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Courtesy of Field Museum, Chicago

WEI-TO

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

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OCTOBER, 1932

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A DEFENDER OF THE FAITH AND HIS MIRACLES

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER

Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago

AN exhibit recently installed in a case on the East Gallery of Field Museum, Chicago, comprises a number of fine, carved, wooden images of Buddhist and Taoist deities most of which were obtained by me from ancient temples in and around Si-an fu, the present capital of Shensi Province and erstwhile glamorous metropolis of the Han and T'ang dynasties of China. Negotiations for such images were by no means easy and required a great deal of *pourparlers*, tact, and diplomacy. The mere hint at a commercial transaction would have been regarded as an insult by the abbot of a temple both to himself and the gods. It was necessary first to gain the confidence and amity of monks and abbots and then to try to effect on this basis an exchange of gifts—the gods while not venal might be presented to one who possessed an intimate understanding of their nature and who promised to treat them with care and reverence. Under this formula, by making a present to the abbot and an offering to the temple, which reconciled the gods, I became the proud owner of a statue of Wei-to, who is the loyal protector of Buddha's temples and a staunch defender of his faith.

Not that statues of this god are rare, nearly every Buddhistic temple boasts of one, but most of these are made after a commonplace routine by artisans who copy their models mechanically. This one was singularly beautiful, free and original in his conception, well carved and finely lacquered, the lacquer coat being mellow in tone with age. Last but not least, this particular Wei-to was glorified by a tradition which clothed him with a nimbus in the eyes of his admirers and imbued him with a historical significance of the first order. The story briefly is this. Long ago, during the seventh century, in the glorious age of the T'ang emperors, there lived at Si-an fu a Buddhist priest, Tao Sūan by name, a profound thinker and an eminent writer on subjects connected with his religion. Like all members of the monkhood he was deeply devoted to self-con-

centration and contemplation, looked upon as the great means of self-perfection. Meditation would naturally lead to dreams putting him in contact with the supernatural world. Tao Sūan wrote his memoirs, and has left to us many precious documents in which he records his conversations with gods and spirits that revealed themselves to him in his inspirational dreams. Among others Wei-to appeared to him in his visions and directed him to have his statue made exactly as his apparition. Tao Sūan obeyed the command, and from this time onward images of Wei-to were set up as the guardians of Buddha's temples and clergy. It is a singular fact that all Buddhistic divinities of China are derived from types created in India where Buddhism was born, but that Wei-to is the only Buddhistic deity conceived in China. He has the appearance of a handsome Chinese youth with a smiling countenance and is a powerful general fortified by a heavy suit of mail, ever ready to strike demons and the foes of the faith. Now it happened that the temple from which the Wei-to, at present in the Museum, has come was erected on the very spot where Tao Sūan, master of contemplation and original creator of Wei-to, lived and taught. According to a tradition of this temple, which appears to be well founded, this statue was a direct descendant of Tao Sūan's work, traceable to his inspiration, permeated by his spirit. It was regarded as a palladium capable of innumerable blessings, and one may realize how hard it was for my friend, the abbot, to part with this treasure for the benefit of Chicago.

The statue of this god was a great miracle-worker. Wei-to, above all, was a good provider, an efficient money-raiser and bill collector. In some monasteries where the monks thought more of their temporal than spiritual welfare they placed his statue in the kitchen the supervision of which was entrusted to his care. It even occurred that when he was installed as a culinary purveyor, the monks recited incantations, threatening him with severe corporal punishments if he should ever neglect his duty to supply the kitchen regularly with provisions.

Whenever it happened that the temple buildings were in need of repairs or that the walls had to be repainted or that a pagoda was to be restored, good Wei-to was instrumental in raising the necessary cash for such labors. In a case like this the brotherhood would stage a solemn procession through the streets and lanes of the city. One of the monks carried a shrine harboring Wei-to's picture, beating

a wooden drum in the shape of a fish and soliciting funds or subscriptions from wealthy shopkeepers and well-to-do families. If not successful in this venture, one of the monks would deposit Wei-to's image on the threshold of the house of a very prominent family, obstruct the entrance, and remain seated there cross-legged like a Buddha, for days if necessary, and would patiently wait till the expected contribution was turned over to him.

If the monks failed in this quest of charity, the racket was pushed to extremes. A member of the brotherhood was locked up in a cage just high enough to allow him to squeeze in, and was openly exhibited to the crowd in the market place. The door of this cage was carefully shut with several padlocks, and the news was broadcast that the fellow in the cage was on a hunger strike, doomed to die, and that he would not be released until the necessary amount was raised. The people were urged to have pity with the moribund man and to surrender speedily their loose change. In order to play their feelings up to a pitch, it was alleged that the prisoner's bare feet rested on sharp iron spikes; this in a way was true, but the spikes were so deeply sunk into a wooden plank that it formed a smooth surface, and moreover he was always secretly released before any harm could befall him.

It will thus be seen that rackets are not an institution of recent origin, or peculiar to Chicago, and that rackets also have their history whose threads may take us back to the intricate mysteries of the Orient.

IN OUR IMAGE

BY GUSTAVE CARUS

Foreword

THE following lines are intended to express some of the many diverse conceptions of the deity, the cosmos, and humanity which have been held by various people at different times.

The subject is so vast that completeness would be impossible and has not been attempted. It has been the intention to touch chiefly on such points as are of interest today or bear on present-day ideas, although some of the ideas included might seem obsolete or antiquated.

These aphorisms were not conceived as being the thoughts of a single real or imaginary person, but that possibility is not necessarily excluded. Some of the ideas, although absolutely at variance with one another, might well have been held by one individual in different moods and at different periods of his life.

There is no intention to convert the reader to any special belief or doctrine, or to plead, prove, or refute any cause or creed. The intention is merely to give a bare statement, in simplest words of the various ideas under consideration.

I

In his own image man created his God,
And then worshipped Him.

II

In his own image man created his God;
He gave to Him his passions
And saw glory in the passions of his God;
He ascribed to Him his hatred
And then obeyed and hated;
He taught Him his desires
And strove to fulfill them.
He contemplated his God
And worshipped Him.

III

To my God I owe everything,
At His command
I must willingly sacrifice
Even what I treasure most,
Even life.

IV

Mighty and terrible is our God:
He must be appeased
With sacrifice and blood.
If His favor is won
He will give
Rich reward and victory.

V

Let no blood be shed upon this altar,
Let no victim be led to sacrifice,
Let none come in fear and pain;
But unconstrained and free
Let votaries come,
Singing and dancing,
To offer gifts
Of garlands, fruits, and flowers,
Inspired with joy and love.

VI

Seated on His magnificent throne,
Surrounded by His infinite glory,
Listening to the praises
Sung by His vassal-host,
Reigns the Grand Monarch
Of the realm of Heaven
And of the tributary province,
Earth.

VII

God is asleep ;
 I am His dream :
 He dreams also of lesser gods who speak
 In rushing wind, thunder, battles' roar,
 And in still small voice.
 They demand worship ;
 But He, asking nothing, sleeps on
 And dreams.

VIII

O comely priest,
 Preach your doctrine,
 Proclaim your faith and god :
 Unquestioning I believe ;
 Your word is my proof and witness ;
 Any god you teach
 I will worship abjectly.

IX

Most awful, unknown,
 Mighty and mystic power :
 Accept
 My reverence,
 My gifts,
 My worship,
 My sacrifice.

X

I have no reverence
 For a simple, commonplace thing
 That I understand ;
 But something strange,
 Wonderful and marvelous
 Which I cannot comprehend :
 That I worship.

XI

I forego the gifts of the earth
 To seek fulfilment of my longings
 Beyond this earthly life.

XII

Alone, in perfection and purity,
 Withdrawn from the world and corruption,
 I seek salvation.

XIII

The censor of creation sits,
 Blue pencil in hand,
 Marking out for blame
 Such parts of his work
 As he made unskilfully.

XIV

I know the way of salvation :
 It is the path I follow :
 But my own deliverance is not enough :
 I can not rest
 Until all the world follows my path.

XV

Since belief is virtue
 And doubt is sin ;
 I will accept
 What is declared
 Proper for belief :
 And that I may avoid
 The least doubt,
 My thoughts shall avoid
 My creed.

XVI

Though I do not comprehend,
 Unquestioning I accept
 My creed.

XVII

Devoid of reason
 Is my creed ;
 Were it rational
 There were no need of faith.
 Because it is absurd
 I believe.

XVIII

I seek not paradise,
Nor my salvation,
Nor my righteousness:
I seek God alone.

XIX

God is sought in ancient tradition,
In strange miracles,
In hidden mysteries;
I find God
In my ecstasy.

XX

At the world's demand,
Unwillingly, I deny my belief
And profess what I hold false;
Secretly, hiding my regret,
I cherish my true faith.

XXI

We are few
Amid a hostile multitude;
Yet with care and love
We strive to keep pure
The rite and faith
We hold to be true.

XXII

In my heart is a conviction;
I will hold to it
Even against all the world—
I can do no other.

XXIII

The world is a battle-field,
All time is time of war,
Two great hosts contend;
You, too, must share in the strife:
Choose well your host
And be loyal.

XXIV

When truth is vile
And falsehood fair,
When truth is dark
And falsehood bright,
When the true brings evil
And the false brings good:
To which shall I turn?

XXV

I can not bear to see
This bleak world as it is;
I would fain be deceived,
I must have an illusion.

XXVI

I ponder over fantastic ancient lore:
I would it might be true.

XXVII

Let fact and truth
Be forgotten,
Lest they destroy
Delightful conceits and fancies.

XXVIII

If God is but a dream,
Let me not wake.

XXIX

As I would it were,
I let it seem,
And thus believe.

XXX

Let me doubt
My firmest conviction
And dearest belief,
That I may know the truth
With greater certainty.

XXXI

Let him who must, have faith ;
And let him doubt who dares.

XXXII

God is but a feverish dream
From which I woke.

XXXIII

I disbelieve ;
Blind faith in the preposterous
Is not for me ;
Even though
A vindictive god's hangman
Do his worst.

XXXIV

There is no God.
To my last drop of blood
I will strive to destroy
All belief in God.

XXXV

Believe as you will,
In rite or book,
In gods, in one, or none ;
If God is great
Will he take offence ?
If God is not,
What matters ?

XXXVI

If there be no God,
In what can I believe ?
Whom worship ?
Where find refuge ?
Whom fear ?
How can I have faith ?—
I must invent God.

XXXVII

I would worship:
I seek a God,
Who, in a beautiful temple,
Asks beautiful words
Said in prayers
And sung in hymns
To beautiful music.

XXXVIII

I set myself the task
To create my God;
A God I will revere above all,
Whom I will love more than all else,
My Masterpiece,
My highest Ideal.

XXXIX

Let the greatest sculptor make a mould,
Let the most skilful founder
Cast in finest bronze
In human form,
A masterpiece:
Worthy to be called
An image of God.

XL

This body my creator placed under my care:
With skill and strength,
With sport and play,
With chaste restraint,
I would keep my trust.

XLI

Though faith and God be false,
Still I follow and love
The ancient book, tradition, rite.

XLII

Without conviction,
Knowing no belief,
I, a loyal and loving son,
Piously hold
To the religion of my fathers.

XLIII

The ancient rites and words
Revered by my fathers,
Sacred though meaningless,
I interpret as symbols
Of my own belief.

XLIV

When prayer is said, I pray ;
When hymns are sung, I sing ;
I join in fast and penance ;
With my fellows I am one.

XLV

Though there be no god,
What is so sacred
As our fellowship
When we gather
To worship?

XLVI

Though God be not,
What is so beautiful
As the humility and reverence
Of prayer?

XLVII

In life we are fearless,
Even of extinction ;
In death we pretend
To ancient illusions.

XLVIII

Atonement and god matter not:
 For my sacrifice' own sake
 I cast myself into the flames
 Upon the altar,
 A willing holocaust.

XLIX

Though God is denied,
 Are not the deepest thoughts
 Found in His book?
 Are not the sweetest songs
 Sung in His praise?
 Are not the richest words
 Said in His prayers?
 Is not the highest joy
 His love?

L

Proclaimed by no prophet
 Taught by no gospel,
 Served by no priest:
 To him who seeks,
 God is revealed
 In natural wonders.

LI

When free from feverish passion,
 When untempted by desire,
 When unawed by fear,
 I would seek God
 In calm speculation.

LII

My thoughts shall lead me on,
 Let them lead me where they will:
 To a land of the blest
 Or to a place accurst.

LIII

Only that power
Which is so great
That it does not command,
Will I obey.

LIV

Though many have denied,
Always some have believed
What I seem to know:
That after this death
I still shall be.

LV

The good should be true
And the true be good;
Seek then the good
And call it true.

LVI

The truth serves well;
What serves me well
I call the truth.

LVII

Though I speak false,
Yet can I persuade
And bring sufficient proof.

LVIII

I know not,
I guess,
I conjecture,
I believe;
But neither I,
Nor you, nor anyone,
Can know.

LIX

What you think is truth,
For you alone is true ;
What I think is truth,
For me alone is true :
There is no truth for all.

LX

What can be seen
And felt
And weighed
Is real ;
All else is merely
A word.

LXI

Many things
I seem to see, to hear, to feel ;
Are they real things,
Or my dreams ?

LXII

Things, real and material,
Are but delusions of the senses :
My thoughts alone are true.

LXIII

The world is but deluded senses,
My mind, but a dream :
Naught is.

LXIV

Whether aught is,
How can I tell ?
As for me,
I know,
Therefore I am.

LXV

About me is the world ;
Within me is my world.

LXVI

Bright and glorious shines the sun,
 But useless its radiance
 Were I not here to see ;
 Majestic and mighty the mountain,
 But wherefore its grandeur
 Were I not here to be awed ;
 Lovely the eyes of woman,
 But futile their beauty
 Were I not here to be charmed.

LXVII

It was not light before it struck my eye,
 There was no beauty before I thrilled,
 It was not sound until I heard,
 How can aught be unless I am?

LXVIII

I am,
 There is naught else.
 The world is merely what I see,
 It is as I see it :
 Thus let it be.

LXIX

I am
 My master,
 My lord,
 My king,
 My emperor,
 My pope,
 My god.

LXX

The eye sees,
 The ear hears,
 The hand feels,
 There is thought ;
 I am not.

LXXI

Events stamp their mark
On passive plastic wax:
That am I.

LXXII

I do not understand the world,
It rests heavy on me ;
But in a day of toil
I forget its weight.

LXXIII

What appears as evil
Is hidden good ;
This world,
Though it seems filled with wrong,
Is the best that can be.

LXXIV

In this,
The worst of all possible worlds,
Where it were best for man
Never to be born,
Or soon to die,
I still live on.

LXXV

Where there is joy
There too is pain ;
Where there is love
There too is hate ;
Where is no evil
There is no good.

LXXVI

Though I find only pain,
Among toils and evils,
And a futile end:
Yet I will live.

LXXVII

Through disappointment and disillusion
 I still hope that the world may become
 As I would it should be.

LXXVIII

At my own command
 I must obey
 An unproclaimed law
 Which I hold
 All the world might heed.

LXXIX

In this brief span
 I would calmly bear the grief
 And fully know the joy.

LXXX

Though I may find
 The highest hope
 Or deepest despair,
 I must seek to know
 And understand.

LXXXI

What was
 Became what is,
 And will become what shall be;
 It must be as it is
 And cannot be otherwise.

LXXXII

Always there was a thought,
 I found it and made it mine,
 Others may come upon it,
 It may be lost,
 It may not be found,
 But it shall endure.

LXXXIII

Before I hear or see or feel
What is,
I know what must be.

LXXXIV

Let wealth and riches,
Let glory and honor
Pass me by:
I would but know and understand
The world and myself.

LXXXV

I am of the Earth,
To the Earth I am true ;
I will have no
Unearthly things or promises ;
Let me with the Earth keep faith
And to Earth be resolved again.

LXXXVI

Though gods and temples crumble
And the world fall in ruins,
I have yet myself,
Myself I may keep whole.

LXXXVII

For praise and blame
Of what I am,
Of what I do,
I appeal to my highest judge:
Myself.

GORGO AND PERSEUS RELATED TO
THE EGYPTIAN WARS OF THE XVIII DYNASTY

BY CORNELIA STEKETEE HULST

IN THE course of the century before Perseus killed the Gorgon, who, we now understand, was not a fantastic and moral allegory but one of the many aspects of the national goddess of the Arabian peoples, Egypt was fighting at intervals a long series of religious wars under various Theban Pharaohs, in which the campaigns of Thothmes III finally, in 1479-1447 B. C., involved the coastlands and islands of the eastern Mediterranean, where people of Arabian ancestry had made many settlements. Profound changes resulted in all of the lands that he conquered, while in Tiryns, where Perseus became the king after he had killed the Gorgon, and in Corfu, where the sumptuous temple of the living Gorgo has been discovered recently by Emperor William II and excavated by Professor Dörpfeld, profound changes occurred also about that time.

How profound were the changes which occurred in the Peloponnesus and Corfu can be seen in the fact that in both Tiryns and Phaeacia, a city kingdom in western Corfu, the people gave up the worship of their ancestral Arabian goddess and her consort, the Serpent-god, to adopt the gods of the Greek, the Aryan Bull-god and his Queen, the Sacred Cow, respectively Zeus and Hera, while in Tiryns they even gave up their ancestral social order, Matriarchy, to adopt Patriarchy in its stead—as has been said in the preceding chapter,¹ these were the deities and Patriarchy was the social order of Perseus and of Thothmes III. Due credit has been given to Perseus for ridding the Grecian world of Gorgo, the Terrible, and sending her as a shade down to Hades, but credit has not been given him for this revolution in religion and social life which prehistoric Greece experienced under him; and on investigation it becomes evident that credit is due, also, possibly even more, to the great Theban Pharaoh who, in campaign after campaign, was fighting the same Arabian goddess under her various aspects and names both in Egypt and the outlying lands which he conquered “to the uttermost ends of the earth,” “all that the Great Orbit encloses,” even “the islands in the midst of the Great Green Sea,” excepting only Cyprus and Phoenicia. Even these were “in panic,” as his Hymn of

¹The *Open Court*, April, 1932.



THOTHMES III
(From Rostovtseff, *History of the Ancient World*)

Victory declares. That vast Egyptian Empire which Thothmes III established constituted the world-condition, the background, the very atmosphere of the personal drama which Perseus was enacting on a narrow stage when he killed Gorgo, rescued Andromeda from Drakon, the Monster of the Sea, converted the people to

his gods and social theory, and established his kingdom in Tiryns. A fateful drama his was to prove, enormously significant as projected among the later Greeks of history, who acted their parts on a wide stage under his gods and the social institutions he established. To appreciate the significance of Perseus, it will be necessary to understand accordingly what were the world-conditions under Thothmes III, what were his problems and policies, and what religious and social changes he brought about.

Many of the foes whom Thothmes III reduced or threw into "panic" had been uniting just before his wars began, in a wide alliance, empire, or confederation under the great Queen Hatshepset, his father's wife and sister, his own aunt, his rival and bitter enemy in Thebes. She had caused herself to be crowned Pharaoh of Thebes after he had been crowned Pharaoh, and in no uncertain terms she boasted the wide, outlying empire that she had built by her diplomacy:

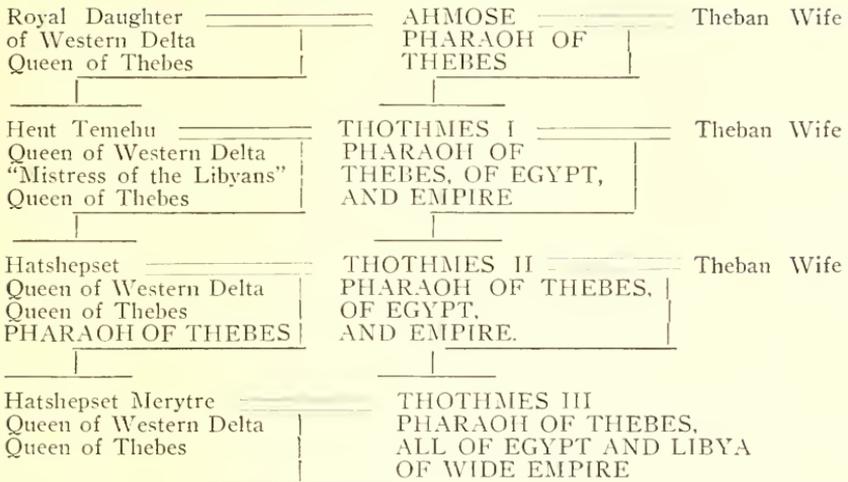
The Black Land (Egypt) and the Red Land (Desert) are united under my feet. My southern boundary is as far as the marshes of Asia, and the Asiatics are within my grasp; my western boundary is as far as the mountain of Manu (the sunset) . . . my fame is among the Sand-dwellers (the Beduin) altogether.

This statement is bold and challenging, and, made at a time when Thothmes III had been crowned as Pharaoh, the successor of his father, it constituted a defiance of his authority, which would be expected to lead to civil war. But Thothmes III did not dispute Queen Hatshepset or make it the occasion of settling by arms the question whether he or this sister and widow of his father should rival him and defy him in Thebes.

Why did he not do so? Why! . . . All of his later career proves abundantly that this very great Pharaoh was not lacking in courage, so there must have been some weighty considerations which made it desirable, even essential, that he should not accept any challenge to battle which this Queen extended to him, that he should endure personal indignities which she put upon him, as his father had done before him.

There were such considerations, and some of them will be seen in the accompanying genealogical chart, which shows facts that Weigall has collected concerning the marriages of Pharaohs from Ahmose to Amenhotep II. Here it appears that this Queen Hat-

GENEALOGICAL CHART
Beginning of XVIII Dynasty



AMENHOTPE I
PHARAOH OF THEBES
AND OF LIBYA,
OF EGYPTIAN EMPIRE.

(Data from Weigall's *History of the Pharaohs*.)

shepset was a Queen of Thebes because she was the wife of Thothmes II, but, equally important, that she was also one of a line of Queens of Thebes who were at the same time Matriarchal Queens of the Western Delta. Now, the people of the Delta were of Hyksos, or Arabian origin—Arabian being the more comprehensive term—and thus were of the Semitic race, while the Pharaohs of Thebes and their upper classes were of the Aryan race, as has been seen in Chapter I. Weigall shows that the Pharaoh Ahmose, by making his marriage with the Queen of the Western Delta, had made a union of their realms, thereby greatly enhancing the power of Thebes and commensurately weakening the power of his enemy, the Hyksos Pharaoh, Apopi, in the war that ensued. It will be seen that the marriages of his male progeny, the succeeding Pharaohs of Thebes, with their half-sisters, the succeeding Queens of the Western Delta, also his progeny, had perpetuated this union between Thebes and the Western Delta; but at what an exorbitant price the career of Queen Hatshepset shows. A study of her position and her policies will serve as a key to the world-situation that led to the Egyptian and Greek wars in that crucial period.



QUEEN HATSHEPSET
 (From Budge, *History of Egypt*)

In Matriarchal families there had always been a strong tendency to keep property in the family by arranging marriages between members closely related in blood, as between uncle and niece, between brother and sister, or even between father and daughter, and this arrangement must have tended also to mini-

mize family feuds and conflicting claims. In the royal family it would operate in these general directions and would also tend to assure stability in the state by forestalling palace revolutions and civil wars. In the Theban Royal House of the XVIII Dynasty, where the Matriarchal Queens married the Pharaohs, their Patriarchal brothers, certain other practical advantages were secured by the union of their realms. It will be seen that two principles were observed by these Theban Pharaohs and that their marriages with the Libyan Queens provided Egypt with a series of female heirs, Queens who would continue the traditions of Libya, their own country, thus satisfying the race-feeling of the Arabian element in the Delta and throughout Egypt, while their marriages with Theban or other Queens would supply male heirs to satisfy the race-feeling of their Patriarchal Theban people.

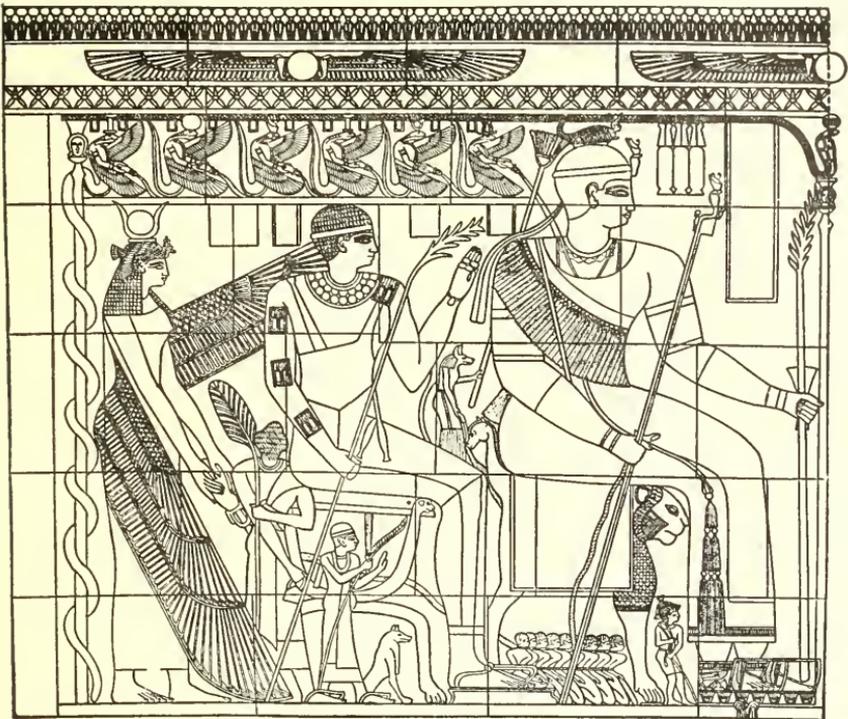
Reasons of both family and state were, then, served by the brother-and-sister marriages of the early XVIII Dynasty; and it can be seen that the personal ambitions of the brothers and the sisters concerned were also satisfied by this means. Starting with a Pharaoh of Thebes, Patriarchal, who married a Queen of the Western Delta, Matriarchal, this would unite their own interests in that generation. In the course of events, a daughter of this marriage would inherit her mother's Matriarchal realm according to Matriarchal custom, while her half-brother, by a Theban mother, would inherit their father's Patriarchal realm according to Patriarchal custom. This Matriarchal sister of the Pharaoh could then become Queen in Thebes only if she married the Pharaoh, this brother of hers, while her Patriarchal-Pharaoh-brother could become King in her Western Delta only if he married his Matriarchal Queen-sister. The genealogical table shows five such marriages made in succession through five generations, the Pharaohs almost completely of Aryan ancestry, the Queens of the Western Delta with a constantly increasing proportion of Aryan blood.

But clever as this solution was, and well as it worked toward maintaining the union and keeping peace, it did not continue to make for perfect peace in the family life of the Pharaohs, or even for eventual peace in the nation. Alack and alas, for the plans of Pharaohs as for those of mice and men! After the supremacy of the Theban Dynasty over the Hyksos and Arabian element had been won by Thothmes I in Egypt and Syria, the Hyksos and Arabian element within the gates of Thebes and within the walls

of the palace rose, in the person of Queen Hatshepset, the able daughter of Thothmes I, in opposition to his son, Thothmes II and later to his grandson, Thothmes III. Queen Hatshepset was the Queen of the Western Delta in her own right by inheritance from her mother, and she became also the Queen of Thebes, by virtue of her marriage to her brother, Thothmes II; she finally determined to become the Pharaoh of Thebes in her own right as well, displacing Thothmes III, her husband's heir by Patriarchal succession.

Here was the fertile seed of the trouble to come. Queen Hatshepset had been reared in her mother's realm in the Delta, and, as has been said, she worshipped her mother's gods and had them represented in that scene picturing her own birth on the walls of the temple she built at Der el Bahri, where the Hippopotamus goddess of the Delta, Ta-Urt, was shown presiding at the side of the couch where the Queen of Thothmes I, the mother of Hatshepset, was lying in. Both Queen Hatshepset and her mother, the Queen of Thothmes I, seem, though Queens of Thebes, to have retained the costumes and the customs as well as the religion of the Delta, for, as Weigall shows, Queen Hatshepset is represented on her monuments in a costume not Theban, but presumably Libyan, and her mother, the Queen of Thothmes I, if his identification of her mummy is correct, wore her hair dyed black and red, which is a Beduin fashion, still to be seen among the women in Beduin tents in Tunisia and North Arabia. These things speak affiliations and tendencies in Queen Hatshepset consistent with the policies of her administration. She was not Theban at heart, but Hyksos and Arabian, though more of the blood in her veins was Theban, Aryan, than was Arabian, Semitic—racially she was a Hyksos quadron, her mother having been half Theban and both her father and her grandfather, Theban.

These Queens, as the Queens in all Matriarchal countries, held their position in their own realm by their own rights, their husbands, or consorts, having power there only by their sufferance or under their direction. History tells that Queen Hatshepset relegated Thothmes II, her husband, to a very inferior position even in Thebes, where the throne was his own and where she held her position as Queen only because she had married him. Queen Hatshepset, like the Queen of the Sudan in the accompanying illustration, determined to hold the scepter in her own hand and to take precedence of her husband; and her inscriptions show the



THE QUEEN OF MERNEITH WHO BUILT PYRAMID NO. 11, AND HER CONSORT.

QUEEN OF SUDAN
(From Budge *The Sudan*)

figure of Thothmes III as standing modestly behind her own, his name not even mentioned, though she was at that time obliged to recognize him as co-regent. Such precedence would be accorded her without question in her own realm, the Western Delta, or Libya, but would not be accorded her without question in Thebes by the Pharaoh, the priests, or the upper classes, because they were Patriarchal and of the Aryan race.

That Queen Hatshepsut was of Arabian ancestry and worshipped the Arabian goddess, that she was regarded as Queen in her own Matriarchal right among the Arabian party in Egypt and the lands in and around the Mediterranean, and that Matriarchy was still, in 1500 B.C., the prevailing social practice among the Arabian peoples in this region (as it continued to be among the people in Arabia until the reforms of Mohammed) are facts which have not been taken into account adequately in considering

Queen Hatshepset's character and policies, but which are now readily seen to have given her the very strong position that she assumed and to have been determining factors in her policy. That policy was to make a great deal of trouble for Thothmes II, for Thothmes III, and for Thebes, particularly since Thebes lay in the midst of wide areas where people of Arabian ancestry and sympathies constituted the majorities.

It was Queen Hatshepset's evident purpose to build up a strong party of the Hyksos, an all-Arabian party, within Egypt and to include in it all of the widely scattered Arabian settlements in and around the eastern Mediterranean, making Thebes a part of this confederation, or empire under her own Matriarchal rule, not under that of the Patriarchal Pharaohs, her husband or his son. An inscription in the Holy of Holies of her temple represents Amen-Ra, her father, saying to the twelve great gods of Thebes, "I am going to unite in peace for her the two lands, and I am going to give her all lands." The proposed submersion of the Aryan Pharaohs and upper classes of Thebes in this Confederation would be less difficult for her to bring about because the common people of Thebes, the lower classes, were of Arabian and Ethiopian blood, as the analysis of the ancient Coptic language which Delitzsch made shows: Aryan words, 10%; Semitic, 30%; and African or other, 60%, indicating a small Aryan governing class, a larger Semitic commercial class, and a still larger native lower class. The Queen could thus hope to divide Thebes in case war came, ranging the lower and middle class of the people there with her Arabian party against their Theban Pharaohs.

The position of Thebes, of Thothmes II and Thothmes III, was, thus, more difficult during the life of Queen Hatshepset than has usually been supposed, and the position of the Queen was much stronger than has usually been supposed. Her great power as an independent Queen, her great native ability, the uses she had made of her opportunities to conduct affairs of state in Thebes while her husband was away at war, were presently augmented by her entering a claim to the Theban throne as the daughter of Thothmes I, the Conqueror, and, finally, as the daughter of the god, Amen-Ra himself! The favorite daughter of Thothmes I, who had dispersed the expelled followers of the Hyksos Pharaoh Apopi and subjected his lands in Asia to Theban rule, she now advanced a claim that her father had named her to be his suc-

cessor; and, after her mother had died, she further advanced the claim that, really, not Thothmes I, but Amen-Ra had been her physical father, having embodied himself in human form to beget her! A Miraculous Conception! This scene is sculptured on the wall of her temple; and another scene on the wall of her temple shows Amen-Ra and Horus, Theban gods, administering the rite of purification to her, pouring water over her head in a ceremony like that of baptism. A Divine Sanction by the gods of Thebes, was thus argued for her, the more to be believed because her temple was dedicated to Amen-Ra! The Arabian party would find this claim the more satisfactory because Ta Urt, their own national goddess, had been given divine honors in this same temple by this pious Queen, and because she had planted Arabian Hathor's Sacred Grove in Amen-Ra's temple courtyard, having imported the living trees, Sacred Trees, directly from the land of her "kin," "the divine land," "God's country," as she called Arabia. These honors to the Arabian goddess would strengthen her cause greatly among the deeply religious and uncritical Hyksos and Arabian element of the people, and when the day came for Thothmes III to fight for the Theban throne, Theban institutions, and Theban gods, he must find it necessary to break the power of this Arabian religion in order to break the power of the Arabian party outside as well as within Egypt.

This miracle alleged to have been performed by Amen-Ra as a Divine Sanction for Queen Hatshepset to be crowned Pharaoh in Thebes was an offset, on her side, to the previous miracle that Amen-Ra had performed in Thebes as his Divine Sanction for Thothmes III to be crowned as Pharaoh, his father's successor. For while Thothmes II was still living, and before he had named his successor, the god Amen-Ra nominated the young prince, later Thothmes III, in public and in the most impressive manner by a miracle! This occurred on a day when the image of the god had been taken out from the Holy Place and was being carried around the court of the temple in procession by the priests amid the acclamations of the multitude. The prince, who was serving as a priest of the temple at that time, was standing among his colleagues in the colonnade while the procession was passing, when the image of the god, which had been carried around both sides of the colonnade and had been moving hesitatingly as if the god were looking for some person, finally stopped before him as if he

were the person sought. He prostrated himself on the pavement before the image and the god raised him up and placed him in the Station of the King, the ceremonial spot where none but the Pharaoh might stand in the celebration of the ritual! A very pointed and convincing miracle! All now understood that the will of the god had been expressed, and when Thothmes II died the priests of Amen-Ra proceeded at once to crown the young prince-and-priest as Pharaoh, under the title of Thothmes III. The date of his accession was 1501 B.C. It is natural for us to suppose that this miracle had been planned by Thothmes II and executed by the priests because this weak Pharaoh had not felt equal to nominating his own son in opposition to the will of his strong and determined wife, Queen Hatshepset. At any rate, it served this purpose well and gave Thothmes III the great advantage of an assured position, supported by the Theban priests and the god. This whole episode is evidence of how very great a part religion played in the political life of this period, when the Theban Egyptians and the earliest Greeks were in danger of being overcome by the powerful Arabian element.

After Thothmes III had been crowned in accordance with this miracle, Queen Hatshepset could not uncrown him, but later she caused herself to be crowned, also, as Pharaoh. So a male Pharaoh and a female Pharaoh, a Patriarchal Pharaoh and a Matriarchal Pharaoh, were both ruling in Thebes at the same time. A difficult and dangerous situation! The union between Thebes and the Delta was in danger of being broken, and this would be followed presumably by sectional, racial and dynastic wars. If civil conflict should ensue, no man could be certain that the male Theban Pharaoh would be able to maintain himself even in Thebes, and if Thebes did not lose the Delta, it was still certain that the whole country would be impaired by the ravages of the war. But could peace be kept? and how could it be kept?

It was now that Thothmes III won his greatest and most hardily contested victory, and he won it first over himself, by exercising that marvellous patience which has been the admiration of history. The sequel proves that in this case patience was a very wise policy, and the first fruits of his patience were that during Queen Hatshepset's life the union between Thebes and the Delta was not broken and the young Pharaoh was placed in a position favorable to himself in the wars that were to ensue. Those years of his

patient endurance are enough to establish the fame of Thothmes III as a master of civil tactics, as his campaigns were to establish his fame as a master of military tactics.

He was a master, indeed! Instead of accepting the Queen's challenge to a civil war when circumstances were not favorable to him, Thothmes III contented himself with pressing his suit for the hand of her elder daughter in marriage, a princess who was the daughter of Thothmes II, his own father, and thus his own half-sister. And then, when Queen Hatshepsut saw fit to deny his suit, he just kept on applying! Year after year this tense situation continued unchanged, while he must have reckoned well that Time was his potent ally and that the years were few before Death would inevitably snatch the scepter from this strong Queen Hatshepsut's hand. With such an ally, and with the hope which the young Pharaoh treasured that his sister, Queen Hatshepsut's daughter, would still be his bride, he might well be patient—a marriage with Queen Hatshepsut's daughter, her mother's heir as hereditary Queen of the Western Delta, and therefore the person of greatest influence among the Arabian element throughout Egypt and the adjoining lands, would be worth more than many battles to his cause, and to him.

It is now evident that when Thothmes III entered his suit for the hand of Queen Hatshepsut's daughter he was not acting on a mere impulse to satisfy a personal fancy for a particularly charming princess, his own half-sister, and that he was not trying to disarm the Queen, his enemy, by offering to become her son. Nor was he, in Eastern fashion, serving time for his bride as Jacob served time for Leah and Rachel—Queen Hatshepsut did not assure him that she would give him her daughter after a period of waiting but evidently intended that her daughter should succeed to the thrones of both Upper and Lower Egypt in her own right and according to Matriarchal theory. Her own life had been a perpetual protest during the years of her marriage to Thothmes II against the inferior position that she was assumed to hold in Thebes in the Pharaoh's Patriarchal family and state, and if her plans did not miscarry, Patriarchy would now soon be a thing of the past in Thebes, where her own Matriarchal successors would rule unhampered by other claims. Her hope was in her two daughters, and the success of her policies would depend on what they would do.

And her daughters? Did they approve their mother's policies?

Or did they sympathize with those of their father and their brother, Thothmes II and Thothmes III? Did they want to rule as independent Matriarchal Queens over the vast Semitic Confederation, or Empire, that their mother had been building up or did they want to marry Thothmes III and help him to carry out his Aryan policies in Thebes, in Egypt, and the outlying Mediterranean lands? The records do not tell why Queen Hatshepset finally reversed her decision on this important matter and gave her daughters in marriage to Thothmes III, her rival for the Theban throne.... It might just be that she discovered that her daughters wanted to marry this young Pharaoh of great personal charm and power, believing that he was the chosen of Amen-Ra, the god of their fathers. Perhaps she found that her daughters had strong Aryan instincts, for the blood in their veins was far more Aryan than Semitic, and they had spent their formative years in Thebes, among relatives of Aryan ancestry, whereas their mother had spent hers in the Delta among people of Arabian ancestry. Or probably Queen Hatshepset began to realize the ancient wisdom to beware the wrath of a patient man and saw signs that the forces long pent up in Thebes would break forth disastrously when she died, unless she consented to maintain the existing union by the now time-honored means of a brother-and-sister marriage, the same means that had united Thebes and the Western Delta for a century past, since the days of the Pharaoh Ahmose.

We, who know Thothmes III better than Queen Hatshepset could have known him, can see that she was wise to accept him as her daughter's suitor and thus assure herself that a daughter of hers would be Queen of Thebes, though not independently of her husband and according to Matriarchal rule. With so much as this assured, Queen Hatshepset might still hope that the rest would follow later, even that Matriarchal rule would presently displace Patriarchal rule in Thebes—for, if a daughter of one of Queen Hatshepset's daughters by Thothmes III, not a son, should succeed Thothmes III as Pharaoh of Thebes, the policy of Queen Hatshepset might still prevail, establishing Matriarchal rule.

Little is known about the character and convictions of Queen Hatshepset's daughters, who were both in succession, to marry Thothmes III. The elder, Queen Nofrure, died before events had come to a stage where her convictions would be revealed, but the younger, Queen Hatshepset Merytre, did not carry out her mother's

aggressive policy and solved her problems in her great husband's way. His institutions became her institutions and his gods her gods.

Facts of great significance prove these points: (1) no daughter of Queen Hatshepsut Merytre, but her son, succeeded Thothmes III and ruled over the vast Empire which he unified under Thebes, thereby continuing Patriarchal rule; (2) this son was not named in honor of the Hyksos gods but, in honor of the Theban supreme god, *Amen*, he was named *Amenhotep*, *Amen-is-satisfied*; and (3) in the earlier years of her reign this Queen of Thothmes III was mentioned in inscriptions with the full name that her mother had given her, *Hatshepsut Merytre*, but in later years she was mentioned, in the list of names in her husband's tomb and in his Chapel of the Sacred Cow, simply as *Merytre*. This dropping of that part of her name which commemorated her mother was a public dishonor to both her mother's memory and her mother's gods, for the name of *Hathor* and *Set* were incorporated in *Hatshepsut*, while the name of Theban *Re*, *Amen-Ra*, was incorporated in *Merytre*, the name which was kept. When Queen Hatshepsut had given this daughter of hers these two names, *Hatshepsut* and *Merytre*, to honor respectively her mother's and her father's supreme gods, that had been consistent with her general policy to unite the Theban and the Arabian religions, though these differed as water and oil. Even her own name shows an effort in this direction, for as Pharaoh she finally made her name *Amenmense Hatshepsut*, incorporating *Amen* as well as *Hathor* and *Set*.

How complete the victory was which Thothmes III finally won over Queen Hatshepsut and the Arabian party, and which *Amen-Ra* won over the Hyksos and Arabian gods, is revealed eloquently in this change recorded in his Queen's name. And this was only one of many acts which he did in his later years to dishonor Queen Hatshepsut's memory, deliberately calculated to destroy her influence, to obscure her name and her fame, to consign her to oblivion, "body, soul, intelligence, words of power, and shade," to quote the words of one of the Litanies of Thebes. He was giving her "the Silence," blotting her reign from public records and thus from history. The inscriptions of her deeds, by which she had hoped to be remembered, he walled up by building a sheath of masonry around the base of her obelisks to hide them; her sculptured figure and her name were hacked out in most of the prominent places where they had appeared; her monuments were mutilated, as were also those of her

devoted servitors; and her name was not so much as permitted to be mentioned.

Could this conduct be justified and approved in Thothmes III? Was it consistent with the other traits of his admirable character, his mercy to fallen enemies, his justice? Historians have judged it unworthy, "a wretched exhibition of littleness" due to "petty spite," which "soiled his fame," a mean impulse to get even with his enemy in her grave as he could not do while she was living, for those personal indignities which she had done to both himself and his father. A worthy interpretation is now possible, in keeping with the highly heroic, elevated, noble, and lovable traits of his character, and taking into account the fact that he was waging these wars of his against the spirits and the gods that animated his enemy. In him the religious motive was profound, and this accounts adequately for his cutting down the Sacred Groves of the Arabian goddess wherever he went in his campaigns as well as for his treatment of Queen Hatshepset's monuments: this was his final gesture to make it perfectly clear to the people, especially to those who still put their faith in their Arabian leaders and Arabian gods, that their spirit and their holy places and their gods were condemned by Amen-Ra and were impotent against Him, against Amen-Ra. For it was Amen-Ra who had selected, had inspired, and had guided this Pharaoh, who had always protected him and given him victory, while it was the spirit and the goddess of Queen Hatshepset that had created the situation which compelled Thebes to fight for her very existence, and her gods. Now, by doing dishonor to Queen Hatshepset's memory, *and to her Arabian goddess*, he could deal most effectively with her Arabian party both at home and abroad. Incidentally, it was in this matter that his own Queen could render him the greatest possible service, by her sympathy with his highest and holiest religious and patriotic ideals, by her counsel and support, and by her example among the Arabian peoples—particularly because she was Queen Hatshepset's daughter and the lineal descendant of great Matriarchal Queens, the Arabian party would look to her, would accept their defeat at the hands of Thothmes III, would even begin to adopt his institutions and accept his gods.

The issues between Thothmes III and Queen Hatshepset had not been by any means narrowly personal and dynastic, and war between them would not have been any mere palace affair to settle the question which should sit on the throne. Nor would it have

been a conflict of kites and crows concerned only with fleshpots and treasuries. The differences between this very great Pharaoh and this very great Queen were fundamental.

It may be conceded that when Queen Hatshepsut united the worship of Amen-Ra and the Arabian Hathor in her own temple in Thebes, planting in connection with it the Arabian goddess' sacred Grove, this was an act of filial piety on her part, to honor both her father's and her mother's deities, but it was also an act of political acumen, in accord with her general policy of merging Thebes in an Arabian empire, or confederation, under her own control.

The young priest-Pharaoh, Thothmes III, and the priests of Amen-Ra and the Theban people would hardly be willing to accept this Arabian Hathor to displace their Sacred Cow, their mystic symbol for the worship of the Mother, the Universe, this merging, this submerging of Thebes. Just how they felt they made emphatically manifest in the wars which followed the death of the Queen, when they discredited her goddess and subjected her empire, shaking the faith of her race in the power of their national goddess to help them, thus killing their hope. For, if a man could commit such acts of sacrilege against her and she could not avenge herself on him, it must follow that she was impotent, or dead—it was nearly a century now, ever since their defeats under Apopi, that Amen-Ra had been giving the Thebans victory and that their own goddess had been failing them! But this Theban god, Amen-Ra, must be a god indeed! The conquered peoples would now weigh in the balance the religion of their country, along with their institutions, and as they revalued these they would begin to reconstruct them: Matriarchy or Patriarchy? The Bull or The Serpent? The Sacred Cow or Ashtaroth, Gorgo?

That the Theban Pharaohs had worn the cobra on their crowns long before the time of the XVIII Dynasty was merely a sign of their having absorbed a Cobra-kingdom long before the formation of the Hyksos State, and cobras were never used as symbols of their enemy, but always serpents of the python type. So among the Greeks Apollo was the slayer of a python, whence his name, The Pythian.

The hatred of Gorgo and her Serpent-consort and the wars of Thothmes III can now be understood in the light of these gods involved—symbols of Set were also the crocodile and the wild pig, low and terrible animals worshipped in fear. It is a long step toward understanding the Gorgo of Corfu, who is the occasion of our study, that Apopi, the Hyksos Pharaoh expelled in 1577 B.C. from

Egypt by Thothmes I, two generations before Thothmes III, is known to have been a devoted worshipper of the Serpent-god, Sutekh, Set, and of Gorgo under her aspect of the Mistress of Lusty Energy and Joy—it was she, lustily energetic and joyous, accompanied by Set, the serpents who formed her girdle and surrounded her, even coiled hissing about her forehead as locks of her hair, who occupied the place of honor in the pediment of the temple in Corfu. We may conclude that this temple of Gorgo and Set in Corfu was built by Hyksos, enemies of Amen-Ra, whether it was erected as early as Apopi, 1500 B. C., or as late as 700 B.C., the accepted date assigned to it. The period of the veneration of this Living Gorgo was a long one, for a representation of her has been found in a grave in Carthage where she appeared as the War aspect of Tanit and was still worshipped with human sacrifices and the immolation of children during the Punic Wars, as she had doubtless been in Corfu. Violent, lustful, and cruel, worshipped in orgies, she was the inevitable foe of Thebans and Greeks and Romans, politically as well as religiously, until Thothmes III and Perseus purified their lands of her abominations, as Rome was later to purify Carthage, and as Mohammed was to purify Arabia itself.

Of the purely political influence of Thothmes III in Syria, Breasted says,

His commanding figure, towering like an embodiment of righteous penalty among the trivial plots and treacherous schemes of the petty Syrian dynasts, must have clarified the atmosphere of oriental politics as a strong wind drives away miasmatic vapors. . . . His name was one to conjure with, and centuries after his empire had crumpled to pieces, it was placed on amulets as a word of power.

But the political and military achievements of Thothmes III, and of Perseus, are not to our purpose beyond noting that the lands which they conquered were thebanized, and hellenized, as they had not been by Thothmes I, and that this stopped their worst, most degrading practices, while in the Semitic countries which the influence of Thebes and of Greece did not reach, as Carthage, they continued for a thousand years and more. Patriarchal social organization now began to displace the Matriarchal, which had tended to the degradation of the males—among the isolated Tuaregs, Count de Proroc has recently found a Matriarchal society which affords a living example of the degradation of the males in which this

system tended to result. Under Thothmes III, Thebes is now seen to have been one of those single cities which, like Athens and Rome, gave superior institutions to the West, starting a new trend in world-development on a wide scale, while Perseus was doing the same in his little kingdom in the Peloponnesus for the Greece that was to be.

Historians have naturally placed great stress on political and dynastic aspects of Thothmes III, but now that we see more of the Arabian race which had been threatening to destroy Thebes long before he became Pharaoh, it is clear that racial, social, and religious aspects were equally important—they are of prime importance for the solution of such problems as are presented by Gorgo and her temple in Corfu, by the Hyksos Pharaoh Apopi, by Queen Hatshepset and Thothmes III, and by Perseus and the Gorgon. It now appears that all of these were so intimately related that they can not be solved separately, and, also, that the hostile gods who dominated the hostile individuals had a very great, perhaps a determining part, in the wars of the Thebans and the Greeks against the Hyksos and Arabian element.

The Thebans placed the blame for the beginning of their Hyksos wars definitely on an offensive religious act done by Apopi, which occurred three generations or more before Thothmes III. This was a period when religion pervaded every sphere of activity, secular as well as specifically religious, as Breasted shows that it did:

There is no force in the life of ancient man the influence of which pervades all his activities as does that of the religious faculties. Its fancies explain the world around him, its fears are his hourly master, its hopes his constant mentor, its feasts are his calendar, and its outward uses are to a large extent his education and the motive toward the gradual evolution of art, literature, and science.

To understand the intensity which racial and religious feeling had attained before Thothmes III ascended the throne of Thebes, in 1501 B.C., his situation, which we have seen complicated by the very disturbing, the threatening career of Queen Hatshepset, must now be viewed against its dark background, the long and desperate wars that had been fought by his Dynasty, by his own ancestors, through the century preceding his time.

From the beginning, a religious motive had been given by the Thebans for these wars, and while a part of what they and their

historian, Manetho, told about the causes and the beginnings of their war against Apopi may be mythical, it is safe to conclude that the motive and the spirit assigned were such as the Theban people approved and also that the incident related was such as might have occurred with consequences such as actually did occur. Manetho tells that the Hyksos were Arabian, and he makes it clear that the Thebans referred to them habitually with opprobrious names, "the plague-stricken," "the filthy ones," "the Asiatics," which imply that the Thebans were themselves of a different race from these "Asiatics" and considered themselves superior in these respects. History has had very little to say about these Hyksos people, and their enemies seem to have supplied what data we have about them. The reason for this dearth of information seems to be that the Arabians were not accustomed to leave records and that after the Thebans had defeated them, they consigned them to the same limbo of *oblivion* and *silence* to which we have seen Queen Hatshepset consigned, and for the same reason. The odds against Thebes had been desperate, and even after Thothmes III had been victorious there was still much to fear unless the enemy could be destroyed, "body, soul, words of power, intelligence, and shade," to quote the words of the Theban Litany, now in the British Museum, which was sung in the temple of Amen-Ra in Thebes and reflects Theban fear and hatred of the foe. The *bodies* of the Hyksos had been laid low or expelled, but a greater danger remained unless their *soul, words of power, and intelligence* also could be destroyed, since it was by these that future generations of bodies would be animated into future foes. To the Thebans, it must not be forgotten, and to the later Greeks, every center that their foes inhabited was an incipient Carthage, a serpent in the egg, and what that meant they understood only too well—the savage wars which Carthage waged in later centuries against the Greek cities of Sicily, as well as the Punic Wars, are clear instances of what it meant.

The Theban Litany here quoted may be taken as a reliable index to gauge the intensity of the feeling in Thebes against Apopi and his followers. Its theme was the King Serpent, Apepi, who had been condemned at the Judgment and was now in the Lower World suffering punishment by fire, "the flame coming forth from the eye of Horus." Because this condemned Apepi had worshipped Set, the Serpent-god, when he was on earth, it was appropriate that he

should be punished in serpent-form, but that he had been a mortal, a man greatly hated and feared when he lived on earth, is certain, for a fiend pure and simple would not be spoken of as Apepi is here, as having possessed a *body*, a *soul*, *words of power*, and a *shade*, as well as a *name*, which is now *buried in threefold oblivion* and *covered with silence*. Bodies, souls, words of power, and names were attributes that belonged to men, and on consideration it becomes clear that these attributes had all definitely and exactly belonged to Apopi, the Hyksos Pharaoh—ordinary men would not have been supposed to possess *names* of such importance or *words of power* so potent as to require the *silence* or a burial in *threefold oblivion*. Incidentally, this passage is proof that “burying in oblivion” and “covering with silence” were a conscious method employed in Thebes, here to be employed against Apopi as it was also employed deliberately by Thothmes III against Queen Hatshepsut.

The words of the Litany are rancorous with hate:

Fall down upon thy face, Apepi, enemy of Ra! The flame coming from the eye of Horus comes against thee, a mighty flame which comes from the eye of Horus comes against thee. Thou art thrust down into the flame of fire which rushes out against thee, a flame which is fatal to thy soul, thy intelligence, thy words of power, thy body, and thy shade. The flame prevails over thee, it drives darts into thy soul. . . . The eye of Ra prevails over thee. . . . Get thee back, thou art hacked in pieces . . . thy name is buried in oblivion, silence covers it. . . . Thou art put an end to and buried under threefold oblivion. Get thee back, retreat thou. . . . thou art removed from him that is in his shrine. O Apepi, thou doubly crushed one, an end to thee, an end to thee! Mayest thou never rise up again! . . . Thou art condemned to the fire of the eye of Horus which devours thee, thy soul, thy intelligence, and thy shade!

This is fairly hysterical, and it must not be forgotten that it voices the actual religious feeling and theory, the faith of Thebes. In the presence of such passion it becomes apparent why the name of Queen Hatshepsut's daughter, Queen Hatshepsut Merytre, had to be changed by dropping that part of it which commemorated Queen Hatshepsut and incorporated the name of *Set*—in the reigns of Seti and Rameses in later dynasties a reconsideration might be made in favor of Set, and an army division in Syria might be named in conciliation to honor Sutekh, but the mood of the period of Thothmes III and the XVIII Dynasty could hardly have been one of consideration or conciliation.

Budge comments on the fact that in the manuscript of this Litany the character which represents Apepi, the fiend, is always a serpent with oblique lines struck into its back to represent the spears, or rays from the eye of Horus; and this was appropriate because Apopi had fought, fought twice against Thebes before he was overcome and retreated from view.

It will be noted that in this Litany the charge against Apopi is not that he had oppressed the Thebans or that he had committed any, or all, of the forty-two deadly sins for which a soul was supposed to be condemned and punished in the Lower World, but that he was an enemy of Ra:

Fall down upon thy face, Apepi, *enemy of Ra!*

This is a purely religious charge, and in this respect the Litany agrees with the incident that Manetho tells of the beginning of the Hyksos War. Modern historians have held the opinion that the incident is not adequate to account for the war, but the Thebans seem to have thought it sufficient, and Manetho himself seems to have thought that it proved Apopi guilty of aggression and the Thebans justified in fighting. In brief, the incident is this:

Apopi, the Hyksos Pharaoh, the overlord of Egypt including Thebes, was a devoted worshipper of Set and built him a beautiful temple, a temple with many columns and rich metal work, but he did no reverence to the gods of Thebes, and when Set's beautiful temple with many columns was finished he sent his messenger to Thebes to say that the Thebans must stop hunting the hippopotamus, for the hippopotamus was sacred to Set—that he couldn't sleep nights for thinking of the cries of the wounded sacred animals and the wickedness of the Thebans.

This act of his precipitated the war and lost Apopi his empire, for the Thebans evidently took it that he was interfering in matters of religion and their rights—possibly they took it that as the overlord of Thebes he intended to unify the religions in his domains and force the Thebans to admit his god as supreme, using this protection of Set's hippopotami as the thin edge of his entering wedge. Thebans had always hunted the hippopotami and considered it their right to do so, and besides, the Hyksos god was not their god and stood for fundamentally different views of life. A revealing incident, therefore! Thebans would tolerate all gods of their neighbors and their subjects, and would even adopt them and offer sacrifices to them, but not under constraint or to displace

their own supreme deity. Resistance followed on the part of the Theban Pharaoh, who had no regard for this imposition of the Hyksos Pharaoh, for his low deity Sutekh, Set, or the sacred hippotami, and who trusted in Amen-Ra and Horus, in his own people and his own strong right arm.

The war which now began was not to be ended soon or to be won easily. It continued under various Theban Pharaohs and ended only when Thothmes I had subjected all of Asia Minor to Theban rule. In the end, the Theban Bull-god and Sun-god conquered the Arabian goddess and Serpent-god, and the story of their conflict was often thereafter represented in allegorical art, where hawk-headed Horus appears victorious over the hippopotamus, or the serpent, or the crocodile, sometimes standing on the back of one of these conquered animals; and this might be interpreted as the god, or the Pharaoh, who won the victory. Many Pharaohs had been involved, but in the popular mind it was always Thothmes III who was given the credit of the Victory.

The outstanding event in the first part of the Hyksos and Theban wars had been the siege of the Hyksos Pharaoh, Apopi, in Avaris, his capital in the Delta. This lasted for three years and ended after Apopi admitted his defeat and accepted terms from Thothmes I, not to surrender, but to withdraw from Egypt. Accordingly, in 1577 B. C., Apopi withdrew toward Syria accompanied by the whole of the population of Avaris, civil as well as military, carrying their possessions with them. This ended the rule of the Hyksos in Egypt, and left the Theban Pharaohs masters there until Queen Hatshepsut disputed their rule; and it was a very great event if judged by the new trend that Thebes was soon able to bring into world-affairs.

The Thebans estimated Apopi's garrison at 240,000 men, which is regarded as excessive, but it must have been large, and it was increased by the civil population, including, doubtless, the builders and the artists, probably the very men who had erected that temple of Set for Apopi, the "beautiful temple with many columns" which has been referred to. These were the men who would be able to erect splendid new habitations and even a temple presently for Apopi and his expelled hosts, when the leaders decided where to settle permanently.

This last is a very important point toward the support of Dörpfeld's theory that the greatly improved quality in building which occurred in the Mediterranean lands about 1500 B.C., as he had

shown, was probably due to the arrival there of those highly cultured Hyksos people who had been expelled from Egypt only shortly before, and it accounts also for that strong Egyptian influence which had been observed at Troy, Tiryns, Mycenae, and other Mediterranean sites that Schliemann and Dörpfeld excavated. To this period are assigned Argos and the splendid citadel of Tiryns—the men who built the palace and citadel of Tiryns were certainly not pioneer traders, but, like the Hyksos leaders, men of great power and a high degree of culture. And now, could the beautiful temple of Gorgo and Set in Corfu be assigned also to this period and be accounted for in the same way? That temple celebrated the Hyksos gods, and it implies a power and a culture even higher than Tiryns shows. More will be said on this question later.

Breasted argues convincingly that Apopi had been the head of a vast, shadowy Hyksos empire before the Hyksos wars began, in which empire the various peoples of Arabian ancestry in the West had been united, practically the same wide empire, as has been seen, which Queen Hatshepset began to build up again later by means of her diplomacy in the reign of Thothmes II and Thothmes III. If such a wide Arabian empire did exist in Apopi's time, uniting the scattered settlements of Arabian origin, it must have included Syria, and Apopi and his followers would therefore have found themselves still among their own people when they retreated into Syria, where they would be able presently to gather adherents and allies to threaten Thebes gravely again. This would constitute a good and sufficient reason why Thothmes I should follow Apopi on his march from Avaris toward Syria, as he actually did, and why he should fight him again, dispersing his army, and then subjecting all of Syria to Theban rule.

One would have expected that as Thothmes I penetrated more deeply into Asia Minor he would meet Apopi again in the course of his campaigning, but no further mention is made of him. Why?... If the Hyksos Pharaoh had been among the killed in any of the battles, that important fact would surely have been mentioned in the records. It has always been taken for granted that Apopi continued to live in Syria for the rest of his life, but Weigall comments on the fact that no monument, inscription, or other trace of him has ever been found there, and there were some very good reasons why he should not have remained there. For one thing, after his army had been dispersed by Thothmes I, he would be with-

out an army, and, with two defeats behind him, he would be now thoroughly discredited as a commander, therefore an impediment, a positive injury to his cause. Would not the best thing he could do for Syria, under these circumstances, be to relieve her of his embarrassing presence? Would it not be best for Apopi, and for everybody else concerned, if he sought a retreat for himself and his broken little band in some region where the victorious Thebans would find it hard to follow him, where, since he would no longer be a menace, they would hardly care to do so? There were some Blessed Isles in the West...? And some of his greatest lords were deciding to select locations in the West?

It would be a very satisfactory solution for Apopi's problems if he took ship to the west, the farther west the better, the extreme west, where he could settle in some safe and lovely spot. Such a spot was on the eastern shore of Corfu, an excellent harbor near at hand, a friendly earlier settlement only a few miles away on the western shore, a settlement that had at that time been in existence for hundreds of years. That was the city of the Phaeacians, in which Odysseus was to be a visitor after his shipwreck, in which the Princess Nausicaä would advise him so graciously how to approach her mother, the Queen, for assistance. There he would be entertained, and there he would entertain the Queen and the King and their people with the epic story of his wanderings after the fall of Troy.

Understanding the situation in Egypt and Syria, and the plight of the expelled Hyksos people and their Pharaoh, Apopi, we may now hope to reach some conclusions as to their possible relation to the temple of Gorgo and Set in Corfu. Is this temple the monument and trace of Apopi which Syria does not show? Did he possibly settle here, and did he or his descendants build this temple? The fact that a temple was built here, not merely an altar in the courtyard such as was made to suffice even in splendid Tiryns, is an indication that the leader who settled in Corfu was of higher rank and greater power than the leader who built Tiryns and settled there, in fact, that he was of the highest rank, since none but the great kings built temples in those days. Moreover, the Goddess of Lusty Energy and Joy and her consort Sutekh, Set, who were given the place of honor in the pediment of this temple, were the very gods to whom Apopi is known to have rendered his personal devotion, and, like the temple of Set which he had built in

Egypt, this temple was "beautiful" and had "many columns" as compared with the few columns that it had been customary to use in building temples before that time. Apopi must have had ships; and among the civilians who were expelled with him from Avaris there must have been skilled builders and artists, experienced in working in stone, probably the same men who had built his beautiful temple of Set in Egypt. And, finally, he and his followers were in the very mood which the goddess of this temple expresses, for, according to our profound modern psychologists, extreme emphasis, or over-emphasis, like that expressed by this Gorgo, is an unconscious revelation, psychological evidence, of an inferiority complex, of a disturbed mood in those who created her. . . . the unfortunate Apopi and his followers had surely experienced enough in the way of defeats and retreats before they reached Corfu to account for the development of a very strong inferiority complex! Broken in fortune and spirit as they must have been, they would naturally turn now to Divine Energy and Joy to allay their own doubts, dejections, and fears, as a man whistles or sings to keep his courage up and his fears down.

If Apopi did go to Corfu, Thothmes I would not follow to molest him and his goddess there, since Apopi was now both powerless and remote and this Theban Pharaoh did not make war on the goddess, as two generations later Thothmes III began to do after Queen Hatshepset had made the goddess a strong factor in her plot to seize Thebes from him. It was when Thothmes III began to strike "those in the islands in the midst of the Great Green Sea," to bring them "under the power of his bellowing," as his Hymn of Victory phrases it, that religiously, politically, and psychologically the time was ripe for some Perseus to appear in the northern Mediterranean against the Hyksos goddess—the name *Perseus*, derived from *πέρθω, πέρσω*, means *I kill, I slay, I destroy, I lay waste, I sack, I rase*. The Perseus of history actually did appear in the reign of Thothmes III, killed Gorgo, rescued Andromeda from the Monster of the Sea, established his Patriarchal rule in Tiryns and also established there his Aryan gods—the reign of Thothmes III covered the years 1501 B.C. to 1447 B.C., while both Schliemann and the Cambridge historians estimated the date of Perseus at about 1500 B. C.

Both myth and history have, then, preserved the essential fact

that religious, social, and political revolutions occurred in this period. Most of the important settlements which were made in the Mediterranean lands are now seen to have been accounted for in mythology if not in history, but, strange to say, neither myths nor history preserved any account of this really wonderful temple of Gorgo in Corfu and the evidently powerful and highly cultured people who built it and worshipped its goddess, unless it be in the bare mention of *a temple* in which Gorgo was dwelling with her two children when Perseus killed her. . . . Why did myth and tradition not tell more? . . . Is not this fact of the oblivion in which Gorgo and her temple were buried, the silence with which they were covered, a point in favor of the theory that this settlement had been Apopi's, as its deity was Apopi's, and that the temple and its goddess, "the Gorgon," had been deliberately consigned by the Greeks to the same Limbo to which Apopi was being consigned by the Egyptians? The hatred and fear of the conquered foe which represented Apepi as a fire-tortured serpent in the Lower World finds a parallel in the Greek myth of Gorgo, where she was represented as a deadly shade among the dead in Hades.

If Apopi sought refuge in Corfu after his expulsion from Egypt and his later defeat near Syria, he probably built the earlier wooden temple which, excavation shows, preceded the sumptuous stone temple on the site in Corfu, and it is to be supposed that he did not live to see the day when Thothmes III began cutting down the Groves of the Arabian goddess in his campaigning in Asia Minor and when Perseus killed the Gorgon, beheaded her in the temple in the West where she dwelt with her two children, the Winged Horse, Pegasus, and Chrysaor of the Golden Sword.

At this point coincidence after coincidence forces itself upon us: (1) Corfu lay *in the west*, and would have been in the extreme west of those days; (2) it had *a temple*, where (3) *Gorgo* may be said to have (4) *dwelt*, and where the sculptured forms of (5) *two* (6) *children* are seen beside hers, these being the very two who are mentioned by name in the myth of Perseus, (7) the *Winged Horse*, *Pegasus*, and (8) a youth who, it is evident, held a (9) *sword*, presumably a (10) *golden sword*, therefore *Chrysaor*. Also, (11) Gorgo of Perseus' myth had *snaky locks*, and this Gorgo has *snakes for locks*. Finally, and most astonishing of all, it is seen that the sculptured figure of Gorgo was broken in its fall and (12) that



PERSEUS BEHEADING GORGO
(From Selinus, Sicily, now in the Museum at Palermo)

the break was across the neck, a striking circumstance which myth makers would naturally make the most of, and which they could develop by ascribing the *severed head* to skill on the part of Perseus, and also to the aid given him by the nymphs and the gods, the magic which they put at his disposal, the magic helmet, magic slippers, magic mirror, and magic sword.

Definite, unusual, and very peculiar details revealed in this temple were, then, such as must obviously have been the occasion of some of the very peculiar and unusual points in the myth of Perseus and the Gorgon as told. In the present study, no attempt will be made to reach a conclusion as to the date of the building of the earlier wooden or the later stone temple of Gorgo, in Corfu. This is a technical question which can be decided only when all of the facts that bear upon the matter, historical and mythological as well as archaeological, have been advanced. For our purposes it is enough to know that so far as the religious and political situations were concerned, it could have been built as early as the time of Apopi, but if it was built later, as in 700 B. C., it must be concluded that, while Perseus killed Gorgo about 1500 B.C., these particular details were added to his myth later, along with their fairy-like embellishments, the magic helmet that made Perseus invisible, the magic slippers that enabled him to attack from the air, the magic mirror that Athena gave him to enable him to strike off the monster's head without looking at her, thus saving him from being turned into stone. To literal and scientific modern minds, this incident of the beheading must look ridiculous, not to be taken seriously, but it was not so to the Greeks and the Arabians of Perseus' day, and well it served the religious and political purposes of Perseus and his successors. Those who made the myth of the Gorgon, beheaded and sent down to Hades, understood their own time-spirit and made effective use of the material that they had at hand, including the points furnished them by the temple in Corfu; and the myth which they made is now seen as a masterpiece of allegory and romance that is added to history, in the same spirit which later animated the epics of Homer and is paralleled in medieval romance, in *Jerusalem Delivered*, *Orlando Furioso*, the French cycles of Charlemagne's Paladins and the English of Arthur's Knights and *The Faerie Queene*.

On only one important point the myth of Perseus is not in agreement with what is now seen to have been actual in this temple of Gorgo in Corfu: the myth asserts that it was Athena's temple in which Gorgo kept her children, thereby defiling it, whereas it is clear that it was Gorgo's own temple. This discrepancy will have to be explained as a perversion of the fact to suit Greek feeling, and such a perversion would not be displeasing to Athena, for she

herself set the example of telling untruths to serve worthy purposes—rigid truth, except by Apollo, was not held a virtue among the Greeks. The mythical point that Gorgo's children were born after their mother's head had been severed is not important, and it has the look of an artistry in horror added late.

The facts which have thus far been observed, historical and mythological as well as archaeological, are of such importance as to call for a careful consideration of where Perseus killed the Gorgon, and whether, in the final form of his myth, he did not kill her in this temple, by destroying it, sacking it, rasing it, and laying waste its Grove, for, as has been said, the name *Perseus* means, derivatively *I kill, I slay*, but also *I sack, I rase, I lay waste*. It was a custom among both the earlier and the later Greeks to rename their heroes to fit their deeds, as it is still the custom among the Georgians, witness the changed name of *Stalin*, meaning *the Man of Steel*, which has now displaced the legal name of the famous Russian, *Djugashvili*, as well as his given name, *Joseph*, and his familiar name, *Koba*, and which will doubtless be the name he bears in history. This name *Perseus* may be taken, then, as proof that the Greeks credited their hero who *killed* Gorgo with having done violence also to some important building, for *rase* applies to buildings taken down. Of course, if Perseus attacked her temple when he "killed" Gorgo, *destroyed* it, *sacked* it, and *raised* it to the ground, *laying waste* its Grove and incidentally breaking the head off from the sculptured figure of its goddess as it fell, so *beheading* her, *killing* her ignominiously in the opinion of his followers and her former worshippers, that would account for the name which was given him as well as for the presence in his myth of those peculiar incidents noted, which obviously had their material origin there. And since the name *Perseus* conveys all of these meanings, we are now faced with the question of what important building he did *destroy* and *rase*—if not this? And was there another temple where Gorgo dwelt with her two specified children and was killed by Perseus as the myth asserts? It is now beyond question that she did dwell with them in Corfu in this stone temple, perhaps as late as 700 B.C., and possibly as early as 1500 B.C. in the wooden temple which preceded the stone temple on this site and probably honored the same goddess.

It has been noted, on evidence from the *Odyssey*, (1) that the

Phaeacians, in their little kingdom on the western shore of Corfu, had ceased to worship their ancestral goddess, Gorgo, long before Homer's time and were worshipping the Greek gods in her stead, particularly Athena, also (2) that in Tiryns, under the heaven-descended Persidae, though originally this had been a Hyksos stronghold, the gods of Perseus had been worshipped for generations before Homer's time. That this was actually the religious situation in Tiryns has been doubly proved by the little idols which Schliemann and Dörpfeld found there when they excavated. Within the walls of the citadel they discovered many Cow-images and also many representing an archaic goddess with a symbolical pig, dove, or crescent; but outside of the citadel they found, down at the base of the wall, a heap of broken pottery, which, it was judged, had belonged to vessels that had been used in the service at an altar; and among these broken altar vessels were many little idols all of the archaic type, the goddess with the symbolical dove, pig, or crescent. When discovered, these could not be satisfactorily accounted for, but the Cow-images can now be recognized as symbols of the Aryan Sacred Cow, the Queen of Heaven, the Mut-Hathor of Thothmes III, the Hera of Perseus, who was still described by the epithet "Cow-faced" by Homer though at that time she had come to be imagined in a woman's form. The images of the other goddess present a variety of problems, but her symbols, the pig, the dove, and the Crescent, were those used in Asia Minor and Cyprus for the different aspects of the Arabian goddess, the Gorgo of Apopi and Corfu. This, along with the fact that there were no Cow-images in the heap at the base of the wall and outside of the citadel, is a strong point in the solution that may now be proposed for the mystery which has surrounded them. It is reasonable to suppose that after the people in Tiryns had lost their faith in their Arabian goddess because of what Perseus had been able to do to her, they broke her images and altar-pottery and threw the old symbols away, out of their city, and down over the wall. A bit of tangible evidence lay here, then, that after the people accepted the Father of the New Dispensation and adopted his gods, they abjured the dead gods of their Old Dispensation, rising to this dramatic climax in the Revolution that occurred. Does not this epic episode mark the very moment of the separation of the West from the East?

As has been said in the preceding chapter, the fact that the

Bull and the Cow were the early Aryan gods, symbolical of the settled agricultural life which was required of the Aryan people, is the more significant because the early Arabian peoples did not keep cattle and lead the agricultural life but were nomadic and kept camels and, later, horses instead. Their country did not have arable land and so they had to move about to find pasturage. Raiding, kidnapping, and slaving were the means by which the Arabian peoples acquired wealth, acts which the cow-keeping and cow-worshipping peoples condemned; and accordingly a perpetual conflict developed between these two races at variance in their religions, their moral ideals, their social practices, and their political life. This conflict can be seen clearly as early as the Hymns of Zoroaster, and it constitutes the dark background of the epics of Homer as of the wars of Thothmes III and Perseus, of the later wars of the Greeks, including those of the Greek cities in Sicily with Carthage, as also those of Carthage with Rome. This was a conflict millennium long, and longer, for it reappeared in the Crusades, and continued even in the 19th Century, when the pirates of Algiers finally yielded to restraint. . . . it is said, however, that considerable raiding and dealing in slaves is still going on among the tribesmen in Arabia and in dark spots in Africa.

The Sacred Bull, symbol of the Father, the Creator, had always been worshipped by the Thebans of Egypt under the name of Amen, the Hidden-One, along with his Queen, the Sacred Cow, the Mother, the Created Universe, under the name of Mut-Hathor; and Thothmes III is seen to have been devout in this worship, which was developed in a later period to fantastic extreme. Like the king of Ur in 2550 B.C., who was said to have "uplifted the head of Ur to heaven as it were a bull," this greatest of the Theban Pharaohs may well be said to have uplifted the head of Thebes to heaven as it were a bull. The throne-names which he chose for himself incorporated the names of Amen, Re, the Creator, the Bull:

Menkheppere, Re-Established-Becoming,-or-Being;
 Khenakht-Hemwaes, Mighty-Bull-Ascending-in-Truth;
 Khenakht-Hemmaet, Mighty-Bull-Rejoicing-in-Truth;
 Khenakht-Meryre, Mighty-Bull-Beloved-of-Re.

It was appropriate to this Aryan religion that cattle were kept in connection with the temples in Ur and in Thebes and that the Cow-Queen, protecting and hope-giving, had a chapel in the ceme-



THOTHMES DRINKING FROM THE SACRED COW

(Now in Cairo Museum)

Found in a shrine at Der el Bahri

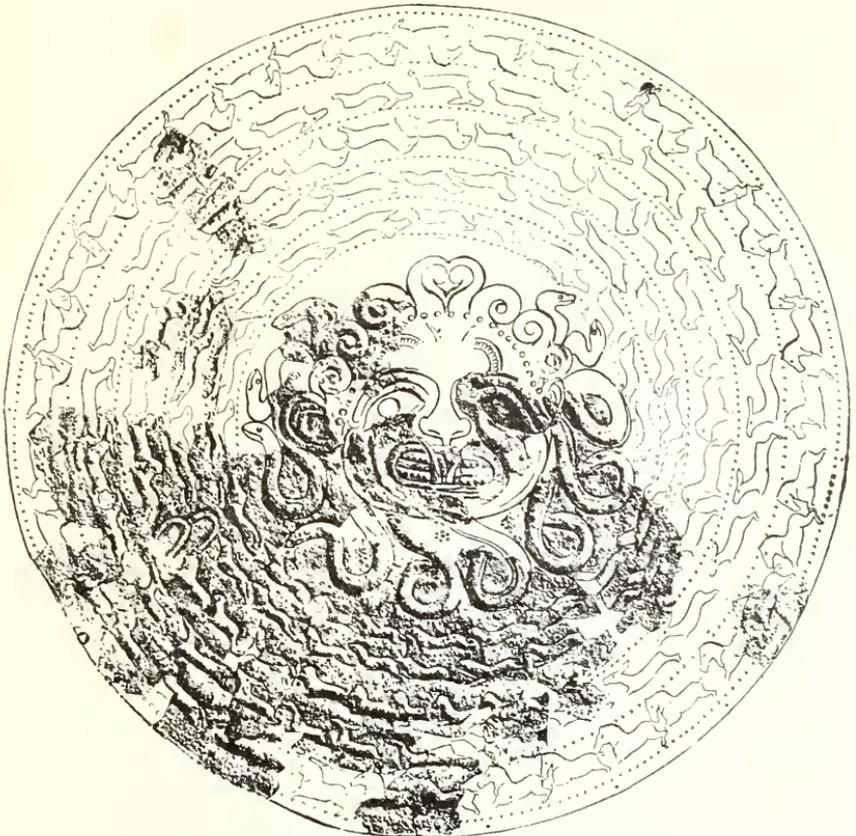
tery, where the dead were given a burial that looked to a happy future life, such a burial as the Semitic dead were not given. The chapel of Ningal in the cemetery near Ur is paralleled by that of Mut Hathor built by Thothmes III in the Valley of the Tombs of the Theban Pharaohs, now removed to the Museum in Cairo. In that chapel was found the statue of the Sacred Cow, with whom Thothmes III had caused himself to be represented in the act of drinking divine nourishment from her udder. There is considerable evidence that Perseus also, was an ardent worshipper of this Cow Queen of Heaven: (1) Schliemann advanced the opinion, and it was approved by Gladstone, that the name *Mycenae*, which Perseus gave to his new city when he founded it, was derived from $\mu\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, with Homer $\mu\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu$, which represented by onomatopoeia the mooing, or lowing, of the cow; and (2) when Schliemann and

Dörpfeld excavated the citadel of Mycenae, they brought to light hundreds of Hera's little terra cotta Cow-idols, along with fifty-six Cows'-heads of gold, one of silver with gold horns, and several engraved on gems, but they found no images of the more archaic goddess within the city, such as were found both within Tiryns and in the heap outside of the wall. Finally, (3) there was a famous Heraion, for the veneration of Hera, the Cow Queen, near both Mycenae and Tiryns, where cattle were kept, as they were kept near Ur and Thebes. In the cemetery near Carthage excavation has recently shown, as would not be expected, that a serene, kindly Tanit had her chapel there among the dead, and in it her statue, now in the Lavigerie Museum, was found. This may be taken as evidence that even the strong colony from Tyre had fallen to some extent under the influence of Egypt, and of Thothmes III, a thousand years after the Great Pharaoh had passed away.

Also in the Lavigerie Museum and taken from a grave in the same cemetery, is a medallion representing the living Gorgo, her eyes glaring, her tongue stuck out, her long tusks exposed, a Gorgo in her war-mood. Another Carthaginian living Gorgo was found at Selinus and is now in the Museum in Palermo; a living Gorgo now in the Acropolis Museum, was found on the Acropolis at Athens when it was excavated; and still another living Gorgo was found by Wooley at Carchemish. This last was on a shield, and, like all of the living Gorgos, was terrible and calculated to strike terror into the enemy, as were Chinese Dragons when carried in war. These living Gorgos that have been found were in widely separated areas, and from widely separated eras, and they prove that widely scattered people of Arabian ancestry looked for help to their national goddess under this aspect of hers for many centuries. Some of them had snakes for hair, but others did not, and none of them could have been Greek, for the Greek Gorgos were always dying or dead.

Perseus and the succeeding Greeks were not exceedingly terrified by the living Arabian Gorgos, at least not to the extent that she prevented them from winning their victories, and, returning a taunt for a threat, in the Homeric spirit, they adopted the dead Gorgo as their own emblem, to be borne into battle before them on Athena's shield.

The life of Thothmes III may serve as a perfect example of what the great conflicts of his era signified. His Hymn of Victory names him the Sun, the Lord of Radiance, who shone into men's



Courtesy of National Geographic Magazine

GORGO OF CARCHEMISH
(Excavated by Woolley)

faces to blind and destroy his enemies, a comet that threw flames and fire upon them, an eagle, a jackal, a cobra, a fierce-eyed lion, a young bull, determined, ready-horned, irresistible. Amen-Ra, himself, now proclaimed the world-wide renown of Thothmes III, and referred with irony and withering scorn to the land of "the Asiatics," "God's Country," as Queen Hatshepsut had called it:

I have come, causing you to strike at the lands of the East, and you have trampled upon those who are in God's Country . . .

I have come, causing you to strike at the Asiatics . . .

I have come, causing you to strike at the princes of Syria, I have hurled them beneath your feet among their highlands . . .

I have come, causing you to strike at the lands of the West, and Phoenicia and Cyprus are in panic. . . .

I have come, causing you to strike at the Libyans. . . . you have made dead men of them in their desert valleys. . . .

I have come, causing you to strike at those who dwell in the islands; and those who dwell in the midst of the Great Green Sea are under the power of your bellowing. I have made them see your Majesty as an avenger, who stands upon the back of the victim he has killed. . . .

I have come, causing you to strike at the uttermost ends of the earth; and that which the Great Orbit encircles is comprised within your grasp. . . .

The arms of my Majesty are above you, warding off evil; and I have caused you to reign, my beloved son. . . . I have established you upon the Hawk-throne for millions of years; and you shall continue your life for ever and ever.

The intense hatred that throbs in the Litany of the condemned King Serpent Apepi, the "enemy of Ra" in the Lower World, is here paralleled by the intense joy and exultation in the victories that Amen-Ra has given to this beloved Son; and the immortality of which the great Pharaoh was here assured is paralleled by that of Perseus, who was elevated to a place among the constellations, to shine "for ever and ever."

Approving this Hymn of Victory of Thothmes III, Breasted remarks, "this is not all poetry, the adulation of a fawning priesthood." The comment is characterized by the restraint of the historian, a restraint in this particular case perhaps a little too severe. Really, were Amen-Ra and his priesthood too enthusiastic under the circumstances? They knew to the full the abominations of the Arabian goddess and her Serpent-consort whom this son of Amen-Ra had put down, and well they might approve and exult in this leader who had shattered the world of those cruel, false gods nearly to bits and then rebuilt it more nearly to his heart's desire, while Perseus was laying the corner-stone of Europe in history.

HUMANISM—CONTEMPORARY STYLE—IN ETHICS AND ART

BY VICTOR S. YARROS

HUMANISM, historically speaking, is an intelligible and highly significant movement. The humanists of the renaissance had a real mission; they represented genuine progress, intellectual and moral. To them the world owed the revival and application of classical culture and classical ideals. The term humanism was charged with meaning.

But what is the humanism of today? What does it represent—progress or reaction? Is it enlightened or obscurantist? Does it respond to a realized need?

In this paper I shall ignore the religious phase of humanism, limiting myself in passing to one observation—namely, that in religious speculation humanism is certainly an advance on fundamentalism or even on diluted Theism. The Agnostic has little use for religious humanism, since it furnishes no solution of the religious problem as he conceives and formulates it. But, alas, the world is not wholly and fully Agnostic, and any movement which emphasizes the ethical and esthetic aspects of religion, and whittles down supernaturalism and mysticism, is so far forth on the side of the angels—if you will excuse the paradox. It may prove, in many cases, a stepping-stone to Agnosticism.

With literary and cultural humanism, I confess, I have no patience whatever. I regard it as an intellectual and literary mongrel. It reflects confusion of thought, inability, or unwillingness, to think clearly and logically. Croce contends that every error is a sin, a violation of the moral code, and he makes a rather strong case. I am not prepared to charge the literary humanists with willful insincerity, but I am satisfied that they take no pains to test their arguments scientifically and that they prefer mist and darkness to clarity and lucidity.

In the first place, let us define our terms with some approach to precision. What is humanism revolting against, what is it seeking to supersede, destroy, or revolutionize, and what school or schools are we to distinguish it from?

Ethically and socially, humanism is the supreme example of

supererogation. Carrying coal to Newcastle is performance of vital and pressing service beside it. For over a century social, economic, and political movements have been inspired by humanist sentiments. Chartism, Socialism, in its many varieties, communism, the single-tax, coöperation, etc., have humanism for their inspiration, and justice and fraternity as their objectives. They may all be unsound and impracticable, but their mistakes are of the head, as we say. None of them is open to the charge of indifference to humanity or human welfare. Moreover, even moderate liberals and sensible conservatives have favored and enacted considerable social welfare legislation—old age pensions laws, for example, health insurance, unemployment insurance, accident compensation laws, etc. Humanism, in short, is in full control of the field and, moreover, what has been done is merely a pledge of more radical measures in the near future of the same general type and character.

Thus the new humanists are appearing absurdly late and find themselves without mission or occupation. They have had nothing tangible to offer, and no active school or group has taken the slightest interest in their vain and irrelevant phrase-mongering.

But, some may object, the new humanists affirm and defend certain great principles, certain fundamental values. Indeed, they claim to possess a monopoly of the Great Affirmation. They find purpose in life, nobility and dignity and majesty in human personality. They scorn petty, mean material interests, and implore us to contemplate the sublime, the beautiful, the true, and the good in their last degrees of perfection. Is not this a splendid service to our prosaic age?

No; there is no service in platitudes ecstatically sung or spoken. The Great Affirmation is barren and empty. You cannot find purpose in life and then fail to communicate your revelation in intelligible formulae. What purpose *have* they found? Echo answers, what? It is impossible for the human mind to conceive the purpose of life. Attempts to define it have led to childish notions. There *may* be purpose in life, but we shall never know it. And that which we can never know can never be helpful to us for any human purpose whatever. It cannot guide conduct; it cannot give us ideals, it cannot give us comfort or strength in time of stress and peril.

As to human personality, we cannot improve on Shakespeare's characterization of man; he is neither angel nor demon. He has his unique qualities, and can ascend to great heights of virtue, stoi-

cism, and devotion. But he can also descend to the lowest depths of degradation and corruption. We must take him as he is, and certainly in the mass he is far from being admirable. Individuals rise to sainthood or to merited fame, but the average is decidedly mediocre. Millions of human beings are stupid, inefficient, superstitious, full of malice and hate. The worst enemy of man is man, and I know of nothing sillier than the tendency to worship man in the abstract. Let us, by all means, develop our finer potentialities. Let us give all human beings a fair chance, for doubtless much talent and much innate moral endowment are wasted under our conditions of life and education. But genius, intellectual or moral, will always be rare, and the great majority of men and women will always be what they are today—creatures of low standards and narrow horizons.

Humanist lyrics are a sorry substitute for clear ideas of justice, equality of opportunity, forbearance and charity. Let us endeavor to be decent to one another, and postpone our hymns to human nobility and human majesty till we succeed in abolishing war and cruelty and barbarism. I apprehend that our task will absorb our energies and resources for many centuries.

It is a strange and depressing thing that the new humanists have precious little to say on the subject of war, capital punishment, prison life, economic exploitation, involuntary idleness, and other abominations discreditable to our civilization. They are ignorant of economics, of political science, of sociology, you may say, and therefore cannot discuss these specific problems intelligently. Granted, but they do not seem to *feel* the evils and abuses of society, and are without any passion for righteousness. There is no genuine emotion in their rhetoric.

Ah, yes, they distinguish between humanitarianism and humanism, and I must not forget that distinction. Humanitarianism, they point out, may be sloppy, sentimental, shallow, indiscriminating. Of course it may, but, again, it may not. It would seem to be the business of humanism to develop a sound, wise, ripe, and lofty humanitarianism, but this they have no intention of doing. It is infinitely easier to dwell in the realm of cold abstractions.

Let me now turn to the principles stressed by the new humanists. These principles are—measure, proportion, balance, self-control, moderation, decorum, sincerity. Opposed to them are fana-

ticism, intolerance, dogmatism, hysteria, lust, pride, arrogance, vanity, insolence.

What philosopher, or even what man endowed with common sense, has ever contended that virtues are vices and vices virtues? The new humanists had better re-read the ancient and medieval classics. They will find there all the wisdom they claim as their particular contribution to culture. However, to revive certain truths is at times to render as important a service as to discover them. If our age has sinned grievously against the maxims of the philosophers, and has cultivated pride of arrogance, or fanaticism and dogmatism, then a recurrence to first principles is indeed necessary and good for all of us. But there is no evidence that our age is particularly and peculiarly guilty of fanaticism and arrogance. The claims of science, or in behalf of it, have been rather extravagant, but no true man of science, no true philosopher, has associated himself with the dogmatism of pseudo-science. Pasteur, Poincaré, Bergson, Michelson, Einstein, Tyndall, Huxley, Darwin, Spencer, Faraday, Clark-Maxwell, Croce, Planck, Jeans, Whitehead, Eddington and many other eminent men of science have cultivated and inculcated humility and open-mindedness, philosophic doubt and disinterested love of truth for its own sake.

Moreover, the new humanists are not conspicuous for consistency. They do not practice what they preach. In their polemics and their offensive-defensive controversies they have displayed the very vices they condemn—arrogance, intolerance, anger, and hate. They have not tried to understand their living opponents, or the great dead thinkers and world leaders whom they single out for the most intemperate and venomous attacks—Rousseau, for example. The new humanists are terribly human in the old sense of the term, and there is nothing new either in their ideas or in their behavior.

Perhaps the best formulation of their creed is that offered by Prof. Irving Babbitt, the leader of American neo-humanism. In general, he says, the debate between the humanist and the naturalist converges upon the problem of the will, and he continues:

The humanitarian assumes that the altruistic elements in man may, in some fashion or other, triumph over his egoistic impulses without the inner transformation that both religion and humanism require: that is, without the intervention of any principle that moves in an opposite direction from his unmodified temperamental self. In the language of religion, the humanitarian hopes to achieve salvation with-

out conversion. In still other terms, he hopes to find mechanical or emotional substitutes for self-control. The humanist, on the other hand, asserts that man cannot afford to remain merely temperamental, that he needs, with a primary view to his own happiness, to discipline his outgoing desires to the law of measure. This humanistic discipline can be secured only by the exercise of a special quality of will according to sound standards; and in an untraditional age like the present these standards themselves, I have sought to show elsewhere, can be secured only by a right coöperation of reason and imagination.

Again, Prof. Babbitt, in the same article, says: "One may experience life on three levels—the naturalistic, the humanistic and the religious. Life in the humanistic sense means to live moderately, sensibly, and to the best advantage in the society of other men."

Truly, the mountain has labored and the proverbial little mouse brought forth. What sane man has ever questioned the wisdom of living moderately, sensibly, and in the society of other men? What of the old gospel of plain living and high thinking? What of Matthew Arnold's sweet reasonableness and high seriousness? And what of the ancient Greek and Roman philosophers? Who has ever denied the need of self-discipline, of decent and worthy standards? Prof. Babbitt is sorely afraid of human lust, of egotism, of sadism, of tyranny, of greed and malice, but the new humanism has no sovereign specifics against these vices, and is not the first among schools to warn against them, or to suggest wise compromises between passion and reason. Sound standards embody and represent such compromises, but, of course, we cannot be dogmatic in respect of standards.

What is right and sound for one age is wrong and unsound for another. Even the ten commandments are sadly in need of revision and are, in fact, being revised. Some of the humanists are on the way to Rome, and others to Nowhere.

The literary and esthetic views of the new humanists are logical corollaries and deductions from their ethical and social doctrines. They hate and despise the naturalists, the realists, the romanticists, the symbolists and the impressionists. In art, as in life, they seek and admire balance, measure, moderation, sobriety and other classical virtues. To them, Rousseau is the source and fountain of all literary abominations and felonies. Poor Jean Jacques! He certainly was not a disciplined, scientific thinker or scholarly

and profound philosopher. He was guilty of many sins, moreover, in his personal relations, and the narrow-minded moralist makes no allowances for genius and is usually quite indifferent to the fine arts. Rousseau as a man was far from respectable, but who is interested today in Rousseau's personal life? His works alone concern us, and it is not easy to see why the humanists abhor and sweepingly condemn those works. The truth is—and a recent book by a Swedish professor fully recognizes it—that Rousseau was remarkably progressive for his age, and that he did much toward revolutionizing a social system that had outlived its usefulness and had become monstrously unjust. His leading ideas were full of dynamite, and dynamite was needed. He stirred men's souls; he forced them to think and to reëxamine accepted conventions and creeds. He made errors and jumped at conclusions: the canons and methods of modern science were unknown to him. But, considered in proper relation to his time, place, and circumstances, he must be regarded as a great benefactor of humanity.

Consider only two or three of his ideas. He idealized the natural man, the noble savage, and his gospel of returning to nature was largely moonshine. But the court and aristocracy of his day were so grotesquely artificial and preposterously unreal, separated from what one may call nature or life, that Rousseau's slogan represented a wholesome, beneficent reaction. Even the new humanists must admit that it was good for the ladies of the court and high nobility to nurse their own babies—a movement inspired by Rousseau.

Or take the celebrated theory of the social contract. We know now that society is an evolution, not a creation, and that no state, nation, tribe, or community ever came into collective being as the result of a deliberate contract. Government, said Spencer, was conceived in aggression and has been sustained by aggression. Men have never been permitted to secede from the state, or invited and advised to enter into contractual relations with the state. We are born subjects or citizens of states, and must obey the laws enacted by majorities, or organized minorities, or oligarchies, or other forms of government. Yet the conception of the social contract was a magnificent one—inexact, but inspiring. Sir H. Maine, Spencer, and other thinkers tell us that history records a gradual human emancipation from fixed status, or slavery and despotism, and a corresponding growth of free and voluntary coöperation or contract. This, too, may be a hasty and inaccurate generalization. The era

of laissez-faire is passing—has passed perhaps. We hear little of contract and civil or personal liberty these days. Prohibition, trade unions, compulsory insurance systems, state commissions of all types, farm boards, stabilization and valorization agencies, subsidies and bounties, sky-scraper tariffs, constitute severally and collectively flagrant violations and repudiations of individualism and the social-contract principle. Spencer warned us of the coming slavery, and Belloc and Chesterton of the servile state.

But, despite all this, some of us refuse to believe that liberalism is dead or the principle of liberty a lost issue. Our civilization is in the throes of a struggle, but the future does not belong to fascism, or to compulsory communism, or to plutocracy. The individual will not be suppressed. Life without liberty and opportunity for individual development is not worth living. We must and shall regain liberty, and that will mean a society based on free contract. Rousseau was not a good interpreter of the past, but he may prove to have been a prophet. He may some day be to civilization what Marx and Lenin are to soviet Russia today. His picture may look down upon us from every wall and every bill board.

In education, too, Rousseau was, in the main, a forward-looking guide. His ideas were germinal, rich in suggestion and promise.

Prof. Babbitt, to be sure, is not blind to Rousseau's claims and merits. He quotes, without surprise, the remark of that great liberal historian, Lord Acton, that Rousseau has had more influence on the course of human evolution than any other man who ever lived. But he insists that this influence, on the whole, and in every vitally important direction, has been pernicious. Rousseau's dualism, he thinks, is a fatal substitute for the old, the religious dualism. According to Rousseau, the individual is corrupted by society, and our moral progress is hampered by bad and evil institutions. It follows, of course, that it is at once our duty and right to attack and demolish those institutions and to emancipate the individual. On the other hand, the old dualism found the scene of the human drama in the heart of the individual. Passions and appetites have to be subdued and controlled by reason and by the better side of our nature. Institutions are established and maintained by men, and if they are vicious and barbarous, man's lower self was responsible for them. We must reform institutions, therefore, by purifying and ennobling the individuals who support them. The good man will build good institutions.

This view seems not only plausible but sound. But it is too simple, and only cloistered literary men can entertain it. The militant crusaders and soldiers of progress are seldom, if ever, guilty of such superficial reasoning. It is true that when we fight institutions, we fight men—the men who defend and cherish these institutions. To fight capital punishment, for example, is to fight the upholders of that barbarous institution. To fight fascism is to fight the advocates and champions of fascism. To fight graft and corruption is to fight the forces that benefit by graft and corruption. To fight prohibition is to fight the supporters of that dismal farce. And so on.

But Prof. Babbitt and his co-humanists forget the old and important distinction between sin and the sinner. Sincere and fine men may support bad and demoralizing institutions or laws. We may hate prohibition, but we cannot and do not hate all the partisans of prohibition. We may respect and love some of them, while deploring their mistakes of the head, as we call them. And when we assert that prohibition breeds hypocrisy, crime and intemperance, we certainly do not imply that the supporters of prohibition intentionally and perversely breed those evils.

Again, institutions outlive those who establish them. They become obstacles to healthy growth, straitjackets and chains. They survive because of human inertia, habit, misdirected loyalty, as well as acquired and vested interests of a class or group. To fight an obsolete and vicious institution is often to fight our own ignorance, indolence, and rooted habits, and to expose the pernicious effects of the institution. Thus the phrase, fighting institutions, is by no means the equivalent of the phrase fighting men. The psychologists understand that; the literary and ethical humanists evidently do not.

Rousseau, therefore, was perfectly and profoundly right when he formulated his dualism—man vs. institutions and the social environment. His noble savage was a myth, but his emphasis on environment, on conditions and institutions, was philosophically sound.

Finally, let me quote with gratitude and admiration some remarks of George Eliot, a true humanist and humanitarian, on Rousseau and the nature and quality of his remarkable influence. She wrote:

The writers who have most profoundly interested me are not in the least oracles to me. It is just possible that I may not embrace one of their opinions—that I may wish my life to be shaped quite differently from theirs. For instance, it would signify nothing to me if a very wise person were to stun me with proofs that Rousseau's views of life, religion and government are miserably erroneous. . . . I might admit all this, and it would be not the less true that Rousseau's genius has sent that electric thrill through my intellectual and moral frame which has awakened me to new perceptions; and this not by teaching me any new belief. It is simply that the rushing mighty wind of his inspiration has so quickened my faculties that I have been able to shape more definitely for myself ideas which had previously dwelt as dim *Ahnungen* in my soul.

For the naturalists, realists, romanticists and symbolists I hold no brief, and with many of the criticisms passed upon these schools by the new humanists, or others, I find myself in agreement. But it is one thing to criticize tolerantly and sympathetically, and another to heap abuse and scorn upon artists who, with all their limitations, deserve our respect and homage for distinguished and fine work. Zola, for example, certainly did not see life steadily or as a whole, but he was a literary giant in his day. Even Henry James, who called Zola's method "cheap," was constrained to recognize his amazing literary power and his artistic integrity. If the new humanists had the courage of their logic, they would condemn 95 per cent of the novelists, dramatists, and poets of the last century and a half. Even Shakespeare could not escape their condemnation, since admittedly he was ethically and politically neutral and indifferent. He put shocking sentiments in the mouths of his characters—Lear, for example. Of course, Shelley, Dickens, Byron, Tennyson, Hardy, Meredith, Moore, Wells, Bennett, and Galsworthy would all severally fail to achieve passing grades under the new-humanist standards. Some of these are too reactionary, and some too radical.

On the continent of Europe, who would escape castigation and the pillory? Not Hugo, Ibsen, not Tolstoy, not Gorky, not Proust, not D'Annunzio, not A. France, not Gide, not—but why continue the enumeration? Pure and perfect classicism is as rare in art as it is in life. And there is much beauty and charm in works of art not strictly classical in spirit or form. Not to see this argues incredible narrowness.

The trouble with the new humanists is that they take no pains to understand humanity. They cultivate a perverse ignorance of life. They often appeal to history, but nine-tenths of it they choose to ignore or distort. In their philosophy there is plainly no room for saints or martyrs, rebels or heretics, for these are never exemplars of measure, proportion, discretion, and poise. Jesus, Paul, Luther, St. Francis, alas, also fall far short of the rigid and precise standards of the new humanists, as do all revolutionary leaders and all stanch champions of the disinherited and down-trodden.

In fine, and in contempt of question, the self-styled new humanism is pedantic, anaemic, sterile, futile, when it is not egregiously reactionary. True, it is possible for any one to call himself a new humanist while rejecting all that is puerile or pernicious in that school and to manufacture a brand new "ism." But that will not get him or us anywhere. Any well-informed person can easily concoct a mixture of individualism, collectivism, romanticism, realism, idealism, classicism, modernism and give it any label he chooses. Your mixture may be harmless and even somewhat helpful. But surely no one who insists upon measure, proportion, decorum and self-control can find this sort of procedure legitimate. There is such a thing as respect for history, for facts, as well as respect for worthy and approved standards, moral and artistic. The new humanism was born dead. Its parents had the best of intentions, but they were unable to give their intellectual offspring the breath of life. They were themselves dwelling in a world fatally unreal. They saw and magnified errors, but they overlooked many vital truths. They mistook the actual and baffling world for a well-ordered library and prescribed little formulae and rules for life that are ludicrously pedantic and inadequate.

BOOK NOTES

The Trial of Jesus of Nazareth. By Max Radin. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1931. Pp viii+266 (\$3.00)

The author gives us a critical and scholarly investigation of the documents relating to the trial of Jesus, treating the subject as a purely historical problem, uninfluenced by the traditions with which it has been surrounded and which have been accepted without question by most writers on the subject even at the present time.

The chief source is the Gospels, and the point-of-view of each ancient writer is reconstructed, his evidence weighed in the light of his feelings and surroundings. The author does not agree with Smith and Drews, who deny the historicity of Jesus. It must not be inferred, however, that faith or sentiment cloud his outlook, for he gives us a study both fair and scholarly, and not too technical that it cannot be enjoyed by the layman.

Desuggestion. By E. Tietjens, translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul. Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, New York, 1932. Pp. 586. (\$4.00)

Mr. Tietjens is concerned with the philosophy, the psychology, and the conduct of life as they are bound together in their collective effect upon the psyche of every individual. He offers "desuggestion," the correction of misleading suggestions, false ideas and fancies, which so often cause inhibitions and nerve disorders, as an alternative to the methods of psychoanalysis and suggestion. His method does not mean the repetition of formulae, but involves clear and critical thinking. Practical ideas, in themselves as well as in relation to theoretical ideas are of great importance to our mental and bodily condition and changes in ideas bring about changes in behavior and in reaction to circumstances. The book offers a thorough presentation of the subject, written for the general cultured reader who is willing to think.

The Use of the Self, Its Conscious Direction in Relation to Diagnosis, Functioning, and the Control of Reaction. By Matthias Alexander. With an introduction by John Dewey. Dutton and Co., New York, 1932. Pp x. 143.

The use of ourselves, our muscles, our organs, and our mental faculties is a vital thing to each one of us; the incorrect use, a calamity. The author tells of his own experience in seeking to overcome a defect in his speech, which he learned was due to incorrect posture and the faulty use of his vocal organs. He evolved a new technique of overcoming bad habits by the conscious use of the self. Chapter three is on the "Golfer who cannot keep his eye on the ball," and chapter four on the "stutterer." There are examples of mental as well as physical habits which are overcome by this method. This is a subject of great interest and importance to the progress of education and pedagogy.

The Drama of Life after Death. A Study of the Spiritualist Religion. By George Lawton. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1932. Pp xxvii 668. (\$3.75)

This book, neither a defense nor an exposé, is a purely descriptive study and analysis of the facts, the beliefs, and the motives of the spiritualist religion. Although a contemporary American religion, its origins go back beyond the beginnings of history. Part I is a complete description of the system of belief, and its practice in daily life; Part II describes the church organization and services; Part III is devoted to analysis, criticism, and discussion of the entire system of belief. Mr. Lawton has added to the literature of contemporary religion, a very able and interesting work.

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