

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS.
Assistant Editor: T. J. McCORMACK.

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VOL. XV. (NO. 8)

AUGUST, 1901.

NO. 543

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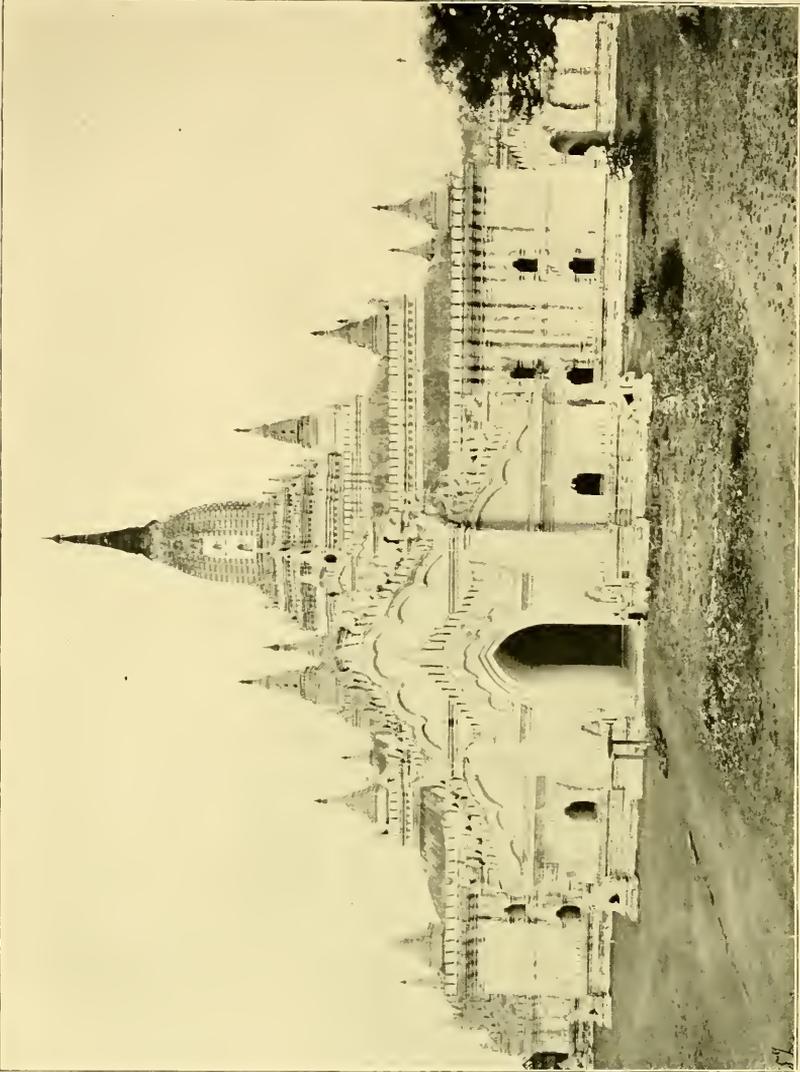
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THE ANANDA TEMPLE.
Greatest of the Burmese temples at Pagan, in four styles of architecture,
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A PLACE FOR OUR EX-PRESIDENTS.

BY THE HON. CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

UNDOUBTEDLY the American people would be glad to make some appropriate provision for all surviving Ex-Presidents of the United States, and the present seems a favorable time for the agitation of this matter. It is therefore respectfully urged that without distinction of party but as a patriotic service, an amendment to the National Constitution be adopted without unnecessary delay, and submitted to the several States for ratification, providing that all such Ex-Presidents shall be *ex-officio* Honorary Members for life of the Senate of the United States, with all the rights, privileges, immunities, and compensation of a Senator, except that such honorary members shall not vote upon any question. Of course the voting power of the Senate would not be disturbed by the proposed change.

Such an amendment would secure to the country the benefit of the experience and wisdom of the Ex-Presidents and would give them an honorable and dignified position in which, there is no doubt, they would be glad to continue to serve the people.

The advantages of such a course are so obvious and so many, and the absence of grounds for objection is so noteworthy that it seems as though little argument or effort would be required to carry this suggestion into full effect. Indeed, there is no good reason why the State legislatures should not have the amendment before them for action next winter.

It would require a vote of two-thirds of each House of Congress to pass the proposed amendment; and a ratification by three-fourths of the States to make it a part of the Constitution. May we not hope that the next session of Congress will be distinguished by the adoption of the proposed amendment?

THE LEGENDS OF GENESIS

BY H. GUNKEL.

[CONTINUED.]

METHODS OF THE NARRATOR.

WHAT means do the narrators use for the representation of the character of their heroes? The modern artist is very apt to explain in extended descriptions the thoughts and feelings of his personages. When one turns from such a modern story-teller to the study of Genesis, one is astonished to find in it so few utterances regarding the inner life of the heroes. Only rarely are the thoughts of even a leading personage expressly told, as in the case of the woman when she was looking desirously at the tree of knowledge, or of Noah, when he sent forth the birds "to see whether the waters were dried up off the earth," or the thoughts of Lot's sons-in-law, who judged that their father-in-law was jesting; the thoughts of Isaac, who feared at Gerar that he might be robbed of his wife (xxvi. 7); or the cunning thoughts with which Jacob proposed to evade the revenge of his brother Esau (xxxii. 9), and so on. But how brief and unsatisfactory even this appears compared with the psychological descriptions of modern writers!

And even such examples as these are not the rule in the legends of Genesis. On the contrary, the narrator is usually content with a very brief hint, such as, "He grew wroth" (iv. 5; xxx. 2; xxxi. 36; xxxiv. 7; xxxix. 19; xl. 2), or, "He was afraid" (xxvi. 7; xxviii. 17; xxxii. 8), "He was comforted" (xxiv. 16), "He loved her" (xxiv. 67; xxix. 18; xxx. 3; xxxvii. 3), "She became jealous" (xxx. 1), "He was filled with fear" (xxvii. 33), "He eyed him with hatred" (xxvii. 41; xxxvii. 4), and elsewhere. But even these brief hints are far from frequent; on the contrary, we find very often not the slightest expression regarding the thoughts and feelings of the person concerned, and this in situations where we

cannot avoid a certain surprise at the absence of such expressions. The narrator tells us nothing of the reasons why God forbade man to partake of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, nor of the reasons of the serpent for wishing to seduce mankind. He says nothing of the feelings with which Abraham left his home, or Noah entered the ark. We do not learn that Noah was angry at Canaan's shamelessness, that Jacob was disappointed when Laban cheated him with Leah, that Hagar was glad when she received the promise that Ishmael should become a great nation; we are not even told that mothers rejoice when they hold their firstborn son in their arms. Particularly striking is the case of the story of the sacrifice of Isaac: what modern writer would fail under such circumstances to portray the spiritual state of Abraham when his religious devotion wins the hard victory over his parental love, and when his sadness is finally turned into rejoicing!

THOUGHT EXPRESSED BY ACTIONS.

Now what is the reason for this strange proceeding? We can find it in an instance like that of xix. 27 ff. In sight of the city of Sodom Abraham had heard certain remarkable utterances from the three men; they had said that they were going down to Sodom to examine into the guilt of the city. This strange remark he let run in his head; in the morning of the following day he arose and went to the same place to see whether anything had happened in Sodom during the night. And in fact, he sees in the valley below a smoke, whence he must infer that something has taken place; but this smoke hides the region, and he cannot make out what has happened. For the story-teller this little scene is plainly not of interest because of the thing that happens, but because of the thoughts which Abraham must have thought, and yet he does not tell us what these thoughts were. He merely reports to us the outward incidents, and we are obliged to supply the really important point ourselves. This story-teller, then, has an eye for the soul-life of his hero, but he cannot conceive these inward processes with sufficient clearness to express them in definite words.

This is a typical instance for Genesis. In very many situations where the modern writer would expect a psychological analysis, the primitive story-teller simply presents an action. The spiritual state of the man and woman in Paradise and after the Fall is not analysed, but a single objective touch is given by which we may recognise it. The narrator says nothing of the thoughts of Adam when the woman handed him the forbidden fruit, but merely, that

he ate it; he does not discourse to us on Abraham's hospitable disposition, but he tells us how he entertained the three men. He does not say that Shem and Japhet felt chastely and respectfully, but he has them act chastely and respectfully; not that Joseph had compassion upon his brethren, but that he turned away and wept (xlii. 24; xliii. 30); not that Hagar, when mistreated by Sarah, felt offended in the depths of her maternal pride, but that she ran away from her mistress (xvi. 6); not that Laban was dazzled by the gold of the stranger, but that he made haste to invite him (xxiv. 30); not that obedience to God triumphed in Abraham over parental love, but that he arose straightway (xxii. 3); not that Tamar remained faithful to her husband even beyond the grave, but that she took measures to rear up children from his seed (xxxviii).

From all this we see on what the story-teller laid the chief emphasis. He does not share the modern point of view that the most interesting and worthy theme for art is the soul-life of man; his childlike taste is fondest of the outward, objective facts. And in this line his achievements are excellent. He has an extraordinary faculty for selecting just the action which is most characteristic for the state of feeling of his hero. How could filial piety be better represented than in the story of Shem and Japhet? Or mother-love better than by the behavior of Hagar? She gave her son to drink—we are not told that she herself drank! How could hospitality be better depicted than in the actions of Abraham at Hebron? And there is nothing less than genius in the simple manner in which the innocence and the consciousness of the first men is illustrated by their nakedness and their clothing. These simple artists had not learned how to reflect; but they were masters of observation. It is chiefly this admirable art of indirectly depicting men through their actions which makes the legends so vivid. Little as these primitive men could talk about their soul-life, we gain the impression that they are letting us look into the very hearts of their heroes. These figures live before our eyes, and hence the modern reader, charmed by the luminous clearness of these old legends, is quite willing to forget their defects.

SOUL-LIFE NOT IGNORED.

But even when the story-teller said nothing of the soul-life of his heroes, his hearer did not entirely fail to catch an impression of it. We must recall at this point that we are dealing with orally

recited stories. Between narrator and hearer there is another link than that of words; the tone of the voice talks, the expression of the face or the gestures of the narrator. Joy and grief, love, anger, jealousy, hatred, emotion, and all the other moods of his heroes, shared by the narrator, were thus imparted to his hearers without the utterance of a word.

Modern exegesis is called to the task of reading between the lines the spiritual life which the narrator did not expressly utter. This is not always such a simple matter. We have in some cases gotten out of touch with the emotions of older times and the expressions for them. Why, for instance, did Rebecca veil herself when she caught sight of Isaac? (xxiv. 25). Why did the daughters of Lot go in unto him? Why did Tamar desire offspring of Judah? (xxxvii.) What is the connexion of the awakening modesty of the first men and their sin? In such cases exegesis has often gone far astray by taking modern motives and points of view for granted.

A further medium of expression for the spiritual life of the personages is articulate speech. Words are not, it is true, so vivid as actions, but to make up for this they can the better reveal the inner life of the personages. The early story-tellers were masters in the art of finding words that suit the mood of the speakers: thus the malice of the cunning serpent is expressed in words, as well as the guilelessness of the childlike woman, Sarah's jealousy of her slave as well as the conciliatoriness of Abraham (xvi. 6), the righteous wrath of Abimelech (xx. 9), the caution of the shrewd Jacob (xxxii. 9), and the bitter lament of Esau (xxvii. 36) and of Laban (xxx. 43) when deceived by Jacob. Notable masterpieces of the portrayal of character in words are the temptation of the first couple and the conversation between Abraham and Isaac on the way to the mount of sacrifice.

LACONISM OF THE LEGEND WRITERS.

But even in this connexion we find many things to surprise us. First of all, that the personages of Genesis often fail to speak where the modern writer would surely have them do so, and where the very nature of the case seems to require it. We may well imagine that Joseph complained aloud when he was cast into the pit and carried away to Egypt (cp. also xlii. 21), that the murder of Abel was preceded by a dispute, that Hagar left Abraham's house complaining and weeping that Abraham had put her away (xxi. 14); but there is nothing of the kind. The first couple do not utter a

word of reply when God pronounces his curse upon their future: they do not even indulge in self-accusations; not a word does Rebecca say in chapter xxvi., nor Noah during the Deluge, nor Abraham in chapter xviii. when a son is promised him or when he is commanded to sacrifice Isaac; neither does Hagar when she sees her child dying, nor later when God heard the weeping of Ishmael. One who examined these references might easily conclude that the personages of Genesis were intended to be portrayed as taciturn and even secretive; he would find the only talkative individual to be—God.

But if we go more deeply into these legends, we perceive that this extraordinary laconism is part of the style of the narrator. The narrators subordinated everything to the action. They introduced only such speeches as really advanced the action. Hence especially they avoided giving utterance to the feelings of the merely passive personages. Whether Joseph complains or keeps silence, when his brethren sell him, makes no difference with his destiny. What words were spoken by Abraham and Noah when they received the commands of God makes no difference; suffice it, they obeyed. The destiny of the first family is fixed when God has cursed them; no self-reproaches will help the matter. Or, what do we care about the dispute that preceded the murder of Abel, since we know the reason which prompted Cain's deed! And it appears perfectly natural that men should make no reply to the promises of God, as is usually the case; for what can man add when God has spoken?

The other side of this strangely laconic method is that the remarks which the narrator does introduce are an essential part of the narrative. The conversation between the serpent and the woman is to show how it came about that the forbidden fruit was eaten. Cain pours forth his guilt-laden heart before God, and as a result modifies his sentence. Abraham begs his wife to declare herself his sister; and thus it comes about that she was taken into the harem of Pharaoh (xii. 11 ff.). Abraham gave Lot the choice of going to the east or to the west; hence Lot chose the plain of the Jordan. At Sarah's request Abraham takes Hagar as concubine and at her request he gives her up again. In these cases the words are not idle; on the contrary they are necessary to suggest an inner motive for the action to follow. Especially necessary are the words of cursing and of promise; they are the very climax of the story, up to which all the rest leads. This explains why God is so often represented as speaking in Genesis; for speech is really

the chief medium through which God influences the action in these legends.

In some places the narrators have introduced monologues, the most unconcrete of all forms of speech, when the situation showed that there was no one present to whom the person could have spoken. This is quite commonly the case with God; for to whom should God reveal his most hidden decrees? But in a few cases we can infer (i. 26; ii. 6 f.) an elder form of the account, in which God addressed himself to his celestial associates.

But even in the laconic legends there are speeches which, while they are not exactly necessary, either characterise a person or attempt to give the opinion of the narrator, or which aim at some other point which the narrator wants to make. Many of the speeches in Genesis are exceedingly brief. Recall the lament of Hagar: "I am fleeing before the face of my mistress" (xvi. 8), or the words of the daughters of Lot (xix. 31), of Sarah (xxi. 10), of Abraham (xxi. 24), "I will swear," of Rebekkah (xxiv. 18 ff.), of Jacob (xxv. 33), "Swear to me this day," of Isaac (xxvi. 7), "She is my sister," of the shepherds of Gerar (xxvi. 20), "The water is ours," of Isaac's slaves (xxvi. 32), "We have found water," of Laban (xxix. 14), "Yea, thou art my flesh and blood," and so on. Of course, the speeches are not always so brief; they are especially apt to grow longer in the solemn and impressive formulæ of cursing and blessing. But in general we may see in brevity a characteristic mark of a certain type in Genesis.

Even such utterances do not always reveal the ultimate purpose of the actors, and reveal their spiritual life only in an indirect way. Hence the expressions are not always entirely clear for us, and require an especial gift for their interpretation. We are told that God forbade to man the fruit of the tree of life, but his reason for this is not given. What thought was in God's mind when threatening man with immediate death, whereas this result did not actually follow? So, too, we learn that the serpent desires to betray the woman, but not his reason. And even such psychological masterpieces as the story of the temptation are only indirect portrayals of soul-life.

NO NATURE-LOVE IN GENESIS.

Very many of the legends are no less laconic in their descriptions of incidental circumstances. In this respect also there is a great difference between the primitive literary art and that of modern story-tellers. Of course, the ancients have no touch of the in-

timate feeling for the landscape; there is no trace of nature-love in Genesis. The facts that the story of Eden is set among green trees, the story of Hagar in the barren desolation of the wilderness, the story of Joseph in the land of the Nile, affect the course of the story in certain respects, indeed: since the first pair clothe themselves with leaves, and since the desert is a place where one can get lost, and where there is no water. But these facts in no wise affect the mood or sentiment of the action.

ECONOMY OF DETAILS.

But aside from this intimate feeling for the life of nature, which was foreign to the primitive man, how easy it would have been to give a description of Paradise! What modern poet would have missed the opportunity! But the early story-tellers were content to say that there were beautiful trees there, and the source of mighty rivers. It is a piece of the same method that the narrator does not tell us with what weapon Cain slew Abel; he tells us merely that Noah planted vines and then that he drank of the wine, omitting the intervening steps of picking and pressing the grapes; he no more tells us how the contempt of Hagar was expressed (xvi. 4) than how Sarah took her revenge. We are wont to admire the circumstantiality of the narratives, and justly, but this by no means implies that the legends abound in striking and highly concrete touches: on the contrary, they present on the whole not an abundance, but a paucity, of concrete elements; but the little that we have is so judiciously selected that we are warranted in seeking for a purpose in almost every minute feature.

This economy of circumstantial details is the more striking because alongside such lightly sketched features, and especially in the more detailed narratives, there are often very minute descriptions. Thus, for instance, the meal that Abraham serves to the three men is described in detail, while the meal of Lot is but briefly sketched. For the purpose of exegesis it is very suggestive to keep this question constantly in mind, to observe the brief and detailed treatments, and to consider everywhere the interest of the narrator. In general this will warrant the conclusion that the narrator portrays the principal events concretely, while merely hinting at or omitting those which are incidental to the action: thus, for instance, in the story of the sacrifice of Isaac the three days' journey is covered at a bound, while the short passage to the place of sacrifice is described in all detail. The narrator is quite arbitrary in the matter. Similarly the experiences of Abraham's ser-

vant on the day when he sued for the hand of Rebecca are reported very minutely, while all the days consumed in the journey to the city of Nahor are disposed of in a breath.

This emphasis laid upon the action is seen also in the manner of the conclusion of the narrative. The legends stop promptly when they have attained the desired object, not with a gradual cadence, but with a sudden jerk. This observation also is important for exegesis. The point just before the close is recognised as the climax by the narrator. Yet there are here two varieties of conclusion: the customary sort follows the climax with a short sentence (the type is the sacrifice of Isaac); the less common, and plainly more impressive, closes with a pathetic address (the curse of Noah is here the type).

UNITY AND COHERENCE OF PARTS.

From the above observations we conclude that everything is subordinated in the primitive legends to the action. In other literatures there are narratives in which the action is merely a garb or a thread, while the chief concern is the psychologic study, the brilliant conversation, or the idea; but not so with the primitive Hebrew legend. The primitive man demanded from his storyteller first of all action; he demands that something shall happen in the story to please his eye. But the first essential in such a story is to him its inner unity; the narrator must furnish him a connected series of events each necessarily dependent on the preceding. One of the chief charms of the early legend is just this: to show how one thing resulted from another. The more plausible and necessary this connexion appears, the more attractive seems the whole story. A famine forces Abraham to go to Egypt; but he is afraid of being killed there on account of his beautiful wife. *Therefore* he reports his wife to be his sister. Deceived *by this* Pharaoh takes Sarah and makes presents to Abraham. *Therefore* God punished Pharaoh. *In consequence of this* Pharaoh releases Sarah but permits Abraham to retain the presents.—Sarah has no children, but desires them. *Therefore* she gives her maid to Abraham as concubine. *Thus* Hagar conceives of Abraham. *Hence* Hagar despised her mistress. *This* offends the proud Sarah most deeply. *Therefore* she causes Abraham to restore Hagar to her, and mistreats her. *As a result* Hagar flees into the desert. *Here* God has compassion on her and promises her a son.

Observe how in such cases each successive member is linked to the preceding one; how each preceding member appears as the

natural cause or at least the antecedent of the succeeding one. We are in the habit, following a sort of tradition, of calling this kind of narrative childish; but in so doing we are only partially right.

These narratives, then, are exceedingly tense in their connexion. The narrators do not like digressions, but press with all their energy toward the mark. Hence they avoid if possible the introduction of new features in a given story, but seek an uninterrupted connexion. Rarely indeed are new assumptions introduced, but good style demands the announcement of all assumptions as near the beginning as possible. In pursuit of this method it is considered permissible to skip over the necessary consequences of what has been told, provided only that those features stand forth which are essential to the continuation of the action. There must be nothing too much, and nothing too little. The narrator does not spring aside; but the hearer also must not be allowed to spring aside: the narrator holds fast to him so that he can think only what the narrator wants to have him think.

VARIATIONS ON A GIVEN THEME.

Many of the legends are fond of varying a given motive. Consider how the story of Eden makes everything dependent on the nakedness and the clothing of man, and how the relation of "field" and "field-tiller" (this is the etymology of the Hebrew word here used for "man") pervades this whole legend; how the story of Joseph's sale into Egypt treats the coat-sleeve (coat of many colors) and the dreams; how the story of Jacob's last testament (xlvi. 29 ff.) constantly connects his actions with his bed: in praying he bows at the head of the bed, xlvi. 31; in blessing he rises up in bed, xlviii. 2; in dying he stretches himself out upon his bed, xlix. 33 (English version: "gathered up his feet in his bed"), and so on. In this the rule is, quite in opposition to our sense of style, to repeat the expression every time the thing is referred to, so that one and the same word often runs through the story like a red thread. Undoubtedly this custom originated in the poverty of the language; but the narrators of our legends follow it in order to produce an impression of unity and simplicity. Precisely because of this inward connexion in the story it is possible in many places where our received text shows gaps or distortions to recognise the original form of the legend: the text-criticism is in this point very much more positive than in the case of the prophets, the laws and the songs, which lacked this connected condensation.

PLAUSIBILITY DEMANDED.

Furthermore, the course of the action must be probable, highly credible, even unavoidable. Nowhere must the hearer be able to make the objection that what is being told is inconsistent with what has preceded or with itself. Hagar, when elevated to too high station, could not fail to grow haughty; and Sarah could not help feeling offended. True, the probability aimed at by these old story-tellers was different from that of which we speak. Their understanding of nature was different from ours; for instance, they regarded it as entirely credible that all the kinds of animals could get into the ark; furthermore, the way in which they speak of God and his participation in the affairs of the world was simpler than is possible for us of modern times; they regarded it as quite plausible that the serpent should have spoken in primitive times; that Joseph, the grand vizier, should look after the sale of the corn in person.

Hence it would be quite unwarranted to speak of the "arbitrariness" and "childish recklessness" of the legends simply because the assumptions of the narrators are impossible to us in modern times. Only in a very few places can the eye of the modern reader, even though trained for criticism, detect improbabilities. In this line we may ask why Joseph, who was so much attached to his father, failed to communicate with him all the long years. Even after Hagar and her son were once rescued, were not the dangers of the desert sure to recur every day? But the auditor of ancient times doubtless did not ask such questions; he was more willing to surrender to the narrator, and was more easily charmed; he was also more credulous than we are; cp. for instance, xliii. 23.

SUSTAINED INTEREST.

On the other hand, in a well-told legend the incidents are not so simple that one can guess the whole course of events from the first few words; if it were so, the legend would lose its interest. No one cares to hear of things that are self-evident. On the contrary, our story-tellers are dealing with what they regard as a complicated situation, whose final outcome cannot be surveyed in advance by the hearer. This leads him to listen the more intently. Jacob wrestles with a supernatural being; which of the two will conquer? Jacob and Laban are equally gifted in cunning; which

will succeed in deceiving the other? The shrewd but unwarlike Jacob has to meet the dull but physically superior Esau: how will he manage him? Abraham has to go down into Egypt, and how will he fare there? Thus all these stories are more or less exciting. The childlike listener holds his breath, and rejoices when the hero finally escapes all the threatening dangers.

The narrators are very fond of contrasts: the child cast out into the desert becomes a mighty people; a poor slave, languishing in prison, becomes the ruler of Egypt with all her abundance. They try if possible to focus these contrasts into a single point: at the moment when Hagar is in utter despair, God takes compassion on her; the very instant when Abraham raises his arm to slay Isaac, he is checked by God. Lot lingers, and Jacob holds the divinity fast until the dawn is at hand: the next moment will surely bring the decision. And where this intense interest is wholly lacking, where there is no complication of interests, there we have no real legend. Thus the account of creation in Genesis i. is scarcely to be called a story; and yet, from v. 2 and 26, as well as from the poetic versions referred to on pages 267-268, and 276 of *The Open Court* for May, we can conjecture a form of the account in which more personages appear and in which the world is created after a conflict of God with Chaos. In like manner, the accounts of Abraham's migration and of his league with Abimelech are not real legends, but only legendary traditions which have originated probably from the decay of earlier and fuller legends.

LEGENDS NOT PURE INVENTION.

As we have seen in the second division of this treatise, the legends are not free inventions of the imagination. On the contrary, a legend adopts and works over certain data which come from reflexion, tradition or observation. These fundamental data have been treated in the preceding pages; our present task is to consider the part taken by the imagination in the development of the legends. With this subject we have reached the very heart of our investigations.

As has been shown above, many of the legends seem intended to answer definite questions. That is, these legends are not the thoughtless play of an imagination acting without other purpose than the search for the beautiful, but they have a specific purpose, a point, which is to instruct. Accordingly, if these narratives are to attain their object they must make this point very clear. They do this in a decided way, so decidedly that even we late-born mod-

erns can see the point clearly, and can infer from it the question answered. The sympathetic reader who has followed the unhappy happy Hagar on her way through the desert will find no word in the whole story more touching than the one which puts an end to all her distress: God hears. But this word contains at the same time the point aimed at, for upon this the narrator wished to build the interpretation of the name Ishmael ("God hears").—Or what word in the legend of the sacrifice of Isaac stamps itself so deeply upon the memory as the affecting word with which Abraham from the depths of his breaking heart quiets the questioning of his unsuspecting child: God will provide! This word, which made God himself a reality, is so emphasised because it answers the question after the etymology of the place (Jeruel).

Other legends reflect historic events or situations, and in such cases it was the duty of the narrator to bring out these references clearly enough to satisfy his well-informed hearer. Thus in the legend of the flight of Hagar the actors are at first mere individuals whose destinies are interesting enough, to be sure, but at the climax, with the words of God regarding Ishmael, the narrator shows that in Ishmael he is treating of a race and its destinies.

Hebrew taste is especially fond of playing about the names of leading heroes and places, even when no etymology is involved. Many of the legends are quite filled with such references to names. Thus the legend of the Deluge plays with the name of Noah (cp. viii. 4, 9, 21), the story of the sacrifice of Isaac with Jeruel (xxii. 8, 12, 13), the story of the meeting of Jacob and Esau with Mahanaim and Penuel (cp. p. 321 in my *Commentary*), and so on. Thus these legends are rich in points and allusions; they are so to speak transparent: even the one who reads them naïvely and simply as beautiful stories finds pleasure in them, but only the one who holds them up against the light of the primitive understanding can catch all their beautiful colors; to him they appear as small but flashing and brilliant works of art. The characteristic feature of the Hebrew popular legends as contrasted with other legends, if we understand the matter, consists in the flashing of these points.

The art of the story-tellers consists in avoiding every suspicion of deliberate purpose at the same time that they give great prominence to their point. With marvellous elegance, with fascinating grace, they manage to reach the goal they have set. They tell a little story so charmingly and with such fidelity to nature that we listen to them all unsuspecting; and all at once, before we expect it, they are at their goal. For instance, the story of Hagar's flight

(xvi.) wishes to explain how Ishmael, although the child of our Abraham, was born in the wilderness: to this end it draws a picture of Abraham's household: it shows how, by an entirely credible series of events, Ishmael's mother while with child was brought to desperation and fled into the wilderness: thence it came that Ishmael is a child of the desert.

In many cases the task of the narrator was very complex: he had to answer a whole series of different questions, or to assimilate a quantity of antecedent presumptions. Thus one variant of the legend of Babel asks the origin of the difference of languages and of the city of Babel, the other wants to know the source of the distribution of races and also of a certain ancient structure. Or again, the story of Abraham at Hebron undertakes to tell not only the origin of the worship at Hebron, but also to explain the birth of Isaac and the choice of his name. Here then the task was to unite the differing elements into unity. And it is just here that the story-tellers show their art. The prime motive furnishes the leading thread of the story; the subordinate motives they spin into a single scene which they introduce into the body of the story with easy grace.

ETYMOLOGIES SUBORDINATE FEATURES.

The etymologies usually constitute such subordinate motives. Thus in the story of the worship at Jeruel a scene is interjected which is to explain the name of the place, "God sees"; but this little scene, the dialogue between Abraham and Isaac, xxii. 7 f., expresses so completely the tone and sentiment of the whole story that we should not be willing to dispense with it even if it had no particular point of its own. In other cases the artists have joined together two leading motives; then they invented a very simple and plausible transition from one to the other: thus the first part of the legend of Hebron presents the establishment of worship there under the guise of the story that Abraham entertained the three divine visitors there; the second portion, which is to account for the birth of Isaac, simply proceeds with the given situation, having the three guests enter into a conversation at table and therein promise Isaac to Abraham. It is the most charming portion of the task of the interpreter of Genesis to search for these matters, and not only, so far as this is possible, to discover the for us oldest meaning of the legends, but also to observe the refinements of artistic composition in the stories.

SUMMARY.

We have to do, then, even in the oldest legends of Genesis, not with aimless, rude stories, tossed off without reflexion, but on the contrary, there is revealed in them a mature, perfected, and very forcible art. The narratives have a very decided style.

Finally attention should be called to the fact that the narrators scarcely ever express a distinct opinion about persons or facts. This constitutes a clear distinction between them and the later legends and histories worked over under the influence of the prophets. Of course the narrators of the early legends had their opinions; they are by no means objective, but rather intensely subjective; and often the real comprehension of the legend lies in our obtaining an impression of this opinion of the narrator. But they almost never gave expression to this opinion: they were not able to reflect clearly on psychological processes. Wherever we do get a more distinct view of such an opinion it is by means of the speeches of the actors which throw some light on what has happened; consider particularly the utterances of Abraham and Abimelech, chapter xx., or the final scene of the story of Laban and Jacob, xxxi. 26 ff. At the same time this suppression of opinions shows most clearly that the narrators, especially the earlier ones, did not care to proclaim general truths. It is true, there are at the basis of many of the legends and more or less distinctly recognisable, certain general truths, as, in the case of the story of the migration of Abraham, a thought of the value of faith, and in the story of Hebron, the thought of the reward of hospitality. But we must not imagine that these narratives aimed primarily at these truths; they do not aim to teach moral truths. With myths, as has been shown at page 270 of the *May Open Court*, this is different, for they aim to answer questions of a general nature.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE TEMPLES AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL TREASURES OF BURMA.

BY DR. ALBERT GRÜNWEDEL.¹

OF the many bizarre contradictions that mark the dominant tendencies of the present age, none is more striking than that now presented in the distant Orient. On the one hand, the armies of Europe, equipped with all the machinery of modern military science, may be seen engaged in the systematic destruction of the art and civilisation of the Orient, whilst at the same time peaceable and scholarly countrymen of these vandals may be observed putting forth every effort, employing their utmost ingenuity, and shrinking before no obstacle or sacrifice, to rescue or restore the ruins of the works of art that have been left standing in these countries from precisely similar catastrophies in former centuries. It would almost seem as if this strange and mournful destiny were ordained to impend forever over the creations of humanity. Is it not the acme of irony that almost at the very moment when we are called upon to lament the destruction of so many conspicuous works of Chinese art, the intelligence should reach us from the most distant quarters of Asia of the discovery of highly important relics of extinct civilisations? It is now the ruins of Babylon or Armenia, now cities unearthed from the desert sands of Eastern Turkestan, now the dazzling discoveries of the Pamir plateaus, that excite the wonder of the scholars of Europe, and put before them for solution an endless number of problems on which their ingenuity will be exercised for many generations to come.

Recently the situation has taken an altogether new turn, and one of great significance for the development of Oriental science. The enormous treasures which have been brought to light in remote Eastern Asia are placing new obligations on the patrons of

¹ I take pleasure in thanking my colleague, Dr. Georg Huth, for the valuable assistance he rendered me in the preparation of this article.

Oriental science. Western Asia has been and is now being exploited to the full. Such, however, has not been the case with India, Central and Eastern Asia; and it is now high time that the numerous problems here presented should also be approached with enthusiasm, and above all that more abundant means should be placed at the disposal of investigators for this purpose. The amount needed is not great. In fact, it is far less than is almost daily incurred in the purchase of Greek and Roman antiquities. A comparative statement of the prices regularly paid for classic relics and curios and of the sums necessary for carrying out extensive scientific expeditions in Middle, Eastern, and Southern Asia, would afford an instructive illustration of the neglectful treatment which some branches of knowledge have suffered through the over-indulgence accorded to others. Yet many of the Cinderellas which have been so maltreated would, in the garments which are their natural right, exhibit a beauty that would far outshine and even put to shame the charms of their more richly appareled sisters. Indian archæology is one of the sciences that have been little worked, yet bear within them the promise of rich discoveries. Nevertheless, the researches which have already been carried out in this field have led to discoveries of great significance, of which we shall here mention but the two following :

1. The fact of very general interest that Indian art has been definitely shown to be a continuation of Roman provincial art, and is thus immediately connected with the ramifications of the art of antiquity, in other words that it has played in Further Asia the same part which Byzantine art played with reference to the later Mediæval art of the Orient.

2. The fact, of importance especially for our knowledge of India, that Indian archæology, both directly by inscriptions and indirectly by the style, details, and leading *motifs* of its sculpture, contains important data for determining the chronology of entire historical epochs, for which the *literature* of India, by reason of the utter lack of historical sense so characteristic of the Indian race, contains *no chronological data whatever*.

But if Indian archæology in itself is a greatly neglected department of inquiry, much more so is the art of Further India, although naturally it should be expected that the enormous extent of the monuments of Further India would secure for them above all others a more immediate and general interest. But, while the archæological booty awaiting the systematic exploration of the ruins of the ancient capitals of Cambodia and Siam is something enormous,

yet even these treasures are surpassed by those of Burma, the former vast extent of whose celebrated capital, Pagan, may be inferred to-day from the hundreds of ruined temples which dot the road leading toward Mandalay, and of which many are still so well preserved that worship may be held in them.

EARLY HISTORY OF BURMA.

To be able to appreciate the importance of these monuments for the history of Burma and Further Asia as a whole, we must first take a cursory glance at the political development of the Burmese people, using for our purpose both the native Burmese historical tradition and the parallel narratives of Chinese sources, and taking into account also the data which the ethnography and local history of the adjacent nations furnish. The appellation "Burmese" by which the entire country is known to-day belonged originally to a single tribe only, a member of a larger group of kindred tribes, all of which gradually fell under the leadership and influence of more highly civilised Indian immigrants and gathered ultimately about a centre which became the political and religious (Buddhistic) capital of the whole. In their oldest history, the following periods of development are particularly notable:

1. Colonists from Eastern Bengal carried Aryan civilisation into the land and founded the state of Tagaung, on the upper banks of the Irawadi River. The royal family of Tagaung, according to Burmese tradition, was descended from the famous king of Western India, Asoka, of the Maurya dynasty, of the third century before Christ. The destruction of this kingdom followed upon the irruption from the north of hordes of the Shan race.

2. After the destruction of Tagaung, a second kingdom was established at Old Pagan in the immediate vicinity, by Aryan colonists from Western India. After sixteen kings had ruled in this kingdom, a conflict in the reigning family and an invasion of the Shans brought about the dissolution of this realm also.

3. Descendants of the last king of the country found their way to Prome, on the lower banks of the Irawadi River, and founded there also a kingdom.

4. From there colonists proceeded up stream toward the north and founded on the same river, about 483 after Christ, the city of Srikshetra, and subsequently in the immediate vicinity of the latter, New Pagan, which gradually absorbed all the Burmese elements on the upper as well as the lower banks of the Irawadi River.

This new and powerful kingdom of Pagan reached its zenith in the reign of the mighty king Anō-ya-hṭa-so (1010-1052 A. D.), one of the most unique and remarkable personalities that ever occupied a Buddhistic throne. Filled with the idea of uniting *all* forms of Buddhistic religion under a single ruler, he entered into an alliance with all the Buddhistic kings of Western and Further Asia, and requested them to forward to him Buddhistic relics, objects of art and culture, manuscripts, etc., and to render him homage as the overlord of their church and the representative of the purest form of their faith. It was unavoidable under these circumstances that he should have come into violent conflict with some of the foreign Buddhistic princes.

His most embittered enemy was Manuha, the king of the Mon nation, which dwelt on the western coast of Further India, on the Gulf of Martaban, and which had received its culture and political organisation from Dravidian settlers from Southern India. In the capital, Thahton, of this nation lived the Canon of the pure, Southern Buddhistic Church, and it was toward him that the attention and urgent requests of the Burmese king were particularly directed. The ruler of the Mon nation, who had already detected certain worldly ambitions in the spiritual aspirations of Anō-ya-hṭa-so, refused to deliver into his hands the celebrated and ancient collection of canonical writings in the possession of the Mons. In addition to this, certain ancient and antagonistic national traits stood between the Mons and the Burmese. As it was, a war was inevitable, and it took place in the year 1050. King Manuha was defeated, and carried off a captive with his entire family to Pagan, where to the end of their lives they were compelled to perform the duties of slaves of the temple.

Shortly after, a second expedition was sent out by King Anō-ya-hṭa-so toward the northeast, for the purpose of securing from Gandarit, a country presumably situated there, certain precious relics, notably the tooth of the founder of Buddhism, which was supposed to be hoarded in this region, and to investigate the nature of the north Buddhistic influence at its very source. He came no farther, however, than Yun-nan, the southwestern-most province of China, where he secured, instead of the desired tooth, a Buddha statue specially consecrated by contact with the holy tooth. King Anō-ya-hṭa-so sent out his third and last expedition to Ceylon to procure from that country the famed tooth of which he was in search; yet his hopes here also were blasted.

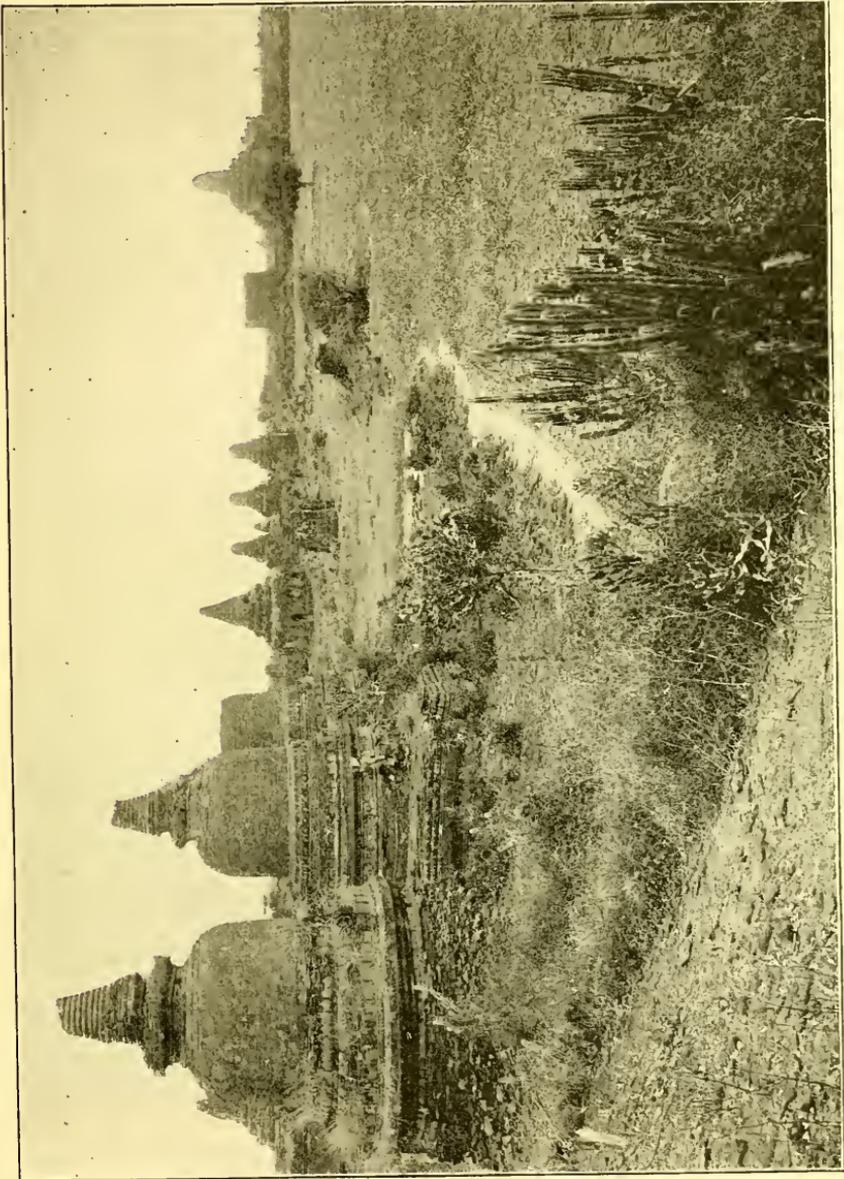
Remarkable is Anō-ya-hṭa-so's ambition of erecting in his cap-

ital, Pagan, temples in the precise style of architecture of the Buddhist countries from which the numerous precious relics to be stored in them were procured, an aspiration which was likewise zealously cultivated by all his successors. It is owing to this practice of the Burmese rulers that there is now spread before us in that boundless expanse of ruined temples that dot the plains of Pagan, a collection of all the multifarious styles of architecture of all the various countries of Buddhism,—a phenomenon which stands signally alone in the history of religious architecture, and the significance of which is immeasurably enhanced by the fact that the majority of the original structures imitated in the temples of Pagan have vanished from the countries of their origin without leaving so much as a single vestige behind. When we reflect that the dynasty of *Ano-ya-hta-so* occupied the throne of Burma for a single century only (ending with the year 1279), the vast area of temples which they erected, the numbers of which reach into the thousands and some of which are of colossal size, is only calculated to fill us with unbounded amazement, particularly when we learn that the erection of many of these gigantic structures extended through two or three generations of rulers.

Witness is borne to the surpassing splendor and magnificence of many of these structures by the celebrated Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, according to whom “golden images of the disciples of Buddha, golden models of the sacred localities of Buddhism, golden images of the fifty-one predecessors of the king of Pagan and of the king himself with his entire family,” were among the adornments of the temple of *Manggalachaityam*, the last to be constructed.

It was inevitable that the erection of so many magnificent temples should have exhausted the financial resources of the state of Pagan, and after the completion of the last temple the proverb became current among the people: “The pagoda is finished and the country ruined.” With financial exhaustion in the interior arose political complications without. The expansion policy of the Burmese rulers was a source of endless boundary disputes with China, and after the latter country fell into the hands of the Mongolians it ultimately led to a Chinese invasion of Burma. According to the report of Marco Polo, the horses of the Mongolian cavalry fled precipitately before the elephants of the Burmese warriors; but the Mongolian general commanded his troops to dismount, to tie their horses to trees and to attack the elephants vigorously with arrows.

The elephants having been partly killed and partly put to flight by the wounds they had received, the Mongolians again mounted their

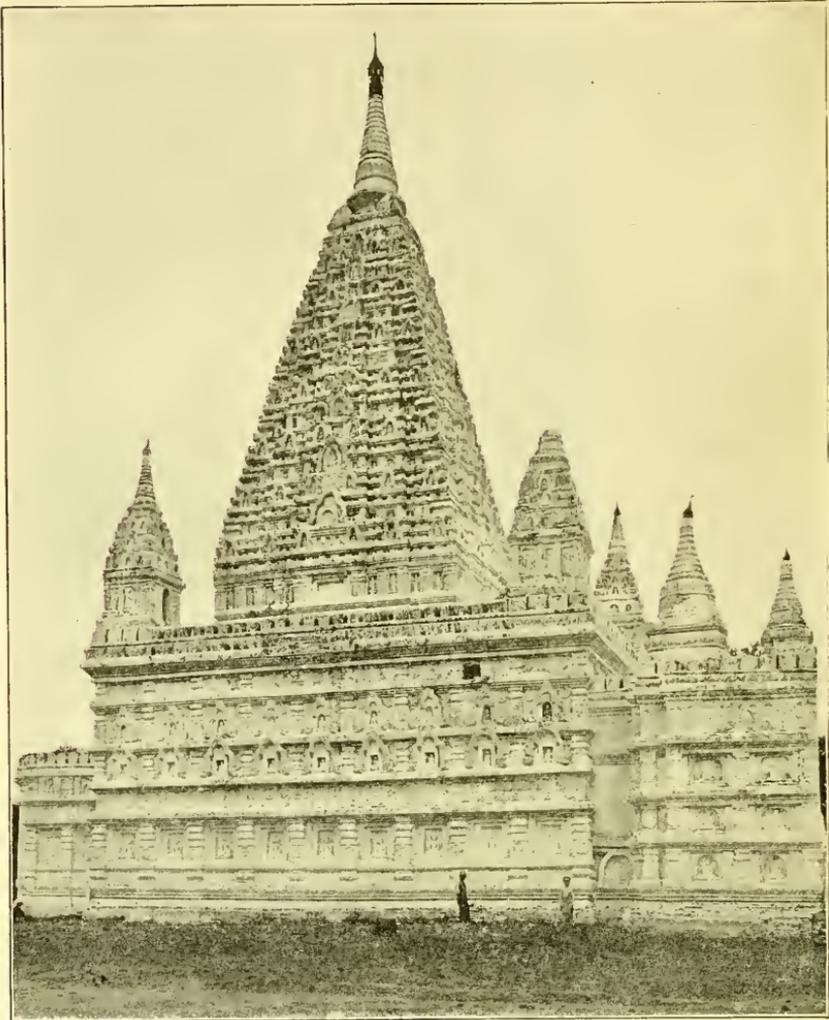


GROUP OF THE MOST ANCIENT OF THE BURMESE STUPAS (Memorial Monuments). Names unknown.

horses and defeated the Burmese with fearful slaughter. Thus, in the year 1279 A. D. the flourishing kingdom of Pagan came to an end.

THE TEMPLES OF PAGAN.

We shall now take a survey of the knowledge which we possess concerning the structures of Pagan. Strange to say, in spite of



BODHI TEMPLE AT PAGAN (Burma). Modelled after the temple of Buddha-Gaya.

their great number and size, and in spite of the fact that they are situated along the road leading to the modern capital of Burma, Mandalay, in sight of nearly all travellers that have visited this

country, they have never received more than cursory mention. The only praiseworthy exception to this neglect is the case of the scholarly editor of the newest edition of Marco Polo's *Travels*, Henry Yule, whose photographic reproduction and plans of the main temple and the district of the ruins, made in 1853, form up to the present day the sole genuinely scientific material at our command. Val-

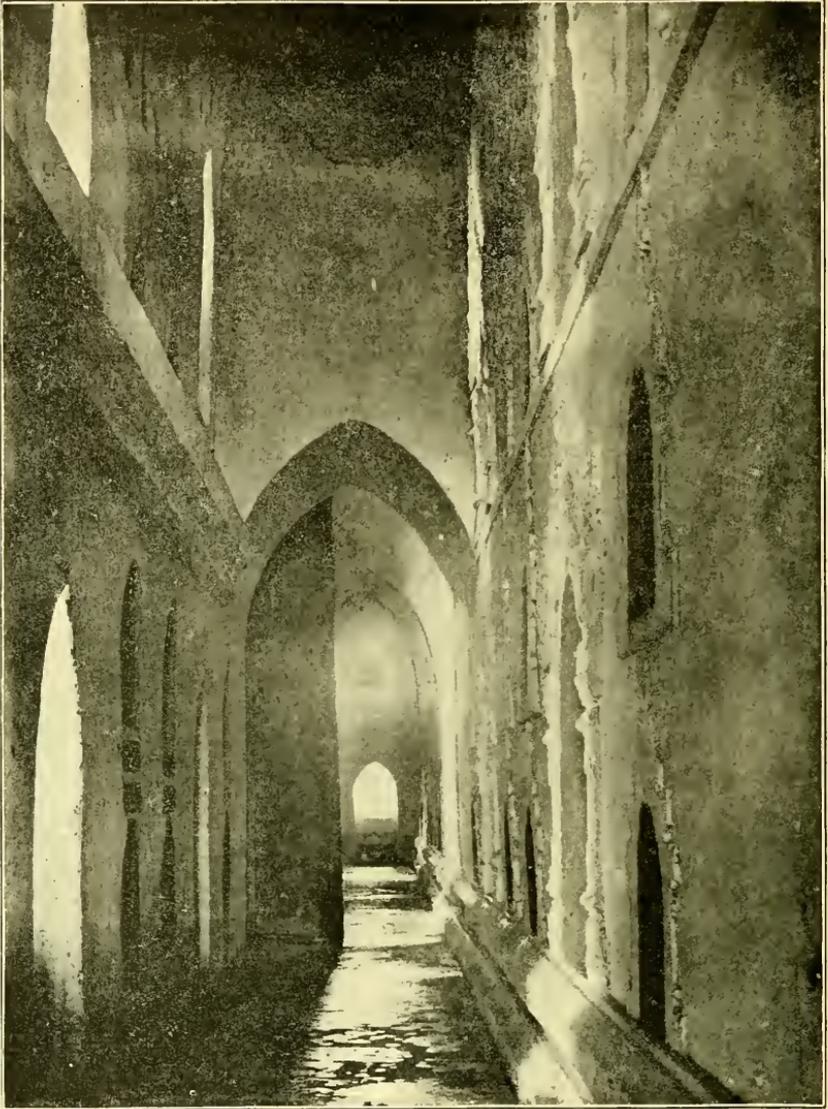


DOME OF THE ANANDA TEMPLE AT PAGAN. (See frontispiece.)

uable supplements to this material were furnished by Nötling, a member of the Indian Geological Survey, who brought from Burma and presented to the Royal Ethnological Museum at Berlin a collection of photo graphs, glazed ware, and sculptures.

But the greatest advance in the scientific exploration of the ruins in the vicinity of Pagan, which, as we have seen, have re-

maintained almost untouched archæologically, was made by the expedition of Herr Thomann, in the year 1899. This expedition brought



VIEW OF A CORRIDOR IN THE ANANDA TEMPLE AT PAGAN.

to light an amazingly large number of important facts. The mere recital of the objects discovered and brought back will give us

some dim conception of the extraordinary value of the collection in question. This collection comprises the following objects:

1. Paper casts of not less than 142 inscriptions containing



SCHWE ZIGON TEMPLE AT PAGAN.

nearly 4500 lines, among them one of 105 lines with an English translation by Burmese scholars and officials.

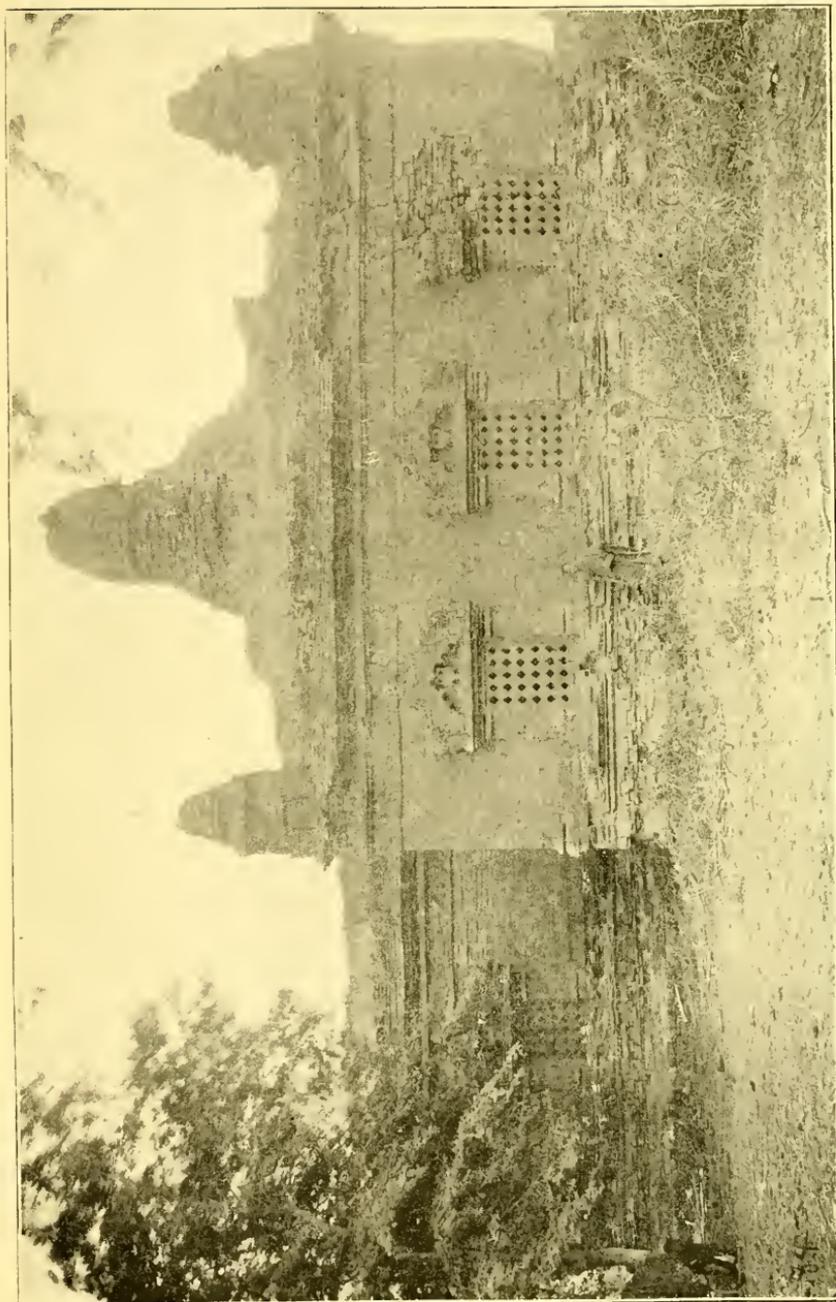
2. Not less than 193 casts of glazed reliefs representing scenes from the former existences of Buddha.

3. Antique original sculptures of stone.
 4. Antique original sculptures of bronze.
 5. Antique original sculptures of wood.
 6. 46 casts of sculptures from a celebrated temple.
 7. Not less than 376 frescoes from five different temples, representing various episodes of the Buddha legend.
 8. Not less than 144 negatives of photographic views of all the large temples and ruins of Pagan, Prome, Rangun, and other localities, of the panorama of Pagan, and finally of numerous native types.
 9. 80 photographs with negatives from one of the most celebrated temples, representing scenes from Buddha's life.
 10. Materials excavated from a Buddhistic stupa (a memorial dome-like structure).
 11. Plans, etc. English translations of several extremely valuable Burmese writings of an important historical character.
- In addition are the following objects of modern origin :
12. Wood carvings.
 13. Artistic and industrial miscellany, paintings on silk, etc.
 14. Weapons, articles of clothing, etc.
 15. Burmese Punch and Judy show.

The great value of the collection consists in the fact that it contains an enormous number of original frescoes and casts of sculptures and glazed reliefs, absolutely all the accessible inscriptions to be found in Pagan (some of enormous extent, partly transcribed into modern Burmese with English translations), numerous important and valuable plans and maps, and finally a number of valuable and hitherto entirely unknown religious, political, and historical documents with English translations. It will be seen that the collection affords material for the investigation of the political, religious, and artistic history of Burma that could scarcely be conceived of higher value from a scientific point of view, or of greater interest to persons of education.

In order to show the extraordinary wealth and comprehensive-ness of Thomann's collection, we shall enter more into detail with regard to some parts of it, though of course mentioning only a very few of the numberless large and small temple ruins.

One of the favorite subjects of the representations which adorn the temples is the legend of Buddha's life. Long rows of painted Buddha images are to be seen separated by fantastic decorations, relieved by pictures of worshipping devotees. The different surfaces are separated by painted columns, the architectural styles of



NAM TEMPLE AT PAGAN, BUILT BY THE MON KING, MANUHA.

which reveal Western Indian influence. All of these decorative accessories have been worked out in colors extraordinarily delicate in harmony, the details of which are sometimes very minute; the chief colors are a dull chrome and ochre yellow, a deep brown, delicate light green, and vivid claret. The technique of the fresco is the same in style as that of the European fresco, and reveals some extremely remarkable details into which we cannot enter here. The fact is to be specially remarked, however, that the older a temple is the more perfect the technique of the paintings contained in it. The later pictures, of which one copy is found in the collection, form a marked and almost ludicrous contrast with the old,—a state of affairs which is sufficiently familiar to us from the history of West Indian art. The technical procedure in the production of a painting of this sort is the same as that of the paintings of Hither India, and their details are of great importance for the history of style.

Thomann's collection contains 376 frescoes, of which 265 treat of scenes from the 550 prior existences of Buddha, and have been taken from a temple built in the eleventh century. The legends of the reincarnation of Buddha, the so-called *Jatakas*, are immensely popular subjects and recur again and again in the temples of Pagan. Entire walls are divided into numerous small compartments, each of which contains a representation of a scene from some such Jataka, with an appropriate inscription, usually giving: (1) the name of the Jataka in the sacred Pâli language of the Southern Buddhists; (2) the personality or form in which Buddha was re-born, in Burmese; and (3) the number of the Jataka in the canonical collection of the Southern Buddhistic legends. Above the square compartments in which the Jatakas are represented, runs a richly decorated frieze extending to the ceiling. Thomann's collection contains nine specimens of such friezes. Whole walls may be constructed from the frescoes and friezes in this collection.

The same legends are represented on the glazed ware which Nötling presented to the Berlin Museum. His collection numbers 100 pieces taken from the temple of Manggalachaityam, which was the last to be constructed. Thomann's collection contains 193 specimens of this work from the Ananda temple, one of the most magnificent structures of Pagan, dating from the eleventh century.¹ This temple is remarkable for its mixed architecture, of which no less than four styles are represented. In the first place, its ground plan represents a Greek cross; it is surrounded by covered corri-

¹ See the Frontispiece to this number of *The Open Court*.

dors massively built, in the outside walls of which niches have been built containing glazed work representing Jataka stories and executed in correspondence with the Northern Buddhistic form of these details, but having inscriptions referring to the Pâli texts of the Southern Buddhists. The details have been unquestionably carried out on the same theories as the frescoes of the Jatakas. This same Ananda temple also contains in one of its inner colonnades, sculptural ornamentations in the shape of eighty large reliefs hewn out of hard volcanic rock, being representations of Buddha's entire life from birth to death. These sculptures show Southern Indian (Deccanese) influence, which constitutes the fourth element of the mixture of styles above referred to. All these reliefs, which are represented in Thomann's collection by photographs, are accompanied with valuable inscriptions in Burmese, of which Thomann is the only one to have made copies, transcriptions, and English translations. The frescoes of Buddha's life found in four temples of the twelfth century also deserve mention; of these, Thomann's collection contains not less than 102, one of which, representing the birth of the Buddha infant in the Lumbini Grove, is especially beautiful.

There is no need of calling special attention to the incalculable value of these various representations of the Jatakas and of Buddha's life, for the iconography of Buddhism. The matter contained in the inscriptions to these frescoes alone sheds a vivid light upon the detailed modes of representation of Buddhistic art in its most varied phases.

The isolated inscriptions are also of great importance. Their value for the ancient religious and political history of Burma has already been emphasised, and we may here call attention to their importance for the history of the temple architecture of Pagan. We have every reason to believe that much valuable information will be obtained from them, relative to the Western models of which the famous structures of Pagan are imitations, and also concerning the relics which they contain.

The great variety of the styles of architecture mentioned above in connexion with our sketch of Burmese history also deserves emphasis. We find in the temples of Pagan the architectural styles of Northern India, of Bengal, and of Southern India, not to mention the Grecian influence noticeable in the plan of the Ananda temple. It is a remarkable fact that one of the structures of Pagan, the Bodhi temple, was constructed in imitation of the celebrated temple of the same name at Buddha-Gaya, the most sacred site of

Buddhism, and we know from a Burmese inscription found in Buddha-Gaya that this latter temple was restored and rebuilt by the same Burmese dynasty that erected the temple at Pagan. Proof of still older relations of Further India with Buddha-Gaya is furnished by the fact that gems taken from the last-mentioned place have been found in Tagaung, the above-mentioned capital of the oldest Burmese state. The presence of terraces in several of the temples of Pagan recalls to mind further the stupendous foundations of the Buddhistic temples of Boro-Bodur on the island of Java.

All the temples of Pagan are built of bricks with the exception of two, which are of stone and quite peculiar in style. The latter are said to have been erected by the Mon king, Manuha, who had been carried to Pagan as a prisoner of war, or rather by his followers, who had been taken captive with him. It is also interesting to learn that Thomann's casts of one of the four main pillars and of one of the corner pillars of one of these two temples have undoubtedly been made in the Northern Indian, or so-called Tantra, style of architecture, as is shown by their representation of three-headed gods with lotus flowers. This also accords with the fact that the capital city of the Mon nation, Thahton (Sanskrit, *Suvarnavipa*), was the seat of the Tantra Buddhism, that the famous North Buddhistic church father, Atisa, studied in this city, and that the Tantra school of Buddhism still persists in the Nat-cult of the modern Dirmans. One of the two temples in question, the Namphaya, which is still well preserved in all its parts, shows the same style as the ruins of Thahton.

Another point which reveals the high value of Thomann's collection is its wonderful contribution to our knowledge of that dynasty of Pagan which enjoys the distinction of having been the first in history to have united under one dominion all the Burmese races, and by its uninterrupted warfare upon the neighboring nations of Further and Hither India to have created a distinctive, conglomerate civilisation.

Philology also has profited by Thomann's work, for the inscriptions which it contains will contribute greatly to our knowledge of the written and spoken language of the Burmese from the ninth to the thirteenth century after Christ.

Further, the value of Thomann's collection is not limited to the archæology and the religious history of Further India alone, but, as we have seen, also sheds a flood of light upon the history of the development of the religious architecture of Hither India.

The close connexion which is here shown to have existed between the Buddhistic art of Hither and Further India is a strong confirmation of the opinion which has been lately gaining ground that in the artistic development of the different Buddhistic countries of Gandhara and Hither India, Cambodia and Pagan, Eastern Turkestan, China; and Thibet, we are concerned with single stages merely of one great and comprehensive artistic development which is to be conceived as a coherent organic whole, and is to be studied accordingly.

It has frequently been remarked that the artistic products of the Far Orient do not appeal to our æsthetic sense, and consequently exert on us none of that chastened and ennobling influence which the products of Greek antiquity have exercised on European culture; but it is to be observed that the lack of æsthetic pleasure to be derived from this source is amply recompensed by the immense practical advantage which is bound to result from a careful study of the minutest phases of Asiatic civilisation. Psychologically as well as historically such studies cannot fail to bring about a broader and deeper insight into the character of those nations of the Orient with which modern commercial and industrial development are daily bringing us into more intimate and more various connexion.

THE EXPOSITION AND THE PASSION-PLAY.

BY J. S. STUART GLENNIE.

MORE than one magazine article we have had lately on the Exposition at Paris and on the Passion-Play at Oberammergau, considered separately, but none, I believe, pointing out the instructive light which these wonderfully contrasted spectacles, if both can be recalled, reflect on each other. It chanced, however, that after visiting the Exposition in August I went to Oberammergau in the middle of September for the representation on Sunday the 16th, returning again to Paris towards the end of that month. And an endeavor to supplement what others have said of each of these spectacles by what each appeared to me capable of suggesting with reference to the other, may possibly be not without interest.

I.

Among the recent Oberammergau articles, one in the *Nineteenth Century* dilated on the "vulgarising of the Passion-Play, not in any way by the actors, but by the audience." "From beginning to end," says the author, "a devotional spirit, or even a spirit of reverence, never breathed its softening influence over that crowded house. . . . Perhaps, roughly speaking, there are four hundred people who go to the Play with a devout mind and a reverent intention, and the audience numbers four thousand." No one capable of being duly impressed by the pathos and tragedy of this wonderful dramatising of the whole of the Christian Theory of History, save its later apocalyptic scenes, could, I think, but be struck by the extraordinary little emotional effect produced by this tragic World-Drama on all but, at most, a tenth of the audience. The writer, however, of the article cited does not concern himself with any inquiry into the cause of the present unaffectingness of what might have been anticipated to be the most affecting of all trage-

dies, and it remains to him surprising, or only to be explained by vulgarity of mind. But, coming as I did from the palace-resplendent quays of the Seine to the cottaged banks of the Ammer, the surprise which I shared with Mr. Morant could hardly be more than momentary. And I propose, first, to show how this most remarkable, perhaps, of all the remarkable features of the Passion-Play is illuminated by the Exposition.

The reader, however, may either not have been at Oberammergau, or may have been one of the nine-tenths of cool or even bored play-goers. And in order that he may, in the same degree, realise how very remarkable that modern unaffectedness of the Passion-Play is which we would explain, it may be desirable briefly to recall the character of the scenes which are successively presented from eight in the morning to five in the afternoon, with but an interval for the midday meal. By an admirable artifice the essentials of the whole Christian conception of Man's History from the Fall to the Crucifixion and Resurrection are presented with an unsurpassable dramatic unity. The main dramatic action begins with and derives all its motives from the triumphal entry of Christ into Jerusalem and the incidents therewith connected. But the acts and scenes of this comparatively brief action are interpolated with tableaux of more or less symbolically relevant scenes from Old Testament history interpreted by majestic choruses. Thus the main dramatic action is most artistically presented as no mere martyrdom of one of many heroic sufferers in the cause of Humanity. It is on the contrary presented as—what orthodox Christian theory has universally accounted it—that one supreme Martyrdom, the Martyrdom of the only begotten Son of God Himself, prophesied in all the past, and, in its effects, triumphant in all the future history of mankind.

But in addition to this dramatic presentation of, in its way, the unquestionably sublime conception of the Christian theory of History, there are presented in the course of this great World-Drama not only an extraordinary number of different characters, but an extraordinary number of pathetic incidents. Besides an immense and varied world of lesser characters, there appear statesmen as characteristically distinguished as Pilate and Herod, priests so typically different in the expression of their tyrannic intolerance as Caiaphas and Annas, and traitors so contrasted in their characters, yet both so pitiful in their repentance, as Peter and Judas. And besides the more personal, yet to some, perhaps, more poignantly touching incidents, such as the parting of Christ and His

Mother, there are represented incidents of a more general and profound significance, and perhaps more worthily calculated to excite in men, at least, deep emotion,—the enthusiasm, for instance, of the multitude, even though it was but temporary, for such a character as that of Jesus; His washing of the Disciples' feet; and His prayer from the Cross, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

With all this we are, of course, familiar from childhood in the narratives of the Evangelists. But nobly played, as it was, with every word of the Christ, and indeed of most of the other chief actors, distinctly heard, vast as was the theatre; with realistically Oriental scenery of streets and houses, etc., staged in the open air; with birds flying overhead, the blue empyrean above all, and actual forest-clad mountains as background of the scenes,—the pathos and the tragedy of, one might almost say, the too familiar incidents might well have been expected to be brought home to the spectators with a purifying and solemnising power. And yet, if one should say that a tenth of the vast assemblage was thus affected, it would be, I think, a too generous estimate.

Here and there, once or twice, there was a blowing of noses, occasioned no doubt by involuntarily tear-filled eyes. But operaglassed curiosity, critical approval, and, at last, yawning boredom were incomparably more generally evident among the audience than religious or even deep human emotion. Yet this wonderfully composed Drama with which, as a whole, no single nameable author can be credited, has unconsciously complied with all the requirements of Victor Hugo's analysis: "*La foule demande surtout au théâtre des sensations; la femme des émotions; le penseur des méditations; tous veulent un plaisir; mais ceux-ci, le plaisir des yeux; celles-là le plaisir du cœur; les derniers, le plaisir de l'esprit.*" Especially of meditations the Passion-Play might surely be anticipated to be suggestive. I heard, however, no remark afterwards in conversation which testified to anything of the sort,—trivialities only about the impersonation of the Mother of God, etc. Meditations, however, doubtless there were, and one able editor present, an old acquaintance, but undiscovered in the throng, has published his. Christ, he tells us, with what some may think a blasphemous humorousness, personified to him the Boers; Caiaphas, Mr. Chamberlain; Annas, Lord Salisbury; Judas, Mr. Rhodes, Pilate, the European Concert. But such meditations, characteristically ingenious as they are—for not only the greater but all the lesser personages are similarly identified—appear to me to testify,

more even than would no meditations at all, to the loss now by the Passion-Play of any purifying and solemnising power, save on an almost inappreciable minority.

Why and how is it that such a World-Drama—a representation of the theory of Man's history—still professedly believed by all Christians; a Drama alive with varied characters and touching incidents excellently acted and so admirably staged that Madame Patti, who was present on the same 16th of September, declared that she had never seen in any opera house anything better managed than certain of the more crowded scenes,—Why and how is it that, for all that, the most remarkable feature about this World-Drama now is its unassumingness?

Easily explicable, however, to one who had just come from the Exposition on the Seine appeared that twofold phenomenon of worldly curiosity and sceptical indifference which at first excited surprise, seated amid the witnesses of the Passion-Play on the Ammer. For this last Exposition, a more artistically splendid show than any of its predecessors, was also much more than that. In its Street of the Nations, and generally in the sympathetic impartiality of the immensely varied lesser shows of which the whole was made up, it was a concrete exposition of the New Morality of Internationalism. And it was yet more than that. In its Congresses and Conferences—not merely in the Palais des Congrès and its Sous-sol opening on the terrace along the palace-lined river, but in the Petit Palais of Historical French Art opposite the Grand Palais des Beaux Arts in the Avenue leading to the magnificent Alexander III. Bridge, in the Halls of the Sorbonne on the heights of the Latin Quarter, in those of the Trocadero above the Pont d'Iena, in the neighboring Musée Guimet in the Place d'Iena, and in the Salle Wagram in the Avenue of that name running up to the Arc de Triomphe—there was not only a concrete exposition of the contemporary results of Scientific Research in the universality of its many-sidedness, but some prophetic dawning also of the New Ideal which will yet arise in sun-like splendor as the synthesis of these underworld Results of Research.

And what was the Thought that inspired, and was demonstrated by these many-sided researches? It was the Thought of Evolution as arising from the conflict of forces in the Kosmos itself, and therefore in Mankind as part of the Kosmos; it was the Thought more particularly of Man's History as incomparably longer in its process, and more complex in its elements, than imagined in the Jewish legends which form the basis of that Christian

theory dramatised in the Passion-Play; and it was the Thought of Man's possible Kingship of Nature and Mastership of Fate through ever-increasing knowledge of those conflicts of Natural and Humanital forces whence Evolution, Natural and Humanital, arises. And this various-sided Thought, thus expressed in halls and amid surroundings of such unsurpassedly suggestive instructiveness and stimulating splendor, was no new, and merely tentative, idea; it was a Thought which, in its later, more definite, and hence more verifiable, form has been, for more than forty years, producing revolutionary effects, not only of an affirmative and reconstructive kind among men of Science, but of a negating and destructive kind among hitherto believing Christians; and it was a Thought of whose merely temporary predominance opponents could have no reasonable hope, seeing that the last forty years have been demonstrably the epoch, not by any means of its advent, but rather of its culmination after a history millenniums long, a history of stormful vicissitudes, but of vicissitudes by which, like a sturdy oak, it has only been the deeper rooted, and the more aspiringly invigorated. Such is the atmosphere of Thought in which the Passion-Play is now performed. Can we wonder, therefore, at the mere worldly curiosity and sceptical indifference with which it is now witnessed by nine-tenths of the vast assemblages which, during the decennial season, fashion rather than faith attracts weekly to Oberammergau?

Remarkable it no doubt is—nay, at first, almost astounding—to find nine-tenths of these thousands of assembled Christians unmoved spectators of a realistically presented Passion so momentous as that which accomplished their redemption from the eternal damnation, the furnace of fire that never shall be quenched, the outer darkness, the wailing and gnashing of teeth, in a word, the Hell into which Christ himself again and again asseverated that his angels would cast them that do iniquity.¹ And yet how could anything else be rationally expected when, in consequence of that great movement of Thought to which I have just referred, even a Christian Champion and Conservative Chief finds himself obliged candidly to admit all that the most daring of Biblical and Church History Infidels have ever urged? “When,” says Mr. Balfour,² “we reflect upon the character of the religious books and of the religious organisations through which Christianity has been built up; when we consider the variety in date, in occasion, in author-

¹ Compare Matth. viii. 12; *ibid.*, xi. 41, 42; and Mark ix. 43, 44.

² *Foundations of Belief*, p. 246.

ship, in context, in spiritual development which mark the first, the stormy history and the inevitable division which mark the second; when we further reflect on the number of problems, linguistic, metaphysical, and historical, which must be settled, at least in some preliminary fashion, before either the books or the organisations can be supposed entitled by right of rational proof to the position of infallible guides, we can hardly suppose that we were intended to find in these 'the foundations of our beliefs.'¹ Thus, this Christian champion. And, I ask, "when we reflect upon and consider" this scepticism both as to the Protestant's Bible and the Papist's Church as being, though in a more or less vague and second-hand manner, in the minds of the vast majority of the witnesses of the Passion-Play, can we wonder that, however often the Gospels may tell us that Christ insisted on the reality of Hell, it is not actually believed in by nine-tenths of these professing Christians as being, if a reality at all, either eternal or otherwise very terrible; or wonder that, the Hell preached by Christ, as by modern Salvationists, not being believed in, neither the need nor fact of redemption from it by so stupendous a sacrifice as that of the Son of God Himself is really believed in; or can we wonder, finally, that a Passion presented however dramatically as such an unbelieved-in Atoning Sacrifice, is viewed with cool indifference as but a fine spectacular performance?

Nor, I will add, can we wonder that some at least of the more or less believing tenth, like apparently the writer whom I have first quoted, should regard the indifference of the nine-tenths as insulting and even blasphemous, and should think that this Passion-Play, the fulfilment of a religious vow, and intended to deepen the emotion and strengthen the faith of believers, ought no more to be permitted to be degraded into a source of entertainment for Worldlings, and of profit for Tourist-Agents. For very similar to the Neo-Platonic is our present Neo-Christian Period, and very instructive is the study of the former in relation to the latter. No more than was then the Olympian, is now the Christian mythology literally and unequivocally believed by nine-tenths of professing believers. Hence, just as an occasional revival of the old Mythological Drama would have been in the Neoplatonic Period a source of such entertainment rather than edification as the believing few would have resented as blasphemous, so is it with a similar revival now. And just as was then the New Comedy of love and intrigue,

¹ Or, in Mr. Balfour's more wordy language, "the logical foundations of our system of religious beliefs."

so is the so far similar New Comedy now incomparably more to the public taste than a revival, save very occasional and remotely local, of the old Mythological Tragedy. But only an old Mythological Tragedy is the Passion-Play? It is, indeed, reduced but to *that* by the "philosophic doubt" both as to the Protestant's Bible and the Papist's Church which is the only side of the new movement of Thought which Mr. Balfour, humorously enough, considering his position, appears to have been capable of assimilating. And, the entertaining rather than edifying effect of it testifies, it is but as an old Mythological Tragedy that the Passion-Play is now regarded, not perhaps openly, yet secretly, by nine-tenths of those who make the fashionable pilgrimage to Oberammergau.

II.

And yet, though in full sympathy with, and accepting all the more verified results of, that great movement of European Thought, which is the direct or indirect cause, as I have shown, of the unaffectedness now of the Passion-Play, I was *not* one of the majority thus unaffected. On the contrary, my surprise at the little effect that the great Christian World-Drama appeared to have on others was chiefly due to the powerful effect which it had on myself. But only after it all, in the course of a long night stroll, more or less in the shadow of trees or mountains, but under a frostily brilliant sky a Day of the Universe of surpassing splendor—did I become in some degree articulately conscious of what the thought had been that had subconsciously caused, and that, as I then saw, justified the deep feeling occasioned by the Passion-Play. It was a corollary from that Law of Historical Intellectual Development, discovery of which has, for more than a century and a half, been quested by scientific students of History, and a statement of which, more approximately verifiable, at least, than previous statements, was enunciated at one of the Conferences under the auspices of the Paris International Assembly, or "École Internationale de l'Exposition."¹ But, before stating this corollary, a word or two on the history of the efforts which have been made at discovery of such a Law may be desirable.

Profound has been the contribution of Germany to the discovery of a law of Historical Intellectual Development, and especially in the Philosophies which logically succeeded each other from Kant to Hegel. Yet, not only in chronological priority, but in verifiable definiteness, the contributions of France and Scotland

¹ At the Petit Palais, Friday, 21st September.

stand foremost. Great foundations were first laid in France by Bodin (*Methodus*, 1557, and *Res publica*, 1567), Montesquieu (*Esprit des lois*, 1748), and Turgot (*Sur les Progres successifs de l'Esprit Humain*, 1750). Then, in Scotland, came Hume (*Dialogues on Natural Religion*, about 1750, though only posthumously published, and *Natural History of Religion*, 1757), with his contemporaries and friends, Adam Fergusson (*Origin and History of Civil Society*, 1766), Millar (*Origin of Ranks*, 1771), and Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations*, 1776). The next contemporaneous steps were, first, that theory of the *Begriff* in which Hegel generalised the categories of Kant, and stated that Law of Differentiation and Integration now recognised to be the general form of Evolution; and, secondly, that "Law of the Three Periods" in which Comte formulated the generalisations of Turgot and of Hume. But since then, since 1822, when Comte, as he so often affirms, discovered this "grande loi philosophique,"¹ the results of scientific research bearing on every single problem involved in the real discovery of such a law have been of the most anti-Comtist character. These results of research—in obtaining which Scottish scholars, MacLennan, Robertson Smith, Fraser, etc., have again been prominent—have led to quite new conclusions with respect especially to (1) Primitive, or Relatively Primitive, Conceptions of Nature; to (2) The Origins of Civilisation, and hence of Intellectual Development; and to (3) the stages distinguishable in the history of such Development and of Civilisation. Hence the Law stated at the meeting of the International Assembly at Paris, above referred to, was simply an attempt to generalise these later results of research in their relations to each other. And whether, as thus stated, the Law of Historical Intellectual Development is found fully verifiable or not, the above notes may at least suffice to make it seem probable that such a Law will, sooner or later, be thus verifiably stated.

But, if it should be so, would not a logical deduction from such a Law be the conception of the Intellectual History of Man-kind as a sublime, though tragic, struggle, through vicissitudes the most terrible, yet a struggle ever onward to a truer World-Consciousness? Should we not, by such a corollary, be further led to regard this struggle as not so much ours, as the local struggle on this earth-ball, of which the chief flower and fruit is Man,—the local struggle of the Kosmos itself towards truer self-consciousness? And would not such a view so transform all our ideas of Nature, and of History, as to create a New Ideal, a New Religion, and a

¹ See, for instance, *Philosophie positive*, LIV., p. 653, and Appendix to *Politique positive*, LIV.

New Art, no more opposed to, but inspired by, Science? Apply, for instance, to the Passion-Play such a corollary from the discovered Law of Historical Intellectual Development. False as, both in the place given to Hebrew Legends and the connexion therewith of Christian Myths, the theory of Man's History dramatised in the Passion-Play may be recognised to be, will it not, by those who accept a Law of Historical Intellectual Development with such a corollary as suggested, be viewed, as by nine-tenths now, with anything but merely worldly curiosity and sceptical indifference? Will not, on the contrary, all that is sublime in that theory of history, which dogmatic Christianity is, be, from this higher point of view, not seen only, but felt, in all its tragic pathos? And will not, from this higher standpoint, the idealised character of the God-Man: the enthusiastic love and fanatical hate He excited; and, finally, His forgiven Crucifixion, justly disturb with an emotion which, in its purifying and solemnising power, may shame those nine-tenths of professing Christians?

III.

We have thus seen how instructive is the light thrown by the Exposition on the Passion-Play in explaining, not only what is, perhaps, its most remarkable feature, its unaffectingness so far as nine-tenths are concerned, but also how it may come about that those who most fully accept, in their constructive as well as destructive aspects, the results of research set forth at the Congresses of the Exposition, may be profoundly affected by this Christian World-Drama. But no less instructive shall we find the light thrown by the Passion-Play on certain remarkable features of the Exposition. For as definite are the reciprocal variations of Shell and Organism in the human, as in the molluscous, animal. Hence, human clothes generally, and especially Architectures, are involuntarily, and often humorously, expressive, and become, indeed, a physical symbolism which greatly aids the historical student in penetrating to psychical conditions. And looking across the Seine from the river terrace on which opened the *Sous-Sol* of the *Palais des Congrès*, the Headquarters of the National Assembly, one was struck with a very significant, though probably quite unintentionally significant, juxtaposition,—up the river, from the *Pont de l'Alma* to the *Pont des Invalides*, the “*Rue des Nations*”; and down the river, from the *Pont de l'Alma* more than halfway to the *Pont d'Jena*, the far extending Palaces of the “*Armées de Terre et de Mer.*”

It was to the "Rue des Nations" I went first. Most interesting in themselves, but still more deeply interesting in their effects, were the characteristic exhibitions of the successive National Pavilions. For the effects on the many-nationed visitors to these palaces were manifested in both visible and audible expressions of interest in, and admiration of, what they found—with much surprise in most cases—that other peoples had done, and what other peoples, in capacity and aspiration, were. And I may note by the way that so great was the interest shown in the British Pavilion, that barricades had to be erected to prevent its being altogether overcrowded; and that the remarks I heard among the good-humored crowd as I stood at the barricade were chiefly expressive of admiration, by the women particularly, at the excellent French of the stalwart and helmeted English policeman who was firmly but courteously keeping us back. But to have to pass from the immensely varied but overcrowded scenes witnessing to, at least some initial realisation of what I have ventured to call the New Morality of Internationalism—to have to pass at once from such scenes as these by merely crossing the end of the Pont de l'Alma to such Palaces as those almost equally far-extending along the river as the "Rue des Nations"—Palaces devoted to the exhibition of the weapons of every kind of the "Armées de Terre et de Mer," the most elaborately and ingeniously contrived machines, some of the most gigantic size, for wholesale fratricidal slaughter—to have to pass at once from the "Rue des Nations" to these other, yet immediately adjoining Palaces, struck me as almost demoniacally humorous.

But "accidental" (or what is so-called) though this juxtaposition no doubt was, it was not, on that account, less significant of a very real conflict of Social Forces. The New International Morality to which the Pavilions of the "Rue des Nations" testified is the correlate of that New General Theory of History set forth in the Congresses of the Exposition; and the fratricidal weapons exhibited in the adjoining Palaces belong to the Arsenal of the established General Theory of History. For with the conflict of economic and political forces there goes always a conflict of moral and religious Ideals; the latter, indeed, holding the former together, and inspiring them with whatever conquering power they may possess. Hence, a vibrant concrete symbol of the Ideal inspiring one set of the economic and political forces of a revolutionary conflict will illuminate for us its every manifestation. And such a symbol is the Passion-Play, not only in itself, but in its re-

lations. For, in itself, the Passion-Play is nothing less than a vividly dramatic presentation of what the Creed of Christendom with respect to Man's History and Man's Salvation has been, still is, and, so long as a Christendom exists, will, and must be. And, in its relations, the Passion-Play is especially associated with economic conditions and political institutions menaced by other economic and political forces which are more definitely and enthusiastically inspired by another and incomparably more verifiable theory of Man's History and Man's Salvation.

A profoundly important question is thus suggested. What are the relative strengths of the Historical Theories, and thereon founded Ideals which respectively marshal and inspire the opposing economic and political forces of our revolutionary epoch? If we assume, as probably we justly may, that the Passion-Play, in the Pilgrims it attracts to the banks of the Ammer, accurately enough samples the relative numbers of genuine, and of but ostensible, Christians in Christendom—meaning, of course, by genuine Christians, not merely persons of genuinely good life, but of genuinely orthodox belief—we may be tempted to think that, in Beliefs which the unaffectedness of the Passion-Play showed to be, in the case of nine-tenths, ostensible rather than genuine, there can be but little potency of inspiring with their Ideal one militant side of so terrible an underlying Conflict as that so strikingly indicated by the juxtaposition, on the quays of the Seine, of the Pavilions of the New International Morality and the Palaces of the "Armées de Terre et de Mer." Excusably one may be thus tempted to underestimate the potency of Sham-beliefs. But History—to those at least whose eyes have been duly opened to its facts by practical experience of great movements, political, religious, and social—disillusioningly shows that, even in the greatest of such movements, heroic souls, believing to their inmost core, and even to their defeated death, in what they fight for, are always in a minority; that the majority of those taking part in movements of a heroic character, whether Conservative or Progressive, are individually the reverse of heroic; and that this majority is brought into such movements chiefly by the material bribes with which are backed what would be otherwise the ineffective persuasions of the recruiting-officers of the True Believers.

Now, Christianity is, by hundreds of millions sterling, the wealthiest Institution the World has ever seen. Even suppose, therefore, that nine-tenths of the population of Christendom are, like apparently nine-tenths of the Pilgrims at Oberammergau, but

ostensible believers in the Historical Theory dramatised in the Passion-Play, we should take far too optimistic a view of human nature if we imagined that, on that account—because of their unbelief in the Historical Theory which is the intellectual backbone of Christianity—they are not, save perhaps a small minority of them, enthusiastic adherents and supporters of an Institution possessed of so incalculable a number of posts to appoint to, and incomes to endow with. Thus we may again see what is so tragic, yet so constantly recurring, a feature in Human Conflicts—the little difference in moral character between the heroes of the Conservative and Progressive sides respectively; and the little difference, save in moral character, between the Believers in the new, and the Sham-believers in the old views of Nature and of History. They differ only in the facility which the latter, and the impossibility which the former, find in reconciling themselves, for the sake of goodly loaves and fishes, to equivocations, and prevarications, evasions, reservations, and mystifications as degrading to moral character as they are deadening to intellectual insight. And facility in reconciling consciences to such lies is so general a human characteristic that, though the Passion-Play may show failure of belief now in Christianity as a Religion, it cannot, for such a reason as that, be taken to show any failure of belief in Christianity as an Institution worthy of all possible support.

But the Passion-Play Theory of History and the Ideal thereon founded has a third element of strength. Besides the moral potency of genuine believers, and wealth enough to recruit overwhelming armies of mercenaries, the Christian Theory of History and thereon-founded Ideal is backed by a kind of Authority in accordance with present intellectual and moral conditions. It is no new discovery—though lately put forward as if it were—that Beliefs are, in general, mainly due to Authority defined as the “causes moral, social, and educational, which produce their results by psychic processes other than reasoning.”¹ This is a characteristic which, *pace* Mr. Balfour,² Man shares with all other Social Animals. But Authority, like everything else, has had its history. In the Earlier Ages of Civilisation it was, as it still is where its earlier stages survive, Immemorial Custom; in the Age which may be dated from the Sixth Century B. C., the causes indicated by the term Authority have characteristically been Sacred Books and their Guardian-Interpreters; and, in the New Age, the causes which

¹ Balfour, *Foundations of Belief*, p. 219.

² *Ibid.*, p. 230.

will mainly influence belief will be Laws of Nature and of History discovered and verified by Methods of which the principles approve themselves to all. In our present Age, however, intellectual and moral conditions are such that only exceptionally appreciated is the sufficiency for heart as well as brain of the Laws of Nature and of History, even as already discovered. Generally acceptable, in contemporary conditions of historical ignorance and uninquiring belief, is only the Authority of some Pope, some infallible interpreter of Scriptures. And it is in these conditions that we find the life enshrined of that Passion-Play-Theory of History which is the backbone of Christianity as a Religion.

In comparison with such elements of strength as these—sincere beliefs (of at least a minority), boundless wealth, and appropriate conditions—what elements of strength are there in that other Theory of History, of which either the principles were implied, or the special or general results were expounded, in the Congresses of the Exposition? As the first element of strength in this New Theory we may note its definite historical evolution in a more and more verifiable form. First, there was its early synthetic period which may be associated with the names more particularly of Hume, of Hegel, and of Comte, the period of “Philosophies of History” innumerable, just because facts enough were not as yet known to make possible anything more than suggestive hypotheses. Then, the great analytic period of the last half century, in which a just reaction against General Theories of History as altogether premature has forced the majority of scholars to limit themselves to special departments of research. And now there is the opening of that later synthetic period which marks the history of all great Theories, the period in which (as in the paper above referred to as read at the *École Internationale de l'Exposition*) there is an attempt to generalise in their relations to each other the more important of the vast and varied accumulations of facts, which we owe to the more characteristically analytic period of scientific historical research. Contemporaneously also the Socialism of the end of the century is distinguished from that of its beginning as an Historical is from an Utopian Ideal. Surely it were futile to imagine that, however fundamentally opposed it may be to the Historical Theory of the Passion-Play, this New Historical Theory—to the elaboration of which all the greatest European intellects of the last century and a half have, in one way or other, and even sometimes involuntarily, contributed—has not before it, though a desperately opposed, a triumphant future?

If this is doubted, then note further, that the New Theory of History is by no means merely of a higher intellectual, but of a more largely sympathetic, and hence higher moral, character. For, from the standpoint of this New Theory, every Religion, and among these—as above seen at the Passion-Play—Christianity, is given full recognition and sympathy in its due place in Man's tragic struggle towards a truer World-Consciousness and hence juster Socialisation. Nay, what is best in the New Theory is admitted to be only a development of the moral element in Christianity. But this admission is without partiality. For the moral element in Christianity itself is recognised as but one of the developments of a Moral Revolution, five hundred years earlier, and embracing all the peoples of Civilisation. And this higher moral character, which is the fit correlate of the higher intellectual outlook of the New Theory of History, will have the more effect, considering the narrowness and even ferocity of that Morality of Christians with which the Morality of Internationalism is now constantly found contrasted. I have no space here for recent illustrations of this contrast among ourselves. But I may recall the *saigner à blanc* with which the French were menaced by Bismarck, should there be another Franco-German War; the recent "No Quarter" speech of his master, the Kaiser, the other most prominent and most powerful of modern champions of Christianity; and the protest made against this ferocious speech in the great debate in the Reichstag led, in an oration four hours long, by the Socialist Bebel (Friday, the 23rd of last November). A debate more significant there could not have been of the *moral* conflict between the opposed forces, not of the German Empire only, but of Christendom.

Finally, if in Great Britain, where the very idea of a Science of History, a discipline aiming at the discovery of General Laws is academically tabooed—if here, there is not, in favor of the New Theory, the education, as elsewhere, of Sociological Chairs, there is the education, at least, of political conditions. For the conception of the probable future of Humanity to which the observer of political conditions will, I think, be more and more led, is identical with that which the student of Historical Development deduces from his discovered Laws. More and more clearly the former will see in present conditions, as the latter more and more clearly sees in past inheritances, forces driving towards the union of all human races and peoples. Nor will the present Imperial Stage of such union be regarded as the last, but rather as a preparation for the higher union of a freely constituted Organism in which varieties of

capacity have their due scope in recognised and needed functions for the Common Good. For instance, may we not see even already that the Imperial Powers of the West are rousing to a new national life the oldest of all civilised peoples, and preparing a counter-balance to Western, in renewed Eastern, Civilisations? Can it be imagined that these Eastern Civilisations will renew themselves on the bases of Christian Gospels and Hebrew Legends rather than on the bases of their own older Histories, and equally moral sacred Literatures? And if so, then, must not the all-comprehensive Historical Theory of Science, with its justice to every people, rather than the exclusive one of the Passion-Play, with its Jews as the only "Chosen people," and its Christ as the only "Saviour," be the intellectual basis of the New Ideal common to all the peoples of an organised Humanity?

To sum up. The Exposition and the Passion-Play, when brought together, reveal to us, as by an electric flash, the opposed Theories of History, and consequent Ideals, with one or other of which all the economic and political forces of the time are more or less closely, if not exclusively, connected. They reveal to us two utterly different and antagonistic views of Nature, of Man's History, and of the Kosmos. Such differences of view are no mere intellectual Theories and Ideals. They are each associated with all the material, as well as spiritual, needs that rouse human passion to the utmost. Along with these different Theories and Ideals there are in antagonism two different Worlds of Institutions, the one established, the other aiming at getting established. It is with the established Historical Theory and Ideal and the established World of Institutions that the "Armées de Terre et de Mer" are associated. But the fear to use them, which is the most powerful guiding motive of European statesmen, arises from instinctively feeling, or more intelligently seeing, that to use these Armies in Europe would but give occasion for the outburst of a far profounder Conflict, and one which all the European Powers are equally anxious to postpone. That ever-menacing Conflict, however, of the majesty and terror of which we may now, perhaps, have some glimpse—that, it may be hoped, Last War—will, with its lulls, probably occupy the whole of the Twentieth Century.

DUPLICATE THE NAVAL ACADEMY.

A SUGGESTION TO CONGRESS.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE decision of all important questions of international dispute will be made on the waters. The nation that rules the sea owns the world.

At present the influence of England is paramount. Britons rule the waves, and it is solely by reason of their undisputed naval supremacy that they were able to maintain their prominent position in the crisis of the Boer war. Other nations, especially France and Russia, would gladly have interfered, but a war with England would have meant the destruction of their navies. An alliance of all the European nations alone would have been strong enough to cope with England on the ocean, and the German Emperor, in conscious opposition to the sentiments of his people, did not favor the idea of humiliating the English for the sake of assisting the Afrikanders. He had more confidence in British rule in Africa than in Boer supremacy. The former can be relied upon to respect German rights in Africa, while the latter would have led to the establishment of a United States of South Africa, which naturally would have put an end to the colonising schemes of all European nations. Thus the only chance of the Boers, namely the check-mating of the English navy by an European coalition, failed, and their only hope now is to render the possession of the Transvaal unprofitable by continuing a guerilla warfare. It is lucky for England that they have no access to the sea, for if a nation of the stubborn character of the Boers could extend their hostilities to privateering on the seas, they might repeat the deeds of the famous John Paul Jones, who at the time of the Revolutionary War frightened the English merchantmen from the seas and caused the British government to confer high honors on their naval commander for a lost battle, in recognition of his brave resistance.

Whatever were the advantages of Great Britain in the present Boer war, one thing is certain, that the energies of all the nations are bent on maintaining and extending their sphere of power by an increase of their navies. Russia's aim in securing Manchuria is not so much the acquisition of new territory as the possession of ice-free ports as a basis for operations. England, having her hands tied in Africa, could not prevent this and so Russia has practically succeeded in gaining a firm foothold in the East Asiatic seas. Russia's next move will be to gain access to the Arabian sea through Afghanistan and Beloochistan.

Germany's efforts to strengthen her navy are not less marked, and it is worth while bearing in mind that the German navy, like the German army, is splendidly equipped and well manned, a statement which can hardly be made of the French navy, though the latter is stronger than Germany's, so far as numbers are concerned.

It is not absolutely necessary that diplomatic difficulties arising from conflicting interests in international affairs should lead to war, but this much is sure that in the peaceable settlement of disputed points those nations only will have a voice which can justify their cause with ironclads and guns. The Monroe Doctrine will be respected only so long as the American navy is powerful enough to keep off intruders from American shores, but not one day longer, for there is a hunger in Europe for transatlantic possessions. We need not say that Germany by reason of her naval strength and progressive spirit is the only nation that could become dangerous to the United States, and there is only one way of preserving peace, viz., by being strong enough to render any infringement upon the traditions of the Monroe Doctrine inadvisable.

Our navy has proved efficient in the Spanish war, but would it be strong enough to meet a more dangerous foe? One fact is patent that for extraordinary emergencies, for a war with England, or Germany, or Russia, it is not large enough to place the assurance of final success beyond all doubt. There is at present no imminent danger of a war, but if difficulties should arise, as happened for instance under Cleveland by the sudden disturbance of the *entente cordiale* between Great Britain and the United States through the Venezuelan dispute, the quarrel will be adjusted only if the two parties are equally matched in strength. Disputes may arise at any moment, over the right of control of the Panama canal, over the proposed schemes of the Nicaragua canal, doubtful though its execution may be, over colonisation schemes and political complications in South America, in which European nations could be

involved by making exaggerated claims for the loss of lives or properties of some of their subjects. We must always bear in mind that weak nations are at the mercy of those that have the power to enforce their claims; and I repeat: the decision of all important questions of international dispute will be made on water.

What is the lesson of these truths for the United States?

The United States ought to be in a position to enlarge their navy at a moment's notice. They ought not only to have enough ironclads ready to be prepared for a sudden emergency, but in addition should possess the materials for increasing and extending their naval forces in times of danger. We can, if war clouds gather on the diplomatic horizon, buy a goodly number of ocean greyhounds, although the Germans in this respect have the advantage of the Americans; but we have not the men to man them. We could at once begin building men-of-war and manufacturing guns, but we could not within any reasonable time educate officers for service. Yet it would be so easy to meet the demand with very little sacrifice, simply by enlarging or duplicating our naval academy.

The United States train just enough cadets at the Naval Academy at Annapolis to keep their navy supplied with officers, not more and scarcely enough. If our government gave the same education to twice as many youths as there are officers wanted in the navy, they would educate a number of efficient sailors for practical use in our mercantile marine and would have a reserve of trained men upon which they could draw in case of need.¹

We hope that our legislators will see the importance of this advice, which recommends itself for many reasons. The expense is small in comparison to the benefits which it confers. Whatever the future may have in store, we may be sure that the time will come when this Republic of the Western world will be tried in the furnace of international disputes and then we shall be glad to have a goodly stock of men equipped with all the necessary experience to fight on the deck of a vessel. Our strength on the seas and our unquestioned power to cope with an intruder may at a critical moment preserve peace when otherwise war would be the inevitable result.

¹The writer of this article visited the Naval Academy at Annapolis but his stay was too short to enable him to form an opinion that would be worthy of consideration. The general impression was very favorable and the spirit in which the cadets are treated appears to be practical, healthy, and of a good moral character. The instruction in the sciences, mechanical engineering, etc., never loses sight of the practical application of the lesson; but it seems to be a mistake that the study of German is dropped on the plea that all German naval officers speak English. On a similar plea French officers remained ignorant of German while the Germans studied French. The knowledge of a language gives a man access to the spirit of that nation, and our naval officers have as much reason to study German as Spanish. The method in which languages are taught at Annapolis, however, is very commendable and produces the best results in a comparatively short time. All efforts are concentrated on making the pupils speak the language. Written exercises are given, indeed, but even they serve the purpose of an oral efficiency, a practical and immediate command of the spoken word.

MISCELLANEOUS.

JOSEPH LE CONTE.

(1823-1901.)

In the death of Prof. Joseph Le Conte on July 6th last, the American scientific world has lost one of its most conspicuous and interesting figures. In him there passed away a rare and ingenious inquirer of the olden type, which held the universality of Leibnitz and Thomas Young as their ideal, and never lost touch with the general movement of human thought to inhume itself in specialisation. His interests embraced all fields,—physics, geology, biology, the theory of evolution,



JOSEPH LE CONTE.

philosophy, and scientific theology,—and his expositions and labors in each of these departments, while not epoch-making in their character, were all marked by originality and independence of thought; they stood quite apart from the common run of manufactured professional products, and were distinguished by a simplicity and lucidity of presentation that could not fail to assure them the success they have achieved. One need but glance, even now, years after their appearance, at his *Elements of Geology* and his work on *Sight* in the International Scientific Series, to appreciate the charm and scientific solidity of these books. His work on *Religion and Science* (1874), one of the first to consider that ancient conflict from a calm and un hysterical point of view, has become celebrated. Professor Le Conte's views on this subject are familiar to the readers of *The Open Court* and

The Monist, to which he several times contributed (*The Monist*, Vol. I., No. 3; Vol. V., No. 4; Vol. VI., No. 3. *The Open Court*, No. 191), and his views on the idea of God came again recently into prominence through Professor Royce's latest work. It was the ethical and religious side of science, in fact, that claimed his highest interest always, and it was his mastery of science that lent tone and author-

ity to his utterances on ethical questions, where the same opinions from smatterers would have been unlistened to.

In his religious development Prof. Joseph Le Conte started from the orthodox faith of traditional Christianity; but his views widened with the growth of his scientific knowledge. He wrote for *The Monist*, not merely for business reasons, but because he took a deep interest in its aims and methods. In a personal interview with the editor of *The Monist*, Joseph Le Conte frankly expressed his readiness to accept the monistic solution of the soul-problem, while to the God-idea he assented without reserve. Prof. Joseph Le Conte was a deeply religious man and as much a theologian as a geologist and botanist. His development is characteristic of the scientific type of men, and his life is a noble instance which, we are confident, is a prophetic symptom of the future.

Prof. Joseph Le Conte was born February 26, 1823, in Liberty County, Georgia. He was a purely American product, like his brother John Le Conte, like Joseph Henry and the late Professors Cope and Rowland. He came of a distinguished family, of French Huguenot descent, and also one of affluence. He was educated in Georgia, one of his teachers having been the celebrated American statesman, Alexander H. Stephens, and was graduated from Franklin College, in the University of Georgia, afterwards receiving a medical education in New York and studying in Cambridge under the great naturalist Agassiz.

Professor Le Conte has left us, in his memoir of his brother (1894) which we fortunately have at hand, a delightful account of his own boyhood days, which shows us an environment from which talent might well have sprung, and which we cannot refrain from quoting here at some length. It gives us a delightful insight, not only into the moral and educational atmosphere of a family from which several bright minds have come, but also into the more cheerful aspects of the patriarchal life of the South before the war, which was not always so bad as it is painted.

John Le Conte, of whom Joseph speaks in this memoir, was the first to notice and explain the beautiful phenomena of sensitive flames now so familiar to physicists, and to introduce by his discovery a new method of research which in the hands of Barrett, Tyndall, Koenig, and others has revolutionised the science of acoustics. Louis Le Conte, the father of John and Joseph Le Conte, was the elder brother of Major John Eatton Le Conte, a name also well known in the history of American science. He was born in 1782, was graduated at Columbia, and in 1810 took possession of the large Georgia plantation left him by his father.

Prof. Joseph Le Conte speaks as follows of his home and surroundings: "Liberty County was originally settled by a colony of English Puritans, who have left their strong impress on the character of the people of that county even to the present day. A more intelligent and moral community I have never seen. It received its name of Liberty in recognition of the fact that it was the first colony in Georgia to raise the flag of independence on the breaking out of the war of the Revolution, in 1776.

"Our father, Louis, lived on his plantation and devoted himself entirely to the care and management of his large property and to the passionate pursuit of science in nearly all departments, but especially in those of chemistry and botany, in both of which his knowledge was both extensive and accurate. The large attic of his plantation-house was fitted up as a chemical laboratory, in which he carried on researches daily. I well remember what a privilege it was to us boys to be per-

mitted sometimes to be present, and with what silent awe and tiptoe steps we, especially John, followed him about and watched these mysterious experiments.

"His devotion to botany was even, if possible, still more intense. A large area of several acres of enclosed premises was devoted to the maintenance of a botanical and floral garden, widely known at that time as one of the best in the United States, and often visited by botanists, both American and foreign. Far removed from any city (Savannah was near forty miles distant), this garden was used only for scientific study and refined enjoyment. It was the never-ceasing delight of the children. The tenderest memories cluster around it, especially about the image of our father in his daily walks there after breakfast, sipping his last cup of coffee, enjoying its beauty, planning improvements, and directing the labor of the old negro gardener, 'Daddy Dick.' It is, alas, in ruins now, but some of the grand camelia japonica trees, of which there were eight or ten, still remain. I said 'trees,' for in December, 1891, I visited the old place and measured some of these. The largest, a double white, measured fifty-four inches in girth, ten inches from the ground where the first branches came off. In bygone days I have seen at least one thousand pure white blossoms five inches in diameter and double to the center on it at once.

"To supply this garden he made many excursions, often with visiting botanists or collectors, sometimes lasting several days, and always returning laden with botanical treasures. As evidence of his keen perception of the true affinities of plants, it is noteworthy that although the Linnean system was at that time universally used, yet even at this early day he always spoke of the affinities of plants in terms of their natural orders.

"Nor was he neglectful of other departments of science. This was well shown in the composition of his large library of scientific books and periodicals. In fact, his love of nature was so spontaneous and passionate that it could not but extend in all directions. Mathematics, astronomy, physics, geology, and zoölogy alike engaged his attention. I remember well the intense enthusiasm with which he read Lyell's *Principles of Geology* when first published. I remember, too, his delight in working out the most complex mathematical puzzles; such, for example, as magic squares. The boys were all ardent gunners, but under his influence we never failed to observe carefully what we shot. Every new form of bird or beast was brought home in triumph to be determined in name and affinities by him.

"Nor was he wanting in kinds of culture other than scientific. His training in Latin, for example, was so thorough that he read it at sight almost as readily as English.

"It is easy to see from the above sketch that Louis Le Conte was one of a type of scholars now almost extinct. Such simple, disinterested love of truth for its own sake, such open-eyed, yet thoughtful, observation in all directions, such passionate love of nature, and all combined with such utter forgetfulness of self and absence of any ambition or vanity or reputation. Those who knew him best, but especially his brother, Major John Le Conte, affirmed that he made many important discoveries in both chemistry and botany, yet he never published a line, but freely gave away his new things in the latter science to his many correspondents in New York.

"Here, then, until his death, in 1838, he lived his simple, quiet life of intellectual culture and beneficent activity, administering the affairs of an estate with two hundred slaves with firmness and kindness, daily directing their labor, visiting the sick, and caring for the old. His medical knowledge was of inestimable value

to him now, not only on his own place, but to the poor of the surrounding country, who were unable to pay for medical service. His plantation was on the borders of the pine barrens of McIntosh County, inhabited only by a shiftless class of 'Pine Knockers.' For twenty miles about, in pure charity, he visited these people in their sickness; and in chronic cases even bringing their children to his own house, as the only hope of their recovery. In order to diminish their sense of dependence and to cultivate in them, if possible, a sense of self-respect he sometimes required of them in return some light work, as picking of cotton or gathering of corn. He was looked up to by these poor people as a being of another order from themselves.

"It is easy to imagine the passionate love, the reverence, approaching to fear and even to worship, with which he inspired his children. The effect of such a life and such a character on young John is simply inestimable. To the day of his death John looked back on his father with the greatest love and reverence and upon his influence as the greatest of all influences in forming his character; and, indeed, of all the children John most resembled his father.

"I have dwelt somewhat on the life and character of Louis Le Conte, not only because of its paramount influence on his children, especially John, but also because such a life and such a character ought not to go wholly unrecorded."

Such was the father as described in Joseph Le Conte's own words, and such the environment of two of the most prominent and lovable figures in the history of American science. They both put to splendid usury the talents entrusted them, and left an unostentatious yet distinct impress on American thought and education: John Le Conte was the "father of the University of California," which he was called to organise, and Joseph Le Conte was the second pillar and mainstay of that institution, in which from 1869 he held the professorship of Geology and Natural History, and an honorary professorship of Biology. Professor Le Conte remained active in his literary, educational, and scientific labors to the last, and died suddenly while on a geological excursion in the Yosemite Valley, at the age of seventy-eight.

T. J. McC.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA.

A MONUMENT OF BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP.¹

Theology is frequently discredited, not only by progressive liberals but also by conservative believers, and placed in an unfavorable contrast to religion. Religion is frequently praised as the genuine article, while theology is blamed for all the evils that appear under certain circumstances to crop out from religion. This view is utterly unjustified and unjustifiable, and is based upon a radical misconception of the nature of theology. Actually, it is held only by those whose judgments are the product of their sentiments, and who allow themselves to be carried away by prejudices. The truth is that if theology were better known there would be fewer misconceptions of religion. If a man like Ingersoll had been familiar with modern

¹*Encyclopædia Biblica*. A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political, and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible. Edited by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M. A., D. D., and J. Sutherland Black, M. A., LL. D. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Adam and Charles Black. Vol. I., *A to D*, pages, xxviii, 572, 1899; Vol. II., *E to K*, pages, 772, 1901. Price, \$5.00 each.

theology, most of his attacks on Christianity would have remained unspoken. And on the other hand, if our pious but narrow-minded dogmatists who like to pride themselves on being orthodox knew more about theology, their religion would be purer and more elevated and would at the same time make them more tolerant of the scientist and the scholar, who seek the truth and yet lack that confidence which distinguishes the dogmatist.

What is theology but reasoned religion? Or better, it is the science of religion. The word means literally, "the science of [the knowledge of] God," but practically it includes everything that pertains to man's relation to divinity in the widest sense of the word,—worship, adoration, and above all morality. It includes at the same time the investigation of the history of religion, not only Biblical scholarship but also comparative religion. In a word, theology is the scientific conscience of religion; it is its critical regulator, its last court of appeal in matters of truth.

Theology is by no means subject to dogma or to a traditional interpretation of religious tenets. Theology is a science, and has as such always been respected in German as well as in English and American universities. It is true that the conscience of theological professors has sometimes been tied by a promise to teach a certain kind of theology, and allow itself to be regulated by a definite confession of faith, be it the Augustana in Protestant Germany or the Thirty-nine Articles in England. But a promise of this kind is a shackle on institutions, not on theology. All those professors who at their appointment are compelled to take a vow to teach a certain dogma, be it right or wrong, cannot be considered as theologians; they are not scholars, not investigators of truth; they are appointed as teachers, as mere transmitters of tradition, and their office cannot be regarded as being properly theological.

Theology has made great advances of late. Scientific investigation has brought its light to bear upon religion. We understand at present more of the psychology of religion; we are better familiar with the facts of the history of the people of Israel; we know of the influence which Babylonian views exercised upon the several authors of the Old Testament. We understand the composition of the Bible and the elements from which the Scriptures have coalesced; and all this increased knowledge, far from destroying our interest in Hebrew literature, has tended to increase it. The so-called "higher criticism" has found much disfavor in certain circles on account of its name. The religious sentiment resented the term *criticism* because the pious were shocked at the idea that the Scriptures, which contain in their opinion a direct revelation of God, should be subjected to investigation, should be called before the tribunal of science which was deemed to be human and therefore fallible; and it would perhaps have been better if the term "higher criticism" had been avoided, and had been replaced by "Biblical scholarship," in the sense of a scientific treatment of the Scriptures. At any rate, under whatever name it may appear, the higher criticism is nothing but a better comprehension of the Bible, and the removal of misconceptions which in the long run can only detract from the purity, the goodness, and the truth of religion.

The present age, far from being irreligious, is more intensely religious than any prior age; but the religion of the twentieth century will no longer be a child-like submission to traditional doctrine; it will be the independent and conscious comprehension of the revelation of religious truth which began with the dawn of history and is by no means as yet exhausted or concluded. The Polychrome Bible, of Paul Haupt, assisted by of the most eminent Bible scholars of both hemispheres,

is one symptom of the increased interest in religion, not from a purely sentimental aspect, but from a desire to comprehend the truth scientifically.

We now hail the appearance of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, edited in a most scholarly manner in the spirit of the late Professor William Robertson Smith, by the Revs. T. K. Cheyne, M. A., D. D. and J. Sutherland Black, M. A., LL. D., the former Oriel Professor at Oxford, the latter the theological assistant editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The first two volumes, covering the letters *A* to the beginning of *K*, lie now complete before us, and the editors may be congratulated upon the success of their work, which is satisfactory to theologians of every school and tendency, giving information concerning the progress of our comprehension of the Bible, historically as well as archæologically and geographically, covering all the wants of any one who for some reason or another is interested in a thorough knowledge of the Bible.

The work is most appropriately dedicated to the memory of Prof. William Robertson Smith, and his spirit is perceptibly moving over all the columns of the articles presented in these volumes. They are written in a deeply devout spirit, and yet are uncompromisingly progressive in accepting scientific truth wherever it can be positively obtained. The Bible Dictionary which lies before us has become what he contemplated such a work should be, that is to say in the words of the editors: "No mere collection of useful miscellanea, but a survey of the contents of the Bible, as illuminated by criticism—a criticism which identifies the cause of religion with that of historical truth, and, without neglecting the historical and archæological setting of religion, loves best to trace the growth of high conceptions, the flashing forth of new intuitions, and the development of noble personalities, under local and temporal conditions that may often be, to human eyes, most averse."

The work is addressed mainly to the scholars of the Christian community, but of course it will be useful to all investigators and readers of the Bible. The price seems high at first, but considering the expense at which these large heavy volumes have been brought out, and the condensed and reliable information which they contain, it is by no means exorbitant. At the same time it becomes an indispensable hand-book which can no longer be ignored or left unconsulted.

We cannot give our readers a better insight into the nature of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* than by offering a sample article, and we select for it the explanation of Asherah, which commends itself by its concise brevity and is a subject of universal interest. It is signed by George F. Moore, Professor of Hebrew, Andover, Mass.

Asherah, plur. Asherim, the RV (Revised Version) transliteration of the Heb. אֲשֵׁרָה (pl. אֲשֵׁרִים; in three late passages אֲשֵׁרֹת), a word which AV (Authorised Version), following G (Greek Version) (*alcoc* [BAFL]) and Vg. (the Vulgata) (*lucus*), renders *grove, groves*. That this translation is mistaken has long been universally recognised. RV avoids the error by not translating the word at all; but, by consistently treating the word as a proper noun, it gives occasion to more serious misunderstanding.

"The *asherah* was a wooden post or mast, which stood at Canaanite places of worship (Ex. 34₁₃ Jud. 6₂₅ and frequently), and, down to the seventh century, also, by the altars of Yahwe, not only on the high places, or at Samaria (2 K. 13₆) and Bethel (2 K. 23₁₅), but also in the temple in Jerusalem (2 K. 23₆). The *asherah* is frequently named in conjunction with the upright stone or stele (*masseba, hamman*). The pole or post might be of considerable size (cp. Judg. 6₂₅ f.); it was

perhaps sometimes carved (1 K. 15₁₃),¹ or draped (2 K. 23₇), but the draping especially is doubtful.

"The shape of an *asherah* is unknown. Many Cypriote and Phœnician gems and seals representing an act of adoration show two (more rarely three) posts, generally of about the height of a man, of extremely variable forms,² which are supposed by many archæologists to be the *asherahs* (and *massebas*³) of the OT (Old Testament). This is not improbable, though direct evidence is thus far lacking; but in view of the great variety of types, and the age and origin of the figures in question, it can hardly be confidently inferred that the *asherahs* of the Old Canaanites and Israelites were of similar forms. The representations do not give any support to the theory that the *asherah* was a phallic emblem.

"It is the common opinion that the *asherah* was originally a living tree (*Sifre* on Dt. 12₃, *Aboda zara*, fol. 45 *a. b.*; cp. Di. on Dt. 16₂₁), for which the pole or mast was a conventional substitute.⁴ This is antecedently not very probable. The sacred tree had in Hebrew a specific name of its own (*el, ela, elon*, or, with a different and perhaps artificial pronunciation, *alla, allon*), which would naturally have attached to the artificial representative also; nor is it easy to explain, upon this hypothesis, how the *asherah* came to be set up beneath the living tree (2 K. 17₁₀). The only passage in the OT which can be cited in support of the theory is Dt. 16₂₁: 'Thou shalt not plant thee an *asherah* of any kind of tree (RV) beside the altar of Yahwe thy God,' or, more grammatically, 'an *asherah*—any kind of tree' (אשרה כל עץ). As, however, in the seventh century the *asherah* was certainly not ordinarily a tree, this exegesis would be very strange. In the context, whether the words in question be original or a gloss, we expect, not a restriction of the prohibition such as this rendering in effect gives us, but a sweeping extension of it. We must, therefore, translate, 'an *asherah*—any wooden object.'⁵

"It does not appear from the OT that the *asherahs* belonged exclusively to the worship of any one deity. The *asherah* at Ophrah (Judg. 6₂₅) was sacred to Baal; the prohibitions of the law (Dt. 16₂₁ f.) are sufficient proof that they were erected to Yahwe;⁶ nor is there any reason to think that those at Bethel, Samaria, and Jerusalem were dedicated to any other god. The assertion, still often made, that in the religion of Canaan the *massebas* were sacred to male, the *asherahs* to female deities, is supported by no proof whatever.

"From certain passages in the OT (especially Judg. 3₇ 1 K. 18₁₉ 2 K. 23₄),⁷

¹ 'A shocking thing (Jewish tradition, *phallus*) as an *asherah*; ' on 2 K. 21₇ see below.

² See Lajard. *Culte de Mithra*, 184 f.; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 1893, where a great many of these pieces are collected. Similar figures are found on Assyrian reliefs, and on Carthaginian *cippi*. We may compare the Egyptian *dedu* column (at Busiris), the Indian sacrificial post (Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 91), the so-called "totem-posts" of the N. American Indians, etc. See in general Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte*, 2376 ff., and Jevons, *Intr. Hist. Rel.* 134 f.

³ *Massebahs* are sacred stones or monoliths, sometimes heaps of stones, probably the oldest form of consecrating a special place to a religious worship of some kind or other.—*Revuever*.

⁴ See Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, etc., Pl. lxxxiv. 3 and 7, where in precisely similar relations to the scene a carved post (supposed *asherah*) takes the place of a cypress tree.

⁵ עץ is not only a *tree*, but also a *stake* (Dt. 21₂₂ and often). That the trees depicted on Phœnician coins, etc., were called *asherahs* (Pietschmann, *Phönizier*, 213) is merely inferred from the OT.

⁶ The condemnation is based, not on the fact that the presence of these symbols presumes the worship of other gods, but on the principle that Israel shall not worship Yahwe as the Canaanites worship their gods (Dt. 12₂ ff.).

⁷ In 2 K. 21₇, "the image of the *asherah*," the word *image* is a gloss; cp. v. 3 and 2 Ch. 33₇. On 1 K. 15₁₃ and 2 K. 23₇, see above. In 1 K. 18₁₉ the 400 prophets of *Ashera* are interpolated (We., Klo., Dr.).

it has been thought that there was also a Canaanite goddess Ashera, whose symbol or idol was the *ashera* post. Since in the places cited the names of Baal and Ashera are coupled precisely as those of Baal and Astarte are elsewhere (Judg. 2₁₃ 10₆ I S. 7₄ [ἘΒΑΛ¹ τὰ ἄλση Ἀστανρωθ] 12₁₀ [ἘΒΑΛ τοῖς ἄλσεσιν]), many scholars have inferred, further, that Ashera was only another name or form of the great Semitic goddess, Astarte (Theodoret, *Quest.* 55 *in iv. Reg.*, Selden, Spencer, etc.); whilst others attempt in various ways to distinguish them—e. g., Astarte, a pure celestial deity, Ashera, an impure 'telluric' divinity (Movers); or the former a goddess of the Northern Canaanites, the latter of the Southern (Tiele, Sayce).

Conservative scholars such as Hengstenberg, Bachmann, and Baethgen, however, have contended that in the passages in question the symbol of Astarte is merely put by metonymy for the name of the goddess; and many recent critics² see in these places only a confusion (on the part of late writers) of the sacred post with the goddess Astarte.³ A critical examination of the passages makes it highly probable that in the OT the supposed goddess Ashera owes her existence only to this confusion. In the Amarna correspondence, however, there is frequent mention of a Canaanite who bears the name Abd-asratum, equivalent to Heb. 'Ebed-*ashera*, sometimes with the divine determinative,—i. e., Servant of (the divine) *Ashera*. This has not unnaturally been regarded as conclusive evidence that a goddess Ashera was worshipped in Palestine in the fifteenth century B. C.⁴ The determinative might here signify no more than that the *ashera* post was esteemed divine—a fetish, or a cultus-god—as no one doubts that it was in OT times; cp. Phœnician names such as 'Ebed-susim, Servant of (the sacred) horses (*CIS* i. 46, 49, 53, 933, etc.); or 'Ebel-hekal, Gerhekal (G. Hoffmann), which might in Assyrian writing have the same determinative; further, Assyri. *ekurru*, 'temple, sanctuary,' in pl. sometimes 'deities' (Del. *HWB* 718).

'The name of the 'goddess *Asratum*,' however, occurs in other cuneiform texts, where this explanation seems not to be admissible: viz., on a hæmatite cylinder published by Sayce (*ZA* 6₁₆₁); in an astronomical work copied in the year 138 B. C., published by Strassmaier (*ZA* 6₂₄₁, l. 9 ff.); and in a hymn published by Reisner (*Sumer.-babylon. Hymnen*, 92)—in the last in connexion with a god *Amurru*, which suggests that the worship may have been introduced from the West. See Jensen, 'Die Götter *Amurru* und *Asratu* *ZA* 11₃₀₂₋₃₀₅.'

The word *ashera* occurs also in an enigmatical Phœnician inscription from Ma'sub, which records a dedication 'to the Astarte in the *ashera* of El-hammon' (G. Hoffmann); where it is at least clear that *ashera* cannot be the name of a deity. The most natural interpretation in the context would be 'in the sacred precincts.' In an inscription from Citium in which the word was formerly read (Schroeder, *ZDMG* 35₄₂₄, 'mother Ashera'; *contra*, St. *ZATW* 1₃₄₄ f.; cp. E. Mey. in Roscher, 2870), the reading and interpretation are insecure.

'The etymology and the meaning of the word are obscure. The most plausible hypothesis perhaps is that *asherim* originally denoted only the *sign*-posts set up to mark the site or the boundaries of the holy place (G. Hoffmann), l. c. 26). The use of the word in the Ma'sub inscription for the sacred precincts would then

¹ The abbreviation Bal after Ḫ (Greek version) means an agreement of the editions Lagarde and Swete.—*Reviewer*.

² We., G. Hoffmann, E. Mey., St., WRS, and others.

³ This confusion is found in a still greater measure in the versions.

⁴ Schr. *ZA* 3₃₆₄, and many. The name is once written with the common ideogram for the goddess Istar (Br. Mus. 33 obv. 1.3).

be readily explained, and also the Assyrian *asirtu* plur. *asrati* (*esreti*), defined in the syllabaries as meaning 'high place, oracle, sanctuary.' In any case, *ashera* is a *nomen unitalis*, and its gender has no other than a grammatical significance.

The same author has spoken of the *asherahs* in his article on Idolatry (§ 7, History), which reads as follows :

"The Israelites when they invaded Canaan brought with them the common ideas of the nomadic Semites; they had their holy mountain (Horeb), holy wells (Beer-sheba), and fountains (Kadesh); the standing stone or stone-heap (altar) represented the deity in sacrifice; domestic idols were probably not unknown. They found in Canaan a people of kindred race, possessed of an agricultural civilisation which the newcomers adopted. The Canaanite high places became Israelite sanctuaries, and the *massebahs* and *asherahs* beside the fire-altars and beneath the holy trees were taken over with them; if new sanctuaries were founded, they were furnished with a similar apparatus. The prophets and prophetic historians regard the idols also as adopted from the Canaanites; and, speaking generally, this is doubtless true. The Baals and Astartes, the gods of the land, were worshipped by the side of Yahwe. The founding of the national kingdom gave rise to international relations and led to the introduction of foreign religions (Phœnician, Moabite, Ammonite 1 K. 11), which were externally much like that of Israel. The worship of the Tyrian Baal in the reign of Ahab, however, provoked a reaction which overthrew the dynasty of Omri. The larger political horizon in the eighth and seventh centuries, and especially the long-continued friendly relations of Judah with Assyria, opened the way for the introduction of many foreign cults, among which the worship of the Host of Heaven, the Queen of Heaven, the Moloch-worship, and the rites of mourning for Tammuz are the most important; 2 K. 23, ff. shows us the state of things in Jerusalem and its suburbs in 621.

"The reforms of Josiah made no permanent change, as is evident from the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel; the latter gives us glimpses of the strange rites which were introduced or revived in the last years of the city (Ezek. 8). In the Persian period the strongest foreign influence was Aramæan; this is seen not only in the gradual displacement of Hebrew by the Aramaic vernacular, but also by the allusions to Syrian cults such as those of Gad and Meni (Is. 65₁₁). Under the successors of Alexander, the Jews in Palestine as well as in Egypt and Syria were brought under the spell of Hellenic civilisation, and the liberal party, especially strong among the priestly aristocracy, showed no prejudice against the Greek religions,¹ until the violent measures of Antiochus Epiphanes provoked an equally violent reaction."¹

P. C.

SYNEDRIUM OR PRETORIUM?

To the Editor of The Open Court:

In the year of the crucifixion of Christ—33—did the Roman officials of Judea represent unfettered power?

Was not the mighty Sanhedrin the important governing body?

¹The older literature is cited under Ashtoreth [*q. v.*]. For recent discussion see We. *CH* 281 f. note; St. *GVI* 1458 ff., cp. *ZATW* 1345, 4293 ff., 6318 ff.; G. Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phön. Inschriften*, 26 ff.; WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 187 ff. On the other side, Schr. *ZA* 3384. Reference may be made also to Baethgen, *Beitr.* 218 ff.; and to Collins, *PSBA* 11291 ff., who endeavors to show that the *ashera* was a phallic emblem sacred to Baal.

²See Scholz, 419 ff.

³Quoted from *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II., 2157.

When the imperial sovereign of Rome declined all interference with the rule of the Sanhedrin over Jerusalem, considering it policy to court the senate of elders rather than provoke hostilities, did it lie within the office of the procurator to rescind a sentence passed by the leading authorities of Jerusalem on an apostate from Israel?

A review of the political and religious aspect of the brief period of Christ's messianic activity leads to the conclusion that to the sway of the highest native tribunal, the Sanhedrin, the imperium of Rome lent official aid. The issue being that if the Procurator did not act in co-operation with the Holy Senate he was the one the crafty Tiberias went against: as instanced by the three recorded rebellions of the Jews under Pontius Pilate when in each case he was compelled to yield in consequence of the Jews' appeals to the Emperor. From such conditions were begotten Pilate's political peril and the weakness of his situation; the sequence being that not as the accomplice, but as the implement of the priestly aristocracy, he was coerced cravenly into ratifying the decree of the Jewish council, giving up to its authority one whose righteousness he declared himself convinced of. Overcome by the outrage of the Jews he yielded his name to the scourge of history while casting upon the priest-led Jewish mob the whole reproach of the death of "This Just Man, He in whom I find no fault,"—a responsibility which was accepted with cries of "Let his blood be upon us."

Was it Tiberias who was guilty of the death of Jesus?

Was it Pilate?

Was it not rather the old Mosaic law represented by Hanan? A law which assigned the penalty of death to all attempts to change the Hebrew faith.

How many death sentences dictated by priestly intolerance have forced the hand of the civil power! Sacerdotal cruelty has ever shielded itself behind the secular arm.

Christ had made the first step towards incurring the hatred of the rabbis, and the condemnation of those who disputed the right of individual judgment in the sphere of religion, when as a little child he had stood amongst the doctors in the Jewish hall pondering on problems, and hearing and asking questions; with an early introversion seeking through outward forms for the subtle essence of eternal verities. That day he had taken the first step towards the agony of Gethsemane. That day he had set his face all unconsciously towards the dread shadow of the Mount of Golgotha.

"Socrates was the glory of the Athenians who would not suffer him to live amongst them. Spinoza was the greatest of modern Jews and the Synagogue expelled him with ignominy. Jesus was the glory of the people of Israel who crucified him." Thus wrote an Oriental scholar of the past on the subject of the crime committed upon Calvary. "Jesus was crucified by the Romans, not by the Jews," thus writes one of our great scholars of to-day. In the presence of such conflicting literary statements, will *The Open Court* treat considerately the foregoing suggestions cast forth by one of its constant and earnest students? GEO. AULD.

BASSETTERE, ST. KITTS.

THE JUDGES OF JESUS, AGAIN.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

In the number of *The Open Court* for June you answer the question of Mr. George Auld in terms which are technically correct. Undoubtedly the sentence of

the Jewish Sanhedrim was executed, and legally could have been executed, only through the Roman Governor. But is it not true that, in the deeper sense in which the transaction is regarded by the Christian World, the responsibility for the execution, as well as for the sentence, rested upon the Sanhedrim? The death of Jesus was demanded under the Jewish law because he had declared himself to be the Son of God. Pilate, however, tried to save him and, to that end, exhausted every argument he could employ and, when his efforts proved ineffectual, washed his hands before the multitude and declared his innocence "of the blood of this just person." According to St. John, he did not consent to the execution until two appeals had exercised upon him a coercive effect,—*first*: that in declaring himself a King, Jesus had committed treason against Rome, and, *second*, that for this reason, to refuse the crucifixion would be an offence against Cæsar.

From my point of view it follows that, while Pilate was a moral coward, the Sanhedrim was substantially responsible for the sentence and the execution.

HENRY E. HIGHTON.

EDITORIAL COMMENTS.

In considering historical questions of events narrated in the New Testament, we must bear in mind that the Gospels are not history in the literal sense of the word. The contradictions of the Gospels are a sufficient evidence to prove that the statements of the New Testament stand as much in need of critical revision and investigation as do any secular records or documents. There is no doubt that the main facts themselves,—the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, the offence he gave to the orthodox Jews, his condemnation by the Roman governor, and his crucifixion,—are historical; but the reports are colored by the opinions of the several authors. There can be no doubt, as our correspondent, Mr. Highton, says, that "in the sense in which the transaction was regarded by the Christian world," the responsibility for the sentence lies with the Jewish priests. Without being prosecuted by the Sanhedrim, the Roman authorities would not have crucified Jesus. But it seems to me very doubtful to speak of this interpretation as "the deeper sense"; it is rather an interpretation which does not take the facts as they are, but weighs at the same time the moral responsibility of one of the parties, fixing the guilt on a whole nation which belongs to one class only. Jesus was obnoxious to the orthodox Jews because he was a sectarian, and moreover a leader, one who had been, as is probably historically true, greeted at his entry into Jerusalem as the Messiah by the members of his sect. According to the Gospel account, he was condemned for blasphemy because he called himself the "Son of God," which is interpreted in the sense in which Paul uses the term "Son of God." But it is not probable that the Sanhedrim would condemn a man for calling himself the son of God, since even to-day there is a large Jewish society which call themselves "Sons of God," the "B'nei Adonai" or the "B'nei Elohim." God is frequently called "Father" in the Old Testament, and Israel collectively is called the "Son of God." The introduction of the narrative that Pilate washed his hands, seems to me to betray the tendency of whitewashing the Romans, and I deem it, though not impossible, yet as historically improbable. But whether or not historical, this symbolical act does not relieve Pilate of his responsibility. That the Roman governor at first tried to release the prisoner is quite plausible, for Pilate knew of the bitterness with which the orthodox Jews persecuted their unorthodox fellow-countrymen. But as soon as he heard that Jesus was regarded by a part of the population as a Messiah, he did not hesitate to condemn him to the cross, and thus it seems to me

that the historical background of the judgment scene in the prætorium is historically tenable. But for all that, even if the Sanhedrim hated the man who was worshipped as the Messiah by the Nazarenes, the Ebionites, or some similar sect, it would be very wrong to make the whole nation responsible for his condemnation.

Translate the whole story into modern conditions, such as we are familiar with. Suppose that there is a tribe of South Sea Islanders ruled by a British governor. There rises among them a native pretender, harmless and inoffensive, who somehow makes himself obnoxious to the chieftains of his own nation. The latter, themselves of a rebellious character, hand him over to the British governor as a traitor to the cause of British rule. The British governor finds no guilt in the prisoner, but the chieftains say that the accused is a rebel, and if he be not executed at once they will report the case to London. Now let us assume, the British governor learns that the pretender is the head of a powerful native party which he suspects of being just as dangerous as the chieftains, and so he concludes to have him executed, would the governor and with him the British government not be responsible for the execution? The chieftains would not be free from blame, but we could not say that the South Sea Islanders had killed him.

The Jewish Christian certainly did not condemn the entire nation; and the conception of fastening the guilt upon the Jews collectively originated at a later date, when Christianity had taken root among the Gentiles. It is a peculiarly Gentile-Christian conception, and characterises the interpretation of the Gentile-Christian world of the second century and later ages.

ADOLF BASTIAN ON THE ETHNOLOGICAL WORK OF AMERICA.

Dr. Adolf Bastian, the Nestor of German ethnologists and director of the great museum of Berlin, is as active as ever in research and literary production. Scarcely a year goes by but several works descriptive of the results of his extensive travels and vast studies appear. Just recently three books, one treating of the history of civilisation as illuminated by Buddhism,¹ a second of ethnology in its relation to history,² and a third of ethnic psychology,³ have come to our table,—not to mention contributions to technical journals. The readers of *The Open Court* will soon have the opportunity to read an article by Dr. Achelis of Bremen treating at length of Bastian's fruitful and unremitting labors in the field of ethnology, so that our remarks may be brief at this time. It is interesting to know, however, the high opinion which Bastian has of the ethnological work now being done in America, and we accordingly quote from a private letter of his to the editor the following remarks:

"The science of modern times, our new 'science of man,' struck root in the soil of the New World most quickly of all; and by the generous endowments there made for its advancement has reached a high point of development.

¹ *Culturhistorische Studien unter Rückbeziehung auf den Buddhismus*. I. Berlin: Druck und Verlag von A. Haack. Pages, 197.

² *Die Völkerkunde und der Völkerverkehr unter seiner Rückwirkung auf die Volksgeschichte*. Ein Beitrag zur Volks- und Menschenkunde. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1900. Pages, iv, 171.

³ *Die humanistischen Studien in ihrer Behandlungsweise nach comparativ-genetischer Methode auf naturwissenschaftlicher Unterlage*. Prolegomena zu einer ethnischen Psychologie. Berlin: Ferd. Dümmlers Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1901. Pages, iv, 186.

"Although the universal point of view is the one always to be considered by ethnology, embracing as it does the 'entire human race in all its variations,' nevertheless the present restriction of American labors to things purely American is, by its very specialisation, of great moment and advantage. In point of fact, the *Annual Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology*, genuine *Monumenta ethnologica americana*, are laying sound foundations for that branch of research which is now encompassing the entire earth and which promises to be the first to furnish to man that knowledge of himself and his destiny which tradition tells us he has sought time out of mind."

POPE LEO XIII. ON PROTESTANTS.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

F. W. Fitzpatrick's article in the July *Open Court*, on His Holiness the Pope, pleased me greatly, and I am only astonished that in his appreciation of the attitude of Leo XIII. toward the world the author did not quote his communication to the American Protestants, which was referred to and cited in full by the Hon. Charles Carroll Bonney in his opening address to the Roman Catholic Congress in the memorable year 1893. It is contained in Mr. Bonney's *World's Congress Addresses*,¹ page 23, and reads as follows:

"I have a claim upon Americans for their respect, because I love them and I love their country. I have a great tenderness for those who live in that land, Protestants and all. Under the Constitution Religion has perfect liberty, and is a growing power. Where the Church is free it will increase; and I bless, I love Americans for their frank, open, unaffected character, and for the respect which they pay to Christianity and Christian morals. My only desire is to use my power for the good of the whole people, Protestants and Catholics alike. I want the Protestants as well as the Catholics to esteem me."

"A ROMAN CATHOLIC."

A FRENCH ANTHROPOLOGIST ON GOBINEAU.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

With respect to your remarks upon the revival of Gobineau's ideas, mentioned in *The Open Court* for July, 1901, it must be borne in mind that Gobineau's work on *The Inequality of Races* was published forty years ago, before the foundation of the Anthropological Society of Paris. The field of anthropology has entirely changed since then. Broca and those who have since gathered around me naturally could not take the work into consideration, for our labors were based on different data and proceeded from a different point of view. If I were to write you on Gobineau's work, as you suggest, it would necessitate my reading the book again. When it was published, there was a persistent confusion between linguistic races and anthropological races. The current doctrine was that genuine peoples were to be recognised by language. Historians and subsequently diplomatists were the authors of it. It led to the notion of Pan-Slavism, Pan-Germanism, etc. The doctrine fell before, or rather was eclipsed by, the numerous assaults of anthropology.

The diplomatists, however, particularly the Germans, have a great interest in keeping it up. At first it was said that people who had spoken the same language

¹ "Religion of Science Library," published by The Open Court Publishing Co.

were brothers of the same race. But now they say that peoples who at present speak the same language should be assembled under the same dominion. It is the reason that the German politicians have for extending their language around them. It is really a conquest for the future.

Well, the Gobineau Association must have that doctrine as a flag, and the recrudescence of a Gobineau movement is certainly intended to make the said linguistic doctrine popular. It may be a preparatory movement to claim the German-speaking populations of Austria, when the old emperor dies.

PAUL TOPINARD.

PARIS.

BOOK NOTICES.

A CENTURY OF CASTE. By *Judge A. N. Waterman*. Chicago: M. A. Donohue & Co. 1901. Pages, 85.

Judge A. N. Waterman has written a book under the title *A Century of Caste*. It is a simple but touching tale of the life of a Negro woman of the South, and if we mistake not the tenor and style of the story it is based on fact. There is nothing extraordinary in the fate of the poor old slave woman: how she grew up on a plantation, how she was married to Tom, how her husband was sold, how the War came, and her old age. The reader feels that he is confronted with a living personality. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* may have collected the worst facts of Southern slave life; but here we find mingled with the sufferings of the poor Negro, also the gentler sympathies of their white owners, and the love of the Negro for the white folks, whom they feared and admired at the same time. And we see how the slaves love the children of their masters as much as their own.

Judge Waterman begins his tale with these words: "With many, life is a melodrama; for some, a tragedy; to most, a disappointment. The greater portion of mankind feel that they have been unjustly dealt with, unduly vexed and troubled, not properly appreciated or rewarded; that opportunities afforded to others have been denied to them. To these, this presentation of burdens they have never borne, is offered for their consideration."

Being a judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois, we feel confident that Judge Waterman does not exaggerate the conditions; in fact, he substantiates the statements incidentally made in his book by adding in a note the laws and ordinances of several Southern states, and also of the state of Illinois, showing the spirit in which the black population was kept in subjection. The book is short, but no one can lay it aside after perusal without gaining sympathy for the downtrodden, and feeling the need of constant further improvement as to the removal of castes and extending good will even to the lowest and most unfortunate living creature. P. C.

A. S. Barnes & Co., of New York, just issue a book on *Atoms and Energies*, by D. A. Murray, A. M., some time instructor in the Government Shogyo Gakko, Kyoto, Japan. Now, the Shogyo Gakko is not a school of *physics*, or of *mechanics*, but a *commercial school*, and the weight of the book is further augmented by its having a preface written for it by our esteemed friend and contributor, Dr. Frederick Starr, who is Professor of Anthropology and Indian Science in the University of Chicago, and an authority on Indian mechanics. Mr. Barnes believes that energy is an "entity," and that there are two forms of Substance: (1) Material Substance or Atoms, and (2) Kinetic Substance or Energies, to which he adds a third, Psychic Substance, Soul or Life,—all genuinely prehistoric conceptions

which could not but have thrilled with rapture the heart of a professor of prehistoric lore, and logically have led to his fathering the book. "It is long," says Professor Starr, "since I have read a book in Physical Science which has given me so much pleasure," and we should be the last, by *our* animadversions, to deprive others of the same joy. Never were folklore and physics more happily blended. (Pp., 202. Cloth, \$1.25.)

Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., of New York, have recently issued a neat edition of Ralph Waldo Trine's three booklets: (1) *The Greatest Thing Ever Known*, (2) *Every Living Creature*, and (3) *Character-Building Thought Power*. Mr. Trine's books have been successful from the point of view of circulation, and appeal strongly to the semi-scientific and mystical tendencies of present-day thought. Amid most outspoken doctrines of Christian Science and Mental Healing will be found such ethical and psychological truths as the following: "A thought—good or evil—an act, in time a habit, so runs life's law,—what you live in your thought-world, that sooner or later you will find objectified in your life." (Pages, 82, 85, and 51 respectively. Price, each, 35 cents.)

NOTES.

We have learned with deep regret of the death of Prof. John Fiske of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Professor Fiske was an original and fearless thinker and did much to disseminate sound evolutionary thought in our country at a time when the reigning influences were decidedly hostile to it. The chief works of his which contributed to this end were *Myths and Myth-Makers* (1872), *Cosmic Philosophy* (1874), and *The Unseen World* (1876). Fiske's highest aspiration was the chair of philosophy at Harvard, but the time was not ripe and he failed to receive the appointment, although he was specially fitted for the place by his natural bent, his talents, his preparatory studies and the high achievements of his pen. He was suspected of being too liberal and so he was disappointed. He subsequently devoted himself with great success to the study of American history, and produced works in this field which betokened the highest impartiality and critical power, and which have been very effective in offsetting the ridiculous Chauvinism and braggadocio that characterised the current standard expositions of this subject prior to his labors. But in this field too he failed to find the official recognition which he would have most highly appreciated, a university position as professor of history, although that higher recognition which comes from the appreciation of thinkers and readers at large fell in both instances to his share. The titles of his main historical productions and text-books are as follows: *The Beginnings of New England* (1889), *The Discovery of America* (1892), *The American Revolution* (1891), *Critical Period of American History, 1783 to '89* (1888), and *Civil Government in the United States*. Other works of Professor Fiske are *Excursions of an Evolutionist* (1883) and *The Idea of God* (1885). Professor Fiske's labors and interests were very comprehensive, and his productions were invariably marked by erudition and critique.

The article on Burmese Temples in the present *Open Court* was written especially for our pages by Dr. Grünwedel, an officer of the great Ethnological Museum of Berlin, which corresponds to our Bureau of Ethnology in Washington; and the photographs were obtained for us by Dr. Huth from Herr Thomann's own collection. To all these gentlemen we wish to publicly express our thanks here.

ESSAYS ON NUMBER

- I. CONTINUITY AND IRRATIONAL NUMBERS.
- II. THE NATURE AND MEANING OF NUMBERS.

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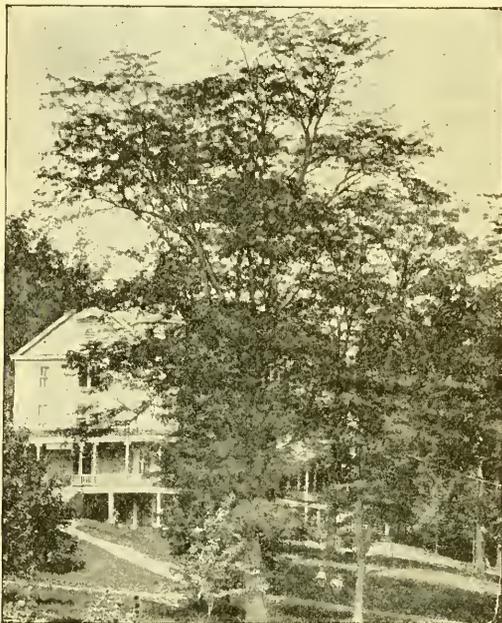
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