by Orientals of the long ago. How shall we read it? How shall we approach it? Through western eyes, and under the dominance of western ideas and standards? To do so will be to fail to grasp the meaning of the writers. We cannot understand the literature or life of the Oriental without becoming Orientals. How shall we understand the Oriental, then, unless we study his monuments? Much misunderstanding of the Bible is due to this neglect. The extreme conservative on the one hand, and the extreme literary critic on the other, have failed because they treated the Biblical writers too much like western writers.

The East has a peculiarity all its own. We cannot take for granted that an Oriental means exactly what we would mean if we used the same expressions. Only by living over the life, and thinking the thoughts of the Oriental can we really understand him.

An amazing amount of light has been shed upon the Bible by the discoveries of the past fifty years. The ancient world is almost as familiar as the world of our own day. We see not only the great and mighty but—what is just as important—the common man and his life. Chapter after chapter, and book after book of the Bible has gained new meaning under the new light. Archeology has enabled us to place Israel in its right position among the nations of the past. We can watch the growth of the life and literature of Israel as never before. Fancies have given way to facts, and history has taken the place of myth.

But if we decide to accept the light of archeology we must accept all of it. We cannot honestly accept it when it verifies a Biblical statement and reject it when it disproves. Many writers on Biblical archeology could be named who most enthusiastically write on the value of archeology after picking and choosing certain details. Yet the same writers only too readily turn against it when it disagrees with their views, and they bid us wait until some future excavations "shall give us the necessary light, for the monuments are liable to be mistaken." It does not follow that because archeology has supported some traditions it will support all, and to regard the first as a "solution," and the latter as "a conqueror's exaggeration" is not honest. Oftentimes too great a superstructure has been built upon too slender a foundation. Let us accept what has been brought to light and use it to the best of our ability for the explanation of the hard places of Bible study. The Bible-class teacher of to-day has a great and glorious task. Never were his opportunities greater. Never was more light given to the student.

To go teaching the views of a former generation without examination is a sign of ignorance. To teach them knowing them to be false is wicked. Yet we have to admit that even this is a common method in Bible-classes where the orthodox gather and are likely to be disturbed if a new view is presented. There is no justification for ignorance. There is still less for the deliberate sacrifice of truth.

Here again space forbids detailed discussion or exposition. However, the literature in this branch of knowledge is growing and is easily procurable. We recommend every Bible-student and teacher to take a thorough course, according to his ability, in Biblical Archeology.

We append a bibliography from which the student can choose for himself :

R. W. Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*. Here will be found not only the most up-to-date history to which the student will often have need to refer in his advanced Bible study, but also the most detailed account of both the discovery and decipherment of the monuments.

Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands During the XIXth Century; Recent Research in Bible Lands*.

T. G. Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia*.

H. A. Harper, *The Bible and Modern Discoveries*. Still very useful, but needs to be read in the light of more recent excavations.

Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel and Amurru*.

Driver, *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible*.

Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient Orient*.

A volume of great value for the advanced student is *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* by R. W. Rogers.

Some useful manuals can be found in the "By-paths of Bible Knowledge" series.

Professor Sayce has written extensively but with such bias that his books are scarcely the works for the student of to-day. Archeology is to him a weapon against the higher criticism.

We do not pretend that this is even a moderate bibliography, but if the student will master some of the above works he will be led into larger fields.

## THE PORTRAYAL OF CHRIST.

BY THE EDITOR.

[CONCLUSION.]

**A**MONG nations with less developed artistic sense, the portraits of Christ are crude, and show a decided lack of technique, but they are curious and deserve our attention for the sake of the attempt

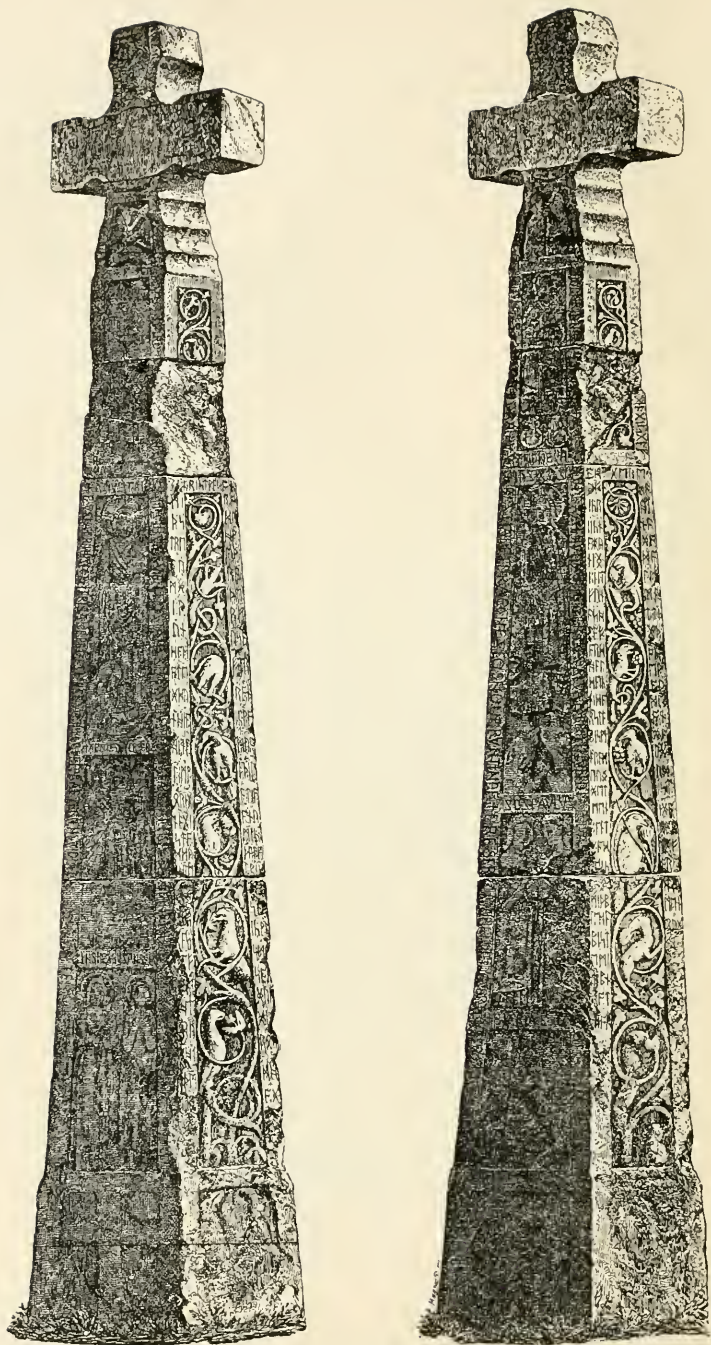


CHRIST AND THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA.

Terra-cotta from Tunis.

made to express a certain sentiment of awe, and for this reason we have some of them here reproduced.





THE RUTHWELL CROSS.



Some Christ portraits preserved in Tunis are plain indications of an undeveloped civilization, and have mere historical interest. They date from the sixth century and are made in terracotta. From those which are still extant in the basilica of Hagebel-Aiun we reproduce a scene representing Christ with the Samaritan woman at the well.

We will naturally take a greater interest in the relics of art as it developed in Great Britain among the Saxons and the Irish.



THE STONE OF KILLORAN.  
After Anderson, *Scotland in  
Early Christian Times*.



THE CRUCIFIXION IN DUBLIN.  
After Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Sym-  
bolism in Great Britain*.

Here we see a peculiar tendency to indicate sentiment by curved lines, which on a later generation make the impression of a grotesque awkwardness, but the psychologist who tries to be just to the ancient artist and the people for whom he worked will discover in it a fantastic attempt to bring out a religious awe in a manner which is quite unique. It is noticeable that the Irish and the Saxons developed under the same influence in parallel lines and in apparent communication, and so this style has been called Irish-Saxon. The

best and most famous instances of it are the Ruthwell cross in England and the high cross of Muredach, Monasterboice, and others in Ireland. We reproduce some of them, and notice that on the stone of Killoran, the whole figure of Christ is represented in curves, and the arms in spirals, while in the St. Gall Evangelary curves cover the body like a garment, from which the head, arms and feet protrude. The Book of Kells contains an illustration of the mocking of Christ, in which Christ is depicted larger than his tormentors in order to indicate his divinity, and his supernatural character is further marked by the expression of his face and the



THE CRUCIFIXION FROM ST. GALL  
EVANGELARY.  
After Romilly Allen.



SCENE OF THE MOCKING.  
From the Book of Kells.

peculiar stare of his large eyes. One might also say that we are here confronted with an anticipation of futurist art.

\* \* \*

Pope Innocent VIII received from Sultan Mohammed II a cameo cut in emerald which represents a picture of Christ. The Sultan had sent it to the Pope as a ransom for his brother who had been captured by Christians, and was granted his liberty in return for the cameo which at that time (in the fifteenth century) was regarded as genuine, but it can scarcely be much older than the age of Innocent VIII, and art connoisseurs believe that it was made

by an Italian artist who happened to sojourn at the court of Mohammed II.

Another imposition of a more recent date is a copper coin which quite naively bears in Hebrew the date of the year one, as shown by the letter Aleph (א). On the obverse of the coin we see the customary head of Christ, with the inscription:

א-ישו



HEAD OF CHRIST ON CAMEO.

and on the reverse:

משיה מלך בא בשלום וארטאדם עשה חי<sup>\*</sup>

which means, "Messiah, the king, came in peace and as the light of man he was made to live."

\* This ought to be an ה.

The Hebrew is not quite correct. The last two words mean literally "he makes alive."

The Reformation was not favorable to art. In fact it contained a strong current resembling the iconoclastic spirit of the early Christians and broke out in violent destructiveness against the orna-



MEDAL OF HEAD OF CHRIST.  
With Hebrew inscription.

mentation of the churches. This found its strongest expression in the movement of the *Bilderstürmer*, the destroyers of images, against whom Luther rose because he possessed too much common sense to permit such extravagances as they indulged in. This hostility to art showed itself in England in a movement which bred the Puritanism of the Puritans, who after their suppression by the re-



THE MAN OF SORROWS.  
By Dürer.

formed Anglican church went to America where they became known in history as the Pilgrim Fathers.

How strange it is that the Roman church burst out into a glorious development of Christian art while the Reformation became concentrated in an almost ascetic tendency which worked like a bane on the development of religious art. Luther was an exception



because he was an unsophisticated child of nature and inherited the traditional Teutonic love of life. At the same time he had a natural taste for music. He was a poet and a composer, and encour-



CHRIST IN THE DISPUTA.  
Detail from Raphael's great fresco.

aged singing and the playing of stringed instruments in his family circle. On the other hand the Calvinist branch of the Reformation, including the affiliated Presbyterian churches of England and Scotland, show a dislike of artistic beauty even in music. As an instance



of this we recall the little story of the first organ that was built in America which the manufacturer offered as a gift to a church in Cambridge, Massachusetts, but the Presbytery indignantly refused it



CHRIST IN THE LAST SUPPER.

Detail from Raphael's fresco in the dining room of Foligno at Florence,

with the remark, "Far be it from us to worship God by machinery," whereupon the organ was handed over to an Episcopal church in Portland, Maine, where it is still preserved as a historic relic.

Upon the whole the tendency of art in the Reformation finds

its climax in expressing a fervent devotion and a gratitude towards Christ for his suffering, and so we may regard Dürer's "Man of Sorrows" as representative of the spirit of the Reformation.



THE TRANSFIGURED CHRIST.

By Raphael.

It would take a volume to describe the Christ type as it developed in the time of the Renaissance, and the highest perfection may be said to have been reached by Raphael, as for instance in

his Disputa. His Christ in the Last Supper is a fine face but a little too effeminate for the more vigorous conception of the present



TITIAN'S CHRIST.

age. It forms a strong contrast to the beardless type of Christ by Michelangelo as it appears in the Last Judgment, the famous fresco



of the Sistine chapel, for here Christ appears more like a hero of Greek antiquity.

The bearded Christ has been the favorite type since the time



ECCE HOMO.  
By Guido Reni.

of the Renaissance, the classical period of Christian art in the fifteenth century. Raphael's Christ of the transfiguration is one of the most famous and best instances and even in recent times there is

scarcely any Christian artist of note who has deviated from the type or has ever reverted to the youthful beardless Christ figure



CHRIST'S ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM.  
By Gustave Doré.

of earlier days. If any one did, his conception would be sure to meet with general disapproval.



This great masterpiece has been described in detail as follows by Cav. Off. H. J. Massi, the first curator of the papal museums and galleries.

"The picture is divided into two parts dealing with the transfiguration on Mount Tabor and the healing of the demoniac.



CHRIST'S ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM.

By Schnorr von Carolsfeld.

"In the upper part is the chief subject, in which Raphael has depicted the figure of the Saviour aloft above the clouds. His countenance is brighter than the sun; his garments whiter than snow, are fanned softly, as it were, by a celestial breeze. On the right and left, and slightly below him are Moses and Elias.



THE TRANSFIGURATION.  
By Raphael.



“Three apostles, Peter, John and James, lie prostrate on the ground upon the summit of the mount in various attitudes. On



THE DESCENT INTO HELL.  
By Sasha Schneider.

the left are seen, beneath some trees, the figures of Saints Julian and Laurence, in the act of adoration.

“In the lower portion of the picture Raphael has depicted the moment when the young man, possessed by the devil, is presented to the apostles by his father and sister, surrounded by a throng of people.

“The figure of the young woman, kneeling near the demoniac,



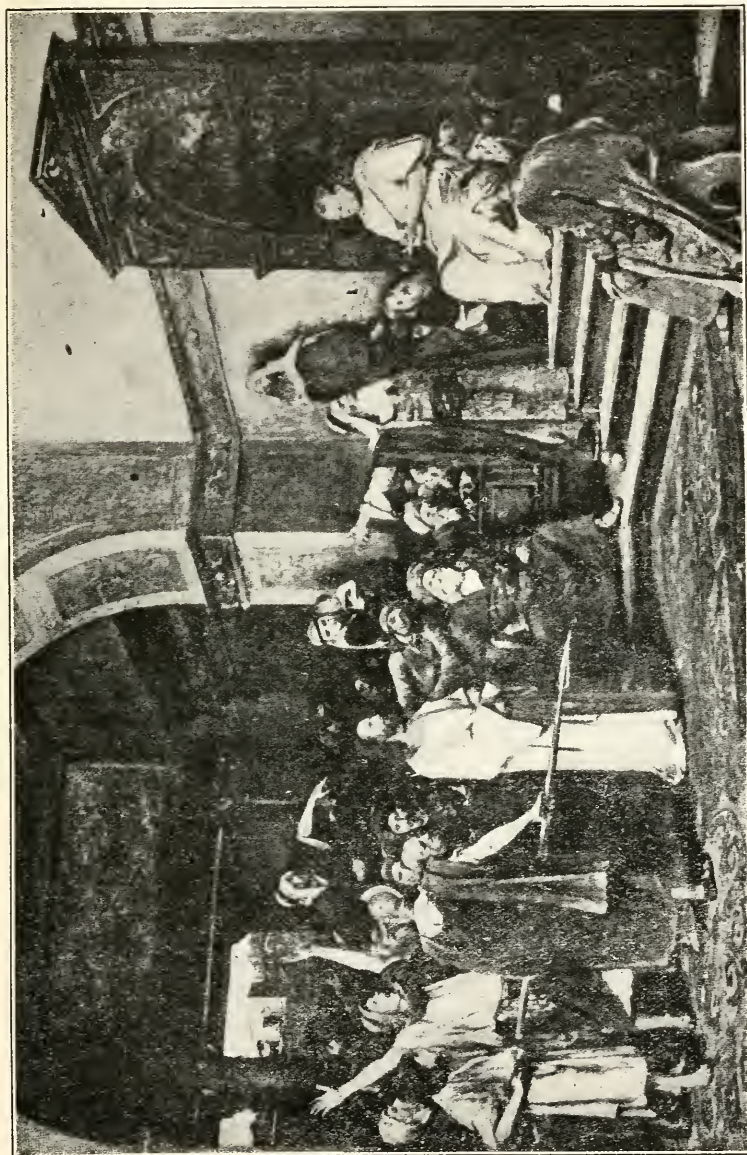
CHRIST IN THE CHURCH TRIUMPHANT.

Detail from a fresco attributed to Memmi but more probably by Andrea da Firenze.

is said by some to be one of the portraits of Fornarina, drawn from life by Raphael, though nowhere else depicted with equal beauty. To this figure, and also to that of the father and of the demoniac himself which Raphael left unfinished, the last touches were given by Giulio Romano.”



It would be unfair not to mention Titian whose Christ, however beautiful, is too intellectual and almost sentimental to be a



CHRIST BEFORE PILATE.  
By Muncacsy.

fair representation of the ideal man, and we may upon the whole say that all these great artists have been more successful in their Madonnas than in their Christs. Guido Reni has perhaps more



than others been able to picture the agony of the Crucified and thus he approaches more than other Italians the Protestant type of the suffering martyr.

As characteristic instances of Christ pictures of the nineteenth century we select a few by artists of different nationalities. Gustave Doré's picture of Christ's entry into Jerusalem is theatrical and pompous in its spectacular scenic effect. The same subject is treated with German simplicity by Schnorr von Carolsfeld who follows in the footsteps of Holbein and Dürer. The Russian Sasha Schneider shows the Slavic spirit, sentimentality and love of symbolism. We select here his portrayal of Christ's descent into hell which shows contrasts between indignation and tyranny similar to those we find in Russian politics and social conditions. There sits the relentless and unscrupulous Satan in his infernal domain like Nietzsche's overman, while his friend and prime minister Death stands behind the throne with unflinching determination. On the other side the liberated captives stretch out their hands towards their Redeemer who has so unexpectedly turned the course of events and stands there at the same time unarmed and omnipotent, a victor over the powers of evil.

In modern times there has been a tendency towards the historical conception of Jesus as a Jew, the most prominent attempt at which is found in Muncacsy's Christ before Pilate. But on the whole the Christian world has not taken very kindly to this view and still clings to the traditional representation of the classic age of Christian art in which Christ is represented as the ideal of mankind in general (as for instance represented in Thorwaldsen's well-known statue) bearing according to all intentions the features of no special race or nationality, but in reality showing the typical features of the Caucasian race.

## COMPARATIVE CHRISTIANITY.

BY PRESERVED SMITH.

THE science of comparative religion having of late attained so much notoriety, it is time to inquire whether the comparative method can be applied to one religion in different periods of its life. Is there any common measure applicable to the same religion in succeeding ages to ascertain its variations in quality and amount? The difficulties of doing this are obvious, and have been lucidly stated by the late Professor Mayo-Smith in his works on statistics. Some matters are at once so large and so vague that they burst the bonds of accurate measurement. It is the general observation of explorers that savages in warm countries wear few clothes and worship fetishes, but to express these facts in numbers is beyond the resources at our command. So also in measuring the "culture religions" the double difficulty of selecting a yardstick and of thoroughly applying it renders most attempts nugatory. The endeavor to ascertain the quantity of extant piety by a house to house census would of course be so impractical as to be ridiculous. The selection of any external criterion, such as the seating capacity of the churches, is fallacious. An American town in the throes of a revival which has caught ninety per cent of the inhabitants may well have a smaller *per capita* church capacity than a French village, whose vast and venerable cathedral is frequented only by a few women, the drift-wood left high and dry by the ebbing tide of faith. The test of church membership, too, is unsatisfactory, more on account of individual variation than because of differences between the several sects in counting their constituency. Allowance can be made for the fact that Catholics reckon as members all who have been baptized, whereas Protestants count only those who have passed a second rite like confirmation. But who can tell what membership in a church really means? There have always been a few devout men, like Milton, who do not formally identify them-

selves with any denomination; there are probably many pew-holders who have in their hearts little faith. Only omniscience can do more than guess at their numbers.

But notwithstanding all this I believe that by reducing the number of individuals examined, while at the same time keeping them strictly representative, some common measure can be applied to different societies, or to the same society at divers times. Now there happens to be one class exactly adapted to our purpose, at once small, constant, thoroughly representative, and whose opinions on most subjects are, almost without exception, easily ascertainable—the great men.

No more accurate barometer could be desired, for great men are always representative either of the people as a whole, or of the intellectual class which in the long run dominates and leads the masses. Even in this they are like a barometer, that they register changes in the atmosphere before these are sensible to ordinary observation. When the mercury goes down it is safe to predict rain; the increase in the number of religious great men in the fifteenth century foreshadows the Reformation in the sixteenth. One kind of great man may with perfect accuracy be described as the "demagogue," even if he be as splendid a one as Napoleon. The second kind may be typified by Darwin, who appealed only to a small body of experts, and yet whose thoughts were destined in due time to become the mental stock-in-trade of the masses. In 1860 his theory of the origin of species would have been voted down by a million to one, but because there were a hundred men capable of understanding him, whom, that is, in a sense, he represented, the final triumph of his theory—in gross, not in detail—was assured. Indeed the history of what we call progress is essentially a history of the intellectual class, just as a biography is almost entirely the record of the action of a man's brain. The thinking class is the head also in the sense of being the vanguard, which the vast body, usually with much writhing and reluctance, is bound eventually to follow. In some cases, of course, great men appeal to and represent both the cultured and the popular classes. Luther and Lincoln are examples of this type.

Probably every one will agree that there are no persons in the world whose opinions on all subjects are easier to ascertain than are those of the great dead. If their public utterances are equivocal their private letters and conversations are published and subjected to the minute scrutiny of hundreds of able minds. They are not, as a rule, hypocrites; their very greatness often consists in devotion

to one idea which they are determined to impress on the world at any cost. Sometimes their ruling passion forces them to dissemble their beliefs on what they regard as minor matters, even if these matters be religion and morality,—but how few do they deceive in the end! Chesterfield's remark that a wise atheist would conceal his opinions lights up that wardrobe which he called his mind quite as brightly as anything else he was capable of saying. In averring that "all wise men have the same religion but no wise man tells what it is," Talleyrand told what his religion was, as plainly as did Voltaire. The other epigram of the distinguished diplomat that "language was made to conceal thought," exposed his own thought with almost glaring indecency. It is always the same story: Peter may deny Christ, but in the very act his speech bewrayeth him. Napoleon's elaborate pretence of hearing mass while he was dictating his correspondence may have imposed on a few peasants; it has intrigued none of his biographers.

But are there no exceptions to this rule? Cannot one find arguments to prove that Shakespeare was a royalist and a democrat; a Protestant, a Catholic and a skeptic; showing that there is difficulty in ascertaining his true personal views? Yes; but in the immense literature of the subject we can also find it proved that he was a lawyer, an alienist, a criminal, a degenerate, and Francis Bacon. Notwithstanding the paradoxes advanced on all sides I think there is a consensus of reliable opinion to the effect that Shakespeare was Shakespeare, that he was a rational and law-abiding citizen, that he was a playwright, and that in matters of both politics and religion he was supremely indifferent. Had he been otherwise, he well could, and surely would, have expressed himself, either in the sense of Montaigne or in that of Milton. But indifference stamps a man just as categorically as does the most passionate partisanship.

Admitting the possibility of getting an approximately accurate estimate of the religiosity of most eminent persons, it is plain that the comparative method can be applied, and that interesting results as to the proportion of religion in different ages will be forthcoming. The problem is now to draw up a list of men and formulate some standard of religion to apply to them. Evidently the matter of greatest importance in making a list is that it shall be without bias. It is not so necessary that the two hundred names here selected should be absolutely the greatest for the last eight centuries, as it is that they should be chosen without *parti pris*. I believe that I have attained that result by making the basis of my



list the biographical material in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Those Englishmen of the nineteenth century, and those only, whose biography occupies three or more pages in the *Encyclopædia*, are included. Feeling that the editors were naturally favorable to Englishmen, and seeing that my list was far larger for recent than for preceding ages, I have shaded this standard by including some recent foreigners, and men of all nationalities for the earlier centuries, to whom a smaller space is accorded, but always progressively and regularly, by a fixed method, not by personal preference. On the whole the list agrees well with what I should independently have drawn up, though not always. Had I relied solely on my own judgment, for instance, I should have included Nietzsche and excluded Ruskin. So I believe the roster here presented will be nearly identical with any possible one made by historians, differing here and there in detail, but not substantially altered. The point that I insist upon, however, is not that this selection is the best possible from all points of view, but simply that, being made without bias, it may be assumed to be perfectly representative. For present purposes I have thought it advisable to take into consideration only the nations of western European culture, which knows only two religions, the Jewish and the Christian. The great Asiatic conquerors, and even oriental philosophers and savants, like Averroes and Avicenna, had they been included, would only have confused the issue.

In formulating categories and applying them to individuals, I have been obliged to rely on my own judgment. Before criticizing my methods, I hope the reader will take into account my definition of the terms used. By "religion" I do not mean the broadest sense of the term, to include all religions, or as philosophically defined, "man's emotional reaction to the not understood," or the like. I use the word in a narrower, but perfectly legitimate sense, perhaps best covered by the old-fashioned term "revealed religion," although some modern earnest Christians and Jews explain away the revelation or supernatural portion of their faiths almost to the vanishing point. The designations "established" or "popular religion," would, on the other hand, have been too restricted, for many of the most devout men have attacked the church, as did Huss and Luther. Conversely my use of the word "skepticism" is not the philosophical one designating complete Pyrrhonism, but is simply the opposite of religiosity. If, in his own consciousness, a man stands outside of all the recognized forms of organized religion of his age, he is, in my sense of the word, a skeptic. As Voltaire made it his object

to destroy Christianity, his deism cannot entitle him to be regarded as devout. Spinoza may have been drunk with God, but as he was a total abstainer from the practice of his own early faith, and acquired no Christianity, he is, in the present use of the term, a skeptic. In a statistical inquiry rigid definitions are not only legitimate but necessary.

According to these general principles I have adopted a four-fold classification of men as Religious, Pious, Indifferent and Skeptical. I attach no importance whatever to the terms, which are simply intended to designate different degrees of religiosity. In the first class I include those persons who have devoted the best part of their lives to the support and propagation of religion. In the second class are placed those who, while living for a more secular vocation, have given evidence of their full belief in the Christian creed, and their incidental support to it. The Indifferent are those whose interest in religion is at a minimum, the cares of the world having sprung up and choked the seed of piety. Shakespeare, for instance, as Emerson has emphasized, showed practically no interest in the beyond. In others, doubtless, a non-committal attitude is assumed from prudential motives, but had the interest been really strong it would have burst the barriers of reserve. In the last category, the Skeptical, I have placed all who have deliberately and confessedly taken a stand outside of Christianity (or, in a few cases, outside of Judaism). Their attitude varies from the cool, and even sympathetic criticism of Gibbon and Renan, to the implacable hostility of Voltaire and Shelley.

Each man is taken at his word, not according to the effect of his work in the estimation of others. Nietzsche and the Catholics argue that Luther did more than any other man to hurt Christianity. Bernard Shaw has asserted that all the real religion of to-day has been made possible by materialists and atheists. There seems to be something more than paradox in both these positions, but they are irrelevant to the purpose of the present study. Here, only the attitude which a man himself desires to take, is estimated. If he devotes his whole life to the reform and propagation of religion he is religious, even if thereby he rends Christianity in twain. If he shouts *Ecrasez l'infame!* on all possible occasions, he is irreligious, even though the total effect of his work on Christian thought is salutary.

Men are not always consistent, and are hardly ever subject to easy classification, because the degrees and shades of opinion are infinite. Was Jeanne d'Arc primarily a prophetess or a patriot?

Was it Milton's chief end, or only an important subordinate one, to justify the ways of God to man? What shall we say about Swift? He was a high ecclesiastic, and occasionally expressed himself in devout language; but on the other hand was religion ever more effectively satirized than in *The Tale of a Tub*, or in that passage in *Gulliver's Travels* where the Lilliputian sects fight over the question of which end of an egg to open? Goethe is a still more glaring example of contradictoriness. Certain passages in his works, and still more in his Conversations with Eckermann, are edifying tributes both to Christianity and to Protestantism. But when religion interfered with business or pleasure, did Goethe ever hesitate to choose the latter? What writings are more saturated with Hellenism, free thought and pantheism than Faust and Werther? So in many other cases I have been obliged to place a man in one of the four classes, although he seemed rather to be on the borderline between two, or even, alternately, in more than two of the divisions. In submitting my results, I can claim only to have acted with the utmost impartiality and objectivity at my command. Asking the usual allowance for human error, I hereby present the statistics on which I base my results, after which a few generalizations will bring out their meaning. After each name I have put the dates of birth and death, and a letter indicating the class to which the person is assigned.

Abelard, 1075-1142. r.	Wycliffe, 1324-84. r.
Arnold of Brescia, †1155. r.	Chaucer, 1328-1400. i.
St. Bernard, 1090-1153. r.	D'Ailly, 1350-1420. r.
Becket, †1170. r.	Gerson, 1363-1429. r.
Alanus de Insulis, 1114-1203. r.	Huss, 1373-1415. r.
Innocent III, 1160-1216. r.	Froissart, 1377-1410. i.
St. Dominic, 1170-1221. r.	Donatello, c. 1386-1466. p.
St. Francis, 1182-1226. r.	Fra Angelico, 1387-1455. r.
Albertus Magnus, 1193-1285. r.	A Kempis, †1471, r.
Roger Bacon, 1214-94. p.	Gutenberg, 1400-68. i.
Aquinas, 1227-74. r.	Jeanne d'Arc, 1412-81. r.
Marco Polo, 1254-1324. i.	Torquemada, 1420-98. r.
Dante, 1265-1321. p.	Botticelli, 1444-1510. p.
Duns Scotus, 1274-1308 r.	Columbus, 1446-1506. p.
Occam, †1347. r.	Da Vinci, 1452-1519. i.
Petrarch, 1304-74. p.	Erasmus, 1466-1536. p.
Boccaccio, 1313-75. i.	Macchiavelli, 1469-1530. s.

- Dürer, 1471-1528. p.  
 Copernicus, 1473-1543. i.  
 Ariosto, 1474-1533. i.  
 Michelangelo, 1475-1564. p.  
 Wolsey, 1475-1530. p.  
 More, 1477-1535. p.  
 Titian, 1477-1576. i.  
 Loyola, 1491-1556. r.  
 Raphael, 1483-1520. p.  
 Luther, 1483-1546. r.  
 Zwingli, 1484-1531. r.  
 Del Sarto, 1487-1531. i.  
 Holbein, 1493-1554. i.  
 Correggio, 1494-1534. i.  
 Rabelais, 1495-1553. s.  
 Melanchthon, 1497-1560. r.  
 Cellini, 1500-71. i.  
 Knox, 1505-72. r.  
 Xavier, 1506-56. r.  
 Calvin, 1509-64. r.  
 Tintoretto, 1512-94. i.  
 Coligny, 1517-72. p.  
 Camoëns, 1524-79. i.  
 Veronese, 1528-88. p.  
 Montaigne, 1533-92. s.  
 Scaliger, 1540-1609. p.  
 Tasso, 1544-95. p.  
 Oldenbarneveldt, 1547-1619. p.  
 Bruno, 1548-1600. s.  
 Henri IV, 1553-1610. i.  
 Spenser, 1553-99. i.  
 Francis Bacon, 1561-1626. s.  
 Shakespeare, 1564-1616. i.  
 Galileo, 1564-1642. i.  
 Marlowe, 1564-93. s.  
 Kepler, 1571-1630. i.  
 Jonson, 1574-1637. i.  
 Rubens, 1577-1640. p.  
 Harvey, 1578-1637. i.  
 Fletcher, 1579-1625. i.  
 Grotius, 1583-1645. s.  
 Beaumont, 1584-1616. i.  
 Jansen, 1585-1638. r.  
 Richelieu, 1585-1642. p.  
 Hobbes, 1588-1679. s.  
 Descartes, 1596-1650. s.  
 Cromwell, 1599-1658. p.  
 Van Dyke, 1599-1641. i.  
 Velazquez, 1599-1660. i.  
 Calderon, 1600-81. p.  
 Mazarin, 1602-61. i.  
 Corneille, 1606-84. p.  
 Rembrandt, 1606-69. i.  
 Milton, 1608-74. p.  
 Murillo, 1617-82. p.  
 Colbert, 1619-82. i.  
 La Fontaine, 1621-95. s.  
 Molière, 1622-73. i.  
 Pascal, 1623-62. p.  
 Sévigné, 1626-96. p.  
 Bossuet, 1627-1704. r.  
 Bunyan, 1628-88. r.  
 Dryden, 1630-1701. p.  
 Locke, 1632-1704. s.  
 Spinoza, 1632-77. s.  
 Racine, 1639-99. p.  
 Penn, 1644-1718. p.  
 Leibnitz, 1646-1716. p.  
 Newton, 1647-1727. p.  
 Marlborough, 1650-1722. i.  
 Fénelon, 1651-1716. r.  
 Swift, 1667-1745. i.  
 Addison, 1672-1719. p.  
 Peter the Great, 1672-1725. p.  
 Walpole, 1676-1745. i.  
 Bach, 1685-1750. p.  
 Pope, 1688-1744. s.  
 Swedenborg, 1688-1772. r.  
 Montesquieu, 1689-1755. s.  
 Voltaire, 1694-1778. s.  
 Wesley, 1703-91. r.  
 Edwards, 1703-58. r.



- Franklin, 1706-90. s.  
 Fielding, 1707-54. i.  
 Chatham, 1708-78. i.  
 Johnson, 1709-84. p.  
 Hume, 1711-76. s.  
 Rousseau, 1712-78. s.  
 Frederick the Great, 1712-86. s.  
 Diderot, 1713-84. s.  
 Gray, 1716-71. i.  
 Alembert, 1717-83. s.  
 Adam Smith, 1723-90. s.  
 Kant, 1724-1804. s.  
 Goldsmith, 1728-74. i.  
 Catharine II, 1729-96. s.  
 Lessing, 1729-81. s.  
 Burke, 1730-97. i.  
 Washington, 1732-99. p.  
 Gibbon, 1737-94. s.  
 Jefferson, 1743-1826. s.  
 Goethe, 1749-1832. s.  
 Mirabeau, 1749-91. s.  
 Fox, 1749-1806. s.  
 Talleyrand, 1754-1838. s.  
 Mozart, 1756-91. p.  
 Hamilton, 1757-1804. s.  
 Robespierre, 1758-94. s.  
 Nelson, 1758-1805. i.  
 Pitt, 1759-1806. i.  
 Burns, 1759-96. i.  
 Schiller, 1759-1805. i.  
 Fichte, 1762-1814. s.  
 Malthus, 1766-1844. p.  
 Chateaubriand, 1768-1848. p.  
 Napoleon, 1769-1821. s.  
 Wellington, 1769-1852. i.  
 Beethoven, 1770-1827. i.  
 Wordsworth, 1770-1850. p.  
 Hegel, 1770-1831. s.  
 Scott, 1771-1832. p.  
 Metternich, 1773-1859. i.  
 Schelling, 1775-1854. s.  
 Turner, 1775-1851. i.  
 Webster, 1782-1852. i.  
 Bolivar, 1783-1830. i.  
 Byron, 1788-1824. s.  
 Peel, 1788-1850. i.  
 Schopenhauer, 1788-1860. s.  
 Shelley, 1792-1822. s.  
 Meyerbeer, 1794-1864. p.  
 Carlyle, 1795-1881. s.  
 Ranke, 1795-1866. s.  
 Keats, 1795-1821. i.  
 Heine, 1797-1856. s.  
 Schubert, 1797-1828. i.  
 Michelet, 1798-1874. s.  
 Comte, 1798-1857. s.  
 Balzac, 1799-1850. s.  
 Macauley, 1800-59. i.  
 Moltke, 1800-91. i.  
 Hugo, 1802-85. s.  
 Dumas, 1802-70. s.  
 Emerson, 1803-82. s.  
 Sand, 1804-76. p.  
 Disraeli, 1805-81. i.  
 Mill, 1806-73. s.  
 E. B. Browning, 1806-61. p.  
 Longfellow, 1807-82. p.  
 Darwin, 1809-82. s.  
 Mendelssohn, 1809-47. p.  
 Lincoln, 1809-65. p.  
 Tennyson, 1809-92. p.  
 Gladstone, 1809-98. p.  
 Cavour, 1810-61. s.  
 Dickens, 1812-70. i.  
 R. Browning, 1812-89. p.  
 Wagner, 1813-83. s.  
 Bismarck, 1815-98. s.  
 Ruskin, 1819-1900. s.  
 Spencer, 1820-1903. s.  
 George Eliot, 1820-80. s.  
 Grant, 1822-85. i.  
 Arnold, 1822-88. s.  
 Renan, 1823-92. s.

Huxley, 1825-95. s.

Rossetti, 1828-82. p.

Ibsen, 1828-1906. s.

Taine, 1829-93. s.

Tolstoy, 1828-1910. p.

Grouping these men by centuries (counting in each period those born in its first half and in the last half of the previous century) we get the following results:

CENTURY.	RELIGIOUS.	PIOUS.	INDIFFERENT.	SKEPTICAL.
12th	5	0	0	0
13th	5	1	0	0
14th	4	2	3	0
15th	6	3	2	0
16th	7	11	10	4
17th	3	14	16	8
18th	4	5	7	18
19th	0	16	18	32

Reducing this table to percentage:

CENTURY.	RELIGIOUS.	PIOUS.	INDIFFERENT.	SKEPTICAL.
12th	100	0	0	0
13th	83	17	0	0
14th	44	22	33	0
15th	54	27	18	0
16th	22	34	31	13
17th	7	34	39	20
18th	12	15	21	53
19th	0	24	27	48

The result is too striking to need comment. The religious class has been reduced by enormous amounts in the 13th, 14th, 16th, 17th and 19th centuries, and from one hundred percent of the whole to zero. Whereas all the men who attained the highest distinction in the 12th century made it their lifework to serve Christianity, none of those in the 19th century have done so. The class of those who, though in secular callings, evinced sincere piety shows much less striking variations, it may figuratively be said to gain from one side what it loses on the other. The class of those who showed slight interest in religion first appears in the 14th century, declines in the 15th, and rises to its maximum in the 17th. The two hundred years following the Protestant revolt were a period of transi-

tion from the fervent piety of the Middle Ages to the secularity of modern times. It was then, consequently, that the two middle classes reached their maximum, at the expense of the extremes. Great men on the whole hostile to religion are absent from the four centuries preceding the Reformation; are a small group in the 16th century, gain markedly in the 17th, and reach their maximum, the enormous figure of more than half the total number, in the age of Voltaire and the "enlightenment." In the last century this class loses a trifle, though a slightly smaller per cent than that of the indifferents gains. The 18th century was that in which the warfare of science and theology was hottest, and consequently both the extreme classes gained at the expense of the moderates. In the 19th century men began to feel, as Osler phrased it, that the battle of Armageddon had been fought and lost; their attacks on an institution which had ceased to be dangerous, and which some regarded as moribund, lost part of the fierceness of the battle waged by their grandfathers.

Notwithstanding some fluctuation, the most impressive generalization which can be drawn from the whole table is its constancy. With the exception of the fifteenth century, every period shows a loss for the conservatives and a gain for the radicals. The general trend of ebbing faith, at least among the intellectuals, is still more strongly emphasized by a combination and consolidation of the figures given above, taking two centuries at a time and fusing the four classes into two. This procedure is certainly legitimate. Religion would not long survive if nobody cared for it more than apparently did Shakespeare and Walpole. They may have been unwilling to attack it, but neither would they labor for it or risk much in its cause. The grouping under two classes, known by the names of the extremes, is then as follows:

CENTURY.	RELIGIOUS NO.	SKEPTICAL NO.	RELIGIOUS %	SKEPTICAL %
12th and 13th	11	0	100	0
14th and 15th	15	5	75	25
16th and 17th	35	38	48	52
18th and 19th	25	75	25	75

The regularity of this table is remarkable. Beginning with 100% the devotees of religion lose almost exactly 25% every two centuries, beginning with 0, the skeptics increase by about 25% each two hundred years.

Speculation as to the future is the most fascinating of idle pas-

times. It is difficult to believe that the forces which have been steadily at work for at least eight centuries should suddenly stop, or greatly alter their direction and velocity. If they do continue to operate at approximately the same speed, it is plain that practically all of the distinguished men born between 1850 and 2050 will be indifferent to and skeptical of, popular Christianity. And if this is so the masses will slowly but surely follow their leaders. Thought is a fermenting yeast, which, even in the small quantities the world has yet been able to produce, has always in the long run leavened the inert mass of common dough. Great is the spirit of the people, and powerfully does it color the thought of even the greatest minds, but it in turn is eventually tinged with the color of its deepest thinkers. Perhaps it would be truer to say that the mind of the masses and that of the intellectuals react on each other, so that their content, while always a little different, constantly tends to approximate. It is therefore impossible to see in democracy, the triumph of the average man, a force permanently conservative of religion. It may not even be a retarding force, for the last two centuries have been both the most democratic and the least devout, and the socialists, those radical democrats, are also inclined to be hostile to the churches, in which they see champions of outworn privilege.

But, barring those unpredictable factors which usually play a large part in the course of events, there are two ways in which we can conceive how the decline of religion may be stopped. The example of France lends color to the theory that little faith and a low birthrate go together, though, to be sure, the example of teeming Germany contradicts it, for the Teuton is almost as rationalistic as the Frank. If, however, this rule were found to be generally true, it is plain that the religious nations would supplant the infidel ones. This is but another way of stating that by selection nature will conserve those attributes of a race which are most useful to its preservation, without regard to the abstract question of whether those attributes conform to alien standards, such as those of science. Many men have called love a delusion, but if so, it is one so necessary to the preservation of the race that it must always be a powerful operative force. So it *may* be with religion—among the masses. Again it is imaginable that Christianity may conquer in Asia as much as it loses in Europe and America. But speculations as to the future are as inconclusive as they are alluring. At present almost all that can be done is to make a careful survey of the past.



## THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

BY AARON P. DRUCKER.

THE story of Esther as related in the Bible is familiar to us all. In it we read of a Jewish girl who opportunely became queen of Persia and through her position was enabled to save her people from the machinations of the viceroy Haman, who was plotting to bring about their destruction. This story has about it certain peculiarities which may well puzzle the student.

In the first place, it is far beneath the standard of the other books of the Bible in its ethical conception. (a) Mordecai's advice to Esther to conceal the fact of her being a Jewess is, to say the least, cowardly and not at all in keeping with the conduct of other biblical personages in similar circumstances, such as Jonah and Daniel. (b) The last chapters of the book reek with innocent blood which was shed for no good reason. Esther, as a Jewish woman from whom we would justly expect kindness and pity, insists upon the Jews avenging themselves upon the Gentiles, and in consequence seventy-five thousand people are killed. And when the king asks her again what is her desire, she answers in an unwomanly and inhuman manner that she would have Shushan given over to slaughter for another day. This demand, aside from being immoral, un-Jewish and unwomanly, was dangerous and impolitic; for Esther should have thought of the future when there would be no Jewish queen to protect her people, when the Gentiles, having the upper hand once more, would surely avenge her atrocities. (c) Again, the demand that the ten sons of Haman be executed because of their father's guilt is against the Jewish law as expressed in Deuteronomy, where it is plainly set forth that fathers shall not be put to death for the sins of their children, nor the children for the sins of their fathers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xxiv. 17.

From an historical point of view the book again presents numerous incongruities and difficulties. (a) Thus it is usually supposed to have been written during the Persian supremacy over Judea, yet no reference whatever is made to any contemporary Jewish event; neither are any Jewish worthies of the time—Ezra, Nehemiah, Zerubbabel, or the late prophets—mentioned. (b) No allusion is made to the people of Judea, to the temple, sacrifices, or any other Jewish institution. (c) No truly religious idea is expressed in the book even where there would have been occasion for doing so, as the offering of a prayer or allusion to God's direct intervention. (d) In the whole book the name of God is not even mentioned, a phenomenon very unusual in Jewish writing. (e) The Book of Esther does not prescribe any religious services or ceremonies for Purim; it simply enjoins that they should "make them (Purim) days of feasting and joy, and of sending portions one to another, and gifts to the poor." (f) Jewish contemporary history does not know of the personages of the book: (i) None of the apocryphal writings refer to this miraculous escape of the Jews from destruction. (ii) Ben Sirach, in his enumeration of the Jewish worthies<sup>2</sup> seemed to be ignorant of a Jewish queen of Persia and of a Jewish viceroy. (iii) The feast of Purim is not mentioned by any of the ancient writers, being referred to for the first time in Jewish history by Josephus.<sup>3</sup> (iv) Second Maccabees has the day of Mordecai fall on the 14th of Adar, which would show that there was no agreement as to the name of the festival in Judea.<sup>4</sup>

The book presents glaring incongruities. (a) In ii. 5 we are told that Mordecai was one of the captives taken along with Jehoniah (Jehoiakim), King of Judah, by Nebuchadnezzar. This incident took place in 596 B. C. But the Esther incident is supposed to have occurred in the twelfth year of the reign of Xerxes; i. e., about one hundred and twenty-two years after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. It is rather hard to believe that Mordecai, at the age of at least one hundred and twenty-five or thirty years, should be called upon to assume the responsibilities of viceroy of Persia. (b) Every one about the Persian court knew that Mordecai was the uncle of Esther, for he communicated often with her. He was also called Mordecai the Jew, and was therefore known as belonging to that race. Yet no one seems to have known that

<sup>2</sup> Ecclesiasticus xlv-xlix.

<sup>3</sup> Ant. XI, 186.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Mac. xv. 36.

Esther, his niece, was a Jewess. (*c*) We are told further (iii. 6) that Haman determined to kill all the Jews of Persia, because Mordecai, the Jew, would not bow down before him. Yet in another portion of the narrative (vi. 13) Haman's family and friends seem to be ignorant of Mordecai's race. (*d*) Ahasuerus first authorizes Haman to destroy the Jews by giving him the royal signet ring (iii. 10). Later, however, he is much surprised by the information Esther gives him regarding Haman's decree for the destruction of the Jews (vi. 5). (*e*) No Jew in the days of the Persian empire would have dared to disobey the laws of the king and refuse, as did Mordecai in the story, to bow down before the viceroy of the realm. (*f*) The description of the Jews put in the mouth of Haman would hardly fit the Jews at the time of the Persian empire, inasmuch as they were then living only in three places, Egypt, Babylon and Palestine.

There are also several statements made in the Book of Esther which are contradictory to Persian law and custom,—so much so as to place the writer or writers of the book under suspicion of ignorance of Persia and its institutions. (*a*) For instance, the suggestion given by one of the courtiers of Ahasuerus and the edict in accordance with this suggestion,—that the maidens of all nations be gathered at Shushan in order that from their midst might be selected a successor to Queen Vashti—was against all Persian laws and customs. (*b*) The choice of Esther as queen was in opposition to the law of Avesta and the testimony of Herodotus.<sup>5</sup> (*c*) Persian history knows of no Persian queen named Vashti' or Esther. (*d*) Again, the appointment of two foreigners—Haman the Agagite, and Mordecai the Benjamite—as viceroys of Persia is not compatible with Persian custom; nor does Persian history mention these names. (*e*) Likewise the issuing of decrees in the languages of all the provinces, as recorded in the book (i. 22; iii. 12), was not the customary method of issuing decrees in the Persian realm. The Persian and Babylonian languages were the only ones used in all. (*f*) It would seem from the book that no one could approach the king unsummoned under pain of death; but from what we know of the Persian monarchs, we can infer that they were not so inaccessible. (*g*) Again, that the queen should not be able to see the king, or even send him a message, is a strange custom in any oriental monarchy. (*h*) Persia never was divided into one hundred

<sup>5</sup> The Greek historian says (III, 84) that the Persian queen was selected only from among the seven noblest families of Persia. No other woman could ever become queen.

and twenty-seven states or governments. Herodotus tells us that it was divided into twenty; and the inscriptions, that it was divided into twenty-seven. (i) The king could not issue the laws ascribed to him in Esther without consulting his councillors. He is made first to give an order for a massacre of the Jews of his realm, and then to change the order so that it applied to the Gentiles. This procedure was not in accordance with the laws of the Persians as we know them. (j) The city of Shushan, the capital of the empire seems to side with the Jews, and feel very deeply for them in their trouble,—a state of things which is rather singular in view of the fact that Shushan was inhabited mainly by Persians.

Other peculiarities of the book are: (a) The accumulation of coincidents and contrasts which is characteristic of fiction rather than of actual history. In particular is this seen in the entrance of Haman to ask the king's permission to hang Mordecai at the very hour when the latter's good record of service to the monarch is being read. (b) The names of the characters. The names Mordecai and Esther are not Jewish, but rather Babylonian. In fact there is not a Jewish character in the entire book. We may go even a step further and say that with the exception of King Ahasuerus, who is supposedly King Xerxes (485-465 B. C.), the names are all names of gods and goddesses and not of human beings at all. *Vashti* is an old goddess of the Iranians, the forefathers of the Persians and Hindus.<sup>6</sup> *Esther*, again, is Babylonian, identical with *Ishtar*, the goddess of fertility. *Hadassah* (= myrtle-bride), was used as a title for the same goddess *Ishtar* during her ceremony. *Mordecai* is the Babylonian god *Marduk*. *Haman* is identical with *Homan*, god of Elam and the inveterate enemy of *Marduk*, god of Babylon. *Zeresh* is *Gerusha* or *Kirisha*, an Elamite goddess.

From all that was said before, it is clear not only that the story is not based upon facts in Jewish history, but also that the writer was not a Jew. Otherwise there can be no reason assigned for the departure of the Book of Esther from the other biblical compositions and ideas. In all probability the Hebrews translated it from some other language, inserting the names of Jews in order to Judaize it. The question would therefore be: Who wrote this story originally, and what was the nationality of the author? The names of the various characters—*Mordecai*, *Esther*, *Haman*, and *Vashti*—are names of divinities known to us from Babylonian

<sup>6</sup> The name *Vashti* is still a favorite one with the old Gypsies who are supposed to be of the old Iranian stock. See Leland, *The Gypsies*.



history; hence they would seem more appropriate in a Babylonian than in a Jewish story. As a Babylonian story, the book would recount the great victory of Marduk and Ishtar, the gods of Babylon, over their inveterate enemies, Homan and Vashti, the gods of Elam. We know from history that these two nations, Babylon and Elam, were constantly at war with each other.<sup>7</sup> For this reason the majority of scholars are inclined to believe that the Esther story was really a Babylonian composition, telling of the fight of Marduk, the god of Babylon, with Homan, the god of Elam. If we should remove what are obviously interpolations made by the Hebrew translators—such as all references to the Jewish people—we would be even more convinced that the story belongs to Babylon and is a panegyric upon Marduk and his triumph over Homan.

Professor Zimmern accordingly finds a prototype of the Esther story in the Babylonian creation epic. Homan and Vashti, the deities of the hostile Elamites, are the equivalent of Kingu and Tiamat, the powers of darkness; while Marduk and Ishtar are gods of light and order who finally overcome the former two. The seven eunuchs in Esther and the seven viziers are the *annunaki* and *igigi*, the spirits of the upper and the lower worlds, according to Winckler.<sup>8</sup> Ahasuerus represents the *summus deus*, the abiding element, in which the contradictions of nature find their reconciliation.

Professor Jensen finds the prototype of the story in the Gilgamesh epic. We are told that Gilgamesh, the sun-god of Erech and counterpart of the later Marduk, the sun-god of Babylon, is the hero of an expedition against Humbaba (a compound form of the name Human or Humban), King of Elam. Now this Humbaba is the custodian of a lofty cedar that belongs to the goddess Irnina (Ishtar). Humbaba is killed by Gilgamesh, who has on his side a goddess called Kallata (Hadassah or "bride"). With the unification of Babylon under the rule of the city of Babylon, this legend became the national epic, and the exploits of Gilgamesh were transformed to his counterpart, Marduk, the tutelary deity of the city of Babylon. Here, then, we have the nucleus for the story of the Book of Esther. Marduk, with the aid of Hadassah or Esther, overcomes his hereditary enemy Homan, the god of Elam.

To this explanation the objection is offered that the Gilgamesh story lacks the later coloring which the Book of Esther possesses

<sup>7</sup> *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, by Professor Goodspeed.

<sup>8</sup> H. Winckler, "Die Istar von Nineve in Egypten," *Mitteilungen d. vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 286-289.

to such a high degree. Gunkel therefore modifies this theory so that the Book of Esther becomes an account of the struggle between Babylon and Persia, which in turn is a reflection of the century-long battle for supremacy between Babylon and Elam, ending with the victory of the former.<sup>9</sup> Hence the prominence given to Esther or Ishtar in the original story, to show that Erech, the city of Ishtar, not Babylon, the city of Marduk, was the leader in the war of emancipation from Elam. The subsequent turning over of her authority to Marduk and the latter's exaltation correspond to the subsequent supremacy of Babylon, Marduk's city, over the whole country.

These explanations, however, do not clear up the matter entirely. For instance, they do not account for Shushan, rather than Babylon, becoming the center of activity. Neither do they explain why Ahasuerus holds the supreme position, deciding the fates of the other gods. In fact, they do not give any reason why Persia is here the supreme power.

In order, therefore, to discover the date of this book, we must turn to the work itself and see what details it provides in regard to the date of its composition. From what was previously said, it is clear that no Jew could have composed this book, which is a panegyric on the Babylonian god Marduk. Neither could its author have been an Elamite or a Persian, neither of whom would be interested in the triumph of the Semitic gods. It must therefore have been a Babylonian who wrote this story. This theory would at once account for the names of the heroes of the book. Again, we can say with certainty that it must have been written after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, in 536 B. C.; for otherwise a Persian king would not have been exalted as the *summus deus*, to decide the fate of the Babylonian and Elamite gods. And the same reason will also prove that the Book of Esther could not have been written after the fall of the Persian empire: for the author is too submissive to Persia, and Alexander the Great or one of his successors would have been represented as the great power of the empire. Hence we can assert positively that this story must have been composed somewhere between the years 536 and 330 B. C.,—the latter being the date of the fall of the Persian empire.

The Book of Esther gives us, however, more particular data concerning the date of its composition. We are told, for instance, that the capital of the empire was at Shushan, and that the empire was divided into one hundred and twenty-seven satrapies. From

<sup>9</sup> Gunkel, H., *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, 1895.

Persian history we know that Darius Hystaspes (522-485 B. C.) was the one who made Shushan the capital of Persia, and divided the empire into satrapies (27). Hence Esther must have been written after these reforms were instituted by Darius.<sup>10</sup> The story must therefore have been written between the years 485 and 330 B. C., before the rise and greatness of Alexander of Macedon.

Before proceeding further with our investigation, it will be necessary to ascertain whether the story was built upon an historical basis or not. Besides the intrinsic interest that this question possesses, it may also help us to determine more particularly the date of composition. If this plot is based on fact, and it tells of a threatened deposition of Marduk, the god of Babylon, by his inveterate enemy Homan, we will have to seek for the historical basis in the Persian treatment of Babylon.

A study of Persian and Babylonian history will disclose the fact that Marduk's supremacy over the Semitic world was actually threatened by the Persian empire several times during Persian control over Babylon. The first time, his power was threatened by Cyrus, who was himself an Elamite from the city of Ashan. When Babylon fell, many expected that the days of glory for Marduk were at an end also;<sup>11</sup> and that now his cult would be supplanted by that of his enemy the Elamite god Homan. It turned out, however, that Cyrus was more of a statesman than a fanatic, and he not only did not depose Marduk from his position of tutelary deity of Babylon, but he even kissed the hand of the Babylonian god and gave him credit for the late victory he had achieved.<sup>12</sup> Had we no other data in the Book of Esther than this, we might be tempted to conclude that the story was based upon this attitude of Cyrus toward Marduk; but in addition to the fact that in Esther the king is already recognized as superior to Marduk, who is simply a viceroy, there are other details of the story which do not agree with actual conditions of the time of Cyrus. Thus Shushan is given as the capital of Persia, whereas, as was stated previously, Shushan did not become the capital until the reign of Darius. And the story can not in any way be made to coincide with the life of Darius; because while he had great trouble with Babylon, which twice rebelled against him,<sup>13</sup> we never find that he was gracious to her and submitted to her god. Probably for the very reason of the

<sup>10</sup> Sir George Rawlinson, *A Manual of Ancient History*, p. 90.

<sup>11</sup> Isaiah xlvi. 1.

<sup>12</sup> E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, p. 129.

<sup>13</sup> Sir George Rawlinson. *A Manual of Ancient History*, pp. 89-90.

rebellion of Babylon he made the capital of his empire Shushan which had been the capital of Elam and the rival of Babylon. But the recent investigations of Prof. Eduard Meyer<sup>14</sup> brought to light facts which make it probable that Xerxes I (485-465 B. C.) was the Ahasuerus of Esther and that the plot has an historical basis. We are told by Prof. Meyer that in the first year of his reign Xerxes had a great Babylonian rebellion on his hands. The Babylonians killed the satrap Zopyrus, who was appointed by Darius, and proclaimed their independence of Persia, because the new king had acted impiously and in a spirit of mockery towards their god Marduk. In the bloody punitive war that followed, Babylon was mercilessly chastised, many of her old privileges were taken away, the statue of Marduk was taken captive to Shushan, and probably his temple was destroyed. Babylon's power was now at an end and her spirit entirely broken. Not very long after the suppression of the Babylonian rebellion, Xerxes became involved in a war with Greece. According to Herodotus (VII. 5), Xerxes was not inclined to go to war with the Hellenes; he wished first to reorganize his dominion on a sound basis. It was due only to the persuasion of the Greek Mardonius that he at last consented to declare war. But before going to Europe, he felt the need to reconcile the Semitic peoples of Asia. Although these peoples did not serve the Babylonian god Marduk, but worshiped instead the goddess Ishtar, yet they all considered themselves related to the injured Babylonians. The city itself, it is true, was too weak to give Xerxes any trouble, yet the other Semites were all ready to take her part; for they still remembered the days of her greatness, and even now she was still the religious center of the East. In order not to leave a powerful enemy behind him, Xerxes determined to conciliate the fallen city by restoring her privileges to her, rebuilding her temple, and bringing back the statue of Marduk. He thus obtained the goodwill of the Semitic peoples of Asia and assured himself against an attack from the rear.<sup>15</sup> There was great rejoicing in Babylon over the unexpected good news of the king's conciliatory measures. The city acknowledged gratefully his kindness and celebrated the occasion with festal pomp and solemn worship.

The Babylonian priests, in their exultation, doubtless interpreted this event to mean a personal victory for Marduk over his old foe, Homan, whom they symbolically represented as the king's evil genius. As was their custom the priests therefore embodied

<sup>14</sup> *Geschichte des Altertums*, pp. 130-131.

<sup>15</sup> Robinson Southar, *A Short History of Ancient Peoples*, p. 168.



this victory in a dramatic performance, building their plot about an old nucleus in which Homan, Zeresh, and Vashti on the one hand, contended against Marduk and Ishtar on the other, being eventually defeated by the latter two. A few dramatic devices still remain in evidence in the story, even after its translation into Hebrew and its conversion into a prose account. Among these devices are: (a) the dramatic intensity of the plot; (b) the spectacular presentation; (c) certain technical devices, such as the idea that no one could come before the king unless summoned by him, creating as it does a fine dramatic situation and immediately placing the audience in a state of breathless suspense to know what will happen. (d) Another dramatic device is in the startling coincidence, rarely encountered in reality or even in fiction, of Haman's entering to demand the life of Mordecai at the very instant when the latter's good record is being read to the king. (e) A final dramatic situation is to be found in the scene near the end where Esther tells the king of her anxiety over her people and of Haman's machinations, and the king in anger leaves the room. Haman in the meantime is made to beg his life of the queen, falling, as he does so, upon the couch whereon she is reclining. The king, returning at this moment, finds him in this compromising situation, and this so incenses him that he orders the viceroy executed forthwith, and Mordecai invested with the offices and dignities of the fallen favorite.

Thus it would seem that the plot of the original Esther was based upon an historical event which took place in the days of Xerxes. This conclusion is borne out by the recent discoveries in the excavations, from which it appears that Ahashuarosh and Xerxes are really one and the same.<sup>16</sup>

We know, moreover, that the Babylonians had dramatic presentations in their seven-staired temples, the descent of Ishtar being an example of these performances. And just as to-day the ministers in the churches take hold of an old theme and by a few changes and new interpretations make it applicable to present conditions, even so the Babylonian priests and playwrights took for a nucleus old material like the war between Marduk and Homan, and applying it to their then conditions, presented it on their festivals. (Just as Goethe used the names of Mephistopheles and Faust—both old names—for his new drama.<sup>17</sup>)

<sup>16</sup> See Paton in the *International Critical Commentary*, "Esther," p. 53; also Paul Haupt, *Purim*, Note 1, p. 23.

<sup>17</sup> See Haupt, *Purim*.

The questions that would now suggest themselves are: (a) When was the translation into the Hebrew made? (b) What changes did the Jewish translator make from the original? (c) What was his purpose in making the translation? (d) When was the Esther story adopted into the canon?

In order to be able to answer these questions, we must attempt to discover and establish the origin of the feast of Purim among the Jews. The origin of the Purim festival is puzzling to historians and Hebrew scholars. The name was not known in Jewish history up to the time of Josephus; yet its peculiar observances go back to a very remote period. Thus Purim has two days of celebration,—the one called simply *Purim*, the other called *Shushan Purim*. Only one of the days was celebrated by the people,—unfortified cities observing the first day, falling on the fourteenth of Adar, while people inhabiting fortified cities kept the second day, the fifteenth of Adar. But, says the Talmud, only such fortified cities count for celebrating the fifteenth of Adar as had a tower around them since the days of Joshua the son of Nun.<sup>18</sup> What relation Purim, which according to the biblical account, is celebrated in commemoration of an event which took place in the time of Xerxes (485-465 B. C.), had to Joshua, the son of Nun, who lived about 1100 B. C., is hard to conjecture. It does, however, point to the fact that Purim might be a festival going far back, even to the days of Joshua. There is, moreover, a statement in the Talmud to the effect that with the arrival of the Millenium, all the old Jewish holidays will be abolished, excepting Purim which will remain forever.<sup>19</sup> This saying would seem to indicate that the day of Purim had struck deep roots in Israel. Another indication that Purim is an old holiday is the form of the bread which Jewish women bake for that day. Every Jewish festival has its special traditional form of bread, and that of Purim is in the shape of a triangle, filled with poppyseeds and known as Haman's Pocket. This is probably a remnant of the days of the old pagan worship, and the form of the bread was meant to represent the human form. Indeed another indication of the great antiquity of the day is the fact that the real meaning of the name is forgotten—for the biblical etymology is very doubtful.

The only explanation of this paradoxical feature of the festival—that on the one hand it is nowhere mentioned until very late, and on the other that its ceremonies point toward an extremely

<sup>18</sup> Mishna, I. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Talmud Jerusalmi, *Meg.* 15a.

remote date— is that it was an old Semitic holiday, commemorated on the fourteenth and fifteenth of Adar, and that, like many other Canaanitish customs, it was adopted by the Children of Israel on their entrance into Palestine. As the festival was known to be a pagan holiday, the prophets fought against its observance as they did against all other heathenish practices. Indeed it may be that Jeremiah had in mind one of the Purim ceremonies when he denounced the people for making dough images of the heavenly constellations.<sup>20</sup>

But in spite of the prophetic opposition, the festival persisted in Israel even after the return of the Jews from the Exile. As the people during their captivity in Babylon had had no direct contact with the Canaanites and Canaanitish customs, they kept up certain old observances and ceremonies without knowing their exact reason or origin. In fact, some Semitic pagan customs are maintained to this day among the Jews, although they are not mentioned in the Bible and are ignored by the scribes and rabbis. Such ceremonies are, for instance, the monthly sanctification of the moon, and the custom of *Kapporath* on the day preceding *Yom Kippur*. These and other rites have been kept up to the present time, even though they are not found in the scriptures and are not even mentioned in the Talmud, being preserved by verbal tradition. The same was true in the case of Purim. In the days of the second temple, many of its quaint usages and rites were observed out of love for old rites; but the reason and origin of the festival were entirely forgotten. This idea is substantiated by the fact that the festival of Purim is found among all old Semitic peoples the world over,—*Pur* being a good Semitic word encountered in most of the Semitic languages. And possibly the Babylonian festival, where this story of Marduk and Homan was presented, was also called *Purim*. In all probability a Jew who happened to witness one of these Babylonian presentations of the play of Marduk, being delighted to find here a reference to an old festival observed by his own people without their knowing anything of its origin, and noticing that even the same word Purim was used in that play, freely translated it into Hebrew and made it fit for a Jewish audience. Without the least hesitation, then, this man Judaized Ishtar into Esther, and made of the god Marduk Mordecai, the Jew, of the tribe of Benjamin. Homan, the god of Elam, he simply transformed into Haman, an imaginary inveterate enemy of the Jews. In the original play, the Babylonian gods, the satellites of

<sup>20</sup> Jeremiah vii. 18; also xlv. 15.

Marduk, were to be destroyed by the Elamite adversary Homan. The Jewish translator unconcernedly substituted Judeans for the Babylonian deities. In this way he changed a celestial revolution into an imaginary massacre of innocent human beings, and an old myth of a war between gods in heaven into a miraculous Jewish salvation.

When this translation was made and whether its adoption by the Jews was immediate, is of course now impossible to determine. The first reference to a celebration on the fourteenth and fifteenth day of Adar is made in the Second Maccabees; but there the festival is called the *Day of Mordecai*. Whether this was the original name for Purim or whether it was another festival is an unsettled question among scholars. At any rate, Josephus was the first to refer to the story of Esther and the festival instituted in memory of the delivery of the Jews recorded in that story. But as we have seen, the ceremonies of the day and its memories point to a hoary antiquity, to the days of Joshua. This explanation would countenance the hypothesis of numerous scholars that the Purim festival was adopted by the Jews either from the Canaanites, or even earlier, from their neighbors, the original Semites, in celebration of the return of spring. On those festivals a human being was immolated and hanged on a tree. This sacrificial victim, who was chosen by lot from among the captives, represented the god of the enemy. Among the Elamites, the captive's name was made Marduk; among the Babylonians and the other Semites, the victim represented Homan, the god of the Elamites. Later, however, when the Jews abolished human sacrifices, they substituted an image of dough for the human being, but still to represent the original Homan. But the Purim festival being entirely pagan, fell into disrepute with the prophets, and was only observed by the lower classes of people. After the Exile the origin of the festival was entirely forgotten, yet its ceremonies lingered among the masses and especially the women, who are ever the last to give up any ceremony in which they are participants. It was therefore a relief to many when later the Book of Esther appeared which alleged that the Purim festival was a good Jewish holiday, observed in memory of a miraculous rescue of the Jewish people from the hands of their enemies. Henceforth this story of Esther was accepted into the canon, and the old feast of Purim was reinstated in the calendar as a legitimate Jewish holiday.



## THE ROMANCE OF A TIBETAN QUEEN.

BY THE EDITOR.

TIBET is still a country of mystery to western people, but we are more and more gaining an insight into the character of the Tibetan nationality. One of the main and salient features of the life of the Tibetans is their intense religious sentiment which expresses itself in their political institutions and above all in their literature. Dr. Berthold Laufer of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, has recently translated a novel relating an episode in the life of a Tibetan queen which was written at an early date, perhaps before the year 1000 of the Christian era.<sup>1</sup> The earliest mention of this story dates back to 1231 A. D., in which year a copy of the book was discovered in a grotto in the shape of a single long roll of yellow paper, and it was reprinted at that period. Another reprint made in the 14th century under the government of Pag-Mo-Gru as a revised edition, and forming the basis of other manuscripts different from the first one found in the grotto, was published in 1652 at the request of the regent Sans-Rgyas Rgya-Mts'o, who had the printing blocks carved and the story printed in a Tibetan monastery in the year 1674. A third print was made almost simultaneously in another monastery, and a fourth one under the patronage of the fifth Dalai Lama, who, though the book belonged to the literati of the Red School, sanctioned it for use in the monastery of the orthodox Yellow Church. Among the recent republications of this Tibetan novel, one has appeared in Peking (1839) under the auspices of the head tribunal of the Yellow sect in Peking.

The text of our book is in prose, and any one who wants to acquaint himself with Tibetan sentiments would do well to familiarize himself with the style of the stories which the Tibetan public enjoy.

The Tibetan mind is at once passionate and religious. The story begins with the building of a temple and its inauguration.

<sup>1</sup> Berthold Laufer, *Der Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, Leipsic, Harrassowitz, 1911.

The symbolism representing the three aspects of Buddhahood as the three stories of a building is set forth. The ground floor represents Nirmanakaya or India; the second floor, Sambhogakaya or China; and the third or highest floor, the Dharmakaya or Tibet. Nirmanakaya is Buddhahood in the shape of transformations representing the evolution of life on earth towards its aim of Buddhahood, including the Buddha himself. It corresponds approximately to the Christian idea of Christhood finding its summation in the Saviour himself. The second, Sambhogakaya, the body of bliss, corresponds to the Christian conception of God the Father; and Dharmakaya, the body of the good law, represents the Christian Holy Ghost as the spirit of religion, the principle and ideal type of religion.

The hymns are inserted which were sung at the inauguration by the great teacher Padmasambhava (sometimes called the "great man of Udyana," or the "great master" or "teacher") and his disciples. Although they interrupt the progress of the narrative, the reader feels that they are essential portions of the novel because they throw light on the effectiveness of religious spells, blessings as well as curses. The teacher Padmasambhava sings four songs, of which the last reads thus in an English translation (pp. 125-126):

"When the trinity Buddha, Dharma and Sangha,  
According to custom are gathered together,  
It strikes like thunder into the head of the five hostile poisons.

"The trinity knife, arrow and spear  
Strikes like thunder into the hearts of young men in their prime.

"The trinity magic-spell, contemplation and spiritual arms  
As used by venerable magicians  
Strikes like thunder into the head of the treacherous hostile demons."

From a hymn of joy sung by the lords we quote the following stanzas (p. 127):

"Living beings tread the path of salvation to the fields on high,  
The Tibetan people have entered upon the ten virtues.  
The wise one of Za-Hor, the Bodhisatva, has appeared.  
How glad am I that we no longer are drawn down towards evil.

"We renounce the ten sins, the pillar of the doctrine;  
The signs of the teacher which we have made our own are dear to our hearts;  
Leaving off the doings of the transient world we turn to the ten religious exercises.  
How delighted am I to know Buddha's course of life!"

It will be noticed here that the ten sins, the ten religious exercises and other enumerations are presupposed to be well known to the reader. They must be considered as an essential characteristic of the Tibetan novel.

The king of the country mentioned in this novel is the Dharma-*raja* K'ri-sron *Ideu-btsan*, who invites the great man of Udyana, Padmasambhava, to enter the temple and lecture on the good religion. One of his disciples, Vairocana, second only to his master, is the hero of the story. The queen falls in love with him. She is impressed with his beauty and with the truth of his teachings, and so, on various pretexts, she sends away the king and her children as well as all her attendants, invites the pious monk into the house and declares to him her infatuation. She speaks to him (pages 145-6), the passage reading in English translation thus: "Master I have invited thee to sGan-snon rtse-dgu because love of thee hath seized me. While always thinking of the Master I have been inflamed with love for thee, Master, because beauty dwells in thy countenance and in thy words the truth. But unconcerned by all this thou sayest nothing; unconcerned by all this, thou wert not born of woman." Thereupon Vairocana leaves the palace saying that if he were seen there the good religion would suffer. The queen is full of wrath and vengeance. She tears her clothes and scratches her face, and when her servants appear she accuses Vairocana to them of having insulted her with offers of illicit love.

Vairocana leaves the country and on the way meets a smith by whom he is well received. Since the smith's wife characterizes the stranger as being gentle in speech and majestic in appearance, having on his head the tonsure that proves him to be a priest and carrying books in his hand, they provide him with food and speed him on his way. In the meantime the smith's wife misses an ornament, and accuses the monk of having stolen it. The smith follows and shoots at him, but the arrow sticks in the book which Vairocana carries and leaves him unhurt. The bow, however, changes into gold and the arrow into turquoise because it has touched a pious man, and the monk informs the smith that he has not stolen the ornament but that their child carried it away and it would be found in the sweepings of the house.

In the meantime the king, who, bent on killing Vairocana, is following him in hot pursuit, reaches the smith's house and hears of the miracles that have been performed. Therefore instead of doing any harm to the suspected monk, he bows low as soon as he overtakes the priest, and asks him to return. The answer of Vairo-

cana reads as follows: "Faithful king and dear ruler, woman's works are like the strong poison *hala*; the beings who consume it are doomed to death. Woman's works are like *raksasi* at work; those who are seized by this whirlpool are doomed to a speedy death. Woman's works are like the pit of hell; those who are caught in this whirlpool seize upon dirt. Woman's works are like the prison of the circle of life; he who is contaminated thereby has no chance to partake of salvation. Woman's works are like the mischief of Mara; who comes in contact therewith will experience immeasurable misery. In my soul there is no germ of passion; since there is naught of it in my soul how could it originate in my body?"

Thus he preaches on the mischief of woman's works and refuses to return. The king is very sad at having lost this valuable priest, and in his anger begins to curse the queen, Ba dMar-rgyan. The result is that one of the evil spirits, the great Naga Nanda, enters her body as a spider and causes her to be seized with leprosy. The queen calls upon a soothsayer, a woman skilled in magic and prophecy, but all her efforts to cure the disease are in vain; and finally the soothsayer says nothing can help her unless she will confess the sin by which she has brought this disease upon herself. Yet "the queen confessed her guilt in her heart but not with her mouth" (page 163).

The king, however, called to his assistance the great man of Udyana, Padmasambhava, who in turn called his disciple Vairocana. Now at last the queen confessed her sin. She said to the great man in the presence of all: "Oh, light of the doctrine, treasure of Udyana, I am a passionate being. Although in the change of transmigration the monk Vairocana is no longer subject to rebirth, I felt towards him a powerful love because when I looked at his body I saw beauty, when I listened to his words I heard truth. Desire went out to him from my soul again and again. Seeking an opportunity one morning, I sent away the king, my lord, on a walk through the city. I sent away my children, the brother and sister, to play, and I sent away my attendants to divert their attention. Then I met the Master alone and received him. I invited him to the upper floor of the palace and offered him savory viands. One can always count on such treatment. But how was the Master born, that he should be unaffected by this?<sup>2</sup> Then I embraced him, but he was terrified and trembled. He spoke these words, 'If the attendants see me the

<sup>2</sup>The translator explains the passage as meaning that he is not born as a common man. He adds that in popular language it would be rendered, "This did not move the Master, for he has not a human heart."



doctrine will suffer, I will return through the outside door to which I have the key.' With an upright heart he left me and went away. I remained and waited. I looked after him but he was gone and did not care for me. He had already reached the Bu-ts'al and all was over. For him I bore heavy grief in my heart and played the comedy of a lie, uttered curses, and yet I could not turn the Master. When the sun had reached the west and had set, I sent away the king again, and again invited the Master, but he came not; then I vented my wrath. Oh, light of the doctrine, all these sins have I committed, and is this disease of leprosy really my punishment? In my heart I cherish doubts, light of the doctrine, teacher of Udyana, my son has searched the whole country for the Master whom we have lost, but has not found him. Wherefore has he gone and how can I be cured of my disease?"

It is characteristic of the style of the novel that this confession is received with joy by all the parties who hear it. Our author states that Padmasambhava of Udyana rejoiced heartily and so did the king and his son and daughter. The men present, however, said, "The Master, the holy one, is of course unimpeachable, he may smile." And we read in this expression of the common sentiment the religious joy which the public in general feels at the proof that the monk's behavior remains justified.

The king's main anxiety now is to cure the queen, and he is bent on having the monk Vairocana in order to restore his wife's health. All of them weep, and their tears are pathetically described as being as large as peas, an expression which is repeated whenever tears are said to express unusually great grief. The black spider is conjured by the monk Vairocana, and when this evil creature leaves the queen's body, it is as if a sunbeam pervaded all her limbs. The great man of Udyana, however, cast spittle at the queen, saying, "Oh sinner, suffering under the guilt of thy actions, may the many limbs of Naga depart from thee!" Then three times he cast spittle with his tongue at the Naga, saying, "Thou who understandest how to seize upon her but not to let go, pernicious Naga! Freed from their palsy the limbs shall again unite with the body. Henceforward shall her soul have peace."

It is interesting to note here that spittle forms a powerful means of magic.<sup>3</sup> It will be remembered also that Jesus cured the blind with spittle which he mixed with the soil of the earth.

The queen is afterwards treated by conjurations by repeating

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also A. H. Godbey's article on "Ceremonial Spitting" in *The Monist*, January, 1914.

many Buddhist names. She is showered with perfumes, and sacrifices are offered for her sake. When the cure is perfected she shows her gratitude to the great one of Udyana by offering him her daughter in marriage on the ground that the race of such great conjurers should not die out. Here we find that the principle of celibacy is entirely forgotten and overlooked, and for sheer compassion towards mankind the great one of Udyana, Padmasambhava, accepts the hand of the princess K'rom-pa rgyan. Before the marriage is concluded the king and the great man of Udyana decide to have an investigation made as to whether or not the princess is worthy of this honor, and a soothsayer of Nepal whose name was Shakyadeva investigates the question. Here a passage is inserted enumerating the many beauties of the princess in minute detail, which lead up to the conclusion that she is worthy. The passage is curious in so far as we see here the Tibetan notion of a woman's beauty.

The marriage took place, but there was new trouble in store. The bride dreamed that a ray of black light six feet long entered her body, and when she awoke she felt an unwonted heaviness and a trembling passed through her body. Her mind was troubled, her heart was cramped, and she felt very uncomfortable. Her anxiety caused her to keep quiet about the event, and when she bore a son he turned out to be a creature of unparalleled viciousness, the truth being that she had conceived a son by an offspring of Mara. The son was addicted to all kinds of sin and gave his parents great trouble until finally it became apparent that he was the son of the black spirit gNer-Pa Se-Ap'an. Finally he died but his spirit became converted and was saved. All lamented at his death, saying, "Truly he was the son of Mara who took possession of the body of the princess." The great one of Udyana says: "Why do you all complain? Weep not, K'rom-pa rgyan. He was not our son. Some say he was the son of the mercy of the gods, others the son of the demon's enmity, others a son of the unhappiness of hell, still others a son ensnared by Raksasa—at any rate a son given to us in spite of our deeds of benevolence. Among hundreds and thousands of cases there are only a few of this kind. Whatever may have been the cause of this son it is certain that this calamity has come upon us through committing some evil deed in one of our former births. Since this calamity was an unbearable burden it has been born to us as a son and has taken possession of our hearts. Though we could not love him he has been given us as a means of retribution."

The unfortunate mother asked where her son had been born before and where he would be reborn in the future, and her husband

answered in a tirade against all sinful beings and especially against women. Among others things he said: "Like the unceasing stream of Samsara are women; like the incarnate black-headed Raksasi in the midst of whose body has grown a piece of the copper of hell; it has been refined in fire and all misfortune arises from it. The fiery places of mT'o-ris T'ar-pa are made of that copper and the purification of virtue and vice is accomplished by it. The doings of women are like this copper of hell; if they are united with thee thou wilt be cooked in the copper of hell. The punishment to be cooked in the copper of hell can not be forced upon me. The doings of women are like the dungeon of Mara. If they unite with thee thou art in the dungeon of Mara. The punishment of sitting in the dungeon of Mara can not be forced upon me. The doings of women are like the fetters of Yama. If they cling to thee, thou art bound by Yama's fetters. The coercion of Yama's fetters can not affect me, Padmasambhava. The doings of women are like a morass of poison. If they cling to thee thou wilt be boiled in the morass of poison. The compulsion to walk over the fatal morass of poison can not affect me. Women in gorgeous colors are robbers who decoy men from their duties. Let men ignorant of the injunctions of scripture turn astray towards evil. I, Padmasambhava, have no inclination to do so. In order to mitigate the sufferings of those who wish to follow me, you stayed with me, K'rom-pa-rgyan, in the incomparable temple filled with glowing reverence. Untouched by the stain of sin you dreamed that a rainbow ladder was let down from heaven and the end the ladder was put upon your shoulders, that upon the rungs walked Vajrasatva, he who is endowed with good omens and from whose body a thousand bright rays proceed. When you awoke you felt bodily comfort and mental joy. Hoping for the highest Siddhi, you kept it secret from men. A son of good omen will be born to the royal princess. This son will be of an inventive genius, a Nirmanakaya. He will fulfil every desire, and what one wishes will be in accord with his heart. When only a year shall have passed he will attain the measure of wisdom; in his second year he will possess the heart of mercy; in his third year he will have the courage to ask his father religious questions. The son will ponder over his father's answers. He will avoid sin and become renowned for his virtues. He will be honored with a great name.<sup>4</sup> The holy scripture he will know. He will mediate on the world's sinful inclination, and he who would not recognize its significance nor give heed to what he hears will not be saved from the stream

<sup>4</sup> The translator believes that the name given him was mutilated.

of ignorance and doubt. Glorious is a religious change of heart, but more glorious is the Mahayana. Glorious it is to teach truth, but more glorious is devotion. Therefore he will be my son, a child of bliss. The understanding of the little boy will be directed upwards and his espousal of religion's cause will grow greater and greater, for by impious words salvation is not attained. Is not this your own thought, princess? Such a son would be a jewel, a gift for one without children. If in deeds, words and disposition, he has untiringly accumulated treasures, one need not retain a recollection, one need not retain a recollection of him when his body and soul will be separated, for we should esteem his inner treasures higher than his bodily condition. Even after death and even if people do not think of him, his many talents are so great that they will continue to live to an advanced age. A man to whom such a son is given has acquired great salvation."

The story of the evil son of the great man of Udyana reminds us of the Christian story of Robert the Devil, who though the son of the devil becomes finally converted and the angels rejoice that the very son of the evil one has been gained over from the cause of his hellish father to the cause of God.

The conclusion of the book consists of expressions of sundry doctrines of Buddhism, the efficacy of the magic power of religion, the further expansion of Buddhism and kindred subjects.

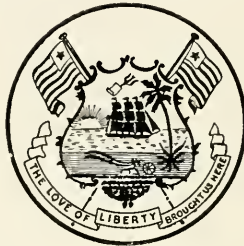
The volume before us contains the Tibetan original in a clear clean type, the German translation, an appendix containing several colophons of different manuscripts, an interpretation by the translator, a good index and illustrations reproduced from the Tibetan designs, the latter by Albert Grünwedel. The printing of the book which deserves great credit has been done by Drugulin of Leipsic.

The peculiarities of Tibetan taste are obvious in the tendency to extol the good religion over everything. The characters portrayed are passionate, as the Tibetans are by nature, and the sympathy of both writer and reader is apparently on the side of the sinner, while their admiration is reserved for the saint who is above all temptation. There is further a great interest shown in the dialectics of Buddhism, expositions of the law according to their system of enumeration, other details of theological subtleties, and above all in the comfort taken in the magical power of religious songs and religious ceremonies.



## MISCELLANEOUS.

### A LIBERIAN EXHIBITION IN CHICAGO.



The little Negro republic Liberia in Africa is a creation of the United States, and we ought to be interested in its fate not only because we are responsible for its existence, but also because it has become the theater of international intrigues, for the European nations show a greater interest in its territory than is good for its independence and we should bear in mind that it is the only territory in Africa where the government is exclusively in the hands of the black race. Liberia needs our sympathy, and sympathy can be maintained only when it is sufficiently based on knowledge. We ought to know the problems of Liberia, and ought to know the dangers with which the country is threatened. Is it possible that Liberia can solve its own problems, that the negro population can hold their own against Great Britain, France and Germany, who are showing a great interest in the country? Scarcely! And who should come to the rescue if not the United States who stand sponsor for its existence, liberty and independence?

For the sake of creating a greater interest in Liberia an exhibition was opened March 20th in the building of the Chicago Historical Society. The exhibition consists of all sort of objects of historical significance, besides pamphlets, newspapers, Liberian prints, maps, pictures, portraits, autographs, documents, seals, stamps, coins, medals, decorations etc.

The exhibition has aroused greater interest than was anticipated and a number of individuals have contributed to its success. The objects displayed fill five table cases and six upright screens. Mr. George W. Ellis, who was for some years secretary of our legation at Monrovia, has loaned an interesting series of objects made by the natives of the Liberian hinterland. Other curios of native manufacture are shown by Mrs. Elizabeth Ross, Mr. Campbell Marvin and others. For the most part, however, the exhibition illustrates the history and condition of the civilized Liberians, descendants of American freed-

men. Their famous gold work is shown by a small collection supplied by Mr. Ellis. Dr. Ernest Lyon, Consul-general of Liberia in the United States and one time our resident Minister to the Republic, has sent on some pictures and documents. Portraits and autographs of the President and other famous men and pictures of notable incidents in Liberian history are displayed. The collection of books in many languages relating to Liberia is almost complete. Probably so notable a collection of books and pamphlets *printed in Liberia* has never been brought together elsewhere. The five mission societies working in Liberia—Protestant Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, Lutheran, African Methodist Episcopal, and Womans' Christian, are all taking part in the exhibition, and their work is adequately presented—an entire table case being devoted to it. The bulk of the objects shown, however, is the personal collection of Liberiana brought together by Frederick Starr, when he was in Liberia in 1912 and since his return to this country.

On the opening night an attractive program was given. Addresses were presented by George W. Ellis ("The Mission of Liberia"), Ernest H. Lyon ("The Liberian Republic"), and Frederick Starr ("African Redemption"). The Liberian National Hymn was sung by a quartette. The exhibition will be closed by an illustrated lecture by Frederick Starr upon "Liberia, the Hope of the Dark Continent."

It behooves us to be informed in regard to the only piece of Africa remaining in the possession of the Negro. The exhibition is one phase of the propaganda of education regarding Liberia carried on by Frederick Starr since his return from there in December 1912. In this material exhibition, in public addresses and lectures, and in his writings, he is trying to tell a simple but important story.

There are two books which convey all the information that is needed to form an opinion on Liberia. One is a stately work of two volumes by Sir Harry Johnston containing a fine collection of pictures and a valuable compilation of facts and from the standpoint of British politics with a view to a successful exploitation of the country. Another book, smaller in size but more important for us, is *Liberia: Description—Problems—History*, published by Frederick Starr, professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago.

The organizers of the exhibition are anxious to have people take an interest in it and especially invite students from high schools, either singly or in classes, because they have the conviction that sooner or later the fate of the republic may depend upon the sympathy which it will receive in the United States.

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## CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE ORIENT.

BY B. K. ROY.

### *Kingship in Ancient India.*

Like many other erroneous ideas it is generally understood in the western countries that kings in ancient India were given perfect latitude to become irresponsible despots. The people, of course, did not count in the modern sense of the term; but the ordinances of the sacred books of the Hindus were of such a nature that they did not allow the rulers to stray very far from what the Hindus call *Dharma* or *Niti*—the moral code.

Mr. G. A. Chandravarkār translates some very interesting Sanskrit *slokas* from the *Sukraniti* in the *Vedic Magazine*. To quote a few :

"The protection of the subjects is the sacred duty of the king as also is the punishment of wicked persons, but both these are not possible of execution without the correct understanding of the science of ethics."

"Misery falls to the lot of a king who fails to walk in the path of righteousness and leads a life in a spirit of so-called independence. To serve such a king is as dangerous as to lick the sharp edge of a sword."

"Internal dissensions among the ministers, strife among the subjects and want of harmony among the military officers are all due to want of ingenuity on the part of a king."

"That being alone is worthy of holding a scepter who is capable of governing, by reason of possessing intelligence, power, bravery and purity of character."

"The ruler should be a protector like a father, a lover like a mother, a teacher like a *Guru*, helper like a brother, fertilizer like a mighty river and inflicter of punishment like Yama, or else he has no right to be a king."

"The quality of mercy becomes the crowned monarch without which all his other qualities are of no avail."

#### *The Rule of Law in Ancient India.*

Sir Henry Cotton, an Ex-M. P., and a retired Indian civil servant, claims that in British India "failure of justice not falling short of judicial scandal" is a common thing in Hindu-English trials in which Englishmen are tried by English juries. We also read of such miscarriages of justice in the Indian papers, and we read it only too often.

Mr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, in an article in the *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, shows how in ancient India law ruled supreme even over the sovereigns. He says :

"Fortunately we are in possession of a recorded case which is ever so much more valuable to us than all *a priori* reasonings on the subject. This single case is not the individual picture of the administration of law in a particular instance, but affords a typical spectacle. The case is recorded in one of the most authentic documents of India, which on the evidence of the inscriptions of Asoka goes back at least to the third century B. C. in its present shape, and which is generally based on traditions as early as the death of the Buddha.

"In the Vinaya Pitaka, Chullavagga, VI, 4, 9, the case of the Anatha-Pindika and the Prince Royal Jeta, which was decided by the Court of Shravasti, the then capital of Ondh, is related to show the great devotion of the Anatha-Pindika to the Sakya Teacher and not to record any extraordinary judicial decision. Sudatta, who was generally called the Anatha-Pindika (orphans' coparcener), on account of his kindness to orphans, was an ordinary citizen—a *grihapati*; Jeta was one of the princes of the blood. The latter had a garden 'not too far from the town and not too near, convenient for going and for coming. . . well fitted for a retired life.' The liberal Anatha-Pindika thought of buying this garden for the use of the Buddha whom he had invited from Rajagriha. He went to the Prince Jeta and said to him: 'Your Highness, let me have your garden to make an *Arama* on it.' 'It is not, O gentleman, for sale, unless it is laid over with *crores*' [10,000,000 rupees]. 'I take, Your Highness, the garden at this price.'

“No, gentleman, the garden has not been taken.”

“Then they asked the lords of justice whether the garden was bought or not. And the lords decided thus: ‘Your Highness fixed the price and the garden has been taken.’”

“On obtaining the decrees the Anatha-Pindika had a part of the garden covered with gold coins and the rest was relinquished by the Prince without further payment.”

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#### THE CHRIST OF FRA ANGELICO.

On page 161 of the March *Open Court* a reproduction of the Christ-figure detail from Raphael's *Disputa* was inserted by mistake in the editorial article on “The Portrayal of Christ” in place (and with the inscription) of Fra



CHRIST RISING FROM THE TOMB.  
By Fra Angelico.

Angelico's picture of “Christ Rising from the Tomb.” Accordingly we here present to our readers the omitted cut. The detail from Raphael is repeated in the present number in its proper context.

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#### A NEW COOPERATIVE COLONY.

BY HIRAM VROOMAN.

[In an interesting article describing this Utopian project in a recent number of *La Follette's Magazine*, the Rev. Hiram Vrooman of Chicago is spoken of as one of the leading spirits promoting the enterprise. Mr. Vrooman is one of several brothers who have been conspicuous as social reformers for



many years, one of whom is the Hon. Carl S. Vrooman, at present a well-known candidate for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator in Illinois.—ED.]

An interesting economic and business experiment in the form of a co-operative colony is being made in the state of Colorado by a group of prominent social reformers. Co-operation applied to business in any large and comprehensive way seems Utopian and idealistic beyond practicability to the large majority of people. There are, however, many students of economic problems who believe that some form of industrial co-operation on a national scale is destined to supersede the present order. They claim that economic democracy abides latently in cooperation and that only by means of cooperation on a large scale can justice in the distribution of wealth be established. It will be interesting, therefore, to watch the developments of this latest experiment on any considerable scale of a cooperative Utopia.

A new city, to be in some respects the poet's "city beautiful" and to be called "Industrial City," is to begin to be built this coming spring on 7000 acres of irrigated land in Jackson Co., known as North Park, Col. All of the different industries and business to be created are to be conducted under one management on a cooperative plan by which the "coworker citizens" are to receive approximately the full product of their toil.

This enterprise has already acquired four extensive and valuable properties which are to serve as a working basis for its ambitious and idealistic aims. It owns the water and irrigation rights referred to for 7000 acres of fertile agricultural land, where the new city is to be built. In addition to this it is already conducting successfully a 3000 acre cooperative farm in Sedgwick Co., not far from the new city to be built. As tributary to its larger operations, it is also developing one of the most beautiful summer resorts in the Pike's Peak region on 800 acres of land which it owns in the famous Ute Pass, within walking distance of Manitou, lying beautifully, somewhat as an eagle's nest for human beings, in the divide at the foot of Pike's Peak. Here it has a summer hotel with numerous rustic cottages and provision for summer educational work for advancing cooperation. Its fourth property of large importance is a pickling factory at La Fayette near Denver, to which is to be added a canning factory for the canning of vegetables.

Many points of interest which cannot be presented in this brief space are brought out in the literature of the company which is disseminated free of cost upon application.

The enterprise has its central office in Enterprise Bldg., Denver, with the Hon. Leo Vincent in charge. Judge John Barnd, a prominent citizen of Lafayette, Col., is president of the promoting corporation.

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A learned Parsi, Mr. Mehrjibhai Noshewanji Kuka, M. A., of Bombay (Navsari Building, Hornby Road), has undertaken to adjust the Parsi calendar with its festivals to modern conditions, and make it conform with the calendar at present in general use. He has done this with thoroughness and with full appreciation of the historic tradition of his people. The result is a pamphlet entitled *The Antiquity of the Iranian Calendar and of the Era of Zoroaster*. It will first of all serve the need of the Parsi community, but in addition it will prove of interest to all scholars versed in Iranian lore. κ

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Is Man. But whenso honour  
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There dwelleth on men a bright light  
An pleasant life.

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