

# 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.

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VOL. XXXIII (No. 6)

JUNE, 1919

NO. 757

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## The Open Court Publishing Company

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# The Philosophy of B\*rr\*nd R\*ss\*ll

With an Appendix of Leading Passages From Certain Other works.

Edited by Philip E. B. Jourdain.

Price \$1.00.

There is a great deal to be said for any philosophy that can stand a joke. Philosophies are usually too dignified for that; and for dignity Mr. B\*rr\*nd R\*ss\*ll has little reverence (see Chap. XX, "On Dignity"). It is a method of hiding hollow ignorance under a pasteboard covering of pomposity. Laughter would shake down the house of cards.

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THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

CHICAGO

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THE EGYPTIAN GOD BES.

(From Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, Vol. II, p. 286.)

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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## TRUE DEMOCRACY AND PROGRESS.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE RUSSIAN SOVIET SYSTEM.

BY VICTOR S. YARROS.<sup>1</sup>

IN a recent issue of *The Open Court* the present writer challenged the claim of the Russian Bolshevik leaders that their "Soviet system" embodies a higher form of democracy than the American or any European form. He attacked the dictatorship of the small quasi-proletarian clique that has ruled central Russia in the name of the working classes and the poorer peasants, and he objected to the disfranchisement of the so-called bourgeois elements of the population.

Several correspondents have taken issue with him, on the ground, as they contend, that these undemocratic and illiberal measures are temporary and begotten of emergency and the danger of counter-revolution. What of the Soviet system itself in its substantial and permanent features? he has been asked. Is not the Soviet system a notable and valuable contribution to the art of democratic government? Has it not, as a matter of fact, impressed and fascinated the liberal thinkers of Europe and America? Have not even the severe critics of Bolshevism admitted, with astonishment or reluctance, that the Soviet system "works" in Russia and contains elements worthy of study and emulation?

Yes, the Soviet system has taken many Western minds captive. There is undoubtedly something in it that appeals to radicals and liberals in the West. What is that something, and how much of it, if anything, can Europe or America adopt with advantage? These are legitimate questions that can be discussed calmly and without prejudice.

<sup>1</sup> Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.

What is the essence of the Soviet system—or, rather, what would be its essence under normal conditions?

The answer is that the principle of the Soviet is representation on a new basis. Under it men vote together because *they work together* and belong to the same social and economic group. In the words of an apologist and supporter of Bolshevik Russia:

"A soviet delegate comes from a group—a shop or a union—meeting regularly. A soviet representative is continuously in touch with the people he represents. The soviets are elected largely by occupations. They are full of miners who know mines; of machinists who know machines; of peasants who know the land; of teachers who know children and education. The soviet is a center for the transaction of business by men who know their business."

The same writer, by way of contrast, thus characterizes our American Congress—and, of course, the characterization would apply to the British Commons, the French parliament, the various diets or assemblies, or the Russian Duma as it existed under the Czar:

"A congressman represents all sorts of people, irrespective of their work, who meet at the polls every two or four or six years: there is no other bond of union among them. Congress is full of lawyers and politicians and office-grabbers. Congress is too often a talking machine, an arena for playing party politics."

This is not scientific or philosophical language, but the points made are tolerably clear. Are they valid? Are the people of a state or nation likely to be better represented, and more faithfully and intelligently served, under the soviet plan than under the familiar and conventional plan? Let us see.

When voters elect an alderman, a state legislator or a member of Congress, they elect him, as a rule, because he belongs to a certain party and stands on a certain platform. We may and should eliminate national party issues from local elections, but we cannot make local elections nonpartisan or nonpolitical. Local issues simply—and properly—take the place of national issues, more or less irrelevant. We vote as partisans, and we join parties because on the whole they severally reflect and represent our political and economic opinions. It must be admitted that parties have an irritating way of outliving their usefulness and their representative character, but if thousands cling to parties that are morally dead and practically futile, whom but ourselves can we blame for this fact? Tradition, habit, inertia, prejudice, thoughtlessness keep such parties alive, rather than the intrigues and stratagems of pro-

fessional politicians. Besides, when a really vital issue emerges, a realignment is quickly and spontaneously effected. Passions, convictions, interests outweigh tradition and habit when there is a conflict between these sets of influences.

In short, roughly and generally speaking, the familiar plan or system is a system of government by parties, big or small, and therefore by opinions. The question how our opinions are formed—what part class or group interest plays in the process—need not be raised here. Perhaps opinion is inspired or prompted by economic interests, but only the shallow and half-baked radicals maintain that opinions are of no consequence and may be completely ignored. The fact is that men fight for opinions, make sacrifices for opinions, and are often unconscious of any personal or class interest back of the opinion, not to mention the by no means exceptional individuals whose opinions manifestly conflict with their pecuniary interests.

We must, therefore, consider and criticize the familiar plan of nominating and electing representatives as a plan designed to give us government by discussion, government by compromise and adjustment, government by opinion. From this point of view, our system is undoubtedly full of faults and imperfections. Sometimes what we call representative government is not in fact representative. Men elected to represent mixed and heterogeneous constituencies are found to represent narrow special interests, spoils cliques, etc. Again, too often the representatives are not competent to voice the opinions of their constituencies and not industrious or capable enough to acquire such competency. Then, too, party platforms may be so ambiguous, indefinite, and empty that the men who stand on them can hardly be said to have opinions on the actual issues of the period. Finally, even if we suppose that the elected representative of a ward or district is faithful, intelligent, and fit to represent those who voted for him, what of the minority in the same district, which is deprived of a voice in the legislative body? Who represents that minority? Some one from another district, where those who believe as this minority does constitute a majority? This is scarcely satisfactory, for localities have special needs and special conditions, and may have special opinions even while accepting the general platform of the party that commands a majority of the district.

For example, a Democrat from a Chicago district is not an ideal representative of an Alabama Democratic constituency, nor a Vermont Republican a fit and desirable representative of an

Oregon or Kansas Republican constituency. When a minority in a district is deprived of a voice, it practically is governed and taxed without its consent.

These evils have long since been recognized by students and rational reformers, hence the movement for minority representation and for proportional representation. That proportional representation is steadily gaining ground, everybody knows. Even some of our new city charters provide for such representation, and on small commissions in charge of municipal affairs we now find not only members of the major parties, but labor men, Socialists, and other radicals.

The logical position of the upholder of democratic and representative government is thus sufficiently indicated. He must advocate the creation of large election districts and the election from them of representatives on the basis of proportional representation. We must demand that every legislative body contain members of each of the important parties, schools, and social groups. A system that insures this gives us government of and by opinion. If, in addition, the term of office is made short, the method of nomination simple and fair, and the election pure and honest—that is, free from fraud—then the system is as democratic, as genuine, as popular as we can expect any system to be under present intellectual and moral conditions. Indifferent, ignorant, careless men cannot expect to be loyally and properly served by representatives. Eternal vigilance still is, and always will be, the price of good, or truly democratic, government. "Educate your masters," said an English Tory statesman after a notable extension of the suffrage system that enfranchised millions of workmen, agricultural laborers, and others. If the "masters" remain ignorant or apathetic, they are masters only in name. Those rule who take the trouble to rule, who work, watch, improve every opportunity, and assert themselves on all lawful occasions.

Sound and true democracy cannot be created by fiat or miracle. Education and slow political and moral evolution are forces for which there are no substitutes. Given education, however, with adequate machinery and organization, and government by discussion and the free play of opinion can be made a reality.

One admission must here be noted in all candor. It is possible, and perhaps probable, that if Second Chambers are retained, they will in an ever-increasing measure be converted into modified soviets—that is, they will be composed of representatives of great industries, occupations, professions, interests. There is no reason

why England, France, Italy, or some American State should not make the experiment of a second chamber so formed and constituted. That is, farmers, manufacturers, merchants and bankers, carriers, workmen, professional men, artists, and others might form guilds or other organizations and send men from their own respective ranks to represent them in a chamber smaller than the popular and democratic chamber elected, as now, on the basis of opinion, party affiliation and the like.

Now compare the Soviet system *at its best* with a thoroughly reformed and modernized system of government by opinion.

At the base of the Soviet pyramid, we are told, are the voters of the villages, hamlets, towns, and cities. These voters meet in factories, in village halls, railroad depots, and the like, and elect the local soviet. The methods and procedure are, and are to remain, elastic. The local soviets elect the delegates to, or members of, the District soviets, and these in turn send delegates to the Provincial soviets. At the top of the pyramid is the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, a body composed of delegates of the lower soviets. The soviets delegate authority to executive committees, local, provincial, and national.

The admirers of this system prefer not to discuss the two main criticisms that are made by its opponents. But they must and will be discussed by candid persons who really wish to study the relative advantages or merits of the rival plans.

In the first place, the voters of the hamlets, villages, towns, and cities do not elect either the Provincial or the National soviet. Is this democratic? Is it free from danger? The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is very remote indeed from the governed, whose consent is supposed to be necessary to make government popular and democratic. There is no guaranty whatever that the general and higher soviets will always represent all the elements, sorts, and conditions of the people. As a matter of fact, the higher soviets may have as many politicians, lawyers, and non-workers as the American Congress. The superiority claimed for the local soviet may be real, for the latter is composed of representatives of all "legitimate" occupations, interests, and professions. But when delegates elect other delegates, and the latter elect delegates to still another body, the character of the supreme body plainly depends on all manner of accidental and adventitious influences. This is not democracy.

The second criticism of the Soviet system is even more fundamental. It is all very well to talk in general terms about the wonder-

ful results of representation of occupations, vocations, interests, actual social groups having common needs and experiences, but is it a fact that the members of a given group or profession think alike? Will it ever be a fact? Do workmen in a steel mill agree on political and economic questions? Are all the employes of a big store of one mind respecting such questions? Is there unanimity among all railroad workers? Do teachers see eye-to-eye in the realm of government and social science?

These questions answer themselves. In any factory we are likely to find conservatives, moderates, liberals and radicals, Socialists, Syndicalists, anarchists, and what not. Men and women who work together not only do not think alike, but often violently differ among themselves and attack each other's gatherings. The bitterness among Socialists and anarchists is proverbial, as is the antagonism between ardent trade unionists and anti-union workmen of strongly individualist proclivities. Illustrations need hardly be multiplied on this point.

Now, when in any soviet, workmen see themselves, as they inevitably will, opposed by workmen, teachers by teachers, physicians by physicians, clerks by clerks, what balm will they find in the thought that they respectively "work together"? A foe is a foe, and an opponent an opponent, whether he works at the next machine, in the next shop, or in a totally different vocation.

Convictions and opinions are ultimately the determining factors in legislation and political action. The voter, the individual, wants his opinion to prevail, or at least to have a fair chance. He wants his "side" to have its day in court. A brother worker who does not agree with him cannot represent him.

It cannot be seriously doubted, therefore, that eventually the Russian voters will insist on fair and proper representation of opinions in the soviets, local and general. This cannot be secured except by proportional representation, and proportional representation involves profound modifications in the Soviet system. Opportunity must be afforded to those who think alike to act and vote together. If workmen, artists, teachers, and professional voters wish to be represented by the same set of delegates, they cannot justly be deprived of that right. Farmers cannot justly be prohibited from voting for teachers to represent them, nor teachers from voting for labor leaders. So far as the mechanical Soviet system precludes such inter-group voting it is more undemocratic and objectionable than any feature in the rival system.

Which system will insure adequate and just representation of

all social groups, all opinions, all schools of thought? This is the paramount question. Which system will give us orderly and progressive government? Which is designed to make democracy safe, workable, rational, and sober-minded?

No reason has been furnished by the admirers of the Soviet system for scrapping our own imperfect system and blindly adopting their ill-considered, ill-devised substitute. We can and should improve our system and certain useful hints toward improvement may possibly be discerned in the Soviet system. But—nothing more than hints. The notion that we can change things, elements, qualities by changing *names* is puerile. The notion that a reshuffling of human units will somehow rid us of religious, economic, social, and other differences, the differences that divide us into parties, factions, and schools of thought, is fantastic and grotesque.

To repeat, evolution, not revolution or miracle, will solve our problems and remove the obstacles to human solidarity and human justice, national and international, that face us on every side.

## SAVAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM.

BY EDWARD LAWRENCE.

### XII. EMANCIPATION AND FUTURE OF SAVAGE RACES.

WE have now completed our imaginary tour of the world, and should be able to give an answer to the question, What is a savage?

We have seen that the life led by the wild races of man, under their own natural unfettered conditions, is by no means a hard or a miserable one. Savages are usually happy and contented with their lot; among themselves they are well-behaved and extremely polite; the men make good husbands and the women good wives. It is very seldom indeed that serious crime is committed; they are extremely temperate, and have great respect for the aged.

The early years of childhood are altogether delightful. Children are carefully schooled and taught to do that which is right, according to the moral standard of their tribe; and as we have noted, such teaching is not lost when adult life is reached.

Yet, on the other hand, we find them indulging in many superstitious rites, some of which appear reprehensible to a degree; many others appear to us ridiculous and absurd; while their cannibalism and human sacrifices fill us with deepest horror. Nevertheless, we

have discovered that these customs by no means spring from any ferocity of character, but in reality are part and parcel of the savage's religious system, forming, in fact, the very foundation upon which all religious systems are based. Therefore the savage is not necessarily that ferocious, bloodthirsty vampire so frequently depicted, but a natural, wild animal, the spontaneous product of his environment. His character has been misrepresented because the first white travelers misunderstood his customs. Thus, when the Tasmanians were discovered, the women were seen to be covered with "gashes," which were promptly placed to the credit of their "brutal husbands," who had inflicted them from time to time because the ladies misbehaved themselves! The true explanation is that these marks formed part of the women's toilet and personal adornments. In the case of the Fiji Islanders we saw the practice of putting old people to death was not one of cruelty, but was done out of regard for their supposed spiritual well-being; not because they hated them, but because they loved them.

If I were asked to pronounce an opinion respecting the comparative moral condition of savage and of civilized peoples, I should have to give my verdict in favor of the savage. Uncivilized man lives closer to nature than does his civilized brother. Consequently and unconsciously, he lives a healthy and unadulterated life, like that of the wild animals surrounding him. While he may lack a high ethical standard such as obtains in certain spheres of civilized life, he at the same time does not possess those great vices which seem to grow in the vortex of a complex culture. The general level is higher among savages. It is not the savage that wages ruthless wars to obtain possession of his neighbor's vineyard, nor who covers the field of battle with millions of mutilated men. He does not fill his fatherland with gin-palaces, nor plant his villages with dens of infamy. It is not he who needs societies for the "Prevention of Cruelty to Children," nor prisons in which to preserve and nurture a criminal population.

As regards their manners, there can be no question but that they put many civilized people in the shade. They are far more polite and well-behaved among themselves than the average citizens of Western Europe. Savages do not expectorate almost in another person's face, nor do they puff the smoke from cigarettes for their neighbors to inhale. Their general bearing toward each other is infinitely more courteous than that which generally obtains in civilized society.

Religion itself occupies a far more important place in the life

of the savage than it does with us. Every act of the savage is more or less a religious act or is sanctioned in some way or other by his religious faith. Unquestionably many of his superstitions are to us puerile, but so are many beliefs of civilized men. The "educated" white man who triumphantly dangles a piece of camphor from his neck to prevent infection is not a whit less superstitious than the black man who wears an amulet for a similar purpose. So far as potential results are concerned, the savage is certainly the better off, because his spirits and courage are thereby sustained in times of danger by a faith which never wavers. The quack remedies to cure all ills, so extensively advertised throughout Christendom, are but the civilized counterpart of the black and white magic of the savage "medicine-man."

As the result of various external influences, the savage is rapidly disappearing; he is either dying out or his customs are undergoing changes of far-reaching significance; in fact his whole social system is being completely revolutionized and changed for the worse.

Many causes have contributed to bring about this result, the responsibility for which must be shared by the missionaries and travelers, traders and settlers, who have, in times of danger, been backed up by their respective European governments, against native rights.

No man who knows anything regarding the labors of Christian missionaries among the "heathen," will call in question their zeal and devotion to that cause which they, rightly or wrongly, hold to be the highest on earth—the desire to make the barbarian a better man in this world and to save him from eternal damnation in the next. The student of man has particular reason to be grateful to the missionary for his careful studies of native languages and sociology.

Again, the missionary has frequently been the sole defender of native rights against the aggressions and encroachments of a "superior" but intruding race. It may truly be said, that devout Christian men like Selwyn in New Zealand, Colenso in South Africa, and Whipple in the United States, will be long remembered by the anthropologist when their names have been forgotten by their fellow Christians. They at least have not hesitated to defend the natural rights of the aborigines, against the greed and avarice of their own countrymen. But all missionaries are not Colensos or Whipples, and it will ever be a matter for the deepest regret that in many instances they have too readily forsaken the Gospel of Peace for

the sword, even going to the extent of advocating the utter extermination of the race whose souls they had previously declared to be in danger of everlasting damnation.

Is it not recorded in a British Blue Book that a missionary clergyman in 1878 wrote to Sir Bartle Frere—who at that time was Governor of Cape Colony—advocating “the utter extermination of the Zulus” which alone “would secure future peace in South Africa,” and said that this merciful advice had not only the approbation “of Queen Victoria and our own conscience,” but of Almighty God Himself? Verily, a truly hideous parody on the injunction “Love your enemies,” especially this particular enemy who was endeavoring to protect his native soil from the grasp of the white man.

Lord Carnarvon on one occasion promised the missionaries in Zululand, that if they were unable to carry on their work without armed support, they were to have it.

Cetewayo, the Zulu king, complained that not only did missionaries spread false reports about his country, but they encouraged his subjects who had committed breaches of native law, to fly to them for protection, under the pretense of becoming Christians but in reality to escape punishment, and that the missionaries desired to set up another power in the land, which he himself, as king, could not allow.

Cases have been recorded by missionaries where they themselves have attacked the natives in order to avenge what in their opinion was an outrage, but which in fact was an act of self-defense on the part of the savage.

Native usage and custom are continually set at defiance and susceptibilities outraged by actions which are in the highest degree contemptible. On the Slave Coast for example, the people believe the rain-god to be a man who rides a horse, hence in the town where the god resides, no person is permitted by native law to ride horseback. Missionaries have attempted to deride local prejudice and have been pelted with sticks and mud by the people whose feelings they thus wantonly disregarded. In other directions they have carried matters with a high hand and have not hesitated to flog natives into submission—women *not* excepted.

In East Africa a thief was given nine dozen lashes by the missionaries, and was told that if he was afterward found on certain territory, the people were at liberty to kill him! In another instance the directors of a certain mission not only sanctioned flogging, but issued a letter for the guidance of their missionaries in which cor-

poral punishment was strongly advised, although this was in direct defiance of British law.

Missionary prudery has been responsible for the introduction of pulmonary and other complaints. They have decked their heathen converts in European clothing with the result that disease has quickly followed the change of native practice. The Rev. Archibald E. Hunt, of the London Missionary Society, speaking some years ago before a learned society in London, said that experience gained after ten years residence in Polynesia and New Guinea proved that the introduction of foreign goods, foreign clothing, intoxicating liquor, and foreign diseases were destroying the native population; but that the introduction of foreign clothing *was one of the most fatal elements* in the natives' extinction. He declared that in this matter the missionaries have to bear a share of the responsibility. Invariably adopted from a love of display, rather than for any other reason, the native generally wears his foreign clothing during the daytime. Then at night when it can be no longer seen, he throws it off, sits in the cool night air, wet or fine, without anything on. The natural result is the introduction of pleurisy, pneumonia, and other chest and lung diseases which cause terrible havoc. Native girls complain that whereas, in the heathen days, although naked they could go about unmolested, as soon as European clothing is adopted they become the victims of rude attention on the part of the young men, who had previously shown no disposition to interfere with them.

The mission field has also been a field of contention between numerous Christian sects, each holding itself up as the sole way of salvation. Natives ask, and rightly ask, how *can* they know which is right. The consequence of this unfortunate rivalry has been to set Catholic proselytes against Protestant converts, resulting, as in the case of Fiji, in civil war between the two sects. Nor can such a state of affairs be wondered at when we have mission "scholars" ask the question: "In what year was the Christian youth in Scotland put to death by the Papists?" In one instance a Protestant missionary circulated a picture representing all Roman Catholics being tormented in hell-fire, surrounded by a crowd of Wesleyans, with an accurate portrait of their head missionary in the center, all evidently enjoying the frizzling of their Catholic competitors.

A native in Rotumah, asked to explain the nature of the sermons he had heard said: "Suppose men do good, give plenty copra<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The dry kernel of the coconut which still retains its oil, very valuable as an article of trade, and exported at a profit by the missionaries themselves.

mission, he go heaven too quick. Suppose do bad, Devil catch him take him Helly."

That many missionaries forget the lesson of Christ and the money-changers, and have their eyes set on the loaves and fishes, as well as the souls of the "perishing heathen," is proved by the fact that they are often great traders in the countries of their ministrations. In the New Hebrides, it has been stated by the Deputy Commissioner for the Western Pacific that "the missionaries nearly all trade" and will cheat and drive hard bargains. In Tonga they actually passed a law forbidding the manufacture of native cloth in order that foreign goods might be imported and sold at a profit.

If this be the spirit which animates many of those who preach Christ crucified, what may one expect from the pioneer and settler with whom the native comes in contact and who are often the first representatives of that civilization which may eventually prove the bane of the savage? Missionaries are, in the great majority of instances, moral men, but one cannot say the same of many other representatives of the white race. The missionary may, with the highest motives, attempt to rob the savage of his religion, but the settler robs him of his land and is animated by greed. Everywhere that the white race spreads, disease and alcohol follow in the train. All over the savage world, native industry is being ruined by the introduction of European goods. In Africa enamel ware and Manchester goods are fast displacing the beautiful products of native handicraft. Writing of the Melanesians, Bishop Codrington tells us that the older natives complain that iron, tobacco, calico, and a wider knowledge of the world have not compensated them for the new diseases and breaking-down of old social bonds. The sole little town in Thursday Island is chiefly composed of stores and grog shanties; it is impossible to pass along the only street without meeting natives helplessly, if not violently, drunk.

Some years since, a Christian negro from the West Coast of Africa, while on a visit to England produced a bag which contained an idol and said: "This repulsive object is what we worshiped in times past. Now I will show you what England has sent to be our God to-day"—and he produced a gin bottle.

The imposition of the Hut Tax in Africa by the British Administration has been largely responsible for far-reaching social change. Natives now desert their kraals and crowd two or three families into one hut in order to escape payment of the tax. Many youths refuse to marry because of this tax, and loose living has in consequence greatly increased. Black suffragettes have appeared

on the scene who refuse to prepare the family meals unless their husbands supply them with European clothing. Unmarried men who work for European masters purchase their own food, which of course was formerly supplied by the women.

In North America, the Indians are discarding fur garments and now rig themselves out in the cast-off rags of the white trader (Fig. 40).

The introduction of European schools and methods of education has resulted in the production of a special brand of cultured



Fig. 40. GROUP OF DENE INDIANS—DOG-RIBS OF GREAT SLAVE LAKE—IN EUROPEAN CLOTHING.

(From *Anthropos, Revue internationale d'ethnologie*, 1907.)

savages—an idle, conceited, discontented class who deliberately refuse manual work because of this education and who desire employment in clerical and other light work. This clerical education has filled the native with a sense of his own importance and superiority over his uncontaminated and illiterate brother. The emancipated gentleman becomes dissatisfied with his personal appearance. He dislikes his black face, so he bleaches the skin to make it white: he objects to his short, kinky hair, so he uses "Magic Hair Straight-

ener" to make is grow straight like the white man's. Refusing manual labor, he desires to become a scholar, to make himself a gentleman and obtain a nice soft job. Let us read a letter from a colored Kaffir gentleman to his "dear brother" in which such a desire is expressed with irrepressible insistence:

BURGHERSDORP 7. 1st '07.

DEAR BROTHER

I have the honor to let you know that we are all still well through the mercy of our Lord God, hoping the same from you dear Brother: will you be so kind and send for me 15/- shillings if you have got it. I want to come up to Johannesburg to you. I want to work in the office writing pass so my Brother be so kind and good and send for me 15/- please soon my dear Brother, if there is any allowings to send it down for me, so my Brother, I thing you will do so and send the 15/- shilling by next week if you have got it, further we are all still well, dont you think very bad of me my dear Brother I am just asking you if you have got it to send me. I want to go up to you one thing you must get me a work, a nice job an easy one please my swaar if you got the money please my swaar. I am just asking 15/- shillg for coming up to you there at Joeburg.

I conculsion my letter so far

yours swaar

Box 42, Location.

F. B. L.

It may indeed be too early to foretell the ultimate result of the revolutionary change which is now taking place in all phases of savage culture. Sufficient data, however, have been placed before the reader to indicate its far-reaching character, and the opinion which forces itself on one's mind fills us with strange foreboding as to the final destiny of the uncultured races of man.

To minimize the significance of this change seems to us impossible. Many races hitherto healthy have become the prey of diseases previously unknown, and introduced from without. Native home life is being undermined in every direction; venerated customs handed down for ages are held up to scorn by the white intruder and declared to be the work of the Devil and all his angels. Every single belief or custom is being transformed, with the inevitable result that the social fabric is falling to the ground, with nothing of permanent value to take its place.

Superstition to the savage is a moral force; it compels him to

adopt certain lines of conduct which are ethical in their results. The Europeanized emancipated colored gentleman now laughs at former fears, and discarding his own stern law which forbade him spitting, now cheerfully cleans your pots and pans with his own saliva. Black magic, in that direction at least, has no terrors for the civilized savage.

Burgersdorp  
7<sup>th</sup> Jan 59

Dear Brother

I have the honour to let you know that we are all still well through the mercy of our Lord God, hoping the same from you dear Brother will you be so kind and send for me 15/- shillings if you have got it I want to come up to Johannesburg to you I want to work in the office writing papers to my brother be so kind and good and send for me 15/- please soon my dear Brother if there is any allowance to send it down for me to my Brother I think you will do so and send the 15/- shilling by next week if you have got it further we are all still well don't you think very bad of me my dear Brother I am just asking you if you have got it to send me I want to go up to you one thing you must get me a work a nice job and lastly one please my Kuzan if you got the money please my Kuzan I am just asking 15/- shilling for coming up to you dear at Solburg

Box 42 I conclude on my letter for  
L.H. 2992 Kuzan A.B. 6/2/59

Fig. 41. COPY OF A LETTER FROM AN EDUCATED KAFFIR

To his "dear brother," asking him for 15/ and a nice easy job.

(Photo from original in author's possession.)

It would be difficult to point to any savage race which has really benefitted—morally and physically—by contact with a higher civilization. One of two results have followed. Either the aboriginal has disappeared altogether, or moral and physical degenera-

tion has set in. Hence it is in the highest degree probable that the savage is doomed to disappear from the earth, and in his place a hybrid race will spring up, only in its turn to go the way of the mammoth and the cave-bear.

## THE BOOK OF TOBIT AND THE HINDU-CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE IDEAL.

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

ALL Christians have heard that marriages are made in heaven; the Quakers believe that God will choose you a wife if you will listen to Him (see story at the end); while down to our own times the Armenians have kept up the platonic marriages of the early Church. The researches of Conybeare have made it possible at last to translate a long-misunderstood passage in Corinthians:

"If any man considers he is not behaving properly to the maid who is his spiritual bride, if his passions are strong and if it must be so, then let him do what he wants—let them be married." (1 Cor. vii. 36, translated by Moffatt: London, 1913.)

An Armenian folk-tale (told me orally) relates that a traveler asked for a night's rest, and the only bed was that of the host and his platonic wife. The former vacated in honor of the traveler. Suspended above the bed was a sieve, which began to leak. It was explained that this sieve supernaturally held water, but leaked if an impure thought occurred. The husband assured the guest that the sieve had successfully retained the water during the years of his spiritual marriage.

Conybeare has shown that the medieval chivalry about love goes back to this early Christian practice. But is the New Testament its only literary source? We have used the word *platonic*, and many people imagine that Plato has some transcendental marriage ideas. Unfortunately the student knows better: the exalted passion of Plato refers to men, not women.

For centuries there stood these words in the marriage ritual of the English Church:

"Look down, O Lord! from the heavens and bless this meeting. And as Thou didst send Thy holy angel Raphael to Tobias and Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, so wilt Thou deign, O Lord, to send Thy blessing upon these young people."

Of course, the pair heard this in Latin unless they were Lollards; and after the Reformation, the Tobias and Sarah were changed into Isaac and Rebekah, and again into Abraham and Sarah. But the deuterocanonical characters were perpetuated even in English, in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI.

The allusion to Tobias is especially appropriate in view of the English law which forbids a marriage to take place after the hour of noon. The reason behind this will appear in the sequel. That Shakespeare appears unconscious of any delay in the finalities of marriage would be an argument against the supposed fact that he was a Roman Catholic.

I doubt if any one but a Catholic or a Lutheran understands the implication which was present in the Middle Ages to the minds of well-read people who heard the name Tobias, or who saw his pictured story on the stained glass of church windows, like those at Banwell in Somersetshire.<sup>1</sup> This is because our modern London and New York Bible Societies have long refused to print the middle books between the Old Testament and the New—those valuable historical documents and not less valuable romances called by Protestants "The Apocrypha." Not only so, but even if the English reader goes to the Book of Tobit in his Protestant versions, he will miss the central feature of the love-story, which is only found in the Catholic Vulgate and in one Hebrew manuscript, known only to scholars. The story may be found in Rabbi Gaster's translation of this manuscript in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology* for 1896, as well as in all translations made from Jerome's Vulgate. It is therefore accessible to readers of the Douai Version or of Luther's noble old German, because both are made from the Vulgate (the Douai throughout, of course, and Luther's for this particular book). I love to fancy that some Pennsylvania mystic beside the Wissahickon in 1743 might have shown the story, in his newly printed German Bible, published by Christopher Sauer, to the astonished Anglo-American, who had never seen it before. It is piquantly curious that the two great Puritan nations should be strangers thereto. Here it is, in the Catholic version of 1609:

"Then the angel Raphael said to him (Tobias): Hear me, and I will show thee who they are over whom the Devil can prevail. For they who in such manner receive matrimony as to shut out God from themselves and from their mind, and to give themselves

<sup>1</sup> Brought from Belgium about 1855, but dating from the sixteenth century.

to their lust, as the horse and mule, which have not understanding, over them the Devil hath power. But thou, when thou shalt take her, go into the chamber, and for three days keep thyself continent from her, and give thyself to nothing else but to prayers with her. And on that night lay the liver of the fish on the fire, and the Devil shall be driven away. But the second night thou shalt be admitted into the society (*copulatione*) of the holy patriarchs. And the third night thou shalt obtain a blessing that sound children may be born of you. And when the third night is past, thou shalt take the virgin with the fear of the Lord, moved rather for love of children than for lust, that in the seed of Abraham thou mayest obtain a blessing in children. . . .

"Then the angel Raphael took the Devil and bound him in the desert of Upper Egypt. Then Tobias exhorted the virgin and said to her: Sarah, arise, and let us pray to God to-day and to-morrow and the next day: because for these three nights we are joined to God: and when the third night is over, we shall be in our own wedlock. For we are the children of saints, and we must not be joined together like heathens that know not God."<sup>2</sup> (Tobit or Tobias vi. 16-22; viii. 3-5, Vulgate-Douai version.)

This story is not in the common English versions, which are translated from the Greek of the Septuagint. That the story was once in the Greek may be suspected from the words in chapter viii: "I take this my sister, not for lust, but in truth." And the spirituality of marriage is further enforced by the words in chapter vi (omitted by the Vulgate): "Fear not, for she is appointed unto thee from the beginning" (*from the eon*).

It is a curious fact that during Jerome's literary activity at Bethlehem, the Fourth Council of Carthage, held in 398, decreed as follows:

"Canon 13. The bridegroom and the bride must be presented to the priest by their relatives or the bridesmaids, when they are going to receive from him the nuptial blessing; and when they have received it, they must observe continence, out of respect for the same, for the night after this blessing."

The Church afterward extended this period of abstinence to

<sup>2</sup> There is a direct allusion to this in 1 Thess. iv. 4, 5: "Each of you should learn to take a wife for himself chastely and honorably, not to gratify sensual passion, like the Gentiles in their ignorance of God" (Moffatt's version, 1913). Cuthbert Latey, the Catholic translator, also 1913, follows Westcott and Hort in deducing the italics from Jer. x. 25 and Ps. lxxix. 6, but neither of these texts has *God*, being in the second person. That Paul was thinking of Tobit is manifest from the subject in hand. The Lutheran version rightly refers to Tobit.

three nights, evidently in imitation of Tobias, as indicated by the English rubric.

For a long time it was fancied by Protestants that, as the three nights were not in the Septuagint, the Old Latin, or the late Aramaic, they were a little joke of Jerome's, a pious invention of his, to encourage chastity. But in 1896, Moses Gaster of London found a Hebrew manuscript in the British Museum which contains the story, and he believed that this version was affiliated to the lost Aramaic which Jerome had used for his Vulgate. Other scholars do not agree with Gaster, and as this manuscript dates only from the thirteenth century, there is just a chance that it may have been influenced by the Vulgate.

All misgivings about Jerome may be dismissed, however, for, as Franklin Edgerton, the learned Sanskrit scholar of the University of Pennsylvania, has told me, the three nights are Hindu. They are in the Brahmin manual of domestic religion (*Grihiya Sûtras*). Sure enough, I have found them in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vols. XXIX and XXX, where they recur in every recension of this famous manual. The form known as Pâraskara says this:

"Through a period of three nights they shall eat no saline food; they shall sleep on the ground; through one year they shall refrain from conjugal intercourse, or through a period of twelve nights, or of six nights, or at least of three nights." (*S. B. E.*, XXIX, p. 286.)

Most recensions have three nights only, but that of Aqvalâyana adds that, if they abstain for a year, their son will be a prophet (Rishi). Here we have a possible germ of the Virgin Birth. Moreover, *the first three nights are spent in religious exercises*; the bridegroom (or both bridegroom and bride) sacrifice at sunset and sunrise with invocations to the gods. At dawn on the fourth day the ceremony for consummation begins, and they say almost in the words of Tobias: "May we live a hundred autumns!"

The Iranian background of Tobit is already familiar, with the Aryan dog-companionship and demonology (Asmodeus = *Aeshma daeva*). But here we have a Hindu background and an Iranian too. In the Hindu theory there is a demon present at marriage, the *gandharva*, who is anxious to participate in the pleasures. By means of abstinence or moderation this demon is warded off, and a higher power is invoked, which insures better offspring. This is the real meaning of Asmodeus being exorcised by the sacrifice. Asmodeus is merely a Hellenized form of an Iranian name; and

this name in turn is only another case of the familiar phenomenon of Hindu ideas being transformed in Persia.

The lost Aramaic used by Jerome was nearer to the Hindu-Persian original than the Greek or any other extant version, and the Roman Church deserves great credit for adhering to this Oriental text.

That the three nights are Iranian is rendered pretty certain by their observance to date in the Armenian Church. My learned friend Frank Normant assures me of this. At the wedding the priest ties a silken thread around the pair. The bride wears this thread until the third day after the ceremony, when the priest removes it. After this the marriage is consummated. Armenians regard as sacrilegious our rough and ready nuptials. As observed above, the English Church attempted to mitigate the custom by prohibiting marriage after noon. It is just these vital things that are always dealt with by a whole-souled religion.

A Russian Jew in Philadelphia has assured me that when he was in Russia, late in the last century, a period of abstinence was regularly observed by Jewish brides and grooms.

The influence of Tobit in the Christian Church has been immense, and in Catholic countries Tobias is a common name. Indeed many a dog is called Toby to-day in remembrance of Tobias's, and a famous religious joke relates to this exemplary dog. Said a Protestant disputant to a Catholic (because in the Vulgate the dog wags his tail): "I can prove to you, according to the Council of Trent, that if you don't believe that Tobias's dog wagged his tail, you'll be damned!"

Little did we dream that our spiritualization of marriage was not merely derived from the love of Christ for the Church, but from the daily life of Hindus for immemorial ages.

Euripides, on the last page of the *Alcestis*, makes Hercules say to Admetus, after the return of Alcestis from the other world:

"Not yet is it right for thee to hear her speech until by the gods who reign below *she shall be deconsecrated, and the third morn shall come.*"

I owe this literal translation to Walter Woodburn Hyde, of the University of Pennsylvania. Henry Leffmann, who pointed out the passage, seemed to think that the third morn referred to our present subject; but may it not more probably be a reversal of the three days after death? In the Avesta and the original text of Mark, the soul rises up in the other world *after three days*. Paul, with Euripides, makes it the third day. However, it is quite

likely that, in the ancient mind, there was a direct connection between the three days after marriage and the three days after death.

In modern times, the despised Seer of Poughkeepsie, Andrew Jackson Davis (1826-1910), wrote the philosophy of the universe in five volumes. The fourth of these was called *The Reformer* (Boston, 1855). The style is inflated, and the book has never ranked as literature. Nevertheless, it has an element of originality, for the only reform insisted upon is sex hygiene and control. When this is carried out, a finer type of children will be born, and all the problems will settle themselves!

In 1886 a physician told me that he had advised his son to observe continence in the early days of marriage, and was proud when the boy reported two weeks thereof. The physician was a Protestant and was almost certainly ignorant of the Vulgate story. A freethinking friend, when recently told of the Tobias nights, replied in substance: "I never heard of that, but I did it myself." Many an orthodox Christian would have been happier if he had done so too.

In conclusion I will transcribe from a Quaker autobiography of the eighteenth century an actual example of Divine guidance in marriage. It is taken from the Autobiography of David Ferris (Philadelphia, 1825), written shortly before his death, which occurred in 1779. The incident belongs to the year 1734.

"After I had been about six months in Philadelphia, I requested to be taken into membership with Friends; and was accordingly, received. Some time after I had joined the Society, I began to think of settling myself, and to marry, when the way should appear without obstruction; which was not then the case. I considered *marriage* to be the most important concern in this life. 'Marriage,' said the apostle, 'is honourable in all.' I concluded he meant that it was *honourable* to all who married from pure motives, to the right person, and in the proper way and time, as divine Providence should direct. I believed it best for most men to marry; and that THERE WAS, FOR EACH MAN, ONE WOMAN THAT WOULD SUIT HIM BETTER THAN ANY OTHER. It appears to me essential that all men should *seek for wisdom and wait for it*, to guide them in this important undertaking; because, NO MAN, WITHOUT DIVINE ASSISTANCE, IS ABLE TO DISCOVER WHO IS THE RIGHT PERSON FOR HIM TO MARRY; but the Creator of both can and will direct him. And why, in such an important concern, should we not seek for counsel, as well as in matters of minor consequence? There is, moreover, greater danger of

erring in this than in some other concerns, from our being too impatient to wait for the pointings of divine Wisdom; lest by so doing, we might lose some supposed benefit. It is common for young people to think and say, 'I would not marry such a person; for certain reasons: such as the want of beauty, wit, education,' etc.; and to affirm that they could not love such a one: but we may err by an over-hasty conclusion, as well as by any other neglect of our true Guide.

"I now propose to give some hints of my own proceedings in this concern. Near the place of my residence there lived a comely young woman, of a good, reputable family; educated in plainness; favoured with good natural talents; and in good circumstances. Every view of the case was favourable to my wishes.

"By some hints I had received, it appeared probable that my addresses would be agreeable to her; and some of my best friends urged the attempt. From inattention to my heavenly Guide, I took the hint from man; and following my own inclination, I moved without asking my divine Master's advice. I went to spend an evening with the young woman, if I should find it agreeable when there. She and her mother were sitting together; and no other person present. They received me in a friendly manner; but I think I had not chatted with them more than half an hour, before I heard something, like a still small voice, saying to me, 'Seekest thou great things for thyself?—seek them not.' This language pierced me like a sword to the heart. It so filled me with confusion, that I was unfit for any further conversation. I endeavoured to conceal my disorder; and soon took my leave, without opening, to either the mother or her daughter, the subject which had led me to visit them. And I, afterwards, had substantial reason to think it was well for me that I had failed in this enterprize.

"I was so confused and benumbed by this adventure that I did not recover my usual state for several months; though I could not suddenly see that my error was acting without permission; but began to suppose that I should never be suffered to marry; and should have to pass my life without a companion, or a home. I endeavoured to be resigned to this view; supposing it was the Lord's will; but, for several months, it was a severe trial. At length I was brought to submit, and say, 'Amen.' This simple account of my visit to that young woman, is designed as a warning to others; that they may shun the snare into which I was so near falling.

"I shall now relate another of my movements, with respect to marriage, which I believe was a right one; as it terminated to lasting

satisfaction. It may appear strange to some: as if I married in the cross; and, I suppose, few will be inclined to follow my example. Yet, if the divine Teacher of truth and righteousness be attended to, it may be the lot of some. After I had been much mortified and humbled, under a sense of my former mis-step, I went, one day, to a Friend's house to dine. As I sat at the table, I observed a young woman sitting opposite to me, whom I did not remember ever to have seen before. My attention, at that time, being otherwise engaged, I took very little notice of her; but a language very quietly, and very pleasantly, passed through my mind, on this wise, 'If thou wilt marry that young woman, thou shalt be happy with her.'<sup>9</sup> There was such a degree of divine virtue attending the intimation, that it removed all doubt concerning its origin and Author. I took a view of her, and thought she was a goodly person; but, as we moved from the table, I perceived she was lame. The cause of her lameness I knew not; but was displeased that I should have a cripple allotted to me. It was clear to me, beyond all doubt, that the language I had heard was from heaven; but I presumptuously thought I would rather choose for myself. The next day the subject was calmly presented to my mind, like a query, 'Why shouldst thou despise her for her lameness? it may be no fault of hers. Thou art favoured with sound limbs, and a capacity for active exertion: and would it not be kind and benevolent in thee, to bear a part of her infirmity, and to sympathize with her? She may be affectionate and kind to thee: and thou shalt be happy in a compliance with thy duty.' Notwithstanding all this, I continued to reason against these convictions; alleging that it was more than I could bear. The enemy of my happiness was busily engaged, in raising arguments against a compliance with my duty, suggesting that it was an unreasonable thing that I should be united to a lame wife; and that every one who knew me, would admire at my folly.<sup>3</sup> Thus, from day to day, and week to week, I reasoned against it; until at length, my kind Benefactor, in a loving and benevolent manner, opened to my view, that, if I were left to choose for myself, and to take a wife to please my fancy, she might be an affliction to me all the days of my life: and lead me astray, so as to endanger my future happiness. Or she might fall into vicious practices; notwithstanding that, at the time of her marriage, she might be apparently virtuous; it was, therefore, unsafe to trust to my natural understanding. On

<sup>3</sup> The author's person was rather uncommonly good, and it is probable he might have thought too highly of personal excellence. [Note by the Quaker editor of 1825.]

the other hand, here was a companion provided for me by unerring Wisdom; so that I might rely with safety on the choice. Still I was unwilling to submit. But heavenly kindness followed me, in order to convince me that it would be best to comply, and no longer resist the truth. At length it pleased the Lord, once more, clearly to show me that if I would submit, it should not only tend to my own happiness, but that a blessing should rest on my posterity. This was so great a favour, and manifested so much divine regard, that I no longer resisted; but concluded to pay the young woman a visit, and open the subject for her consideration; but after I had laid my proposition before her, I still had hopes that I might be excused; and only visited her occasionally. During this time, for several months, I endured great trials and afflictions, before I was fully resigned. But, after divine Goodness had prevailed over my rebellious nature, all things relating to my marriage wore a pleasant aspect. The young woman appeared beautiful; and I was prepared to receive her as a gift from heaven; fully as good as I deserved. We waited about six months for my parent's consent, from New-England, (a conveyance by letter being at that time difficult to obtain,) and accomplished our marriage on the thirteenth of the Ninth month, 1735, in the city of Philadelphia.

"It is now forty years since we married; and I can truly say, that I never repented it; but have always regarded our union as a proof of divine kindness. I am fully sensible there was no woman on earth so suitable for me as she was. And all those things which were shown me, as the consequence of my submission, are punctually fulfilled. A blessing has rested on me and my posterity. I have lived to see my children, arrived to years of understanding, favoured with a knowledge of the Truth; (which is the greatest of all blessings;) and some of them, beyond all doubt, are landed in eternal felicity."

We cannot end better than with the immortal words of Swedenborg:

"THE DELIGHTS OF ADULTEROUS LOVE BEGIN FROM THE FLESH AND ARE CARNAL EVEN IN THE SPIRIT; BUT THE DELIGHTS OF MARRIAGE LOVE BEGIN IN THE SPIRIT, AND ARE SPIRITUAL EVEN IN THE FLESH."—(*De Amore Conjugiali*: Amsterdam, 1768, par. 440.)

## THE COSMIC FEET.

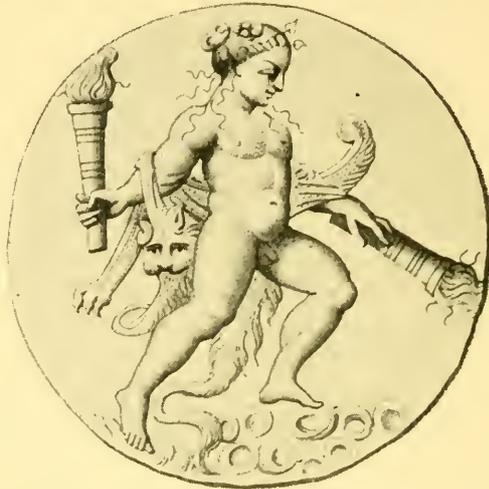
BY LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN.

IN mythology the sky is sometimes taken for a solid surface, sometimes for an upper sea; while the solar, lunar, and other celestial deities are conceived as traveling on their own feet, or on horses, in chariots, in boats, etc.

Solar, lunar, and stellar boats have prominent places in the mythology of the Egyptians; but in another view their celestial deities cross the heaven on foot. Thus the sun-god Ra is "the great walker who goes (daily) over the same course"—"his form is that of the walker"—he is "the walking god" ("Litany of Ra," I, 62, 72; II, 17, in *Records of the Past*, VIII, pp. 111 et seq.). In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, Ra is a "Runner," to whom it is said: "Thou stridest over the heaven, being glad of heart" (XV). His "strides are long as he lifteth up his legs"; and he steps over the supports with which Shu upholds the heaven, passing through "the gate of the lord of the east" (*ibid.*, XCII, CVII). Even when the Egyptians symbolized the sun by a winged human eye, the latter was sometimes figured with the legs and feet of a man (*Book of the Dead*, Saïte Recension, Turin papyrus, vignette to CLXIII). Among the literary hieroglyphics, a pair of human legs (with feet) have the primary significance of *moving forward, advancing*; and according to Horapollo, "The feet conjoined and advancing symbolize the course of the sun in the winter solstice" (*Hieroglyph.*, II, 13), as probably suggested by the fact that the sun's annual advance northward begins at that solstice. In the Mexican pictograph codices we find a pair of feet with three rods (for light) radiating from the ankle of each foot (Churchward, *Signs and Symbols*, p. 220, figure).

In one Hindu view the sun-god crosses the heaven in three steps—"Vishnu traversed this world; three times he planted his foot"—"he stepped three steps"—which are explained as belonging to the eastern mountain, the meridian sky, and the western mountain (*Rigveda*, I, 17, 18, 22). In Psalm xix. 5, the rising sun "rejoiceth as a strong man (or giant) to run a race" (cf. Eccles. i. 15), just as Ra the Runner strides over the heaven, "glad in heart." In Job xx. 14, Jehovah in his solar character "walks in the circuit of heaven" (the zodiac path), and *ibid.* ix. 8, "he treadeth

upon the heights of the sea (Heb., *bamothe yam*: A. V., 'waves of the sea')"—i. e., upon the waters above, which were divided from those below at the time of the creation (Gen. i. 6, 7). In Psalm xxix. 3, "the God of glory thundereth: the Lord is upon many waters"; and *ibid.* civ. 3, God "makes the clouds his chariot" and "walks upon the wings of the wind." In Habakkuk iii. 15, it is said to Jehovah: "Thou didst walk through the sea with thy horses"—the celestial sea here being intended, while the horses are apparently wind symbols. But Jehovah is obviously conceived as walking on dry land in Nahum i. 3, where "the clouds are the dust of his feet."



THE SOLAR DIONYSUS WALKING ON THE WAVES OF THE  
CELESTIAL SEA.

(From *Gazette archéologique*, Vol. I, Plate 2).

On a gold plate found in Syria, the solar Dionysus, the great traveler of Greek mythology, is figured walking on the waves of the celestial sea, with an upright torch in his right hand (for the morning light), while in his left hand he holds an inverted torch (for the evening light.—*Gazette archéolog.*, I, p. 5 and Plate 2). The Norse solar god Vidar, who will finally slay the wolf Fenrir (the night and underworld), walks noiselessly on both air and water (*Elder Edda*, "Skaldskap," 35); the boar that killed Frey runs on sea and air (*Younger Edda*, I, 43); and a famous Danish sea commander, Odde, could traverse the ocean without a ship, raise storms, etc. (Saxo Grammaticus, p. 249; Thorpe, *North. Mythol.*, I, p. 215). The Scandinavian Ullr, probably a solar figure of

winter, crosses the sea on a bone (Saxo Gram., p. 130), which Finn Magnusen explains as skates (*Lex. Mythol.*, p. 765); and the Scandinavian "golden shoes of Parādisē" enable the wearer to walk on water and air (Brewer, *Dict. Phrase and Fable*, s. v. "Golden Slipper"). In the Persian *Shah Namēh*, both Feridun and Kai-Khosrau walk across a river without wetting their feet (De Gubernatis, *Zoo. Myth.*, I, p. 117). Proclus says that "the aquatic in divine natures indicates a providential inspection and government inseparable from water; hence also the oracle calls these gods water-walkers" (*Tim.*, IV). Among Masonic symbols we find a pair of feet walking on water (Oliver, *Initiation*, p. 156).

Job refers to the moon as "walking in brightness" (xxxix. 26). The Greek Circe, a lunar figure, walks on the waves—"on these, as though on the firm shore, she impresses her footsteps, and with dry feet skims along the surface of the water," as Ovid has it (*Met.*, XIV, 1). The reflection of the moon on the sea appears to be represented by Cymopolia (= wave-walker), a daughter of Poseidon (Neptune, the terrestrial sea) according to Hesiod (*Theog.*, 819). But the walker or runner on water sometimes has the character of the wind, as in the case of Iphicles, the swift runner of Homer, who runs on the growing grain without bending it, as well as on the surface of the sea (*Il.*, XXIII, 636, etc.). Both marvels were attributed to Camilla, queen of the Volsci, according to Virgil, who says that she ran over the water without wetting her feet (*Aen.*, VIII, 803; XI, 433).

The Greek Poseidon traveled over the terrestrial sea on horses or sea-monsters (*Il.*, XIII, 17, etc.), as did his son Triton (Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.*, I, 28). Poseidon gave his giant son Orion the power of walking over the sea without wetting his feet (Apollod., I, 4, 3), and Orion was originally of solar character although finally constellated in the house of Taurus—anciently with his feet on the celestial Eridanus. The starry Orion was sacred to Horus (Plutarch, *De Iside*, 22), who is figured in a boat for the constellation in the oblong zodiac of Dendera: and in all probability this Horus-Orion is he "whose strides are long, who comes forth from Annu (the heaven)" as the first of the forty-two Assessors of the Egyptian Judgment Hall (*Book of the Dead*, CXXVb, Theban), for these figures doubtless represent the forty-two constellations recognized by some of the ancient astronomers. Another of these Assessors, placed midway in the group, is called "Leg of fire, who comest forth from Akheku" (Theban), or "Glowing feet gone out of the night" (Saïte), and probably represents the

Ophiucus of the Babylonio-Greek sphere, directly opposite Orion. The two Egyptian constellations therefore appear to be ancient representatives of the solar god as the youth and the aged, belonging respectively to spring and autumn, as to east and west.

A cosmic man of normal structure of course requires feet (and legs), which are naturally conceived as invisible. In one view his invisible feet appear to be placed on the earth, which includes the sea; across either or both of which he would be conceived to walk from east to west. In the *Vishnu Purana* the whole universe is from Vishnu, who assumes its form: the heaven coming from his head, the sun from his eyes, the earth from his feet, etc.—while the earth-goddess is said to have been produced from the sole of his foot (I, 12, 13; cf. II, 7; V, 2). In Macrobius, the late Egyptian Serapis describes himself with the heaven for his head, the sun for his eyes, the sea for his body, the earth for his feet, etc. (*Sat.*, I, 23). In an Orphic fragment preserved by Clement of Alexandria, the pantheistic Zeus is seated on his golden throne in heaven, with the earth beneath his feet (*Strom.*, V, 14); and Jehovah says the heaven is his throne and the earth his footstool (Is. lxvi. 1; Matt. v. 33, etc.). Such a cosmic figure is naturally fabled to have left impressions of his feet on the earth. Thus a cavity, some five feet long, on the summit of Adam's Peak in Ceylon, is a footprint of Siva according to the Hindus; of Buddha, according to the Buddhists; of Adam, according to the Mohammedans; of St. Thomas, according to the Christians (Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, p. 511). The Mohammedans also have a footprint of Abraham at Mecca (Sale's *Koran*, Pref. Dis., IV, 9, 84), and the ancient Irish attributed one to their "first chieftain" on the sacred stone upon which their kings or chiefs were inaugurated (Moore, *History of Ireland*, I, p. 68). In India, representations of the two feet of Vishnu and of Buddha are common objects of worship (Monier-Williams, pp. 506-514); those of Buddha sometimes being figured on a footstool under his throne (*ibid.*, p. 523). Other pairs of feet are found on ancient stones in Britain, Ireland, Australia, Central America, etc. (Churchward, *Signs and Symbols*, p. 221).

In another view, the feet and legs of the cosmic man are assigned to the underworld. Thus where the Osirified deceased is assimilated to the *pantheos* in the *Litany of Ra*, each member of his body is a subordinate god, his legs being "he who traverses the hidden places" (IV, 2, 8). When Jehovah was seen in a vision, "darkness was under his feet" (2 Sam. xxii. 10; Psalm xviii. 9).

In Daniel's symbolic image of Nebuchadnezzar, the head is of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, the legs of iron, and the feet "part of iron and part of clay" (Dan. ii. 31-33); which appears to have been suggested primarily by a cosmic man with his legs and feet in the underworld, having the sun for his head, etc. But Daniel's scheme was doubtless derived from the Persian mythology, where the four periods of the Zarthustrian millennium are respectively of gold, silver, steel, and "mixed with iron" (Dinkard, VIII; *Bahman Yast*, I, 1-5; cf. Origen, *Cont. Cels.*, VI, 22).

Again, the cosmic man appears to have his feet on the mythical underworld sea, the Biblical "waters under the earth" (Ex. xx, 4, etc.). In the *Book of the Dead* (XLII, both Recensions) the legs of the deceased are said to be those of Nut (the heaven). Horapollon says that the Egyptians, "to signify an impossibility," represented "a man's feet walking on the water," or "a headless man" (*Hieroglyph.*, I, 58). Both are well-known symbols, found in the Ramesseum at Thebes and elsewhere; but in all probability the headless man originally represented a cosmic god with his head cut off (at night), while the feet on the water belong to the same god walking on the underworld sea. In the *Book of the Dead* the deceased says, referring to the solar Ra: "I walk through his way; I know the surface of the basin Maat"—from which he passes through the gate of Set to reach the horizon (XVII, 18, 20, Saïte). Here "the basin Maat" evidently belongs to the underworld sea, and it appears that the feet of Ra in his soli-cosmic character were sometimes identified with the boat which sailed over that basin. Thus in an ancient text we read: "The soles of the two feet of this Ra-Meri (the deceased assimilated to Ra) are the double Maati boat" (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 110). "Lord of Maat upon his two feet" is the name of the upper section of the door of the hall of the double Maati (*Book of the Dead*, CXXV, Theban). *Maati* is the plural of *Maat*, and the Hall of the double Maati is the Judgment Hall in the underworld; while the goddess Maat is represented (sometimes in duplicate) in a sitting posture, her eyes sealed with wafers; which indicates that she was a figure of the dark and inactive underworld. In Egyptian, *maat* signifies truth, perhaps in some such primitive sense as that of the basis upon which knowledge stands like a man on his feet; for the "foot" or "sole of the foot" is also *maat* or *mat* in Egyptian, and the region of Maat or Maati is at the foundation of the world. As a double region or

hall it is connected with "the two horizons" of Egyptian mythology, those of the east and the west.

With the northern sky recognized as the top of the celestial sphere, as it has been from a remote antiquity, the lower world was naturally transferred by some to the region of perpetual occultation, that portion of the southern sky which is never visible to an observer in the northern hemisphere. Diodorus Siculus says that the Babylonians assign the visible constellations to the living, "and the others, which do not appear (to us), they conceive are constellations for the dead" (II, 31); while Virgil has it that the celestial north pole "is always elevated; but the other, under our feet (sic), is seen by gloomy Styx and the ghosts below": and there "dead night forever reigns in silence, and, outspread, wraps all things in darkness" (*Georg.*, I, 243, et seq.). The cosmic man is naturally conceived with his feet in this region, and we appear to have a mere variant of such a concept in connection with the identification of the arms and legs of the deceased with the four Egyptian funeral gods and the cardinal points: the two legs being assigned to Amset (the man) in the south and Qebhsennuf (the hawk-headed) in the west, while the two arms are assigned to Hapi (the ape-headed) in the north and Tuametef (the jackal-headed) in the east (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 492).

Buddha instantaneously transported himself across the Ganges, while his companions searched for boats (*Mahavagga*, VI, 28; *Book of the Great Decease*, I, 23): a great congregation of people being thus transported with him, according to the *Life of Buddha* translated into Chinese by Dharmaraksha (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, IV, 22). A brother of Purna, one of Buddha's disciples, was in extreme danger in a ship during a black storm, but the spirits that were favorable to Purna apprised the latter of the situation, and he transported himself through the air to the deck of his brother's ship; whereupon "the tempest ceased as if Sumera (the god of storms) had arrested it" (Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme*, 2d ed., p. 229). Again, when Buddha was preaching to unbelievers on the bank of a broad and rapid river near Sravasi, a man suddenly appeared "walking on the surface of it." He crossed thus to worship Buddha, and declared he was enabled to do so because he believed (*Chinese Dhammapada*, IV, 1). These three Buddhist miracles are referable primarily to the walking of the sun-god on the celestial sea: but the rivers in two of them may reasonably be recognized as counterparts of the earth-surrounding ocean-river of the ancients, opposite sides of which were crossed by the sun at his

rising and setting respectively. It was believed that the Buddhist Rishis could walk on the water, float on the air, etc. (Hardy, *Legends of Buddhism*, p. 178, etc.).

The Gospel miracle of calming the storm is performed by Jesus when crossing the Sea of Galilee on an easterly course, while he walks on the water during a voyage westward. Both miracles occur at night, which indicates that the Sea of Galilee (=Circle) was in one view a mythic counterpart of the underworld sea. But in another view it appears to represent the earth-surrounding ocean-river; for the outgoing and return voyages of Jesus correspond respectively to those of the sun at the beginning and end of night—the land to which Jesus goes, after the calming of the storm, answering to the *terra firma* of the underworld. Thus it appears that the Gospel ship of the outgoing voyage is mythically the Egyptian Sektet boat in which the sun-god sets, while that of the return voyage is the Matet boat in which the sun-god rises (see *Book of the Dead*, XV, XVb, etc.).

In Mark iv. 35-41, we doubtless have the oldest extant version of the calming of the storm by Jesus, and there we read that he suggested to the Disciples that they cross the sea, "evening being come. . . . And having dismissed the crowd, they take him with them, as he was in the ship; but also other small ships were with him (probably for those of the stars), and comes a violent storm of wind, and the waves beat into the ship, so that it already was filled. And he was on the stern, on the cushion sleeping. And they arouse him, and say to him, Teacher, is it no concern to thee that we perish? And having been aroused, he rebuked the wind, and said to the sea, Silence, be quiet. And the wind fell, and there was a great calm. And he said to them, Why are ye fearful thus? Have ye no faith?" etc. Arriving "on the other side," in "the country of the Gadarenes" (for the underworld *terra firma*), Jesus there found a man "who had his dwelling in the tombs," and dispossessed him of an unclean spirit which was also a legion of two thousand such spirits; no incident of the return voyage being related (*ibid.* v. 1-21). These stories reappear in the same order and substantially in the same form in Luke viii. 22-39, and again in Matt. viii. 16-34, where they are much abbreviated, with two possessed men instead of one. The calming of the storm by the solar god and others is found in a multitude of myths and legends which cannot be considered here.

The voyage during which Jesus calms the storm is in no way connected in the Gospels with the return voyage during which he

walks on the water; in fact, the latter begins at sunset and closes at sunrise. In Mark vi. 45-52, Jesus remains praying on a mountain (for the Egyptian Manu, the mountain of sunset, *Book of the Dead*, XV, XVb, etc.) when his Disciples start across the sea for Bethsaida on the western shore; and he enters the ship only after it has gone a long distance: "And evening being come, the ship was in the midst of the sea, and he alone on the land. And he saw them (the Disciples) laboring in rowing, for the wind was contrary to them; and about the fourth watch (the last quarter) of the night, he comes to them, walking on the sea, and would have passed them. But they, seeing him walking on the sea, thought him to be an apparition and cried out; for all saw him, and were troubled. And immediately he spoke to them, and said to them, Be of good courage; I am he; fear not. And he went to them into the ship, and the wind fell," etc. Luke omits the story altogether. John has it with some variations (vi. 16-21); stating that it was already dark when the voyage began; specifying twenty-five or thirty furlongs as the distance of the ship from its starting-place when Jesus was first seen; and adding that when he had gone aboard, "immediately the ship was at the land to which they were going." Matthew (xiv. 22-34) follows Mark in substantially the same words; saying that Jesus went to the Disciples, walking on the water, "in the fourth watch of the night," and adding the following account after the words of Jesus: "And answering him, Peter said, Lord, if it be thou, bid me to come to thee upon the waters. And he (Jesus) said, Come. And having descended from the ship, Peter walked upon the waters to go to Jesus. But seeing the wind strong, he was affrighted; and beginning to sink, he cried out, saying, Lord, save me. And immediately Jesus, having stretched out his hand, took hold of him, and said to him, O thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt? And they, having entered into the ship, the wind ceased," etc.

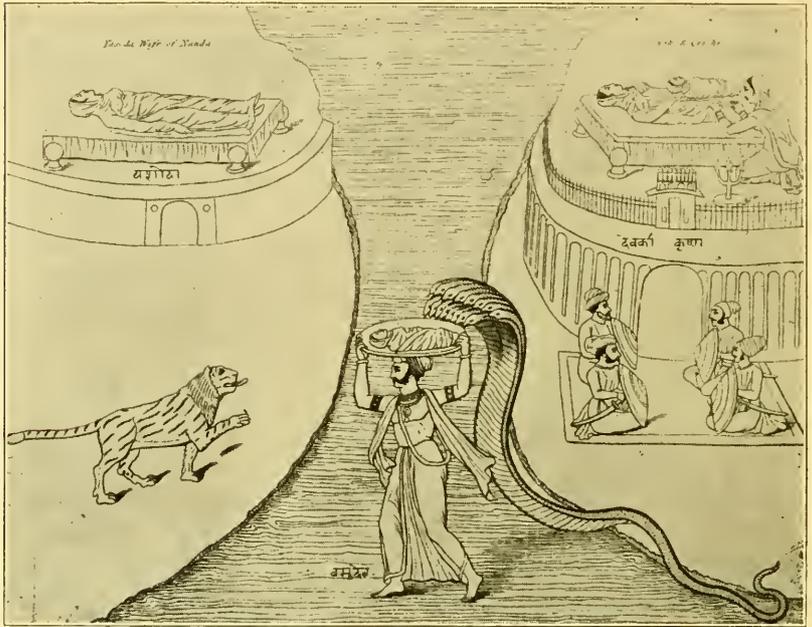
In the *Book of the Dead*, the fourth hour or watch of the night (the last quarter) is that in which "the gods of the pure waters purify themselves. . . . passing from night to day" (CXXVb, 45, 46, Saïte). It is the hour when the solar eye returns to its place on the forehead of Ra (i. e., when the sun rises—*ibid.*, CXL, 4). The close of this watch is coincident with the opening of the day, which in all probability suggested Matthew's introduction of Peter as walking on the water to Jesus shortly or immediately before the ship landed; for Peter (Petros) is the first Apostle in the Synoptic Gospels, and while the Greek name *Petros* signifies a stone (Ara-

maic *Kepha*, Grecized *Kephas*, as always for Peter in 1 Corinthians—cf. John i. 42), it was doubtless referred by the earliest Jewish-Christians to the Hebrew *peter* = opener, first-born (Ex. xiii. 12, etc.—from *patar* = to open). In Hebrew we also find a variant form, *pathah* = to open, which is radically the same as the Egyptian *Ptah* = Opener (as of the day and year); and the Egyptians had a god *Petra* = Seer, Revealer, or Appearer (see Budge, *Book of the Dead*, III, in voc.: *Gods*, I, p. 252). He is an opener in the *Book of the Dead*, where we read: "The doors of heaven are opened to me. . . and the first temple (in the heaven) hath been unfastened to me by the god Petra" (LXVIII, Theban—cf. Petros as the first Apostle with "the keys of the kingdom of heaven," in Matt. xvi. 19). Moreover, according to Mark, the ship to which Jesus (and Peter) walked goes to Bethsaida (= Fishing-town), which John says was the city of Andrew, Peter, and Philip as the first three of the twelve Apostles (i. 40-44—the two former being fishermen); whence it is probable that some of the early astronomizing Christians recognized Bethsaida as a terrestrial counterpart of the three "watery signs" as anciently taken for the threefold place of winter as the first season of the year. In connection with this view, Andrew (= Manly) would belong to Aquarius, the only man in the Babylonio-Greek zodiac, while Peter belongs to Pisces (= the Fishes), the opening sign of the spring equinox in the precessional period of about 1 to 2000 A.D.—and Peter in his astronomical character could be conceived as walking on the stream from the Water Jar of Aquarius, which flows below the constellation of Pisces. Philip therefore appears to belong to Aries in John's grouping, but he is differently placed in the Synoptic catalogues, where Peter is always the first.

Lucian satirizes the Gospel story of walking on the water in his account of the Corkfoots who skimmed over the waves as if on level ground, and who lived in Phello (= Corkplace), a city built on a large cork (*Ver. Hist.*, II, 4). Again, in his *Philopseudes* (= Lie-lovers, 13), the same author introduces a man walking on the water in broad daylight, as well as other more or less close parallels to Gospel miracles. The Christian saints Raymond and Hyacinth are both fabled to have walked on the water.

The Hindu Vasudeva is figured walking accros the river Yamuna, on the surface of the water, holding on his head a basket in which he carries the infant Krishna; thus escaping from Kansa, who is a counterpart of the Gospel Herod as a figure of the night seeking to slay the new-born solar child (Moor, *Hindu Panth.*,

Plate 58): and in a medieval legend the giant St. Christopher (= Christ-bearer) carries the infant Jesus across the Jordan on his back (Jameson and Eastlake, *Our Lord in Art*, I, pp. 430-450). Here we have the rising sun conceived as an infant unable to walk: both rivers primarily representing the earth-surrounding ocean-river across which the solar infant is carried by a figure like the Egyptian Shu upholding the sky or the sun. And in all probability these rivers were secondarily identified with the celestial Eridanus



VASUDEVA CARRYING KRISHNA ACROSS THE YAMUNA,  
WALKING ON THE WATER.

(From Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, Plate 58.)

on which the constellated Orion walks. The Eridanus is on the horizon in the house of Aries, the spring sign of about 2000-1 B. C., thus being an appropriate stream for the sun-god to cross when born at the spring equinox. The words Eridanus and Jordan are probably mere variants, having the same radical consonants.

The Greek Œdipus was so named from his swollen feet, which had been pierced, with cords passed through them, for the purpose of suspending him from a tree shortly after his birth (Apollod., III. 5, etc.). The infant Horus is "the feeble-footed"; and is

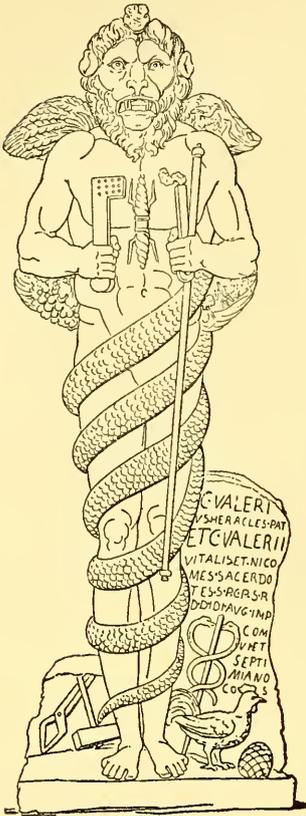
even conceived as without feet (Bonwick, *Eg. Bel.*, p. 158). Plutarch says that Harpocrates (Har-pa-krat = Horus the child) was born lame in his lower limbs, having been delivered of Isis prematurely at about the time of the winter solstice (*De Iside*, 18 and 43—the spring equinox probably being considered the proper time for his birth). The Egyptian Bes, with short and deformed legs, is sometimes identified with Ptah = the Opener (of the day and year—Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 286, Plate [see frontispiece]; *Book of the Dead*, vignette to CLXIV); and the Osirified in the underworld says, "My feet are the feet of Ptah" (*Book of the Dead*, XLII, Theban). The Greek Hephæstos also had the dwarf form in his most ancient images (Herod., III, 37); and according to Homer he was born weak and lame in both feet, on account of which defect his mother Hera dropped him from Olympos (*Il.*, XVIII, 390). Later in life, his angry father Zeus seized him by the leg and hurled him from heaven, an entire day from dawn till sunset being occupied in the fall (*Il.*, I, 590, etc.); and some classic authors ascribe his lameness to this second or daily fall, which is properly from noon till sunset. Satan, as identified with Lucifer (Is. xiv. 12, Vulg. and A. V.) is often represented lame in one foot as a result of his fall from heaven. Loki, the Evil One of Scandinavian mythology, was cast down and lamed: while the goldsmith Volund (German, Wieland), the Norse counterpart of Hephæstos (= Vulcan the smith), was bound and hamstrung by King Nidud (the underworld figure); but finally "Laughing Volund rose in air, and Nidud sad remained sitting" (*Elder Edda*, "Volundarkvida," II, 11, 16, 35). The Greek solar hero Bellerophon attempted to fly to heaven on Pegasus, but was thrown to earth and lamed (or blinded, according to some) when his horse was stung by a gadfly sent by angry Zeus (Pind., *Isth.*, VII, 44; Schol. ad *Pind. Ol.*, XIII, 130).

In the inscription of Darius at El Khargeh, Ra is "the youth and the old one" (*Records of the Past*, VIII, pp. 141, 143). In the "Litany of Ra," when he arrives in the Amenti, "his form is that of the old man" (*ibid.*, p. 110). In the *Book of Hades*, Horus (of the western horizon) is represented leaning upon a staff (*Records of the Past*, X, pp. 101, 107, 117), and so is Tum (the setting sun—*ibid.*, pp. 92, 96). Horus is the cripple-deity who "was begotten in the dark," the primordial Elder Horus of the later Egyptian theology (Plut., *De Iside*, 54); and in the *Book of the Dead*, CXXXV, "Horus is made strong each day" (Theban) or "Integrity is restored to Horus every day" (Saïte). According to Plutarch,

the Egyptians celebrated the festival of "the sun's walking-stick" on the eighth day from the end of the month Phaophi, "after the autumn equinox"; adding that this walking-stick signified that the sun "requires as it were a support and strengthening as he grows weak both in heat and light, and moves away from us, bending down and crooked" (*De Iside*, 52; cf. 69). In Greek mythology this walking-stick becomes the golden staff of Teiresias, which Athena gave him after she had blinded him, and with which he walked in safety not only in this world but also in the underworld

after his death (Apollod. III, 6, 7; Callim., *Lav. Pall.*, 75; Paus., IX, 33, 1, etc.)

Osiris is figured standing erect, with his body, legs, and feet bound and concealed like those of a mummy, while his head and arms are free. He was identified by the Greeks and Roman with Zeus or Jupiter; and Plutarch quotes Eudoxus to the effect that the Egyptians fabled that the two legs of Zeus (= Osiris) grew into one, so he could not walk, and that through shame he remained in solitude (during the night) till Isis cut his legs apart, thus restoring his powers of locomotion (*De Iside*, 62). In the *Book of the Dead* the deceased says: "I have caused the god (Osiris) to have the mastery over his two feet" in the Amenti (CXXV, Saïte). Khem, Min, or Amsu (like Osiris) has his body, legs, and feet concealed, one of his arms also being bound in the mummy envelope, while the other is raised above his head (for the solar flabellum—see *The Open Court*, Jan., 1919, p. 15); and in the *Book of the Dead* the earth-god Seb causes the deceased to stretch his legs, "which are bound together" (in the mummy envelope) before his restoration (XXVI, Theban). The Mithraic Kronos is generally figured with his legs bound together, by a serpent (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Plates 70-73; Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, 2d



THE MITRAIC KRONOS  
With His Legs Bound by the  
Serpent.\*

generally figured with his legs bound together, by a serpent (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Plates 70-73; Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, 2d

\* From Lajard, *Recherches sur Mithra*, Plate LXX.

ed., 1910, pp. 105-108); and as he often has the zodiac signs on his body, it is quite probable that he originally represented the cosmic god in winter, the old age of the year—in this view being the antithesis of the youthful Mithra as the soli-cosmic god of spring and summer. As the solar or soli-cosmic god of winter (and night), Krishna is figured with his body, legs, and arms in the coils of a serpent that bites his left heel; while in a companion piece, he dances or tramples on the serpent's head, holding its tail over his own head, free and victorious in spring and summer (as in the daytime.—Sonnerat, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, Plates 46, 47;—see *The Open Court*, *loc. cit.*, p. 17). These two Hindu figures serve to explain Gen. iii. 15, where the serpent is to bruise the heel of the woman's seed or son, while the latter is to bruise the serpent's head.

It appears that the left foot of the soli-cosmic personification was sometimes assigned to the west and the evening, while the right foot was assigned to the east and the morning; the two feet thus corresponding to two of the three steps of Vishnu. We saw above that the two feet of the soli-cosmic Ra were identified by some with the double Maati boat (of "the two horizons"); and the morning boat of the sun was Matet (= Becoming-strong), while Sektet (= Becoming-weak) was the evening boat (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 323). In the *Book of the Dead*, CXXV, the deceased in the Hall of the double Maati gives the name of his right foot as Traveler (or Guide) of the God Khas (Theban) or Khem (Saïte), and that of his left foot as Staff of the Goddess Hathor (Theban) or Nephthys (Saïte). In the Biblical story of Esau (= Hairy) and his twin brother Jacob (= Follower), the former is born first, "red all over like a hairy garment" (for the rising sun); and when the latter followed, "his hand took hold of Esau's heel" (for the night following close on the heels of the setting sun, as we would say).

One of Buddha's feet (probably the left) was injured when grazed by a fragment of a great rock pushed over by Devadatta (the wicked disciple) in the hope that it would fall on Buddha's head (*Questions of King Milinda*, IV, 28). According to Dharmaraksha's *Life of Buddha* (IV, 21), when this rock rolled down it divided into two on either side of Buddha—which appears to identify it as a symbol of the night rent asunder by the rising sun. In the Biblical story of Balaam, he and his ass with a human voice are duplicate solar figures: he "came out of the mountains of the east" (Num. xxiii. 7), and while riding on his ass along a narrow way between two walls (for the zodiac path), the animal became fright-

ened and crushed one of the rider's feet (probably the left) against one of the walls (*ibid.* xxii. 24 et seq.). Set is primarily a figure of the sun in the west and at night; and in the *Book of the Opening of the Mouth* the priest in the character of Horus says: "I have delivered mine eye from his (Set's) mouth, I have cut off his leg" (Trans. of Budge, II, p. 44). The keel of the solar boat is named "Leg of Isis, which Ra cut off with the knife to bring blood into the Sektet boat" (that of the evening, in connection with which Isis appears to be a lunar figure—*Book of the Dead*, XCIX, Theban. The Saïte has "Leg of Hathor wounded by Ra when he led the way to the Sektet boat"). The Hindu Vispala also appears to be of lunar character, for she has a leg cut off during a conflict by night; but the Aswins (as the celestial physicians) replace it with one of iron (the black metal as a symbol of darkness), so she walks as before (*Rigveda*, I, 116, 15). The Thracian Lycurgus, who was blinded by Zeus (*Il.*, VI, 130), has the character of the sun at night and in winter; and he is fabled to have cut off one or both of his own legs (the accounts differ) when stricken with madness (as of the storm—Hyginus, *Fab.*, 132, 242; Serv. *ad Aen.*, III, 14). The dwarf-king Laurin cuts off the left foot of every one who enters his rose garden (that of the western twilight—Thorpe, *North. Mythol.*, I, p. 217). The Hindu Paravrig, who is Prandha as the blind and S'rona as the lame, is cured by the Aswins (*Rigveda*, I, 112, 8) or by Indra (*ibid.*, II, 13, 12); while to the Aswins it is said: "You have made whole the lame" (*ibid.*, I, 118, 19). In a Russian tale from Afanassieff (V, 35), the beautiful Anna (for the heaven) deprives Katoma (for the sun-god) of his feet, and sends him into a forest (for the winter), where he meets a man whom Anna has blinded (for the night). Both are finally healed by rubbing the afflicted parts with the water of a fountain that turns dry twigs green—which evidently refers to the spring rains, as probably connected with the celestial Eridanus (De Gubernotis, *Zoo. Myth.*, I, pp. 218, 219).

The death of the solar personification is sometimes conceived as caused by a wound in the foot (properly the left foot, primarily as wounded at sunset). Krishna received his death wound when accidentally shot in the sole of his left foot by an arrow from the bow of the hunter Jara (= Old Age), according to the *Vishnu Purana* (V, 37—the *Bhagavata Purana* explaining that the god sat with his left leg across his right thigh, so the sole of the left foot was exposed). Cheiron died from a wounded foot; in one account having been shot by Herakles with a poisoned arrow; while in an-

other Cheiron himself dropped the arrow on his foot—the latter being in accordance with the concept of the self-slain sun-god (Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 397; Hygin., *Poet. Ast.*, II, 38). Achilles, in the post-Homeric stories, was invulnerable except in one of his heels, which was finally pierced by an arrow of Paris or Apollo (Schol. ad Lycoph., 269; Hygin., *Fab.*, 110, etc.).

Krishna restored the crippled legs and arms of an old woman by placing his foot upon hers and taking her hand in his, at the same time rejuvenating her (*Vishnu Purana*, V, 20). According to Suetonius the Emperor Vespasian cured a man's foot by treading on it with his own (*Vesp.*, 7); and that emperor was recognized by some as the Messiah expected in his time by the Jews (*ibid.*, 4, etc.). In the Egyptian belief, the legs, feet, and other parts of the body were restored to the deceased in the underworld before his ascent into the celestial regions (*Book of the Dead*, XXVI, etc.). Isis cured the lame among the living, as well as those otherwise afflicted, as Diodorus tells us (I, 2). The Hindus hold that human beings are thus afflicted because of sins in a former life on earth; lameness being specified in the *Laws of Manu* as the punishment for a horse-stealer (XI, 51), while the *Aycen-Akbery* has it for the killing of a Brahman (I, p. 445). At the incarnation of Buddha, the lame walked, the dumb spoke, the deaf heard, the blind received sight, etc. (Rhys-Davids, *Birth Stories*, p. 64). Among the "cures performed by Apollo and Æsculapius," as recorded on a stele found at Epidaurus, we have the two that follow: "Hermodicus, of Lamp-sacus, paralyzed in the body. The god (Æsculapius) cured this man while he slept, and commanded him, when he went out, to carry as large a stone as he could to the sanctuary; and he brought the one in the Abaton (the dormitory of the temple)."—"Nicanor, who was lame. As he was sitting still in the daytime (in the temple), a seeming youth snatched away his staff and fled. Leaping up, he gave chase, and from that day was cured." (Trans. of Merriam, in *American Antiquarian*, VI, p. 304). Justin Martyr argues that when we say that Jesus "made whole the lame, the paralytic, and those born blind, we seem to say what is very similar to the deeds said to have been done by Æsculapius" (I *Apol.*, 22).

Jesus cured many lame persons (as well as many blind, deaf, dumb, and leprous—Matt. xi. 5; xv. 30; Luke vii. 30), in accordance with the Messianic prophecy of Is. xxxv, where the Septuagint has: "Be strong, ye relaxed hands and paralyzed knees"; and there can be little doubt that only the lower limbs were conceived as affected in the original Gospel story of an individual cure of

a paralytic. In fact, the affliction may have been conceived as confined to one lower limb (properly the left), in accordance with the original significance of the Greek *paralysis* = a loosening or disabling of a limb or the limbs on one side of the body; the cure of a paralyzed left leg thus being a sort of companion piece to the cure of a withered right arm.

The oldest extant version of the cure of a paralytic by Jesus is doubtless found in Mark ii. 3-12, reappearing in substantially the same words in Luke v. 18-26, and in Matt. ix. 2-8 in an abbreviated form. In Mark, four men (perhaps as figures of the cardinal points) carry the paralytic on a bed to Jesus, who is in a house surrounded by such a multitude that the afflicted one had to be lowered through the roof, which was broken up for the purpose (apparently as suggested by the concept of the cure of the solio-cosmic feet and legs in the underworld; for the improbability of the scene from the historical standpoint has often been noticed). Jesus first forgives the man's sins, and shortly afterward tells him to take up his bed and walk, which he does (the implication apparently being that his infirmity was the result of his sins, probably those of a former life on earth). In Matthew's abbreviated account the lowering of the paralytic through the roof is omitted, as is the number of his bearers—this number being also omitted in Luke. A variant cure of the paralytic is found in Matt. viii. 5-12, and Luke vii. 1-10; but not in Mark. In this variant cure, a centurion beseeches Jesus to heal his bondman or servant, who lies paralytic in his master's house, grievously tormented; the cure being effected by Jesus from a distance in reward to the centurion's faith. And it is quite probable that this cure is again varied in that of the Capernaum nobleman's son in John iv. 47-54, where nothing is said of his affliction except that his fever left him when Jesus pronounced him cured from a distance. The three paralytics above considered all belonged to Capernaum (Kaper-Nahum = Village of Nahum). *Nahum* signifies Consoler or Comforter (like John's *Parakletos*, for Jesus); and Capernaum became the residence of Jesus after he was driven from Nazareth (Luke iv. 16-31; Matt. iv. 13-16; cf. Mark ii. 1, where Jesus when in Capernaum is said to have been "at home"—*ἐν οἴκῳ*), while the people of the city and vicinity had been "sitting in darkness. . . in the country and shadow of death," before Jesus came among them (Matt. iv. 16). Thus Capernaum was naturally suggested for the cure of the paralytic whose cosmic counterpart has his feet and legs in the underworld.

The first Synoptic cure of the paralytic is widely varied in

John's cure of the infirm man (v. 1-15), which occurred at Jerusalem shortly after Jesus had gone there, evidently for the purpose of keeping the Passover (John's "feast of the Jews") at the time of the full moon of Nisan, the first month of spring and of the sacred year. This man, who had been "thirty-eight years in (his) infirmity," lay by the pool of Bethesda, being one of a great crowd of sick, blind, lame, and withered; but only the first to enter the water after its periodical agitation by an angel was cured, and John's infirm man had no one to put him in first. But Jesus cured him without recourse to the water, saying, "Arise, take up thy bed and walk" — in the words of Mark's first story. There was a similar pool connected with the great temple of Æsculapius at Epidaurus, but it appears that only those who had just been cured washed in that pool, by way of religious purification (see Frazer's *Pausanias*, III, pp. 249, 250). Both pools correspond to "the water in which Ra purifies himself to be in possession of his strength in the eastern part of the heaven," where also "the gods of the pure waters purify themselves. . . . passing from night to day" (*Book of the Dead*, CLXV, 3; CXXVb, 45, 46, Saïte). But the pool of Bethesda (= House-of-flowing or House-of-mercy) was situated at a "(place) of sheep" (προβατικός); the name of a market or gate of Jerusalem. The pool, which was close to the gate, is doubtless to be identified with the "twin fish-pools, having five porches, and called Bethesda" (as if House-of-fishing) in the Bordeaux Pilgrim's *Itinerary* (see Barclay, *City of the Great King*, p. 299). It is therefore entirely probable that John's pool was recognized as a counterpart of Pisces (the twin Fishes), adjoining Aries (the Ram or male sheep); and the former was the sign of the spring equinox and the Passover at the time the Gospel of John was written, while the restoration or cure of the paralyzed sun-god was placed by some at that equinox as marking the close of winter. And this suggests that the thirty-eight years of John's story had originally been thirty-six for the number of Egyptian weeks of five days each in the (winter) half-year of one hundred and eighty days. Krafft and Hengstenberg are followed by Strauss (*New Life of Jesus*, 72) in looking upon the Johannine period as a type of the thirty-eight years which the people of Israel passed in the wilderness before they reached the Promised Land (Deut. ii. 14), which may in fact account for the extant number in John. Strauss suggests further that the five porches typify the five books of Moses; but his whole interpretation here is highly fanciful. The five porches (porticos or entrance-halls) probably represent the five latitudinal

apartments of the house of Pisces as the opening or entrance sign; for each of the twelve zodiac houses is subdivided into five sections by the two polar and two tropical circles (or seven sections when those in the narrow zodiac band are included).

In Acts iii. 1-13, the soli-cosmic figure paralyzed in the feet and legs is represented by the lame man cured by Peter (= Opener) at Jerusalem. Here the afflicted one is a beggar (as belonging to winter, the season of nature's poverty), who was born lame (like Hephæstos and Horus), so he had to be carried every day to the Temple (as a type of the celestial temple of the day), where he was laid at the gate "called Beautiful" (probably the Corinthian gate on the east—Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, V, 5, 3). In the ninth hour of the day (corresponding to the ninth month, that of the spring equinox, in the Egyptian year beginning at the summer solstice), Peter cured the lame man in the name of Jesus Christ, lifting him by the right hand (for the morning flabellum of the sun) and saying, "Arise and walk." Then "his feet and ankle bones were strengthened immediately; and leaping up, he stood, and walked, and entered with them (Peter and John) into the temple, walking and leaping" (like Krishna on the head of the serpent, but also in accordance with Is. xxxv. 6—"then shall the lame man leap as an hart"). Mythically the scene belongs to the dawn at the spring equinox in Pisces, with Peter as the Apostle of that sign lifting the soli-cosmic figure into the heaven by the latter's right hand.

A similar cure is attributed to Paul in Acts xiv. 8-18, where also the afflicted man was born lame and "never had walked," being "impotent in his feet." Finding that he had faith enough to be healed, Paul said to him, "Stand upon thy feet upright," and the man "sprang up and walked," etc. The scene is laid at Lystra (apparently from  $\lambdaύω$  = to loosen, weaken, as of the feet, limbs, etc.); and the people of that place called Paul "Hermes" immediately after the miracle—"because he was the leader in speaking," according to the text; but probably also with reference to the winged sandals and flying feet of that god. In Acts ix. 33, 34, Peter cures a certain Æneas, who had lain paralyzed on a couch for eight years—this cure perhaps originally having been assigned to the ninth year, corresponding to the ninth Egyptian month, that of the spring equinox. "And Peter said to him, Æneas, Jesus the Christ heals thee, rise up, and spread (thy couch) for thyself (i. e., make thy bed). And immediately he rose up." The name Æneas was possibly suggested for this paralytic by Homer's account of the wounding of the Trojan Æneas in the hip, so he fell and

remained upon his knees until carried away by Apollo (the sun-god) to be healed by Leto (darkness) and Artemis (the moon;—*Il.*, V, 304, 444). Philip cured many that were paralyzed and lame, according to Acts viii. 7.

In the Apocryphal *Infancy of the Saviour* (3) an old woman whom Joseph brings to the Virgin Mary, "after sunset," to act as midwife, finds that Jesus has already been born and is cured of her paralysis by placing her hands upon the infant. She probably represents the moon conceived as waxing through contact with the sun. In the *Protocvangeliium* (18) there is a general paralysis of nature at the birth of Jesus; not only living things but also the pole of the heavens standing still for a time. This is attributed to astonishment, but was probably suggested by the inactivity of the vegetable kingdom in winter, taken in connection with the *standing still of the sun* which gave name to the solstice. In the Greek versions of the *Gospel of Thomas* (10) a young man who was splitting wood cut off part of his foot with his ax, and died from loss of blood; but the child Jesus took hold of the foot and healed it, and the young man was immediately restored to life. An ax is the Egyptian hieroglyph for a *god*, while the statement that the young man died and was restored to life (wanting in the Latin versions, 8) was probably suggested by the concept of the death and resurrection of the self-slain solar or soli-cosmic god; the fatal blow being assigned to the (left) foot as in the myths of Krishna, Cheiron, and Achilles. Again, in several of the New Testament Apocrypha there is a story of a boy who with his feet (or with a branch, in some versions) broke down the dams made by the child Jesus to hold little fish ponds (probably belonging to Pisces, like the pool or pools of Bethesda). Jesus punished the boy by causing him to wither away, dry up, and die; but finally restored him to life and health (*Infancy*, 46; *Pseudo-Matt.*, 28, 29; *Thomas*, Gr., 2, 3; Lat., 5). In a Parisian codex of one of the Greek forms of *Thomas*, it is added that Jesus left the boy with one member useless (see Donehoo, *Apocryphal Life*, p. 143, note 1), which was probably suggested by the idea that the virile power of the sun-god was not recovered immediately upon his restoration to life.

IKHNATON, PHARAOH OF EGYPT.<sup>1</sup>

BY L. M. KUEFFNER.

HERE on this last brown slope they have left me alone for a space as I bade. . . .  
 The lithe bronzed youths who bore my litter, and Eye the priest. . . .  
 That I might look once more on thee Akhetaton my city, Aton's abode.  
 And on thee O Aton my father, bright in the Western sky.

How beautiful are these sandswept desert-cliffs  
 As curving about thee Akhetaton, dear city,  
 They wander down to the great brown Nile couched at thy feet.  
     Happy each day under flawless blue  
     Lie thy gardens and homes, my city;  
     Stately thy temple stands  
     Bathed in the golden light.  
     Even now as I dream  
     Sweet music floats hither;  
     And garlanded dancers throng  
     To the huge, pillared courts  
     With flowers and fruits  
         For thee, O Aton, sole God.

Loth was Eye to leave me here,  
 Eye, my dear old teacher,  
 Comrade of dreams from my boyhood days,  
 My faithful helper in the long hard war  
 Which, year after year, with Amon's priests I have waged  
 In glory to thee, O Aton my father!

In glory to thee, O Aton my father,  
 Whom I have come to adore

<sup>1</sup> During a trip in Egypt I became interested in this Pharaoh whose name is variously spelled and explained as Ikhnaton, Khu-en-'eten, Khûniatonû, etc., and who in the fourteenth century B. C. tried to establish an enlightened monotheism in Egypt. His own thoughts as found in hymns preserved in the tombs of Tell-el-Amarna have been used. Here are the conceptions of the fatherhood of God, the equality of his love for all races, black or white or brown, the teaching of peace, etc.—conceptions usually proclaimed as distinctively Christian contributions to religious thought and feeling.

While far away in thy Western sky  
 Thou sinkest to sleep amid glorified hills.  
 From thy great gold disk a gleaming path  
 Leads hither over the river's broad breast,  
 And my eyes are drunken with light.

They have said I must die; yet can that be?  
 Am I not young? And does thy fire not throb in my heart  
 Each day with a larger love?  
 Do not thy hands which thou layest on me  
 Bring health even now to thy son?

Soon, they have said,  
 I must dwell in the low dark house cut in the Eastern rocks  
 Where to-day I have been. . . .  
 But it cannot be. . . .

How often thus have I seen thee die O Aton,  
 Who every morning wast born anew!  
 But thou dost not die:  
 Thou merely passest from our sight,  
 Our mortal, imperfect sight.  
 Nor dost thou dwell in thy visible disk alone.  
 Thou dwellest in the lucent moon, and in the stars, and in the leap-  
     ing flame;  
 Thou art the hidden warmth of all wondrous forms,  
 The hunger and pulse and breath of the world;  
 Thou helpst the leaf in the seed's dark hull  
 As it yearns toward light;  
 And thou helpst the chick when it breaks from the shell  
 Chirping and strutting in glee.  
 Myriad-formed and elusive, O Aton,  
 Thou changest, but dost not die!

When but a boy, I sought thee, my father,  
 Finding thee first in thy golden disk;  
 And searching farther, from year to year,  
 I found thee at last in the light of my soul,  
 In the pulse of my love-warm heart;  
 And I knew thee then  
 As the infinite inner light in the minds of men;  
 As the love that speaks in their hearts.

O Aton, do I not know thee, my father,  
 As none of thy sons have known thee before?  
 And knowing thee thus, I have wished to be thy revealer to men.

Long I have served thee:  
 Cities and fanes I have built where thy truth is proclaimed;  
 Not like Pharaohs of old to their gods, have I offered thee spoils  
     of men;  
 But peace I have kept, for I know that thou lovest peace  
 Who sendest thy myriad hands to all parts of the world,  
 Binding together in light and in love  
 All men in all lands.

I have taught men to live in thy truth,  
 To be simple and faithful  
 As thou who returnest each morn  
 Making all creatures glad.  
     When thy rays touch the water  
     The fishes leap up from their sleep,  
     The birds flutter forth from the marsh,  
     And the flowers dance, drunken with joy.  
     But gladdest of all are the hearts of men when thou comest  
     O Aton our father,  
     For thou healest our sight,  
     And once more we behold  
     The wonderful world thou hast made  
     In the joy of thy own glad heart.

I have taught that no spirits of darkness  
 Lie lurking to capture men's souls:  
 That in death, as in life,  
 Thy love enfolds them, thy children.

All this I have taught; and yet,  
 Though the truth is joyous and clear,  
 Weak men are but dull and blind,  
 And loth to open their eyes.

So they have muttered and cursed, unwilling to give up their gods,  
 Thinking by magic rites and runes to appease or constrain these gods  
     whom they fear;

Each year they clamor more loudly,  
 Demanding, once more, the savage play of Osiris torn and revived!  
 The vendors of idols and charms, their wares forbidden, grow ever  
     more wrathful;  
 While the priests of Amon, selfish, and insolent still, cease not in  
     their war  
 Against thee, O Aton, sole God.  
 Yet, in spite of this muttering protest, this stubborn, smouldering  
     discontent,  
 Faithful I have been in thy service, and staunch, hoping from day  
     to day that thy truth would prevail.  
 And now, can I go ere my work is done?  
 Friends I leave, to be sure, who worship thy light and truth,  
 But none so earnest, and brave, and strong, as our troublous time  
     demands.  
 Then why hast thou taken thy health from thy son, my father?  
 Why have I failed?  
 What will become of thy truth if I die?  
 And if I must die ere my work is done,  
 Ere thy light is revealed in all men's souls,  
 Send me some comfort now as I gaze at thy disk,  
     O Aton, my father.

With sails dusky before thee the boats on the river float by  
 While the evening breeze steals home to the glamored hills;  
 The slumbrous sway of the distant palms  
 Wins my soul to its peaceful music.  
     As I gaze at thy great bronze disk  
     And its glimmering path,  
 My outer eye grows dark:  
 But thy beams have entered my soul, O Aton,  
 And within I am all ablaze.  
 I thank thee, for now, at a flash,  
 My inner eye is unsealed,  
 And I see why I failed.  
 I see that I tried to force  
 What must come as a long slow growth.  
 Men often are dull, it is true,  
 And their central spark seems quenched  
 By error and fear and gloom.  
 But light is its food none the less;  
 Slowly it grows and grows,

And disentangled at last  
 It will know itself one with thee  
 And thy light of the world, O Aton!

And I see that a teacher of men must have  
 Patience, and infinite faith.  
 These I have lacked.  
 And if I die, let them bring back old gods if they will:  
 Old gods they will be but in name;  
 For I know that the vision of thee  
 Which my teaching has brought to the world,  
 All gods will transform with the gleams  
 Of thy beauty and love and truth.  
 Once kindled, I know, the vision can never die.

So now I see that thy truth lies hidden in all these forms.  
 Thou art Kheper the beetle, rolling his golden egg from the East;  
 And thou guardest the world, O wide-seeing Eye!  
 Osiris, lotus-born, thou art,  
 And Horus, the yellow hawk;  
 Ra in his sky-barque sailing,  
 And also the falcon with wide wings outspread  
 As he steals one's soul from the earth  
 To join in his far-poised flight.  
 Symbols are these:  
 Images found by the first rude seekers,  
 But images pregnant of final truth.

Yet I, O Aton, love thee best  
 As the literal light in thy disk,  
 As the inner light in men's souls.

But have I gazed too long at thy disk, my father?  
 Darkness folds over me; I cannot see thee now.  
 My brain reels. . . .  
 Can this be the night of death?  
 Ah, it is dark indeed, where art thou, my father?  
 Leave me not in my need. . . .  
 But now I see thee again: in the core of my darkness  
     Dwells thy light;  
     It grows and spreads  
     Till all the world is filled,

And I know thee as never before.  
 I have reached home at last,  
 Lost in thy ocean of light,  
 To change, but not to die.

For this death which is life, I thank thee, my father,  
 Thou infinite, undying light of the world,  
 Aton, sole God!

## THE RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION OF AMENHOTEP IV.<sup>1</sup>

BY M. A. MORET.

AMENHOTEP IV, who ruled somewhere about 1370 B. C., had the most peculiar, as well as the most enigmatic, physiognomy of all the Pharaohs—enigmatic although numerous monuments of him have come down to us. In that Egypt where tradition was all-powerful, among those Egyptians, “the most religious of all men,” Amenhotep IV conceived and accomplished a religious revolution: he turned away from the great national divinity Amen-Ra, and substituted for him the God, Aten, whose worship he forced upon his court, the priests, the people of Egypt, and his foreign subjects.

The break in relations between the State and the priesthood which has control of the State religion is a difficult task in all countries and at all times, but how difficult was its realization in Egypt! Like all other Pharaohs, his ancestors, Amenhotep IV was considered as the son and heir of the gods, and in particular as the successor of Amen-Ra, patron deity of Thebes, the capital of Egypt at the time of the New Empire. Upon the walls of the temples were to be found the traditional scenes which attested the truth of the procreation of the king by the god.<sup>2</sup> At Luxor, for example, there was a representation of the union of Amen with Queen Mutemua, mother of Amenhotep III, the actual father of the revolutionary king. There were other representations to the

<sup>1</sup> Translated from the *Annales du Musée Guimet (Bibliothèque de vulgarisation)*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 225ff, by C. E. Eggert.

<sup>2</sup> The union of the god, Amen-Ra, and the queen is represented at Deir-el-Bahari (Ed. Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, II, Plate 57) and at Luxor (Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*, Plate 63). See translation and commentary on the texts in A. Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique*, pp. 50ff.

effect that on the completion of the months of pregnancy, the queen gave birth to a son with the assistance of goddesses, and that taking the little king in his arms, Amen acknowledged him as his son and consecrated him as his heir. A similar story was passed on and believed in the case of Amenhotep IV, Amen's fatherhood of the king being the surest guaranty of his divine origin and of his right to rule over men.

More than that, in this epoch, at the end of the XVIIIth dynasty, Amen had acquired new claims to the gratitude of the kings. Scarcely two centuries had elapsed since the era when the invaders from Asia, the Shepherd-kings, were in possession of the Delta and Middle Egypt, exerting their authority over the cities, pillaging the fields, and ruining the temples of the native gods for the profit of their own divinities, Asiatic Baal and the great warrior, Sutekh. It was by the might of Amen that the petty kings of Thebes of the XVIIth dynasty had been able to commence the war of independence, pushing the Shepherd-kings little by little out of Egypt until Aahmes I had definitely expelled them. So if Tahutmes I and Tahutmes III had been able to conquer the seaports of Syria, to cross Lebanon, to pass the Orontes and reach the banks of the Euphrates; if their successors, the Amenhoteps, held Syria and Palestine in the north and Nubia in the south under their protectorate: was it not because Amen fought with Pharaoh and guided the archers and the chariots of Egypt in the thick of battle? At any rate, the official accounts of the campaigns, chiseled on the walls of Karnak and Luxor, attested that these victories were the exploits of Amen, that the captive countries were Amen's prisoners, and that all the tribute raised in Syria and Nubia was to swell the coffers of Amen. Enriched and increased in power by so many victories, the Theban god was now the national god, the god of revenge against the Asiatics.

Finally Amen was the god who, by the mediation of his priests, gave the kings strength and authority in the internal government of Egypt. After the glorious reign of Tahutmes I dynastic quarrels had weakened the royal house; there had been the spectacle of kings driven from their thrones, supplanted by a woman—Queen Hatshepsut—then recalled, banished anew, and at last triumphant. The high priests of Amen had presided over these intrigues, now giving, now withdrawing their support. In this way they had become veritable mayors of the palace, disposing of civil power as they did of religious functions: under Hatshepsut,<sup>3</sup> Prince Hapusenb, under

<sup>3</sup> Breasted, *History of Egypt*, and *Ancient Records*, II, p. 160.

Amenhotep III. Ptahmes, were "prophets-in-chief of Amen, superintendents of all the prophets of the South and of the North, superintendents of the city of Thebes, viziers of all Egypt."<sup>4</sup> How many temporal and spiritual functions concentrated in the same hand! Something eminently dangerous for the Pharaoh. It is well known how such equivocal situations end, where the servant takes precedence over his master, pushes him gradually from the throne, and some fine day takes his place. That is what actually happened in



DEATH-MASK OF KHUENATEN  
(Petrie.)



STATUE OF KHUENATEN  
(Rayet.)

Egypt some centuries later, at the end of the XXth dynasty, when the priests of Amen did become Pharaohs. At the end of the XVIIIth dynasty, this sacerdotal revolution was already in the air, but Amenhotep IV was the man who foresaw and changed the course of affairs. He did not think of permitting the priests of Amen to dethrone the kings: on the contrary, he tried to destroy

<sup>4</sup> Statuette of Ptahmes, published by Legrain, *Recueil*, XXIX, p. 83; cf. the stele of Lyons, published by Devéria, *Cœuvres*, in *Bibliothèque égyptologique*.

the hierarchy of Amen by annihilating the priests and their god at the same time.

Was the man who did not shrink back before god Amen one of those colossuses whose physical strength and advantageous build explain their moral vigor and personal ascendancy? By no means. Amenhotep IV was a man of medium stature, of small frame, with rounded, feminine contours. The sculptors of his time have faithfully reproduced for us this androgynous form whose prominent breasts, too broad hips, and too shapely thighs have an equivocal and morbid aspect. His head is not less singular with its very refined oval face, its eyes set slightly askant, the softened outline of a long thin nose, the prominence of an advanced lower lip, and a skull both rounded and receding. The head leans forward as if the neck were too weak to support it. The total impression is that of an overrefined and effeminate person. Physically it is a Pharaoh who is the last of his race. The question has been asked whether this somewhat degenerate body was the product of two Egyptians of good stock. Tyi, the mother of the king, had been the favorite wife of Amenhotep III, and she is known to have been of vulgar birth. Her father Yuua and her mother Thuua bear names in which it has been suggested a certain Semitic<sup>5</sup> assonance is recognizable. The idea occurred to many authors that on the side of his mother, Tyi, Amenhotep IV had Scmitic blood in his veins, and as the religious reform heralded by him is of a monotheistic tendency, they were pleased to explain the ideas and the singular character of the son by the direct and indirect influence of the mother.<sup>6</sup>

Egypt's soil itself has permitted us to solve this little enigma. In the month of February, 1905, Mr. Theodore Davis had the good fortune to excavate at Thebes intact the tomb of Queen Tyi's parents. Now, "everything that has come from the subterranean chamber is of the most beautiful Egyptian style, and nothing indicates the least trace of foreign influence. . . . the mummies themselves can afford no positive information."<sup>7</sup> Thuua was of pure Egyptian type. Yuua had a face adorned with a big arched nose,

<sup>5</sup> Numerous scarabs that Amenhotep III had engraved on the occasion of his marriage with Tyi, give the names of her parents. See Maspero, *History of Egypt* (Engl. ed.), V, pp. 78f. These names are evidently of Egyptian origin, as Maspero has demonstrated in *Recueil de travaux*, III, p. 128.

<sup>6</sup> Occasionally doubt has been raised whether Amenhotep III were possibly the son of Tyi (Wiedemann in *Proc. S. B. A.*, XVII, p. 156), but the letters of the correspondence of El-Amarna designate Amenhotep IV as the son of Tyi (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, p. 209).

<sup>7</sup> Legrain, *Thèbes et le schisme de Khouniatonou*, p. 13 (see Bessarione, XI, 1906).

but not of a distinctly Semitic type.<sup>8</sup> From the titles which he bears the grandfather of Amenhotep IV seems to have come from Akhmim, a city in the center of Egypt.

Let us then admit that the Pharaoh reformer was of good Egyptian stock. In any event if his physical type is a little degenerate, his mind was not at all decadent. To judge from the religious hymns composed by him, he had a subtle, mystical intellect, and very lively, human sensibilities. From pictures of the times we know that he adored family life; his mother Tyi, his wife, and even his four daughters appear about him, not merely in the privacy of his own apartments, but when he receives a high official, when he goes to the temple and in every public ceremony. As far as can be judged, Amenhotep IV seems to have been of a simple, good character, of subtle intelligence, tenacious and systematic. This dreamer and mystic pursued his ideas to their logical conclusion and proceeded swiftly to extreme resolutions.

We have seen above that from the beginning of his reign Amenhotep saw himself in the presence of a god, the Theban Amen, who through the policy of his priests had become too greedy for wealth, too preoccupied in making the palace the servant of his desires, too exclusively national for a country which made pretensions to the assimilation of Nubia and Syria.

Now we have to state that in the sixth year of the new reign a radical political and material revolution was effected.<sup>9</sup> Thebes is no longer the capital of Egypt. What had been the city of Amen becomes the city of Aten; the corporate property of the Theban god is confiscated for the profit of the god Aten; the high priest of Amen and all his priesthood cease to exist, for the worship of Amen is forbidden over the entire territory of Egypt. The very name of Amen must no longer be pronounced; it must no longer be written on stone or papyrus, and since, in the silence of the present, the past recalled that name on thousands of monuments, the reformer king methodically undertook the destruction, not of the monuments, but of the name of the god Amen. On all walls, on columns, at the top of obelisks, down in the tombs, everywhere iconoclasts sent by the king strained their eyes to discover the condemned hieroglyphics, and pitilessly chiseled off the name of Amen and

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Catalog of the Museum of Cairo*, "Tomb of Yuaa and Thuia," 1908, Plates LVII-LX and frontispiece.

<sup>9</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 110, b.

<sup>10</sup> See Lefébure, "La vertu et la vie du Nom, en Egypte," in *Mémoires*, VIII (1897), pp. 229-231: "Chiseling out of the name was a real murder....: the names of persons condemned or disgraced were chiseled out...."

that of Mut, the goddess sharing his throne. To chisel out the name of the god meant to kill his soul,<sup>10</sup> to annihilate his double, to destroy the title to his possessions, to annul his victories and his conquests. It meant to make a new history of Egypt, in which the glory of exalted deeds accomplished would be left to their true authors, the Pharaoh's, and not be accredited to the haughty god, who called himself their father and inspirer. Finally, to mark well his complete break with an abhorred past, the king changed his name from Amenhotep to that of Khu-en-aten or "he who pleases the god Aten."<sup>11</sup>

There was probably a terrible resistance on the part of Amen's priests, but we do not know its circumstances. Much later, when after the death of the reformer king the priests of Amen, restored to power, were lauding the merits of Tutankhamen, who reestablished them in their privileges, this is how they described the state of Egypt after the revolution:

"The world was like the time of chaos, the property of the gods was laid waste from Elephantine down to the Delta; their sanctuaries and fields were going to rack and ruin, noxious weeds grew rank there; the granaries and the sacred enclosures were pillaged, delivered over to passers-by. The world was defiled, the gods departed, turning their backs on man, their hearts disgusted with their creatures. . . ."<sup>12</sup>

This picture is strongly exaggerated. Where the text speaks of *gods*, it should read *the god* Amen. The distress of a single god and of a single object of worship did not imply the ruin of the other divinities nor of the other priestly orders.<sup>13</sup> The king had directed his efforts of destruction against a single god, and in his place he had installed a divinity more ancient, more venerated, and perhaps more popular, the god Aten, whose name forthwith served to designate the king and the capital of Egypt.

Aten is the solar disk, the tangible and visible form of Ra, the sun-god, perhaps the most ancient and the most popular of the

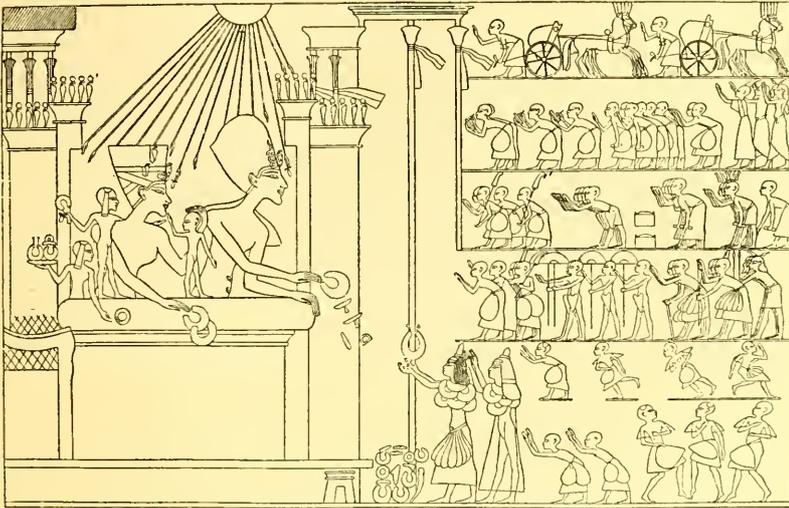
<sup>11</sup> The meaning of this name (which was up to then translated "glory" or "spirit of the god Aten") has been recently reestablished by Sethe, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, XLIV, p. 117. Schaefer remarks that King Mineptah Siphtah took a name of the same type, Khu-en-ra, "he who pleases Ra." As Sethe shows, Khu-en-aten practically means with reference to Aten what Amen-hotep signifies with respect to Amen, "rest, peace, of Amen."

<sup>12</sup> Legrain, "La grande stèle de Toutankhamon." *Recueil*, XXIX, p. 167.

<sup>13</sup> It is still a debated question whether Khuenaten proscribed the worship of other gods than Amen. Breasted remarks that in the tomb of Rames, and elsewhere, they have carefully chiseled out not only the name of Amen, but the word "gods" (*Aeg. Zeitschrift*, XL, p. 109); see, however, what is said below.

Egyptian gods. He is represented under the form of a disk the center of which is adorned by a coiled uræus snake. The rays of the disk fall clear to the ground like arms provided with hands; these hands take the offerings from the altars, extend the key of life (☩) to the nostrils of the king, and hold him and his family embraced.<sup>14</sup> In a word, what Amen was for the predecessors of Khuenaten, Aten is for the latter, a beneficent god, a father god, but he is no longer a tyrant god.

In fact, the king was very careful not to reconstitute for the service of Aten, a priestly order of the type of that which used to sway the destinies of Thebes. Like Ra, Aten came from Heliopolis,



KHUENATEN MAKING THE PEOPLE OF EGYPT PROSPEROUS  
(From Meyer, *Geschichte Aegyptens.*)

and his high priest bears the same title, Ur Maa, "the great seeing one," as the high priest of Ra. But the king did not entrust the guardianship of the new cult to the old priestly city of Heliopolis. It was in a new city, Khut-aten, "Horizon of Aten," the modern El-Amarna on the right bank of the Nile between Memphis and Thebes, that he founded the temple with its central obelisk consecrated to the god Aten. Gem-Aten, another city in Nubia near the third cataract, and a city in Syria the name of which is not

<sup>14</sup> However, the representation of the "radiant disk" which is characteristic of monuments of Amenhotep IV is not a personal innovation of this king. The radiant disk is already traced on monuments of his father Amenhotep III (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 91, g). After Amenhotep IV, the use of this decorative feature disappeared completely.

known to us, also served as capitals in conquered countries for the new god of the State.<sup>15</sup> The king himself administers the property necessary to the dignity suitable to the god, for he is "prophet-in-chief of Ra-Harmakhis"<sup>16</sup> and "grand seer of Aten." This double title is very interesting from the fact that it shows the material unity of the cults of Harmakhis and of Aten, and the joining of the administration of their temporal property in the hands of the king. Besides, we know from a statuette in the Turin Museum that the relations between the family of Amenhotep IV and the priests of Heliopolis were ancient. A brother of Queen Tyi, therefore the uncle of the reformer king, was already "grand seer in Heliopolis" at the same time that he was "second prophet of Amen."<sup>17</sup> Pursuant to this position as head of the hierarchy of Heliopolis and Aten, both uncle and nephew were granted the administration of the vested properties conceded to Aten and of those of Amen confiscated for the profit of Aten. It was a secularization of Amen's property, a resumption of possession of sacerdotal lands, which the king brought about. Nevertheless, when at the end of his reign the Pharaoh confided to his most devoted friend, Meryra,<sup>18</sup> the office of high priest and great seer of Aten,<sup>19</sup> he was very careful not to release any civil functions to him, and to entrust the financial and judicial administration of Egypt to others.<sup>20</sup> The high priest of Aten remained a subordinate of the king—no danger of his ever becoming a too powerful mayor of the palace.

If the Pharaoh assumed the personal management of the property of the new god of the State, he took an even greater interest in religious teaching. He made a strong effort to prevent the revolution which he had effected from remaining merely political and economical. The king was not satisfied with having put a hand upon the hierarchy and vested properties, he presumed to mould souls and to give to faith a direction toward a new and more human development.

To attain this end, it is probable that the king covered the land with temples in honor of Aten. Of these edifices, which were de-

<sup>15</sup> Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 364. and *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, XL, pp. 106ff.

<sup>16</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 110, i.

<sup>17</sup> L. Borchardt, "Ein Onkel Amenophis III. als Hoherpriester von Heliopolis," in *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, XLIV, p. 97.

<sup>18</sup> Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 367.

<sup>19</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, p. 405.

<sup>20</sup> The most powerful of these was the vizier Rames, who was not a high priest of Aten. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, pp. 385f.

stroyed almost everywhere after the death of the king, hardly anything remains but the débris at Thebes, Hermonthis, Memphis, Heliopolis;<sup>21</sup> but just because it was abandoned by the successors of the reformer king, the capital of the cult of Aten has preserved to our day ruins where it is possible to make out the remnants of palaces and temples,<sup>22</sup> and especially of the tombs where the favorites of Khuenaten have represented the king in his relations to them. There we see the king, visiting his subjects, receiving them in his palace, appearing on the balcony to throw coronets and collars to them, which are as many marks of his royal favor, and he reserves this favor especially for those "who have carefully listened to his words and who have understood and practised his doctrine."<sup>23</sup> On several tombs, in order to show their zeal, his favorites have reproduced the verses of hymns composed in honor of Aten by the Pharaoh himself. For us these hymns are texts of unique and invaluable importance. In translating them, we take account of the enthusiastic and mystical spirit which animated the king, and we can appreciate what conception of greater humanity the establishment of the cult of Aten concealed.

#### HYMN OF AMENHOTEP IV.<sup>24</sup>

*Adoration of Harmakhis who riseth on the horizon in his name of "Heat of the solar disk . . ." by King Khu-en-aten and Queen Aten-nefer-neferu.*

He speaks:

"Thou risest in beauty on the horizon of the sky, O Aten, initiator of life.

"When thou growest round in the east, thou fillest the earth with thy beauties (rays).

"Thou art charming, sublime, shining high above the earth. Thy rays envelop the lands and all that thou hast created. Since thou art Ra (creator) thou conquerest what they give and thou bindest the bonds of thy love. Thou art far away, but thy rays are on (touch) the ground. When thou art in the sky, day accompanieth thy steps.

<sup>21</sup> See the texts cited by Breasted, *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, XL, p. 111.

<sup>22</sup> Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, 1894. See Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, I-VI, 1902-1908, and Bouriant, Legrain, Jéquier, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire du culte d'Atonou*, I, 1903.

<sup>23</sup> Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 367.

<sup>24</sup> Breasted, *De hymnis in solem sub rege Amenophide II' conceptis*, 1894.

*Night:*

"When thou restest in the western horizon<sup>25</sup> the earth in darkness is like the dead at rest in their rock-tombs, with their heads swathed, their nostrils stuffed up, their eyes sightless (eye does not see eye); all their possessions, even what is under their heads, might be stolen from them without their perceiving it. Then every lion cometh out of his den, every serpent stingeth, it is as black as in an oven, earth is still. He who hath created all this slumbereth in his horizon.

*Day, Humanity:*

"The dawn cometh, thou risest at the horizon, thou shinest as Aten in the daytime, the darkness fleeth when thou shootest thy arrows, the two lands make holiday. People awaken, leap to their feet, for thou causest them to arise; they wash their limbs, take their clothing; their hands venerate thy rising, all the earth returns to labor.

*Animals:*

"All animals return to their pastures, trees and plants grow, birds fly in the thickets with wings straight in adoration of thy double, the beasts bound. All birds which had been under cover revive when thou risest for them.

*Water:*

"The boats ascend and descend the river, for every way openeth at thy appearance; the fish of the river leap toward thee, thy rays penetrate to the bottom of the sea.

*Men and Animals:*

"It is he who produceth the germ in woman and who createth seed in man, he who causeth the babe to live in the womb of its mother, he who sootheth the babe, that it may not cry! he nurseth it through the breast [of its mother], he giveth the breath of life to vivify all that he createth. When the babe falleth from the womb on the day of its birth, thou openest its mouth for words and thou satisfiest its needs.

"When the chick is in the egg—a cackler in rock—thou givest to it breath in the interior of the shell to give it life. When thou hast caused its development in the egg to the point of bursting it, it cometh out of the egg to announce its existence, and it walketh

<sup>25</sup> Here I employ Maspero's translation, *History*, V, p. 90.

on its feet as soon as it cometh out. How numerous are thy works. Thou hast created the earth in thy heart (when thou wast entirely alone), the earth with its people, big and little animals, all that liveth on the earth and walketh on foot, all that liveth in the air and flieth with its wings, foreign countries, Syria, Nubia, Egypt.<sup>26</sup>

"Thou puttest every man in his place, creating what is necessary to him, each with his patrimony, and his property, with his varied language, his form and particular color of skin. Thou, master of choice, thou hast distinguished [from us] the foreign races.

"Thou createst the Nile in the other world, thou ledest it [upon the earth] when thou willest, to support man. . . ., thou permittest the Nile to descend from the sky toward them, thou createst on the mountains lakes [as large] as seas, thou inundatest the fields in their territories. . . ., thou givest milk to every territory.

"Thou hast made the seasons of the year to make everything grow that thou hast created, winter to refresh [thy creatures], summer [to warm them up again]. Thou hast created the distant sky in order to rise in it and to see from there all that thou hast created, thou entirely alone. Thou dawnest in thy form of Aten living, thou risest radiant, thou departest and thou returnest; thou hast created all forms, thou entirely alone, the provinces, cities, fields, roads, water. Every eye beholdeth thee above itself, for thou art the disk of day above the earth.

"Thou art in my heart, none other existeth who understandeth thee except me, thy son. . . . O thou, who makest men live when thou risest. . . . who, when thou goest to rest, causest them to die. . . ., teach them for thy son, who hath come from thy flesh, Khuenaten."

All readers of the hymn of Amenhotep IV will agree in praising its beauty of inspiration and expression. It is perhaps more difficult to attribute to this poetry the quality of *originality* which most Egyptologists discover in it. It is admitted among scholars that the hymn engraved at Khutaten expresses new concepts in the theological literature of the Egyptians: the adoration of a god qualified as the *only, sole, all-powerful* creator, the expression of a feeling for nature which associates, with man, animals, plants, water, and earth in the adoration of the god, the sole Providence of all that exists and of all that lives. Are these sentiments and their expression a new thing in Egypt and do they date precisely from

<sup>26</sup> It is very remarkable that in this enumeration, the king has given the first place to foreign countries.

the epoch of Khuenaten? To decide, it would be necessary to have other hymns, anterior to those of El-Amarna; the comparison of these texts with ours would permit judging of the originality of the latter.

Now, the religious poetry before the XVIIIth dynasty is—up to the present—composed only of very short bits, little hymns engraved on funerary steles, generally addressed to Osiris or to Ra, but the extremely concise redaction of which, considering that space is limited, gives no material for lyric development. However, there is one monument which has preserved for us a great hymn anterior to Amenhotep IV, and up to now no one has thought of comparing it with the texts of El-Amarna. It is a stele in the *Bibliothèque nationale* bearing the "Hymn to Osiris"; it was chiseled for a keeper of the cattle, Amenemhat, in whose name the initial part, Amen, was broken out in the epoch when Khuenaten caused the name of Amen to be erased on all monuments. As Chabas says, who has published the stele in magnificent style,<sup>27</sup> "we must then regard it as certain that this monument is anterior to Khuenaten." Now this highly developed hymn to Osiris which the stele contains, proves at the very outset that the worship and the praise of Osiris, of Isis, of Horus, of Atum, of Seb, of Nut, divinities whose names have not been broken out, were respected by the iconoclastic officials of Khuenaten. Let us finally note that Osiris is there adored as the first of the gods, as the creator of all that exists, land, water, plants, animals, men, and gods, as the Good-in-Being, the Providence whose care is extended to all creatures and to all parts of the universe. From this comparison, the result seems clear that the material developed in the hymns of Khuenaten is composed of themes that had been employed in Egyptian religious literature before and were probably well known to everybody. The "originality" granted to the hymns of Khuenaten reduces itself probably to the new expression, with a more personal accent (as far as we can judge), of an ancient thought.

It seems to us that other facts confirm this view. If the hymns anterior to Amenhotep IV are exceedingly rare, those are numerous which have come down to us in compilations, dated after his time. Now these hymns addressed to Amen, Thoth, Ptah, etc., reproduce almost literally a good number of the passages characteristic of the hymns to Aten: like the god of El-Amarna, Amen is called the only one, the sole, the creator of lands, waters, and animals; he, too, has

<sup>27</sup> Chabas, "Un hymne à Osiris," in *Bibliothèque égyptologique*:—Chabas, *Œuvres*, I, p. 95.

modeled with his powerful hand races of human beings, differing in color and language. Must it be concluded that the hymns of Aten have been plagiarized, in their most remarkable expressions, by the priests of the rival god, Amen of Thebes? It seems very astonishing that, if these expressions were peculiar to literature pertaining to Aten, they were not condemned like the cult of the god himself. We believe it more reasonable to admit that the school of El-Amarna derived its developments from a source which also fed the rival schools; the alternately preponderant gods of the various historical capitals were sung in the course of centuries in the same keys, however with shades of expression corresponding to this or that intellectual or moral preoccupation of the epoch in which the hymn was edited.

This being posited, it must be recognized that several of these general ideas have been developed by Khuenaten with singular force and poetry. Everywhere the intention of the king seems to me to have been as follows: no longer to hold up for the adoration of the Egyptians a god peculiar to one city and of a well-defined national character, but a god really superior to others through the role which he plays in nature, and of universally human character.

For this the king chose an old national god, the sun, whose power, beneficent to some, redoubtable to others, appears nowhere more absolute than in the countries of the Orient. This god is no longer represented to men, as in former times, by the odd form of a heraldic falcon (Harmakhis), but he is a radiant disk which becomes the speaking likeness of the divinity, a hieroglyphic which all people, Egyptians or foreigners and even moderns, can read and understand at the first glance.

This god, who personifies light, heat (from his name of "Heat which is in the disk"), and motion, is really the benefactor and animator of all that exists. With a native charm full of poetry, a freshness of impression, and a profusion of imagery which is felt to be very close to the poetic source, the hymn marvelously expresses more or less conscious or confused sentiments of adoration which animate men, animals, stones, and plants when face to face with him who dissipates night, puts wild beasts to flight, causes the growth of vegetation, and feeds man's offspring.

Such sentiments are common to all people, so perhaps for the first time in the history of the world, we see a king making the appeal to strangers, Nubians and Semites, to adore Aten, the universal benefactor, side by side with his own people. For the first time religion is conceived as a tie that binds people differing in

race, speech, and color. Khuenaten's god does not distinguish between Egyptians and barbarians, all people are in the same degree his children and must regard one another as brothers.

Thus there is at the center of the world a beneficent and thinking Energy which plays the role of Providence before living creatures. This Energy is both Heat and Thought. Such ideas were in the air at that time, and we know a text, the form of which seems old, in which god Ptah, with the same attributes as Aten in this case, is called "the intelligence and the language of the gods, source of the thoughts of every god and of every man and of every animal."<sup>28</sup>

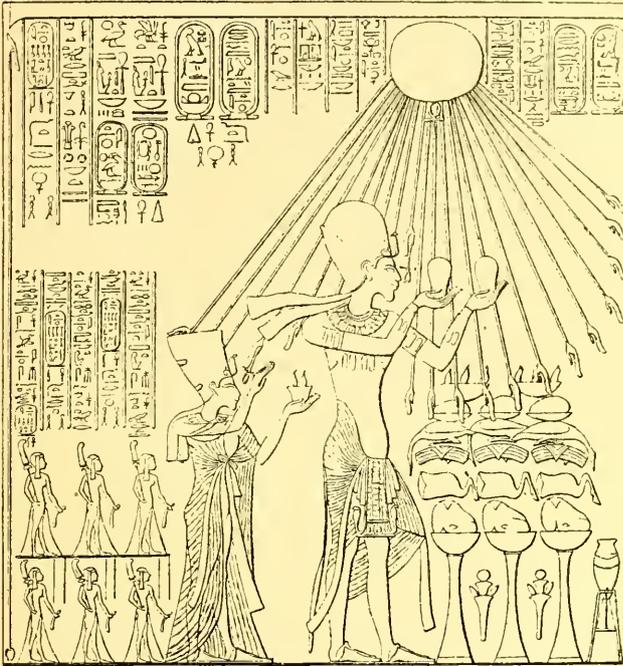
Accordingly this god, with whom the king lives on terms of intimacy, whom only he can understand and interpret to men like a prophet inspired by revelation, is a god of all humanity, an intellectual god, a god who assumes a reasonable and beautiful form. For all these reasons he deserved to become the god of the Egyptian Empire at that time when Egypt was encroaching on other nations and presuming to force its arms and its ideas upon them.

Judged from this point of view, the undertaking of Amenhotep IV exceeds the range of a political reaction against the invading power of those mayors of the palace, the high priests of Amen—we see in it a very interesting effort toward the establishment of a cult comprehensible to peoples differing in civilization and nationality. To sum up, the reform of Amenhotep IV is a return to a more human form of religion, and probably to an archaic conception which had already flourished in its prime in the times of the Ancient Empire when Ra was chief god of the living.

In like manner as in modern times, this return to simpler forms of religion was accompanied by a renewal of art and by a return to traditions of sincere and realistic observation of nature. Just in proportion as the power of the priests of Amen had developed, the Theban artists, engaged to decorate the temples or to make statues of gods and kings, had also risen to the employment of a style which was classical, artificial, and conventional, but of a majesty and coldness suitable to the majesty and authority of Amen. From sincerity and conviction, King Khuenaten withdrew his favor from Theban art and encouraged provincial artists who were less able but remained closer to nature. As the Pharaoh, in his acts and person, was the subject customarily proposed to artistic conception, he demanded that they should represent him and his family just as he was naturally, with his physical imperfections and in the

<sup>28</sup> Breasted, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, XXXIX, pp. 39ff.

intimacy of his family, as well as in the pomp of court. Hence those pictures from the tombs where the king appears to us in familiar attitudes surrounded by his wife, daughters, and friends. Court festivities, celebrations staged on the occasion of a reward accorded to this or that good servant, ceremonies of the temples, or the mourning service held by the king at the time of the death of his favorite daughter, Baktaten, such were the subjects chosen. They were treated by the artists with that love of life, that joy animating all nature, that freedom of expression which strike us



KHUEENATEN, HIS QUEEN, AND HIS SIX DAUGHTERS, MAKING SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS TO THE SUN.

in the hymns discussed above. It is the same spirit that animates liturgical poetry and plastic arts alike at this epoch.

But it turned out that several of these artists exaggerated the qualities of observation and of sincerity to excess. Perhaps they were not sufficiently masters of their art to be great artists while being faithful observers, several have given us portraits of the king and of his relatives, which are nothing but caricatures. But one artist at least has been found who could combine the realistic tendencies of the new school with the traditions of the pure and

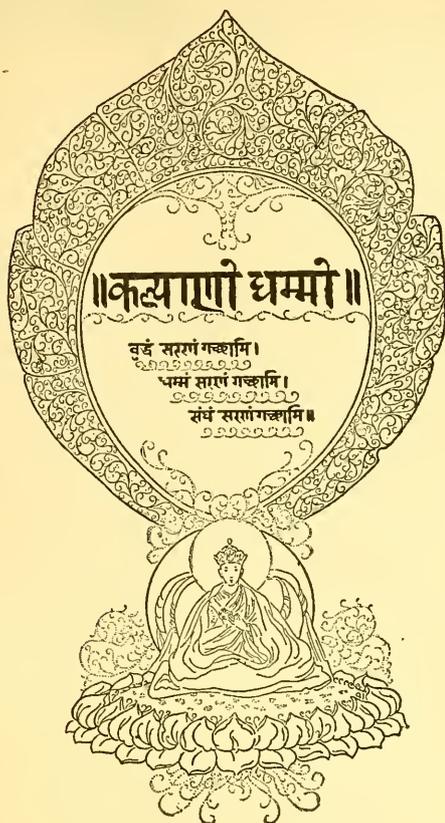
classical style of the school of Thebes. To this we owe the statue of Amenhotep IV [see above] and the bust of the Louvre, and perhaps the head of a little girl and the torso of young girl, probably one of the royal princesses. These form a group of works which, from their perfection of modeling, sincerity of observation, and their lofty style of execution, count among the most lifelike marvels of sculpture of all time.

Amenhotep reigned scarcely sixteen years, and perhaps—at least to judge from certain effigies of him—the struggle against the priests of Amen shattered his health and brought him to old age before his time. His work did not survive him, his second successor, Tutankhamen, son of another wife of Amenhotep III, restored the cult of Amen and the power of the high priests, thus preparing, in a little distant future of about three hundred years, the accession of the priest-kings at Thebes. In their turn the temples of Aten were shattered and the memory of Khuenaten mocked. In an official document of the XIXth dynasty they do not even dare to pronounce his name, they designate him by a roundabout term, “the prostrated one, the criminal Khuenaten.”<sup>29</sup>

The work undertaken by Khuenaten had perhaps been premature, certainly too hasty. Nothing durable is made without the collaboration of time. Khuenaten had thought to be able in a few years to communicate to his subjects and to the priests the devouring fervor from which his own soul, the reflection of the solar disk, had been kindled. Could his work survive him? That is the question that arises with regard to all reformers. In general their labors do not endure; the current of the past, dammed up for an instant, and the force of tradition, chained for a moment, return with formidable momentum and overwhelm the as yet poorly consolidated work of the innovators.

So it was with Amenhotep IV. Even official art, rejuvenated for a moment, relapsed after him into a hieratic and artificial solemnity. His reform seems not to have sensibly modified the development of Egyptian civilization, but if it counts for relatively little in the history of Egypt, it has great value for the history of humanity. Perhaps in the hymns of El-Amarna the idea of a Providence helpful to all living souls was for the first time worthily sung.

<sup>29</sup> Loret-Moret, “Inscription de Mes,” in *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, XXXIX.



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