

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

VOL. XXXII (No. 9)

SEPTEMBER, 1918

NO. 748

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122 South Michigan Avenue

CHICAGO

Per copy, 10 cents (sixpence). Yearly, \$1.00 (in the U.P.U., 5s. 6d.).

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1897, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879
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THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHA

By

DR. PAUL CARUS

Pocket Edition. Illustrated. Cloth, \$1.00; flexible leather, \$1.50

This edition is a photographic reproduction of the *edition de luxe* which was printed in Leipsic in 1913 and ready for shipment in time to be caught by the embargo Great Britain put on all articles exported from Germany. Luckily two copies of the above edition escaped, and these were used to make the photographic reproduction of this latest edition. While the Buddhist Bible could not in any way be considered a contraband of war yet the publishers were forced to hold back many hundred orders for the book on account of orders in council of Great Britain.

When the book was first published His Majesty, the King of Siam, sent the following communication through his private secretary :

"Dear Sir : I am commanded by His Most Gracious Majesty, the King of Siam, to acknowledge, with many thanks, the receipt of your letter and the book, *The Gospel of Buddha*, which he esteems very much ; and he expresses his sincerest thanks for the very hard and difficult task of compilation you have considerately undertaken in the interest of our religion. I avail myself of this favorable opportunity to wish the book every success."

His Royal Highness, Prince Chandradat Chudhadharn, official delegate of Siamese Buddhism to the Chicago Parliament of Religions, writes :

"As regards the contents of the book, and as far as I could see, it is one of the best Buddhist Scriptures ever published. Those who wish to know the life of Buddha and the spirit of his Dharma may be recommended to read this work which is so ably edited that it comprises almost all knowledge of Buddhism itself."

The book has been introduced as a reader in private Buddhist schools of Ceylon. Mrs. Marie H. Higgins, Principal of the Musaeus School and Orphanage for Buddhist Girls, Cinnamon Gardens, Ceylon, writes as follows :

"It is the best work I have read on Buddhism. This opinion is endorsed by all who read it here. I propose to make it a text-book of study for my girls."

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122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

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ILLINOIS



ANATOLE FRANCE
FRENCH CRITIC AND NOVELIST

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A CHAPTER ON ANATOLE FRANCE.

BY LEWIS PIAGET SHANKS.

[On the following pages we give the first chapter of a book that we intend to publish soon, discussing the art and philosophy of Anatole France, the great French writer who is still known far too little in this country. To allow an estimate of what may be expected to follow we prefix portions of the "Foreword." Mr. Shanks, professor of Romanic languages and literatures in the University of Pennsylvania, could not be introduced better than by his own style, a style truly suited to convey some of the exquisite and noble impression, intangible in its essence, that we experience when alone with Anatole France himself.—Ed.]

[FROM THE FOREWORD.]

AMONG the would-be volunteers of 1914 was the virtual Dean of French letters, a man of seventy years. We were surprised, not at his age but at his transformation; for nearly twenty years he had preached pacifism, and the brotherhood of man. We were surprised because he was Anatole France. Yet scarcely twenty-five years before, this Radical was known as a skeptic, an intellectual hedonist, a dilettante; in 1889, no one could foresee the future dreamer of reform in the nihilistic pages of *Thäis*. So his final heroic inconsistency is only a part of a greater problem, a single phase in a life's drama, whereby a skeptic and a pessimist developed into a man of action.

... The story of an intellectual Odyssey, this book was prompted by the same optimism as the modern traveler's log. In most books of travel the best things are the illustrations. So with quotations in biography or criticism—prudence no less than reverence requires them. Moreover, even the temptation of a ready camera is less than the desire to translate—to attempt a translation of Anatole France, a perpetual challenge despite the quality of one's results. To quote wherever possible, to condense and still quote, and to strive to set one's mosaic in a surface not absolutely disparate is of course a bit presumptuous; but how else could one present a writer

so personal, whose thoughts and impressions and memories are day by day woven into his work?

With such a literary Proteus, no stippled portrait is worth a series of sketches. One must tell the history of his ideas—the story of his mind's development. So, beginning with his heredity and early environment, we follow the poet and thinker through his first imaginative enthusiasm for science, until his belief in her dies away in skepticism and he returns to the world of poetry and art. After this conflict of youthful illusions, when a victorious intellect has rejected the faith and effort which its philosophy finds vain, comes the second phase: content now to enjoy his own talents without attempting to coordinate them to any principle but style, the erstwhile Darwinian develops his skepticism philosophically in order to range more freely in the galleries of the Past. This is Anatole France in his forties, dilettante and disciple of the later Renan. But he wearies in the Palace of Art, grows sick of self and eager for a stronger draught of reality. Hence the descent into the arena, provoked by the Dreyfus affair and the corruption of French politics: the idealist, the man of heart and imagination now dominates the *intellectuel*. Then comes the reaction, after less than a decade of contact with life—when the student realizes that man is not the reasonable creature he had imagined, but a selfish animal, bound by inertia and hostile to reform; and the genial irony of his forties turns to satire, ending in the sneer of a cynic who can only caricature humanity. Anatole France is then an idealist turned inside out by life, an inverted idealist like Swift in his last phase, distilling acid sarcasm until again he is swept from philosophy into action by the world-war. . . .

[THE FIRST CHAPTER.]

“The first idea which I got of the universe,” says Anatole France in *Pierre Nozière*, “came to me from my old pictorial Bible. It was a series of seventeenth-century woodcuts, with a Garden of Eden fresh and fertile as a Lowland landscape. . . . Every evening, under the lamp, I would turn its ancient leaves, until sleep, the delicious sleep of childhood, carried me off in its warm shadows, and the patriarchs, the apostles, and the lace-decked ladies lived on through my dreams their supernatural lives. My Bible had become for me the most vivid reality, and to it I strove to conform my universe.”

His universe at that time was the sleepy old Quai Malaquais. There, in the heart of Paris, Anatole France was born, the six-

teenth of April, 1844; and his baby eyes first opened on the Seine and the Louvre, the Cité and the carven towers of Notre Dame. But the universe grows with the growing legs of its children. At five, this little world extended from the Rue Bonaparte to the Ile Saint-Louis, and the "River of Glory," which he followed every day with his nurse, gave him back the Noah's Ark of his Bible in the floating baths of La Samaritaine. To the east, beyond the Pont d'Austerlitz, he saw in imagination the mysterious realms of the Scriptures, and the Jardin des Plantes was clearly the Garden of Eden, for hadn't his mother told him that Eden was a garden with trees and all the animals of the Creation?

So at least we read in *Pierre Nozière*. Here, in the exquisite *Livre de mon Ami*, and in *Le petit Pierre*, now publishing in the *Revue de Paris*, is set down a man's story of the boy that he was; and if sentiment in an ironist is an index of candor, these books contain as much truth as poetry. For theirs is no mere symbolic truth, transformed by time and the artistic temperament.¹ Real memories alone could yield pages so charming, so significant; not one but reveals the future poet, already living in his world of dreams.

"My cosmography," he says in *Pierre Nozière*, "my cosmography was immense. I held the Quai Malaquais, where my room was, to be the center of the world. The green bedroom, in which my mother put my little bed next her own, I looked upon as the point on which Heaven shed its rays and graces, as you may see in the pictures of the saints. And these four walls, so familiar to me, were filled with mystery none the less.

"At night in my cot-bed, I used to see strange faces, and all at once the warm and cozy bedroom, lit by the last dying gleams of the fireplace, would open wide to the invasion of the supernatural world.

"Legions of horned devils danced their rounds; then, slowly, a lady of black marble passed by, weeping, and it was only later that I found out that these hobgoblins were dancing in my brain. . . .

"According to my system, in which you must recognize that candor which gives to primitive cosmogonies their charm, the earth

¹ Confirmation of this may be found in a letter of Anatole France to a man of letters, reproduced in François Carez's *Auteurs Contemporains* (p. 82): "Je vous confie que tout ce qui, dans ce volume (*le Livre de mon Ami*), concerne le petit Nozière, forme un récit exact de mon enfance, sous cette réserve que mon père était non médecin mais libraire sur le quai Voltaire et que les choses domestiques étaient plus étroites et plus humbles chez nous qu'elles ne sont chez un petit médecin de quartier. Le caractère de mon père n'est pas moins conservé dans celui du docteur Nozière. Mon père est devenu un homme instruit, presque savant, à la fin de sa vie."

formed a large circle around my house. Every day I would meet, coming and going in the streets, people who seemed occupied with a strange and amusing game, the game of life. I decided that there were a great many of them, perhaps more than a hundred.

"I did not think that they were under absolutely fortunate influences, sheltered like myself from all anxiety. To tell the truth, I did not think that they were as real as I was; I was not absolutely sure that they were real people, and when from my window I saw them pass, very tiny, over the Pont des Arts, they seemed to me playthings rather than persons, so that I was almost as happy as the boy-giant in the fairy-tale, who sat on a mountain and played with trees and cabins, cows and sheep, shepherds and shepherd-girls."

Such in embryo is the creative vision, the artist's vision. It is certainly no ordinary stock which produced this dreamy, imaginative boy. An only son, born in his father's fortieth year, Jacques-Anatole Thibault owes to that father much more than the famous pseudonym. Noël Thibault too was a man of letters and a lover of the past. "France, libraire," for thus he signed his articles on bibliography, kept a book-shop at 9 Quai Malaquais, in the fine old building so long occupied by his successor Champion. A Royalist, devoutly Catholic, a Vendéen in origins and in every sympathy, he had served in the body-guard of Charles X, and he loved the *ancien régime* as he hated the Revolution.² Originally from Anjou, Noël Thibault had all the proverbial gentleness of the Angevin; he is depicted for us in Sylvestre Bonnard's memories of his father, ironical, indulgent, disillusioned: "il était fatigué, et il aimait sa fatigue."

The serenity of the Anjou country, with its placid rivers and its rolling hills—*la douceur angevine*—thus finds a reflection in the artist and his art. Yet if Anatole France shows this regional type in its amenity, he has no less the Angevin shrewdness and irony. Every lover of Taine's theory must rejoice in France's reminiscences of his grandmother, neither Royalist nor pious, but keen-witted, practical, and pagan, a very disciple of Voltaire. "She had no more piety than a bird," says her grandson: "she clearly belonged to the eighteenth century." Significant, too, is her prediction that the boy Anatole would be "a very different man from his father."

Grand'mère was right. The child had more than distinction of intellect, a much greater gift than his father's sterile scholarship. He had the creative vitality, the exuberance of fancy and imagina-

² Yet no one knew that period better, as his learned bibliography shows.

tion which alone makes the artist. Like the old Bible, this came to him from his mother, from the merry, active, beauty-loving mother whom we know so well in these books of her son. Naive, mystic, candidly religious, like the true daughter of Bruges that she was, she used to read to him the Lives of the Saints, and the charm of the old stories "filled the soul of the child with wonderment and love." A dreamer already, he felt profoundly the mystic poetry of religious legend; his first hope of military glory gave way to a dream of sainthood, and he lived out the sacred stories with all the seriousness of real experience. His refusal to eat, his distribution of coppers and toys to the poor, his attempt to make a hair shirt from the wiry cover of an old armchair, and the whipping he received from an inconsiderate maid, are related with inimitable grace and irony in the eighth chapter of *Le Livre de mon Ami*: finally, "the difficulty of practising sainthood in family life" made him resolve to seek a hermitage in the Jardin des Plantes. There, on the morrow, he would live alone with all the animals of the Creation; there he would see, like Saint Anthony, the faun and the centaur, and perhaps the angels would visit him beneath the Cedar of Lebanon, on the hill where, in imagination, he saw "God the Father with his white beard and his blue robe, with arms outstretched to bless him, beside the antelope and the gazelle." But when the future author of *Thaïs* confides this plan to his mother as she combs his hair, and she asks him why he wants to be a hermit, it becomes plain that his dream of glory is not the glory of the saints:—"I want to be famous," he replies, "and put on my visiting-cards 'Hermit and Saint of the Calendar,' just as papa puts on his: 'Laureate of the Academy of Medicine.'"

True or apocryphal, this ended his ascetic projects—less successful even than the boyish prank of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, who actually put a similar plan into execution. After all there were other things to interest him, prisoned as he was in the solitary visionary life of an only child. "It was not large, that life of mine," he tells us, "but it was a life, that is, the center of things, the middle of the world." The very opening of his mother's closets, piled high with mysterious forbidden boxes, filled him with poetic curiosity. He had his playthings—and the playthings of his dreams. He wondered at "the number of lines and faces that could be got out of a pencil." He felt, too, the charm of flowers, of perfumes, the delights of food and dress. But what he loved most, he confesses, more than any of these things, was everything together, the house, the air, the light, the life of his very downy nest. After all, the

practice of asceticism might have been hard for this young Epicurean.

Not a desert cave, but a desk and a library, is the proper stage for a poet's seclusion. And to such things the future writer turned instinctively. "I lived with my books," he tells us, "my pictures, my paste-pot, my color boxes, and all the belongings of a bright yet delicate boy, already sedentary, naively initiating himself by his toys into that feeling for form and color, the source of so much pain and so much joy. Already I had a bent toward desk work, a love of pictures cut out patiently by the evening lamp, a profound feeling for things pictorial. I have never needed, even in my early years, to possess things in order to enjoy them." This is the future biographer of Sylvestre Bonnard and the Maid of France.

Given such a nature, a boy needs only a hero to shape a definite ideal. The hero appeared in the person of a collector, a hero of the desk and the card-catalogue. Clad in flowered dressing-gown and nightcap, this old scholar, immortalized under the name of Monsieur Le Beau, passed his days cataloguing books and medals in a house packed to the roof with curiosities. So Anatole, at ten, "thought it finer to make card-catalogues than to win battles. He would catalogue, and I, with eyes wide open and bated breath, would admire him. I did not imagine that there could be any finer business to give one's life to. But I was mistaken. A printer was found to print the catalogue of old Le Beau, and then I saw my friend correcting the proofs. He would put mysterious signs on the margins of the leaves. Then I understood that this was the finest occupation in the world, and I promised myself that I too would some day have my proof-sheets to revise."

The famous dressing-gown of the disciple is of gray frieze, his cap of red velvet, and the proof-sheets have come, so numerous that all the first delight—a veritable justification of the universe—has long since passed away. And it is not hard to see how the old antiquary, in his house piled with all the flotsam of time, set the example of intellectual curiosity and patient scholarship that even a poet needs to see clearly into the labyrinth of the Past. To such an example, possibly, is due the Life of Joan of Arc; but the reader wonders in vain who was this Monsieur le Beau, the collector who lives in art by his kindness to a lonely child.

Was he his father, the booklover and bibliographer of the Quai Malaquais? After all a father is a boy's first hero, and a father's trade his first dream of his own. Or was he one of his father's patrons, "le bibliophile Jacob" or the collector Marmier, met in the

quiet old shop where the boy "played with dumpy duodecimos as with dolls"? In any case one must not forget the bookstore—a second nursery in which he grew up, surrounded by the motley ranks of an ever-changing library. Here it was that he got his first notions of history and society, from books and from the conversations of his father and his father's friends—a memory which he used later in picturing the book-shop of Paillot; and as the patrons of this old Royalist were mostly Royalists too, *ci-devant* aristocrats and conservatives, their remarks on the Revolution could not fail to influence the future author of *Les Dieux ont Soif*. It is easy to imagine them—some of the older ones, perhaps, wearing the high neck-cloths and tight trousers Daumier loved to draw, wholly unmindful of the shy little lad reading in the corner; but it was for him that they talked, after all. Disciples of Voltaire, they were the first to show him, in their endless arguments, the multiplicity of Truth.

Thus the old bookstore by the Seine became the nursery of a genius. In ludicrous contrast, we have the picture of his first school, a "highly recommended" establishment of the Faubourg Saint-Germain. There, in a room full of mischief-loving youngsters presided over by an absent-minded spinster, he made acquaintance with the world of human society, discovered the practical life and found his first friend in a boy who taught him to raise silkworms in his desk. There, too, the charms of poetry were revealed to him, when the melancholy schoolmistress read to the class her melancholy ballad "Pauvre Jeanne." The tears which he shed on that occasion brought him not the cross of honor, but the vision of that beauty which rhyme and rhythm give.

Practical education, however, was not to be gained here. After copying for six weeks the same line of poetry, the boy was withdrawn from the *pension* by his dissatisfied parents. Although not rich, they now chose for him the Collège Stanislas, an expensive and aristocratic school directed by Jesuits. At Stanislas, "un vieux collègue un peu monacal," he came under the instruction of ecclesiastics, learned the poetry that legend and ritual inspire. Esthetically the priesthood may well have had its moment of attraction for him. He may have lived in sympathy the episode of young Piedagnel in *L'Orme du Mail*. At all events the Church gave him her best for his intellectual training; like Jules Lemaitre, he enjoyed the discipline which perfected the mind of Renan. "In the Temple," said the good Abbé Jérôme Coignard, "were forged the hammers which destroyed the Temple."

Nor must we forget, in his education, the inestimable influence of Paris. To such a boy, responsive to the pictorial, to the charm of the past, the chance of living in the City of Light was a veritable godsend. "It does not seem to me possible," he modestly affirms, "for a man to have an absolutely commonplace turn of mind, if he has been brought up on the quays of Paris, opposite the Louvre and the Tuileries, and facing the glorious Seine, which runs amidst the belfries and towers and spires of Old Paris. . . . There, the book-stalls, the curiosity shops and the old print stores display the most beautiful products of art and the most interesting tokens of the Past. Every shop-window is an attraction for the eyes and the intellect: the passer-by who knows how to see always carries away some thought, as the bird flies off with a bit of straw for its nest."

When Anatole France was a boy, this quarter was even richer in atmosphere than it is to-day. Old prints, old paintings, old books, old furniture—every foot of the quays was full of them. Carved credence-tables, flowered Japanese vases, bits of enamel, faïence, brocaded stuffs, and figured tapestries served to illustrate the old books lying so invitingly open: the famous curiosity shop described in Balzac's *Peau de Chagrin* shows what these places used to be. This larger school Anatole France knew before he ceased to wear short trousers and embroidered collars; "when we went to the Tuileries Gardens on holidays, we used to pass along this learned Quai Voltaire, and as we walked, hoop in hand and ball in pocket, we used to look into the shop-windows just like the old gentlemen, and form our own ideas on all these strange things which had come down from the Past, from the mysterious Past."

Add to these his daily journeys, first along the quays, then down that fascinating Rue Bonaparte which takes one past an endless row of curio-shops to the Luxembourg gardens and the Collège Stanislas situated in the Rue Notre-Dame des Champs. Every day he saw the shop-windows, greeted the white statues of the gardens gleaming against their fernlike background of trees, felt all the multifarious life of Old Paris. So the streets gave him his first understanding of the world. Here he saw the milkwomen, the water-carriers, the coal-heavers at their tasks, and learned the law of cheerful labor which Paris teaches in every shop and alley. Like Coppée, he loved this humble Paris, only he loved it still as a spectator. It was all a part of his vision of the universe, a poet's vision, destined to be engraven in pages expressive as a Whistler etching, pages discreetly evocative of the Paris that we love.

He learned, in fine, that busy idling which separates the artist

from the scholar. And even in school he retained the same discursive spirit: he was constantly reprimanded for his devotion to interests "extraneous to the class." Yet he was a good student, particularly in the Humanities. "You may call me an aristocrat or a mandarin, but I believe that six or seven years of literary culture give to the mind prepared to receive it a nobility, a force and beauty which is not to be obtained by other means."

At Stanislas Anatole France received this literary training. And he was prepared for it. Already Livy set him to dreaming. When his old Jesuit Latin master read the sentence "The remnants of the Roman army reached Canusium through the favor of the night," he would see "passing silently in the moonlight, over the naked plain and the long road flanked with tombs, livid faces, foul with blood and dust, battered helmets, wrenched and tarnished breast-plates, broken swords." And by that vision we may know that Anatole France was already old enough to feel the grandeur that was Rome.

"Then it was Virgil, and then Homer. I saw Thetis rising like a white cloud from the sea, I saw Nausicaa and her companions, and the palm-tree of Delos, and the sky and the earth of the sea, and the tearful smile of Andromache. . . . And I understood it, I felt it. For six months I could not leave the Odyssey. . . . I was with Ulysses on the wine-dark sea. Then I discovered the tragic poets. Sophocles, Euripides, opened to me the enchanted world of heroes, initiated me into the poetry of woe. At each tragedy that I read, there were new joys, tears, and thrills unknown till then.

"Alcestis and Antigone gave me the noblest dreams that ever boy did dream. Bent over my dictionary, above my ink-bespattered desk, I would see divine figures, arms of ivory drooping over white tunics, and hear voices sweeter than the sweetest music, lamenting in harmony."

So Anatole France found in a Jesuit college the Greek beauty, the Vision of Life which he gives back to us, still dominant in the many-textured web of a world-old culture. That beauty, that ideal, he never ceased to cultivate, to worship: his favorite poets are still the poets of the pagan world. No lover of his well-nigh perfect prose, candid and full of charms as only a Grecian could create, but will exclaim, as he does in one of his early novels: "O Athens, city ever to be revered, if thou hadst never existed, the world would not yet know what beauty is!"

THE NORTHERN ORIGIN OF THE STORY OF TROY.

ATTESTED BY THE PITCHER OF TRAGLIATELLA.

Translated from the German of Carus Sterne.

II. *The Pitcher of Tragliatella.**

HOWEVER purely logical and free from any straining of the facts my explanation of the northern origin of the legend of Troy and of its connection with the Troy Towns had been, I harbored no delusion that I should convert by it the philologists who regard themselves as the professional guardians of the scientific investigation of legends. For at most these gentlemen, inhospitable to the arguments of natural science, would probably have spoken of "another figment of fancy" the justification for which still remained to be demonstrated. However, a chance accident for which I never should have dared to hope, permits me to refute my opponents who had made such great sport of my mad whim to seek Troy in the North, on their own ground, my weapon being an archeological discovery unique in its kind. Since a number of my propositions in the *Trojaburgen* are so convincingly confirmed by this witness, first described twelve years ago, that it might seem as if I had already had knowledge of it, it will not be beside the mark to indicate in a few lines how, perhaps two months ago, I became acquainted with it.

Immediately after the publication of the *Trojaburgen*, Prof. R. von Kaufmann, of Berlin, did me the kindness of sending me the reprint of a lecture which he had given on June 18, 1892, before the Anthropological Society of Berlin upon the model of the Egyptian labyrinth which he had discovered. In this lecture, which had recently appeared in the transactions of that society (pp. 302-309), reference was made to my earlier publications on the Troy Towns, and at the same time it was observed that, besides Krause [Carus Sterne], Bendorf had proven the connection of northern Troy Towns with the Play of Troy of the Romans, basing his argument on ancient vase-paintings. It can be imagined how eagerly I went on the hunt for this treatise. But neither could Professor von Kaufmann give his source more exactly, nor was the name spelled correctly, and as a matter of fact, the exposition, which was from the

* The first part appeared in *The Open Court* for August, 1918, pp. 449ff.

pen of the famous archeologist Otto Bendorf of Vienna, was buried in an academic treatise not even bearing his name on the title-page;¹ so I owed it to blind chance that I finally was fortunate enough to find it after going to much trouble in vain.

The treatise has reference to an ancient Etruscan earthen pitcher, found together with other objects, as it seems as early as 1877, on old Etruscan soil near Tragliatella, an estate of M. Tommasi Tittoni situated between Palidoro and Bracciano Lake some miles from Rome. Because of its pictures and inscriptions, which are produced by scratching (*sgraffito*), this pitcher certainly is to be classed with the most remarkable discoveries ever made on Italian soil. In 1881 it fell into the hands of two archeologists of standing: Helbig² who interpreted its pictures and artistic value, and Deecke³ who explained its inscriptions.

Both came to the conclusion that they were dealing with one of the oldest vessels made on Italian soil after Greek models, assigning the sixth or seventh century B. C. as the date of its production. Common as Etruscan inscriptions are on mirrors, gems, and scarabs, scholars were up to that time acquainted with only ten terra-cotta vessels exhibiting anything of the kind, and, to quote Deecke, "the painted pitcher of Tragliatella, of oldest Etruscan make, adorned with four, to be sure, very short Etruscan inscriptions, is without doubt by far the most important of all, not only because it indicates the introduction of Greek myths into Tuscany in very remote times, but also because it appreciably increases our knowledge of the Etruscan language."

This pitcher, about ten inches high, is decorated by figures cut into four bands, each having a different ground-color. They are dashed on rather clumsily, and we shall occupy ourselves only with those covering the broad band running around the bulkiest portion of the pitcher, for the other bands



THE PITCHER OF TRAGLIATELLA.

¹ Max Büdinger, "Die römischen Spiele und der Patriciat." *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-histor. Klasse*, Vol. CXXIII, pp. 47-55. Vienna, 1891.

² *Bulletino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza archeologica*, No. 3, pp. 65ff. (April, 1881.)

³ *Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza archeologica*, Vol. LIII, p. 160. (1881.)

contain representations of animals and simple scenes such as occur with considerable frequency on other vases of Chalcidian origin, added probably with no other purpose but to embellish and to fill space. On the other hand, the main band evidently contains nothing but scenes of a connected myth of Italian, or let us merely say, of non-Greek local color. Among them our attention is attracted especially by one placed on the middle of the one side of the pitcher, the representation of a Troy Town which resembles, as we easily recognize, in all essentials the Cretan labyrinth appearing on old coins of the city of Knossos. However, such Cretan coins with a labyrinth on them formed of curved lines ingeniously arranged, do not go back beyond the fourth century B. C., while the design here under discussion is, according to Helbig and Deecke, two or three hundred years older.

The most remarkable feature is that this design does not seem to be influenced at all by the legend of the Cretan labyrinth, for in the outermost curve of the labyrinth the word *truia* = Troy is cut from right to left in letters of the oldest Italian alphabet, which is according to Deecke probably of Chalcidian origin. That the Etruscans wrote *truia* instead of *Troia* is confirmed also by other inscriptions belonging to pictures from the Trojan epic cycle; accordingly Deecke interpreted the design quite vaguely as the plan of a city (*una pianta di città*), and Helbig, too, was in doubt whether the city of Troy or the Troy Play of the Italians was in question. Bendorf was the first to believe in the necessity of recognizing here the oldest document on the Troy Play of the Italians, which until then had been traced back only to the time of Sulla (see *Troja-burgen*, p. 258). We shall not discuss whether in this Bendorf is not going a step too far, for in my opinion both inscription and design evidence nothing but what I asserted before, that the Roman Play of Troy "had developed from an ancient, patently religious labyrinthian dance of the early inhabitants of the land" (*Troja-burgen*, p. 250). From this we gather with certainty that originally in Italy just as in Scandinavia and England it was not the dance or the game but rather the labyrinth that was called Troy.

This is a fact of quite unusual significance and I beg those of my kind opponents from the philological camp who regard my proposition as not entirely unworthy of notice to submit what I now have to say to careful scrutiny. No Roman antiquary, neither Varro, nor Cato, nor Cicero, nor any one of the many authors who have left reports on the Troy Play, not even Suetonius, who had written a special book on the games of Roman youth, could have

known the fact that the labyrinth in which the time-honored spring dance was performed was called Troy in ancient Italy too. Or else Pliny, who speaks of Italian labyrinths in the fields, would surely have mentioned it and neither Servius, interpreter of Virgil, nor Festus, nor other scholars drawing their information from still plentiful sources, would have cudged their brains for an explanation of the words *troarc* and *antroarc* appearing in the old Salian song (*Trojaburgcn*, p. 255). It is also quite easily explained that this name was more or less intentionally allowed to lapse into oblivion at an early date, for otherwise a Trojan origin obviously could not have been assigned to the Troy Play. Besides, there were just as few reminiscences of the old labyrinth name Troy preserved in Crete. Accordingly it seems extremely conjectural to assume with Wilhelm Meyer or Bendorf that the Romans might have carried to England and Scandinavia a name for a design which they had absolutely forgotten in its original significance even before the beginning of our era. Here again we are rather confronted by the same problem which I discussed in *Trojaburgcn* (pp. 266ff.) in reference to the legends of Gotland and Delos: the transfer could only have taken place in prehistoric times.

Now it may be figured that the Troy Play itself was transplanted by the Romans to England and Scandinavia and that the labyrinths of the North in turn were called Troy as formerly in Italy by a sort of mystical process—which causes an idea to be spread like an infectious disease, by a carrier who himself is not affected in the least. All we know is that the Troy Play swiftly fell into obscurity even among the Romans as soon as the clan of “Trojan” Cæsars and patricians died out; the play was probably also produced later, but no longer under that name, it was simply called a *pyrrhiche*. Nor has any ancient writer left an account of the ancient Troy Plays being mapped out on the ground, which would at least have been done in case such a plan had still borne its striking name in the memory of the people, a name not belonging to those easily forgotten.

On the other hand, the fact calls for consideration that the name Troy attaches in the North to hundreds of labyrinthine constructions which are spread from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean northward as far as Iceland, and eastward far into the interior of Russia. We find it further in England joined to the more than a thousand similar stone sculptures which certainly extend back beyond Roman times, most probably deep into the bronze age. If we consider further that the word can be explained just as well from

the Germanic as from the Romance languages (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 11-12), does it not sound monstrous that one should want to derive an appellation which occurs a hundred times in the North, from Italy where it could with great difficulty be documented but once? Will a land in which one lion is met escaped from a circus be regarded as the home of the lion, or not rather that in which great numbers of the animal occur? An additional point is this, that in a region of northern Europe bounded by almost exactly the same meridians, the same extremely peculiar moon-shaped forms of bronze razors are found as in pre-Etruscan Italy, the same funerary urns of clay, which appear nowhere else in the world, in the shape of ancient Germanic houses (house-urns), the same habits and customs in Saxony and Alba Longa. But that labyrinths belong to a cult originating in the North, that accordingly they must have wandered to the South, if they occur in the South, I think I have already made sufficiently probable in the preceding pages.



RIDERS COMING OUT OF THE "TROJABURG."

After *Jahrbücher d. röm. Inst.*, Vol. LIII, plate L.

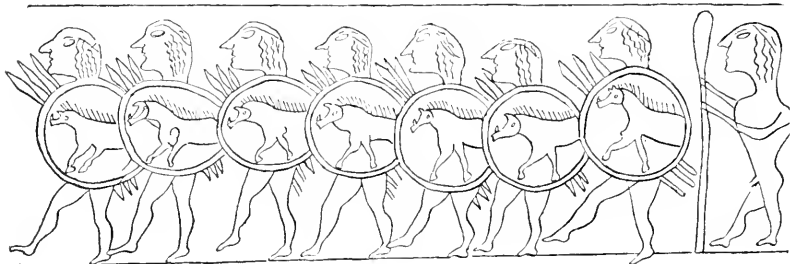
Let us go further in our examination of the pictures on the pitcher. First, two figures on horseback are seen coming out of the labyrinth—or at least we may assume that they are proceeding from it, since the tail of the rear horse is still within the convolutions of the Troy Town. With reference to the representation of the labyrinth dance similarly arranged, in Homer's description, by Hephæstus on the shield of Achilles alongside of the place of the dance, Bendorf says, with tasteful acumen, "the primitive artist takes apart what he cannot dispose of at once and render comprehensible as a whole. Assyrian reliefs indicate the departure from a city by a series of figures proceeding from an outline of the city; they transfer scenes which occur inside of a tent to a place in front of, or alongside of it; they arrange objects above one another which are to be regarded as in perspective, and so on." In a fashion,

according to Bendorf, similar to our picture Homer had Hephæstus, in the passage also cited by me (*Trojaburgen*, p. 264), first represent the dancing place (*choros*) of Dædalus, i. e., the labyrinth, and then the dancers, who really should have been represented as dancing in the labyrinth, alongside of it. While I had formed exactly the same opinion of that passage in Homer after the example of O. Müller, Welcker, Preller, and Petersen, and agree completely with Bendorf's explanation of the alongside instead of an inside, I can yet not subscribe to his view that the two riding figures of the pitcher pointed to the Troy Play of the Roman youth.

To be sure it may be treated as a mere surmise when I say that I prefer to see in the two riding figures the northern fairy-tale scene of the rescue of the maiden from the labyrinth. For we shall immediately see that seven or eight players on foot dance ahead of these two figures; therefore they are not to be thought of as any different from the single player or players on horseback in the English Morris Dance (*Trojaburgen*, p. 241). It seems to me that the first of the two riders is rather meant to be a woman, viz., the rescued maiden whom her rescuer has seated on the miraculous horse of her incarcerator. It should be noticed that this first figure carries no spear, although it is armed with a shield, and is thereby strikingly different from all the rest of the nine players. In the matter of hair-dress, the two sexes in the pictures on this pitcher are practically not differentiated, only in the case of the two figures on horseback is the first one distinguished by longer hair. The animal which sits behind the supposed female rider on the horse and which Helbig calls an ape—we might just as well call it a dog!—must not be overlooked. It is reminiscent of the faithful animals which assist the dragon-slayer in the liberation of the maiden. (Comp. *Trojaburgen*, pp. 153-154, and *The Open Court*, August, 1918, p. 466.) There are sketches of birds on the shields of the two riding figures—Helbig calls them water-fowls, on account of their webfeet and long bills—and in the stories of the dragon-slayer a bird often plays a great role, both in the old fairy-tale and in the Sigurd songs. In contradistinction to the dancers who carry three spears, the knight is armed with only one, the same which he plunged into the throat of the dragon; his long-legged horse is probably the miraculous horse which carried him over the walls of the labyrinth.

The already mentioned group of dancers consisting of seven beardless youths without helmets and greaves (and probably to be thought of as clad only with a waist-cloth) precede the riding figures

in dance-step. Each of these carries three spears and a round shield distinguished by the image of a wild boar; their hair is held together by a narrow ribbon which in Rome was long the distinguishing mark of a priest. The interpretation is obvious that these dancers, like the riders, come dancing out of the labyrinth, moving in labyrinthine lines. They suggest at once the Salian sodality of ancient Rome which, increased to twelve members, performed the Troy Play at the solemn inauguration of spring in March. In this they resembled completely the Germanic sword dancers described by Tacitus, who performed their spring dance in Germany, England, and Scandinavia up to recent centuries and, partly, even up to our own day. (See chapter on "The Armed Dances of Germanic Tribes." *Trojaburgen*, pp. 236-247.) Tacitus says in regard to the Germanic youths that they performed the sword dance naked; in



GROUP OF SEVEN DANCERS.

After plate L of *Jahrbücher d. archäol. Inst.*, 1881.

later days the Salians received an official priestly garb with bright-colored tunic, bronze belt, scarlet-edged toga, and a tall pointed hat or helmet; nevertheless I am still attached to my opinion, expressed in the chapter "Troy Play and Salian Dance" (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 247-262), that there resulted from the armed dance of the earliest inhabitants, first, the Salian Dance, and only from this the Troy Play with riders on horseback. The two mounted figures among the dancers, which may anyhow be regarded as the nucleus of the Troy Play, have no weight against this interpretation; for clear into the nineteenth century the hobby-horse was never permitted to be lacking at the English spring sword dance (*Trojaburgen*, p. 241), and why not, since it had to represent the vaulting horse which bore the dragon-slayer over the nine walls of the Troy Town.

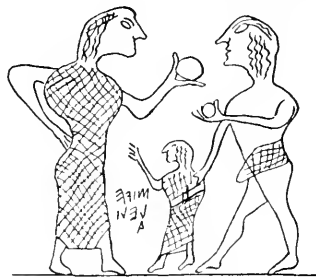
Boars as shield-ornaments of the dancers seem to be very significant. We know that the boar was regarded as a symbol

of victory by the north Aryan peoples, especially by Kelts, Anglo-Saxons, and Æstui. Hence they used pictures of the boar on their shields, heads of boars on their helmets, and boars on their standards. These appear on the coins of the Aedui and on the Triumphal Arch of Orange (*Tuiskoland*, p. 234). The custom also applies to the ancient Persians, and in Zend texts victory (*verethraghna*) is repeatedly personified in the form of an immense boar, armed with sharp hoofs and tusks (Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 277). This is especially true in the case of the mythical victory of Indra over the sun's ravisher, and the name of the Persian Siegfried, Verethrana, signifies "conqueror of Vritra." So in the North, the boar remained an animal sacred to Freya and Freyr, Freya being represented as riding on a boar. We no longer find the figure of the boar conceived of in this way as a symbol of victory among the later Romans, and even while Pliny (*Histor. natur.*, X, 4, 5) tells that in earlier times wolf, Minotaur, horse, and boar were borne, along with the eagle, as standards before the legions, he yet adds that Gaius Marius already made the eagle the sole standard during his second consulship.

After the dancers a stark naked man, taking no part in the dance, steps sedately along, holding grasped in both hands like a support a long staff, taller than himself. Helbig claims he is bearing a lance, in which case he might be regarded as the leader of the dance who holds aloft the great staff like a herald's staff. But in addition to the fact that such a man would probably appear at the head of the procession and not lacking a shield, the staff seems to me more like a club or an uprooted tree-trunk, characteristic of a giant. Now it is known that, at the close of the old Salian song which was sung in accompaniment to the dance, the old smith Mamurius who, like Dædalus in Crete, was said to have invented the dance and to have forged the shields, was first invoked and then beaten out of the city of Rome with staves, peeled white. This is a ceremony which took place exactly in the same way in the northern spring festival, it being a case of the winter demon who had kept the sun maiden so long concealed and who is now beaten and expelled (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 112-114 and 241-247). Therefore he walks like a prisoner in the procession between the dancing spear-bearers and the liberator of the maiden.

Next we find a scene placed before the dance, which again suggests that in these portrayals we are treated to the ancient Italian conception of the legend of Troy. A woman, clad in a plaid chiton, stands opposite to a man, clad only with the waist-cloth, and offers

him a round object; another explanation would be that she has exchanged it for a similar round object in the left of the young man, whose other hand is placed on the shoulder of a young girl likewise clad in the chiton. The concluding scene of the Judgment of Paris would have been recognized in this, even if the words *mi felena*, i. e., "I am" or "this is Helen," written backward in the oldest Italian alphabet, were not put alongside of the little figure of Helen. That Helen is represented on a reduced scale might be interpreted as an expedient of the primitive artist's similar to that of the juxtaposition of Troy Town and dancers discussed above, namely, as the execution of the artist's desire to represent at once Paris handing the apple to Venus and her promising him in return the possession of the most beautiful woman, Helen being shown here in reducing distance. According to that, one would think that the Italian potter had found a picture of the Judgment of Paris on a



SO-CALLED JUDGMENT OF PARIS OF THE PITCHER.

Greek vase and tried, in his fashion, to incorporate, and find a place for, it in the picture cycle of the old Italian legend of Troy. I shall only briefly mention that there are alongside these two grown-up persons two inscriptions, which are here omitted; they have no mythological significance, running in Deecke's translation, "this (pitcher) was made by Amno" and "this (pitcher) was presented by Ateia."

But if the making of the pitcher really goes back to the seventh century B. C., it would not be free from objection to expect here a representation of the Judgment of Paris which is regarded as a later interpolation where it appears in the *Iliad*, and is thought to be an invention only of the so-called Cyprians. The reciprocal handing of a round object suggests the rolling ball of Yaga Baba in the Russian legends of the dragon-slayer, by which the hero is led to the prison with the nine walls, enclosing the maiden (*Troja-burgen*, p. 145). There is another possibility that we have before

us the original form of the southern legend, from which the legend of Helen as well as the story of Ariadne are derived. If we recall the above mentioned story that Theseus abducted Helen, then the young man of the picture could also be Theseus to whom Athene-Ariadne hands the clue with which he is to lead Helen out of the Troy Town. To be sure, we know that Athene was really herself the imprisoned goddess locked up in the Troy Town who favored Diomedes for carrying off her statue, just as she had formerly assisted Jason, Perseus, and Theseus in similar heroic deeds (*Trojaburgen*, p. 279). We shall return to this question presently when more minutely examining the inscription.

The very archaic form of the word *V'elena* opens up similar vistas into a primeval history of the story of Helen. I can give these only with great reserve, since they belong to a linguistic field which lies pretty far beyond my province, yet I do not care to ignore them, since they may possibly throw a new light upon this cycle of legends hitherto so obscure. But let us first listen to Deecke's impression of the age of this form of the word: "The form *Velena*," he says, "corresponding exactly to the Greek *φελίνα* in the *Etymologicum Magnum* and the Latin *V'elena* on a cist of Palestrina surpasses all other Etruscan forms of this name, like *V'elcnu*, *Elina*, *Helcnaia*, *Elinai*, *Elinei* in correctness and originality, as is consonant with the assumed antiquity of the vessel." The usual derivation of the name Helena has been from the old Aryan *svar* or the Greek *felein*, "to beam," "to shine," being brought in connection with Greek *helane* (*selaine*), "the torch," and since we see in Helen the sun maiden, this derivation would be so much the more satisfactory for our views, since the solar disk is called *svalinn* in the Edda. But Curtius regards this derivation as pretty questionable and denies any relationship between Helios and Helena. Therefore it is probably in order to suggest a possible connection with the ancient root *var-*, *val-*, *vel-* (in which the initial letter is to be regarded as digamma or the half-vowel *u*, English *w*), denoting "to curve," "include," "surround," the source of Sanskrit *vara* "garden," *vara-yami* "I enclose" or "fence in," *apa-var* "to open," Lithuanian *at-verti* "to open," *su-verti* "to close," Greek *elyo*, *eilyo*, *eileo* "I wind," "envelope," "involve," "enclose," *cilar* "fence," *elinos* "vine," *amp-clos* "the entwiner" (grape-vine), *helike* "snail," etc., Latin *volvo*, *voluta*, "I wind" or "roll," *voluta* "the spiral"; Gothic *walwjan*, Old High German *wellan* "to roll." Curtius wished to make this root into two of the same form, the one of which was to mean merely "to wind," "wrap," the second "to include," "bind"; but it is evidently one and

the same conception whether I wrap twine about a person or thing, immure him, or enclose him even to the point of casting him in fetters.

Now, however, the identical root seems to be contained in the names of the old gods of fire and forging who in the northern sun myth immure or fetter the sun-goddess, i. e., in Varuna, Valas, or Valand, to which may possibly be added the Slavic *volchow* "wizard" and Greek *Velchanos*. Varuna and Valas were long ago explained as "immurer," "veiler," "fetterer" (of the sun). The Keltic Balar, too, whom I have identified with our Valand before (*Trojaburgen*, p. 85), is the god of circumvallation and teaches the building of firm ramparts, the founding of wall-surrounded castles and cities, since all arable land was formerly in solemn ceremony encircled by the plough, from which the concept then easily passed into that of the smith-architect. The art of making fetters is ascribed to all divinities of the forge; so Hephæstus encompasses in a web of steel not alone his consort Venus, whom he catches with Mars in a cunningly wrought net, but even his own mother, according to a legend which reveals the greatest similarity to a narrative spread over all Europe about a smith who bound Death and the devil, so they could no longer leave his apple-tree, or a certain spot in his smithy. Similarly Balar chains his daughter, Wieland (Wayland) chains Baduhild, Hephæstus or Pallas chains Athene, and just because Varuna is the world chainer, I have identified in him the original god of fire and forge (*Trojaburgen*, p. 181). This enchainment and imprisonment in ever narrowing circles—compare also the wolf (Sanskrit *varki*) who circles about the herd and devours the sun, as well as the human being who is transformed into a werwolf by taking off, and circling about, his clothes (see Petronius)—seems to have peculiarly predestined our Valand for the role of the devil, and on old wood-cuts like that of the knight Tundalus, the devil is seen dancing about the poor soul with strangely curved tongs, trying to drive it by means of ever converging enclosures finally into the jaws of hell. Valand is the ensnarer, the trapper, and for that reason Valand Houses or Troy Towns were also called traps (*Trojaburgen*, p. 71).

But if Valand means "the encloser" Velena could in the last analysis be "the enclosed one," and in the Danish song the maiden who is abducted, locked up in the lower world, and liberated by Roland is called Eline, just as in the case of the old Etruscans (see *supra* p. 531 and *Trojaburgen*, p. 151). Then, perhaps, a linguistic connection between Helena and Ilion as well as for Athene Ilias

could be established. In his dissertation *Quaestiones Homericae* (Bonn, 1867) Oscar Meyer long ago called attention to the fact that Valas's fortress in the Vedas was called *vīlu* and *dridha* (from *dardha*, "strong"), that is, "the fortress," and derived from these roots Ilion and Dardanus, the names of the Trojan stronghold. Since we have already explained the word Troy in the same way (*Trojaburgen*, p. 12), the names Troia, Ilion, Dardanus, Pergamus would all mean the same thing, namely "stronghold," "castle." The word *vīlu* certainly belongs here, for to primitive man "to envelop" is "to put in fetters" and remarkably enough, a chaining Athene, Athene Eilenia, is met with on the soil of Magna Græcia. In the wonder book of the so-called Aristotle (*De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, ed. Beckmann, p. 240) it is narrated that Epeios, the constructor of the wooden horse with which Troy was captured, came to Metapontum in Italy and was kept there by Athene as though in fetters until he had carried out his intention of depositing in her temple the tools with which he had constructed the wooden horse. Thence, the report adds, Athene received the cognomen Eilenia, the fetterer or encloser. Justinus (XX, 2) also mentions this queer story, saying that the tools were of iron; but the text-emendators have very clumsily made a Hellenias out of Athene Eilenia, as if there were another but the Hellenic Athene. This was so much the more improper, since the narrators wished to explain the cognomen of Athene with just this enchainment which kept Epeios a prisoner there. The *Etymologus* also knows the story of Athene of the Bonds, excepting that in this report Philoctetes is locked up by her in a place hence called Eilenia: the place is also known to the *Itineraries* of Antoninus.

But Philoctetes and Epeios have about the same role in the story of Troy, for just as Philoctetes must bring the bow of Herakles, the first conqueror of Troy, in order to slay Paris, so Epeios constructs the horse with which alone Troy can be conquered. This horse is a very remarkable thing, it is a striking reminder of the wooden hobby-horse on which in the English sword dance Maid Marian is won and liberated. I have referred to the similarity of the wall-vaulting Siegfried horse before (*Trojaburgen*, p. 280). It long ago struck Düntzer that the constructor of the horse in the story of Troy was always designated by a Keltic word, Epeios instead of Hippeios, from Keltic *epo*, "horse," and that this wooden horse was always qualified by an epithet *dureios* or *durateus*, which likewise points to Keltic origin. Athene Hippiia, protecting divinity of anything pertaining to the horse, is very sug-

gestive of that goddess Epona so often met with in Keltic lands, who made her way also into Italy. Anyhow Epeios and Epona (Hippona) belong together, for we know that Epeios, the horseman, had been at Troy also as the liberator of captured and imprisoned Athene, and I regard it as well worth further investigation whether all those appellations of Athene—Ilios, Alea, Eilenia—did not, as well as Velenä, originally rather characterize the goddess as enclosed in convolutions, her liberation from Hades being celebrated with games at Troy just like that of Athene Itonia in Bœotia. Whether Metapontum, in the vicinity of which the temple and city of Athene of the Bonds was situated, indicates the city of Pythagoras, as Beckmann tacitly assumed, seems to me very doubtful. In this connection I do not know whether any one has already observed that Solinus knew two cities of this name in Magna Græcia, for he says (II, 10-11), "Metapontum, i. e., the better-known city of that name, was founded by Pyliaus, Metapontum which is now called Vibo, by the Locrians." This Vibo was in earlier times called Hippo and might very well have been the city of Epeios and of Eilenia, for its other by-name Valentia suggests *vallis* or *vallum*,⁴ the region surrounded by mountains, walls, or ramparts. Possibly the myth of the walled-in goddess Eilenia, and of her liberation by the horseman, was originally native here, although it must needs have suffered reinterpretation when the Greek story of Troy came to surpass all others in splendor. We might further compare the city of St. George, Silena and Seilenos (Selene), and the chained moon-god of the Hindus (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 205 and 162).

After this long excursus to which the names Velenä and Eilenia lured us, let us return to the pictures on our pitcher, of which the next is the most mysterious of all.

A woman clad in a chiton stands in apparent glee before two enigmatic objects on the ground. Helbig claims that these objects are two large vases, but I prefer to think them a couple of crude idols of the kind called by the Romans *delubra*, for they in no wise resemble vases but rather those armless, so-called Dædalian idols, with heads like those used by hairdressers for models, such as have been found at Plataea,⁵ the classical ground of the Greek spring festival. I have already mentioned (*Trojaburgen*, p. 115) the female dolls which were burned on the pyre at the Germanic and Slavic spring celebrations, comparing them to the clumsily carved

⁴ We apologize to our classical readers for this.—*Trans.*

⁵ Gerhard, "Metreon und Göttermutter," *Berichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1849, pp. 454ff.

figures which were burned on Mt. Cithæron in memory of the reunion of Zeus and Hera; but in the chapter on Syrith I neglected to go into particulars about this very remarkable ceremony which seems to be suggested by our picture, and I wish here to make up for the omission.

Plutarch⁶ and Pausanias⁷ have given us a very thoughtful account of that spring festival which had evidently survived from remote antiquity. Zeus had abducted Hera from Eubœa and in a cave of Mt. Cithæron enjoyed the bliss of secret love. According to other versions he had changed himself into a cuckoo, had then caused a storm and had flown into the lap of Hera as if seeking shelter; he was kindly received, and in memory of this first meeting with Zeus Hera later bore the cuckoo on her scepter, the place of their nuptials being called the Cuckoo Hill. The spring hero is evidence that that immortal spring myth of the rejuvenation of nature is here under discussion which Logan has so charmingly touched upon in his verses on the month of May,

"This month is a kiss in which Heav'n and Earth embrace each other,
 So that Earth, the winsome bride, soon may also be a mother."

Young Greeks whispered, thus the report goes on, that Zeus and Hera had not at that time been united by a solemn wedding; consequently it was rather a celebration of early spring, such as we have met with in Germanic myths (see *The Open Court*, August, 1918, p. 462). Later Hera was taken away from, or fell out with, Zeus; at any rate she remained in hiding from him and he wandered about aimlessly, without finding her. Then he met a certain Alal-komenes who gave him the shrewd advice to make Hera jealous by pretending to marry another. With the help of his counselor Zeus now felled a great oak, carved it to look like a woman, attired it like a bride and called it Dædale. When they got to singing the hymeneus and the Tritonian nymphs were bringing the water for the bride's bath, all Bœotia bringing out flutes and preparing for the banquet, Hera could no longer contain herself; she hurried down from Mt. Cithæron to Zeus amid a great concourse of Platæan women, tore off the veil from the image and—discovered the deceit. Her anger and jealousy turned into jest and joy. Hera herself now preceded the sham-bride as bridesmaid, inaugurated the festival Dædala in memory of the event, but from a lingering spark of jealousy she herself burned the lifeless image.

⁶ See Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangelica*, III, 1.

⁷ Pausanias, *Periegesis*, IX, 3.

Pausanias, an eyewitness in whose day the ceremony was still popular, describes it as follows (IX, 3): "Not far from Alalomenæ is the largest oak-forest of Bœotia. Here the Plateans offer pieces of cooked meat and watch in which tree the ravens perch that have eaten of the meat. From the tree chosen by the ravens the Dædalum is constructed, which the Plateans use at their lesser festival; but every sixty years a great festival is celebrated in which all Bœotian clans take part. In a performance the substance of the story above told is expressed in a pantomime. The image is decked out and placed upon a vehicle to which two cows are hitched, a woman is chosen as bridesmaid in Hera's place and the vehicle is then driven to the top of Mt. Cithæron, while the deputies of the Bœotian clans follow in procession, their places being decided by lot. Up there is an immense altar made of beams, on which the Dædala of former years, made in the intervening time, are burned along with the sacrificed animals. Every city sacrifices a full-grown cow to Hera, and a bull to Zeus, incense is burned and libations are offered, and then the whole altar is set on fire, the flames of which could be seen far and wide in the land."

The esteemed reader has probably already noticed that this myth of the Bœotian-Argive Hera corresponds exactly to the myth of Syrith related before (see *The Open Court*, August, 1918, pp. 461-462): the long wooing of the bride, the sham-bridal, the real bride as bridesmaid, the sudden throwing aside of the mask of deception, everything agrees completely; indeed the burning of the false bride reappears in the Syrith legends which are alive to-day in Slavic peoples, in so far as in these the "bridesmaid" sets fire to her rival's veil (*Trojaburgen*, p. 167).

Now what are we to think of all this? Of course, people like Bugge will say: "Nothing is clearer than that Saxo Grammaticus patched together his legend of Othar and Syrith from that of this Argive Hera, and nothing can be more natural than that he put Othar-Thor in place of Zeus, and Syr-Freya in place of Hera." Reverse the statement and you have the facts, as is so often true. For from all the old Norse and the modern Slavic forms of the Syrith legend, we learn with certainty that the coy sweetheart is the sun maiden whom young Thor-Zeus woos and tests by the pretended marriage. Therefore the myth persisted in Greece also as the story of Medea, in which Medea sets fire to the veil of the new bride and in that consigns her to a fiery death.

There are enough indications that in these stories Hera merely replaces the earlier sun maiden. Etymologists are found who derive

her name as well as that of Syr from *svar*, "sun." That it was really Athene, the early sun-goddess of the Greeks, with whom this love encounter of Zeus took place, is evident from the fact that the wood of Alalkomenæ, which furnished the idol, was regarded as a sanctuary of the "defending" Athene, Athene Alalkomeneïs. In Italy, too, Jupiter was between two ladies, like Othar and Siegfried between Chriemhild and Brunhild, and everywhere his image was placed between those of Juno and Minerva. In the same way the festival of the Argive Juno hiding from her bridegroom was celebrated in Italy as on Mt. Cithæron. Ovid describes Juno's wedding-procession at Falerii, at which the girls appeared in most solemn attire bearing veiled things on their heads (the Dædala afterward to be burned?), while a bull preceded the procession and the sacrificial cattle followed. Here the story, so widespread in the North, that the goddess-bride had in her exile been degraded to the position of a goatherd (*Trojaburgen*, p. 165), reappears clearly in the *motif* that Juno abominated goats, since they had betrayed her in her secret abode. In *Amores*, III, 13, Ovid says:

"Only against the goats harbors our mistress revenge,
For by their base betrayal was found her lodge in the deep wood.
Thus was she stopt, many say, in her project of flight."

The myth of Syrith would furnish the best explanation also for this. The connection of the picture under discussion—the woman before the two Dædala on our pitcher—with the Germanic spring myth of the doll burned at the Easter-fire, probably would not then be too bold, after all.

There now remain between this figure and that of the Troy Town two scenes placed one above the other, depicting embracings; neither Helbig nor Bendorf have paid especial attention to them. On Chalcidian vases, which are here regarded as models, such *εἰβάι* (lit., "marriage-beds") belonged to the more commonly represented figures and therefore seemed hardly worthy of mention. But since the rest of the pictures of this band, labyrinth, riders, spear-dancers, Velena-scene, and the picture with the Dædala, belong more or less clearly to the European Troy story, we must not exclude these two from it. We have, indeed, so much the more occasion to recognize in them the attack on the sun-goddess and her union with her liberator, since old ecclesiastical writers are full of complaints about objectionable Germanic spring customs (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 239-240). Besides, they were in ancient times performed in pantomime in beast masks, when the old god of fire, disguised to resemble a stag,

pursued the sun-goddess, who was transformed into a roe,⁸ while in Greece bull and cow appear in similar religious relations.

The legends of Io, Europa, and Pasiphaë appear to have arisen merely from these old masquerades of our forebears that resemble so closely those of many primitive peoples (*Trojaburgen*, p. 186); perhaps also the Actæon story should here be included. In his biography of Nero, Chapter XII, Suetonius relates that that emperor had the old armed dance, the *pyrrhiche*, performed in the circus; the Pasiphaë-scene and the Flight of Icarus were added, in the latter the impersonator soon being dashed to the ground. In the tenth book of his *Metamorphoses* Apuleius describes a similar performance, which began with a dance of youths in armor in "wavy lines," was continued with the Judgment of Paris, and ended with a Pasiphaë-scene. These are evident echoes of the old spring celebration in which the glorification of nature through allegorical games assumed in part strange forms, traces of which we also found in the Freya cult of the North (*Trojaburgen*, p. 201). In the case of the Romans the last memories of this nature-worship perished in circus games, in which a degenerate populace took delight without understanding their content.

III. *The Northern Origin of the Legend.*

Whoever wishes to be fully convinced that the home of all these legends of the captured and redeemed sun maiden is genuinely northern, must examine folk-tales and stories of the saints. For the former I have done sufficient in *Trojaburgen* (pp. 109-194), for the latter I should like to add a few notes here. A number of female saints are imprisoned by their fathers in a high tower because of their beauty. This is true of Saints Barbara and Irene in whose case the motivation is so much the weaker, since they are secretly Christians and not at all of an amorous disposition. However, the high tower appears on pictures of their martyrdom as their symbol. Their unwillingness to marry, as well as their beauty, may be due to old popular legends, but no mention is made of the story that it was really their fathers whose suit they rejected. "Saint Sorrow," who survives in the pretty poem of the "Fiddler of Gmünd," in her anguish begs for a growth of beard that shall destroy her beauty, wishing to escape ever repeated wooings. This is "Rough Elsa" whose skin turned rough at Troy, i. e., in the lower world; or

⁸ See A. Kuhn, "Der Schuss auf den Sonnenhirsch," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, Vol. VI, pp. 109-110.

Syrith whose hair turned to fur in her winter captivity (*Troja-burgen*, pp. 157 and 298).

The legend of St. Margaret shows evidence of being a complete canonization of the Syrith story. Because the dragon is usually associated with her on images of saints, the legend of Margaret of Antioch has been frequently merged with that of St. George, however without justification—as if she represented the sun maiden who, after being liberated by St. George, led the conquered dragon to the city by her garter. But old texts and ecclesiastical paintings have a different story of her struggle with the dragon. According to them, she is handed over into the power of a taskmaster from the country, just as Syrith is, and she has to tend the swine of her violator as the other has to tend his goats. Again like Syrith she is led away from her herd to the Roman governor, Olibrius, who wants to marry her. Since she refuses, her father, the idolatrous priest, Ædisius, has her thrown into prison, and here her courage is so little broken that she desires to fight with the devil himself. The latter appears as an enormous dragon, seizes her head with his upper lip, pushes the tip of his tongue under her shoe and swallows her down just as she stood. "But before digestion commenced to work," the Golden Legend relates,¹ "she made the sign of the cross and by the power of the cross the dragon exploded, and the maiden stepped out uninjured." Here the author seems to remember in due time that he has not related a legend, but the story of Little Red Riding Hood, i. e., the story of the sun maiden whom the wolf in pursuit of the sun had swallowed at the eclipse and whom the hunter Indra again cut out of his body, and he quickly adds, "but what they tell about the swallowing by the dragon is regarded as frivolous and apocryphal." However, it belonged entirely to what was believed of old, and eight years ago (1885) there were discovered in the Cathedral of Tournay old wall-paintings from the beginning of the thirteenth century which represent the story exactly as given, showing, first, how St. Margaret is tending the flocks, then, on the one side, how she is swallowed by the monstrous jaws of the dragon, and on the other, how she steps out of the half opened sides of the animal in the pose of one praying, absolutely unharmed. The projection in the wall near this picture shows the majestic form of a crowned woman who holds in her left hand a disk marked with a cross, presumably the solar disk.

¹ Jacopo de Voragine, *Legendarum Opus Aureum Auctum a Claudio a Rotâ*, Leg. 88.

It is not at all necessary to fall back on Greek mythology to account for these sun myths which have been received in the bosom of the Christian Church, as Albrecht Wirth recently did, when he tried to connect the legend of St. Irene imprisoned in the tower by her father with the story of Danaë,² for the same legend survives in a great number of forms in Germanic and Keltic lands, and in many cases it is no longer to be distinguished from the Siegfried legend (*Trojaburgcn*, pp. 186-194).

It is much more instructive to see with what energy the Church laid hold of those nature festivals and customs to which pagan people in the North were most attached and about which it hung a mantle of charity to cover what it could not destroy. This was pre-eminently the case with spring customs, and when we see that the Church does not hesitate to transform the builder myth of the Edda into a Christian Easter-play, replacing the god Thor who liberates Freya from the hands of the winter demon, first by St. George, and then by Christ himself who liberates the "Bride of Christ" from the fortress of the Antichrist, we can realize from these facts alone that the powerful nature-drama of the liberation of the sun maiden must have occupied the very center of religious interest for our ancestors. In the old Bavarian Easter-play, the composition of which is assigned to Wernher of Tegernsee, the monster who has assumed to himself the rulership of the world is suddenly struck by lightning like the builder in the Edda. In the *Speculum Ecclesiac* of Honorius of Autun, written about 1115, the Germanic sun-goddess is changed into the Bride of Christ who has fallen into the hands of the Antichrist. In a mode of conception genuinely northern the latter appears as the winter builder, who keeps her a prisoner in the tower of Babel built by himself; then Christ appears, overthrows the Antichrist as well as all the rest of the infernal forces at Easter, destroys the fortress of winter, leads forth the bride from the dark tower and unites with her in marriage *in thalamo aeterni solis*, in the bridal chamber of the eternal sun.

Strange to say, this festival of the sun's marriage is even to-day celebrated on St. George's Day, April 23, in all southern Slavic countries as the main festival of the Christian Church, accompanied by dances and songs which contain the principal details of the Syrith myth (*Trojaburgcn*, pp. 166-171). But it is almost even more incredible that it survived the Reformation and was represented by Lukas Cranach on numerous altar-pieces and wood-cuts. These allegories of the work of the Redeemer are remarkable for not

² A. Wirth, *Danaë in christlichen Legenden*, Vienna, 1892.

making the slightest effort to conceal their origin in a nature-myth. They always appear divided in two parts by a high tree in the middle of the picture. These parts may be distinguished as a winter part and a summer part, because the dividing tree has dead limbs on its left or Old Testament side, but green branches on the right or New Testament side. The winter-side shows the Fall of Man and Adam being chased into hell by devils, the summer-side is reserved for the work of redemption at Eastertide. Here the descent of Christ into hell, showing him bursting the bolts of hell and slaying the Antichrist, occupies the center of the picture. On a number of these altar-pieces and wood-cuts a young woman is seen to have risen to light from the chimney-like roof of the conquered citadel of hell, waiting in prayer for what is to come. Alongside of the Saviour ascending to heaven a genius with the cross (which with strong foreshortening is here mostly drawn like the hammer of Thor) allows a ray from the sun to fall on the maiden, presumably to indicate more closely the legend of the sun's wedding. The additional facts may be borne in mind that in songs quoted before (see *Trojaburgen*, p. 243) the Antichrist was expressly named as the winter demon to be driven out at Easter, that a "Song of Triumph of the Elected Soul" still contained in [German] hymn-books of the eighteenth century says of the prisoner in the castle who is redeemed at Easter:

"Thou, dear soul, art ransomed full,
The hellish tyrant choked to death,
His robber-nest and conspiring band
Is all destroyed, a mockery Death.
Triumph, Triumph, Victoria!
And eternal Hallelujah!"

We shall then have to confess that this entire allegory has been derived not from diverse Biblical conceptions, but simply and alone from the story of Troy of the North. Dances with arms, masks, and other games were also Christianized as far as possible in the merriment of the carnival, plays of the Church, etc., and in many places "the fatal blow to the dragon" was performed in front of the local chapel of St. George.

The ceremonies of the expulsion, stoning, beheading, or burning of the winter demon, which in antiquity had penetrated as far as Rome and even to Egypt, were preserved here and there within the sphere of Christian service (*Trojaburgen*, p. 244), and since they are intelligible solely from northern astronomical conditions, we must assume that similar ceremonies in Egypt—where winter

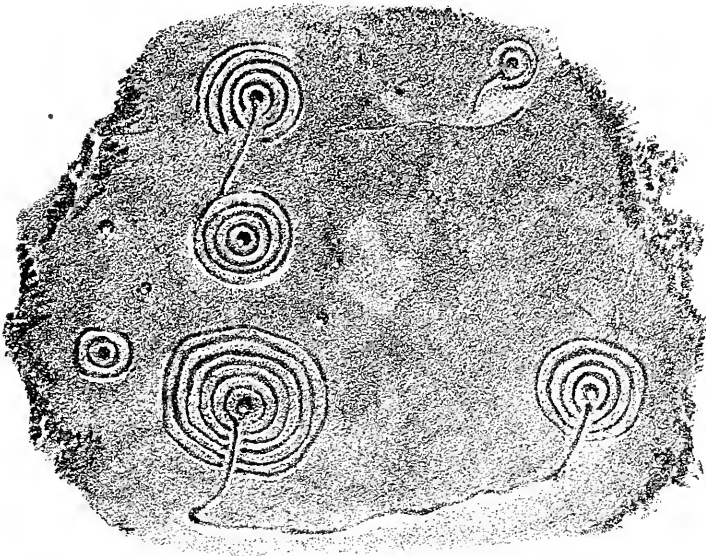
affords the pleasantest season of the year—are to be explained only by a northern immigration into Egypt, of which there are also other traces. As a case in point Herodotus narrates in immediate connection with his report that Memphis, the city of the Egyptian smith-god, was the scene of the story of Helen, that the giant statues of summer and winter stood before the temple of that god, to the first of which the people showed their love and to the latter their dislike. Now that is the same ceremony which took place clear into the nineteenth century at Heimburg near Vienna and at Alatri in the Campagna with reference to images of summer and winter, formerly also in Hildesheim and Halberstadt. There exists only this slight difference—that in middle Europe we have every cause to hate winter and dismiss it with distinct evidence of our dislike, while in Egypt a joyous reception of winter and a just as joyous leave-taking from summer would have been much more in keeping.

From this we draw with a high degree of probability that it is from the North that also the Egyptians must have received their story of Troy which is geographically bound up with the dismissal of the winter smith. Indeed the recognition of what was first demonstrated with arguments of natural science in *Tuiskoland*, is making further headway now, namely the theory that the majority of the Aryan gods must be of northern origin because their nature points to a distinct change of seasons, involving a strongly changing revelation of the solar deity produced by the oblique position of the earth's axis. A book by John O'Neill, which recently appeared in London, *The Night of the Gods*, takes this view into consideration in that it speaks of a cosmic mythology, characterizing these divinities as polar or axis-gods. And so the signs are multiplying that the philologists will suffer a defeat on mythological terrain, probably without a parallel.

Troy Towns are an especially clear expression of the worship of a "divinity of the world-axis," in so far as they symbolize in their labyrinthine course the path of the northern sun leading into, and out of, the prison of winter—as well as can be expected from a people still in possession of only the rudiments of astronomy. Therefore their cradle must have been in the North, for the invention of such a design demands the sharp contrasts resulting from the decidedly changing course of the sun in the northern seasons.

In regard to how this invention was made, I am indebted to a letter from Professor Bendorf in Vienna for a very valuable

suggestion. Proceeding from the assumption that, considering the peculiarity of the labyrinth design, it must be supposed to have spread from Greece through Italy to the North like most advances in civilization, he wrote as follows: "...in its ingenious form, which remains remarkably constant in all adaptations to time and place, it gives the impression of a unique, I should almost say personal, invention, which in itself accounts for its having a vitality leading to a great shifting in the history of civilization." The more decidedly I was obliged to agree with this concept of Professor Bendorf rejecting the idea of independent inventions in North and South, the more imperative it became for me to establish just how



FRAGMENT OF SCULPTURED STONE FROM THE TOP OF WHITSUNBANK HILL, NORTHUMBERLAND.

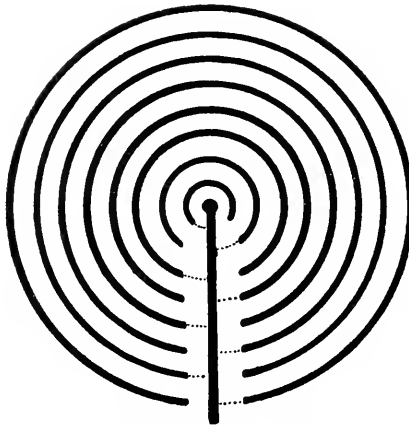
$\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size. After G. Tate.

the design of the labyrinth may have originated in the North. I cannot concede a migration from the South northward, for the two-fold reason, first, that the Greeks and Romans later no longer understood their own appellation, Troy, and secondly, because the design symbolizes the course of the sun in the North, proceeding as it does to a narrow and gloomy winter prison, and not that of the sun of Greece.

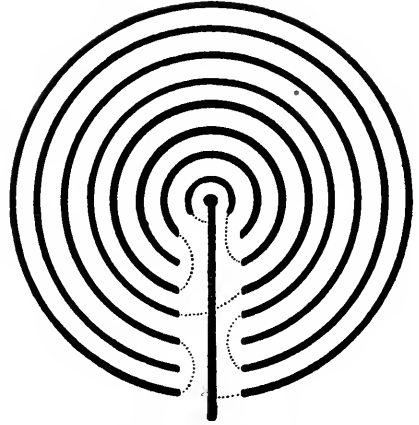
So the next step was to ask what stages such a figure, which was too "ingenious" both for a creation out of nothing and for an

original conception, might have passed through, and I was naturally guided back to that figure which has been scratched hundreds of times since the bronze age on rocks, dolmens, menhirs, cromlechs, and the gravestones of England, and of which we are furnished a clear picture by the stone on the crest of Whitsunbank Hill in Northumberland.

I have already mentioned (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 48-60) that these sandstone sculptures, which always appear in the same pattern, have never been observed outside of England in their characteristic shape, with the radius breaking the concentric circles, and also that they bore the name Troy there. I further ventured to interpret them as symbols of the labyrinths in which the spring sword dance for the



FUNDAMENTAL PLAN OF TROY TOWNS.



INVENTION OF THE LABYRINTH FORM.

redemption of the sun maiden took place, probably in such a way that the dancers penetrated to the center of the figure radially, but when coming out observed the rule of turning every time they came to this straight barrier and of skipping along the next passage leading toward the outside until all of them had been passed.

Therefore this dance figure may have been that indicated above on the left side; it was not regarded as necessary to complete the alternate ring walls to the radius because the rule of the dance was simple enough to be kept in the head. Possibly people had been imitating the course of the sun of autumn and spring according to this simple rule in their dances for centuries, each return to the point of beginning being probably thought of as an invisible nocturnal one. One fine day, however, a clever choragus may have

discovered that by a simple modification of the figure the movement of the dance could be made much more mysterious. That is, if on the right and left sides two alternate galleries were successively joined, then only the closing of the one circle still remaining in the middle of the four pairs of galleries was necessary to get the typical plan of a Troy Town as found in Crete, ancient Etruria, and northern Europe (see the pattern to the right). Since these labyrinths were mostly made of boulders, a tentative reconstruction was child's play and we have only to imagine boulders instead of the dots in our closing lines, in order to recognize the simplicity of the invention. Compare the Delian legend in which the infant Apollo was said to have devised the convolutions, and built the foundation walls, which surrounded his altar at Delos and in which the labyrinth dance was performed.

But it should be noticed that there is no possibility of supposing the invention easy unless the main pattern is given, which is found chiseled on stone more than a thousand times on English soil and nowhere else: any invention independent of this preliminary form is something very improbable.

And so this conclusion, too, that the invention was too unique to be made repeatedly, in the face of such ornaments as could easily be devised in the most diverse places, like the hook-cross, spiral, meander, etc., leads us with the greatest probability to a northern land, in fact to England. We know that the ancients spoke of the high development of the sun-cult in Britain and that Hekataeus related that Apollo returned every nineteen years to his native island opposite Gaul and to his temples there. These circular temples consisted mostly of nineteen stones, and not far from Penzance in Cornwall there are four such circles, consisting originally each of nineteen stones of three to six feet in height, and having a diameter of 65-80 feet. The innermost circle of Stonehenge also contained nineteen stones, which is such a remarkable number that in this connection we can indeed think only of that nineteenth year in the Metonic cycle in which, as Hekataeus narrates, Apollo returned to his old home.

Be that as it may, the northern provenience of the Troy legend, which has now been confirmed by the Pitcher of Tragliatella to a degree never hoped for by me, is one of the most convincing bits of evidence as yet found for the northern origin of the Aryans. Linguistic, anthropological, prehistoric grounds will always leave a sediment of doubt and since many persons do not recognize the summary power of witnesses which are individually inconclusive,

it will be necessary to revert to this pitcher, which confirmed in such cogent manner conclusions arrived at from hundreds of single reasons before. Like the Rosetta stone, a lucky chance has preserved for us in it a monument which is not likely to exist in duplicate. I am also glad that it was found and described long before I came to the deductions which are now confirmed by the cycle of pictures on the pitcher, and that it remained unknown to me then. Otherwise the question would probably have been asked whether the pitcher had not been manufactured solely in support of my "fantastic notions."

OMAR, THE HERETIC.

BY JOHN T. BRAMHALL.

THE quatrains of Omar Khayyám, or al-Khayyámi, as the Arabians and Persians called him, offer an interesting study of the influence of Islam upon the millions of the human race that gather under the banner of the Prophet. In reviewing the writings of the Persian radical (Sufi, Shi'ite, heretic, Epicurean, or what you will), it is important that we get as nearly as possible to the real Omar. We have, unfortunately, no manuscript dating from his time (-1123), and the oldest accounts of him are but fragmentary. It was not until several centuries had elapsed (A. D. 1460), that anything like collections of the now famous quatrains were made, for Omar was not considered by his contemporaries as a poet of high rank.

It is important, however, to study the man before we base estimates on translations of apocryphal fragments. The *Charhár Maqála*, or "Four Discourses," of Nidhámí i' Arúdi of Samarqand, (about 1180, A. D.), in the section devoted to astrologers and astronomers, relates that in the year A. H. 506 (A. D. 1112-1113), Kwája Imám 'Umar Khayyám and Kwája Imám Mudhaffar-i-Isfizári (the same who was associated with Khayyám at the command of the sultan in the revision of the calendar), met in Balkh at the house of Amir Abú Sa'd, (Abú Sa'd Sharafu'l-Mulk, the minister of Malikshah?). "In the midst of that friendly gathering I heard that Proof of the Truth (Hujjat-i-Haqq), 'Umar say: 'My grave will be in a spot where the trees will shed their blossoms on me twice a year.'" And the narrator says that when he visited Nishapur, "it being then some years since that great man had veiled his countenance in the dust and the lower world was bereaved of him,"

he went to visit his grave and found it hidden with flowers. Then he fell to weeping, "because on the face of the earth, and in all the regions of the habitable globe I nowhere saw the like unto him. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) have mercy upon him, by His grace and favor." Such is the testimony of a contemporary scribe.

About fifty years later, in the *Mirşádu'l-Ibád*, or "Observatory of God's Servants," Khayyám is called "an unhappy philosopher, a fervent Sufi mystic, a theist and materialist," and his quatrains are condemned as "the height of confusion and error." Without pausing to ask how a Sufi mystic could be an atheist and materialist, we may note the contradictory testimony given in al-Qifti's *History of the Philosophers* (about 1250 A. D.), in which Khayyám is represented as a champion of the Greek philosophy. "The later Sufis," says al-Qifti, "have found themselves in agreement with some part of the apparent sense of his verse (*n. b.*), have transferred it to their system, and discussed it in their assemblies and private gatherings; though its inward meanings are to the [Moslem] Law stinging serpents, and combinations rife with malice." Here also Omar is represented as "without an equal in astronomy and philosophy," but as an advanced freethinker, constrained only by prudential motives to bridle his tongue.

The *Nuzhatu'l-Arwah*, "Recreation of Souls," of ash-Shahrazúrí, was also compiled in the thirteenth century, and contained thirteen couplets from the poet. His account is much fuller than al-Qifti's. It describes 'Umar, (to use the Persian form of the name), as a follower of Avicenna, but ill-tempered and inhospitable, a scholar of wonderful memory,—when memory itself was talent,—and with a knowledge of Arabic philology and the seven readings of the Koran that was remarkable among the critical scholars of that day. It is claimed that he was frowned upon by the great theologian al-Ghazzali, who conversed with him, but that he was held in high esteem by Malikshah. Immediately before his death, writes ash-Shahrazúrí, he was reading in the *Shifa* of Avicenna the chapter treating of the One and the Many, and his last words were: "O God! Verily I have striven to know Thee according to the range of my powers, therefore forgive me, for indeed such knowledge of Thee as I possess is my only means of approach to Thee."

Al-Qazwini, in his *Atharu'l-Bilad*, "Monuments of Countries," about the same period, relates how the philosopher covered with shame and confusion a certain theologian who, while denouncing

him in the mosque as a freethinker and atheist, used to come to him privately early in the morning to take lessons in philosophy. And note that "freethinker" meant then, as now among Pharisees, "atheist" and "unbeliever."

I am indebted to Prof. Edward G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia*¹ for the above data, who in turn gives credit for the references to Nuzhatu'l-Arwah to Prof. Valentin Zhukovski, and to Dr. E. Denison Ross, principal of the Madrasa at Calcutta. (See Methuen's edition of FitzGerald's rendering of the *Ruba'iyát*, 1900).

Professor Browne tells us that Khayyám is strangely ignored by the great biographer Ibn Khallikan, and by Ibn Shakir, who strove in his *Fawatu'l-Ilafayat* to supply the omissions of his predecessor. Hajji Khalifa, the great Turkish biographer, mentions Khayyám in connection with the science of algebra and with Malik-shah's reformed calendar. Dr. Ross has compiled a list of ten books ascribed to him by different authorities. Most of these were scientific or philosophical treatises in Arabic, one of which, his *Treatise on Algebra*, was edited by Woepeke with a French translation in 1851, while another, containing some observations on Euclid's definitions, exists in manuscript in the Leyden library. (Fortunate that it was not at Louvain!)

A reference by Robert Arnot to Shahrazúri's history gives additional light to the relations between al-Khayyámi, as he was familiarly called, and the Arabian scholar, and suggests that a humorous aside by the theologian has been misunderstood as an expression of dislike of the younger scientist. Referring to the astronomer as the successor of Abú 'Ali (Avicenna) in the various branches of philosophic learning, he relates an incident of al-Khayyámi visiting the Vizir, Abd-ur-Razzak, the chief of the Koran readers, Abú'l-Hassan al-Ghazzali being present, and as Omar entered the Vizir said: "Here we have *the* authority," and proceeded to ask al-Khayyámi for his opinion (the conversation was on the construction of a certain verse in the Koran). Omar gave it and al-Ghazzali exclaimed: "May God add such men as thee to the number of the learned! Of a truth, I did not think any one of the Koran readers knew the readings by heart to this extent—much less one of the secular philosophers."

This al-Ghazzali is referred to by Professor Browne as "the great theologian," and as one of the most influential if not one of the greatest thinkers of the period, who did more than any one else to bring to an end the reign of philosophy (Greek thought)

¹ Edward G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, p. 249 et seq.

in Islam, and to set up in its stead a devotional mysticism which is "at once the highest expression and the clearest limitation of the orthodox Muhammadan doctrine." In modern parlance, a conservative, or reactionary.

As for Avicenna, "the prince of physicians," it is scarcely necessary to explain that he was for ten years or more the physician and general literary and scientific secretary of Abú Ya'far, the sultan of Isfahan, and so learned that he was accused by his enemies of burning the royal library of the Saminids, after having stored its learning in his mind. Forty times, it was said, he had read through the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle. Indeed, the career of the Bokharan master may shed some light upon that of his disciple, if we may call him so. "Amid his restless study," says Rev. Griffithes Thatcher of Camden College, N. S. W., "Avicenna never forgot his love of enjoyment. Unusual bodily vigor enabled him to combine severe devotion to work with facile indulgence in sensual pleasures. His passion for wine and women was almost as well known as his learning. Versatile, light-hearted, boastful, and pleasure-loving, he contrasts with the nobler and more intellectual character of Averroës."

From the above résumé we get a glimpse, "if dimly, yet indeed reveal'd," of Omar's personality. Scientist and scholar, deeply versed in the Koran, he unquestionably was. Claimed by some as a Sufi, or mystic, he was also denounced as a heretic. As a Persian, it is much to his credit that he was a Shi'ah, and was looked upon with suspicion by the Sunnis, followers of "the path," or traditional rule of the *Sunna*, for though Islam, theoretically, has no priesthood, the Ulema and the dervishes made a very effective substitute and arrogated to themselves the custodianship of the keys of heaven and hell.

Having considered the character and scholarship of Khayyám, as testified by contemporaries and by writers of the period, let us now turn to the influences which Islam and such other theological systems as he may have studied, exerted upon his mind. Why was Omar a heretic? Doubtless for the same reason which has impelled every religious insurgent to rebel,—the natural result of ecclesiastical tyranny upon a mind at once active, inquisitive, and independent. What was the Law of Islam, as handed down and amended by the Prophet, added to by custom and tradition, and interpreted by the mollahs? To understand the position of the Mohammedan Voltaires, Heines, and Tom Paines, we should have some knowledge of Islam and the Koran, of the mystic school of Sufism, and of the

"two and seventy jarring sects" which have grown up among the dervishes chiefly, who would either out-Sufi Sufism, or take the other extreme and denounce it altogether. And it is most singular that scholars still differ as to whether Khayyám was of one or the other class.

But, back of Sufism—back of Islam—is the desert. "The heat of the climate," says Gibbon, "influences the blood of the Arabs, and their libidinous complexion has been noticed by the writers of antiquity." (Cf. "The Chapter of The Mount," "The Chapter of The Inevitable," and others, Koran). The torridity of the climate seems to intensify religious ardor. The inflamed imagination of the camel-driver and the watching shepherd under the stars, where the intense heat of the day is reflected from the boundless waste of sand, must naturally tend to an exaggeration of all the passions. We know that in our own southwestern deserts Mexican herders are employed to watch the flocks, because white men of more active brain and more vivid imagination are apt to "go loco," or insane, and our deserts are Paradise compared to the furnace of Arabia.

Imagine the gentle scholar, through whose writings one may search in vain for a single threat, reading this anathema (from "The Chapter of The Covered," in the Mecca Suras), directed against the Prophet's enemy, Walid ibn Mughairah, one of the chiefs of the Qurais:

"Leave me alone with him I have created and for whom I have made wealth and sons that he may look upon, and for whom I have smoothed things down. Then he desires that I should increase! Nay, verily, he is hostile to our signs! I will drive him up a hill! May he be killed,—how he planned! Then he looked; then he frowned and scowled. . . I will broil him in hell-fire! and what shall make thee know what hell-fire is? It will not leave and will not let alone. It scorches the flesh! . . ."

Or this, from "The Chapter of The Smiting:"

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God!

"The smiting!

"What is the smiting?

"And what shall make thee know what the smiting is?

"The day when men shall be like scattered moths, and the mountains shall be like flocks of carded wool!

"But as for him whose balance is heavy, it shall be in a well-pleasing life.

"But as for him whose balance is light, his dwelling shall be in the pit of Hell.

"And who shall make thee know what it is?—a burning fire!"

Again, "The Chapter of The Mount":

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God!

"By the mount! By the book inscribed upon an outstretched vellum! By the frequented house!² By the elevated roof!³ By the swelling sea! Verily the torment of thy Lord will come to pass;—there shall be none to avert it! The day when the heavens shall reel about,—then woe upon that day to those who call the apostles liars, who plunge into discussion for a sport!

"On the day when they shall be thrust away into the fire of Hell,—this is the fire which ye used to call a lie!—is it magic, this? or can ye not see?—broil ye therein, and be patient thereof, or not patient, it is the same to you; ye are but rewarded for that which ye do!

"Verily, the pious shall be in gardens of pleasure, enjoying what their Lord has given them; for their Lord shall save them from the torments of Hell!"

I have not, perhaps, in my haste, or my ignorance of the Koran, selected the most characteristic suras for my purpose, but they are sufficiently illustrative.

But consider that Khayyám was no Arabian, and much less a Turk, but a Persian whose not very remote ancestors were followers of Zoroaster, by whom fire was not considered as an instrument of torture, but as a symbol of divine power and beneficence. And while there is little reason to believe that Khayyám, scholar though he was, had a knowledge of the Sanskrit of ancient Persia, he had, no doubt, read the *History* of Tabari, which had been translated into Arabic and was a standard work in all libraries and gave some account of the Avesta. If he had not listened to the recitations of the Parsees, whose bloody persecution at the hands of the Seljuq conquerors he may have witnessed, he must have had some knowledge of their meaning and of the sentiment of the ancient faith of his people. The Gathas, or hymns of Zoroaster, may have arrested his attention, particularly the Haoma Yasht, which might supply a source of the "spiritual wine" of the Sufis, and of the hasheesh of his alleged friend, Hassan ben Sabbah, the chief of the Assassins, as well as offer an excuse, perhaps, for Omar's devotion to "the cup." He could not have missed, if he had come upon fragments of the *Vendidad*, the Parsee priestly code, the striking fact that the whole of the Zoroastrian Law is subordinate to the one great point

² The Kaaba in Paradise.

³ The roof of Heaven.

of view, the war against Satan and his noxious creatures, from which the book derives its name, "vendidad," *vi-daevo-datem*, the "anti-demonic law." That it is didactic in the extreme, as stated by Dr. Geldner, would not have repelled the Persian scholar, and as the most important document of the Zoroastrian faith, the sole literary monument of ancient Iran, it may be assumed that such an inquiring mind as that of al-Khayyám would have studied every line he could obtain.

But this carries us too far into the realms of speculation, which allows us at best to assume that Khayyám might have contrasted the more merciful and just code of the great Persian teacher with the relentless cruelty and injustice, of which he constantly complained, of the Arabian prophet. We may say, indeed, that if he had studied the character and the words of Jesus, of whom as a recognized prophet he was not unacquainted,⁴ he might have contrasted the abounding love of the one with the unforgiving fanaticism of the other. But he did not. We are driven to the conclusion that Khayyám yielded blind obedience to the Prophet and the Koran, though not without many a jibe and protest; or else, while perceiving the contradictions and the injustice of the whole system of Islam, he may have concluded that it would be most unwise to renounce the patronage and protection of the sultan and his minister for the punishments inflicted upon avowed heretics, and that he would be, like Avicenna, "all things to all men,"

"And in some corner of the Hubbub coucht,

Make Game of that which makes as much of Thee."

But the writer cannot pretend to be any wiser than the many who have already attempted to unravel the mystery of Omar, and the very best he can do is to pick up some of the crumbs that they have dropped and perhaps find some meat in a re-hashing. Assuming that the Nicolas prose translation is the nearest we have to the original, and also that the verses he has transcribed are the genuine productions of Khayyám (which is taking much for granted, but we can do no better),⁵ we find Omar to be sometimes a Sufi mystic, yet more often an avowed Epicurean; a confessed sinner and humble penitent, even like the Publican; an obedient son of Islam, and a most rebellious heretic; a cutting whip to the mollahs, but, withal,

⁴ Persia, and especially eastern Persia, was a melting-pot, (too often literally such), of religions, Zoroastrian, Jewish, Brahman, Buddhist, Confucian, Christian, Moslem.

⁵ See Whinfield's introduction to Khayyám, and Browne, (*supra*), p. 256 et seq.

never with a curse upon his lips or any claim for holiness for his own part. Whatever Omar was, Sufi, infidel, materialist, he was no Pharisee.

"How long will you blame us, O ignorant man of God!⁶ We are the patrons of the tavern, we are constantly overcome with wine. You are given up entirely to your chaplet, to your hypocrisy, and your infernal machinations. We, cup in hand and always near the object of our love, live in accordance with our desires." (N. 278.)

Can we wonder that the astronomer, who could calculate the orbit of Parwin and Mushtari, should be so confused with the contradictions, abrogations, customs, traditions (of which over seven thousand were sifted out of 300,000 by Bukhári and made into a code of Moslem law),—to say nothing of the dogmas of predestination, eternal punishment, annihilation, etc., as to exclaim:

"At this moment, when my heart is not yet deprived of life, it seems to me that there are few problems that I have not solved. However, when I call intelligence to my aid, when I examine myself with care, I perceive that my existence has slipped away and that I have still defined nothing." (N. 113. See also N. 45.)

Here he becomes distinctly Epicurean:

"To drink wine and rejoice is my gospel of life. To be as indifferent to heresy as to religion is my creed. I asked the bride of the human race (the world) what her dowry was, and she answered: My dowry consists in the joy of my heart."

But the poet was not always so light-hearted. At times he was oppressed with a "conviction of sin," and would cry out:

"I am worthy neither of Hell nor a celestial abode. God knows from what clay he has moulded me. Heretical as a dervish and foul as a lost woman, I have neither wealth, nor fortune, nor hope of Paradise!" (N. 57.)

And this:

"No smoke ascends above my holocaust of crime: could man ask more? This hand, which man's injustice raises to my head, no comfort brings, even though it touch the hem of saintly robes." (N. 74.)

But his sins, as he confesses them, might find condonation, or excuse, in the Koran.

"The world will ever count me as depraved. Natheless, I am not guilty, men of holiness!⁷ Look on yourselves, and question

⁶ Mollah, dervish.

⁷ Mollahs.

what you are. Ye say I contravene the Koran's law. Yet I have only known the sins of drunkenness, debauchery, and leasing." (N. 88.)

Still, free will denied him, he indignantly faces his critics with this, which we are familiar with in FitzGerald:

"Oh Thou, who didst with pitfall and with gin
Beset the Road I was to wander in,
Thou wilt not with Predestined Evil round
Enmesh, and then impute my Fall to Sin!"⁸ (F. lxxx.)

Omar revolted against the injustice, but he still cried to the Omnipotent for pardon and mercy.

"I am such as Thy power has made me. I have lived a hundred years⁹ filled with Thy benevolence and benefits. I would like still a hundred years to commit sin and to see if the sum of my faults outweighed Thy pity."

Perhaps from the standpoint of the true Musselman, and allowing for Eastern extravagance of expression, this is not as irreverent as might appear to a Christian. Mad, he seems at times, but there was a method in his madness.

"A slave in dire revolt am I: where is Thy will? Black with all sin my heart: where is Thy light and Thy control? If Thou giv'st Paradise to our obedience alone, it is debt of which Thou quit'st Thyself and in such case we need Thy pity and benevolence." (N. 91. Cf. F. lxxix.)

Predestination was the inexorable law of the Koran, as was held in the Christian Church by Augustine and Aquinas, and also by Luther and Calvin. Such a heart as Omar's, inclined to mercy and love, and a mind directed by justice, could not but demur, even while he submitted.

"When God fashioned the clay of my body, he knew what would be the result of my acts. It is not without His orders that I have committed the sins of which I am guilty; in that case, why should I burn in hell-fire at the last day?" (N. 99. Cf. N. 115.)

Here is a cry for mercy that recalls the timid and gentle logic of Sir Thomas Browne:

⁸ This is a very literal rendering of N. 390. In FitzGerald's lxxxi, the debated line about the snake may be ignored, but the presumptuous closing,

"—Man's forgiveness give—and take!"

may well be questioned. F. has out-Omared Omar. As given by Heron-Allen, the original reads very differently:

"Oh, Lord! grant me repentance and accept my excuses,

Oh, Thou who grantest repentance and acceptest the excuses of all."

⁹ A characteristic hyperbole.

“O my God! Thou art merciful, and mercy is kindness. Why then has the first sinner been thrown out of the terrestrial Paradise? If Thou pardonest me when I obey Thee, it is not mercy. Mercy is present only when Thou pardonest me as the sinner that I am.” (N. 101.)

Heretic he was, if hatred to man be orthodoxy,—Epicurean by force of logic,—sinner confessed; but yet he recognized in this seven-times sinful world the predominance of good.

“There is no shield which is proof against an arrow hurled by Destiny. Grandeur, money, gold all go for naught. The more I consider the things of this world, the more I see that the only good is good; all else is nothing.”

Love, not fanaticism, was Omar’s rule of life, inbred in his gentle soul. Hence he could not be a good Moslem.

“Each heart that God illumines with the light of love, as it frequents the mosque or synagogue, inscribes its name upon the book of love, and is set free from the fear of Hell while it awaits the joys of Paradise.” (N. 60.)

Nevertheless, Omar’s conception of Jesus seems to have been limited by the orthodox Moslem view of the prophet who was sent in succession to Moses and who was given the divine power of the “breath of life.”¹⁰

And if he often confessed that he was “steeped in wine,” with an ardor of contrition that seems, like the prayers of Luther, to belie his words, we may charitably believe, with Whinfield, Nicolas, and others, that these expressions very often bore a mystic meaning, and that the intoxication of wine was something more than sensual. As for his religion, to use the words of the author of the *Religio Medici*, “though there be several circumstances that might persuade

¹⁰ FitzGerald (iv) is too well known to repeat. Whinfield gives three renderings, and Nicolas only one. The two following are from Whinfield, and if we take Nicolas’s prose translation which follows as the more literal it is clear that the former cannot resist taking a poet’s license.

“Death’s terrors spring from baseless phantasy,
Death yields the tree of immortality;

Since ’Isa breathed new life into my soul
Eternal death has washed its hands of me.”—W. 43.

“Now springtide showers its foison on the land
And lively hearts wend forth, a joyous band,
For ’Isa’s breath wakes the dead earth to life
And trees gleam white with flowers like Musa’s hand.”

—W. 116, cf. 201.

“This is the moment when verdure begins to ornament the world, when, like the hand of Moses, the buds begin to show themselves upon the branches; when revived, as if by the breath of Jesus, the plants spring forth from the earth, when finally the clouds begin to ope their eyes and weep. (N. 186.)

the world he had none at all, (as the general scandal of his profession, the natural course of his studies, the indifference of his behavior in matters of religion, neither violently defending one, nor with that common ardor and contention opposing another), yet in despite hereof he might without usurpation assert the honorable style of a follower of Allah, holding, indeed, a faith so catholic as to include not Islam alone, but all the worshippers of God.

“The temple of idols¹¹ and the Kaaba are places of adoration; the chime of the bells is but a hymn chanted to the praise of the All-Powerful. The *mehrab*,¹² the church, the chapel, the cross, are, in truth, but different stations for rendering homage to the Deity.” (N. 30. Cf. N. 248.)

And so we will take leave of al-Khayyami (God be merciful to him).

THE PROTOTYPE OF THE MODERN MEAT-INSPECTOR.

BY S. MENDELSON.

WRITERS on Preventive Medicine or Hygiene do not devote much, if any, time to details of the history of meat-inspection. They carefully and minutely treat of the objects and methods of the inspection, but not of its origin or evolution. Even veterinarians who are naturally deeply interested in this branch of their science, fail to furnish the information as to the origin and age of practical meat-inspection for purposes of averting causes of disease. They lead us back to distant lands and days of yore, but only to show that institutions, bearing more or less similarity to modern scientific inspection of meats intended for human food, have existed in other countries in former ages; they do not show the genesis of the institution.

In the scant historical data they do cite, the reader can find little palpable proof of meat-inspection in the modern sense. The standard *Text-Book of Meat Hygiene* (Mohler and Eichhorn, Washington, 1908), for example, summarizes the ancient history of meat-inspection within the space of one page (367), and advises the student: “For details see Ostertag’s *Handbuch der Fleischbeschau*,”

¹¹ The Kaaba in Mecca with its sacred black stone was built around a temple of the heathen gods of the Koreish, of whom Allah was the chief.

¹² The pulpit in the mosque.

etc. We trustfully appeal to Ostertag, and find him (pp. 8-10) pointing to Egypt, to Phenicia, to Athens, as having practised meat-inspection; but he produces only one instance, besides that of the Israelites, which resembles our methods. It is that of ancient Rome, where the *ædiles* supervised the markets, and meat condemned by them was unceremoniously thrown into the Tiber. Ostertag states that in an official report dating from 164 B. C., the following notable item appears: "The *ædile* Tetini fined two butchers for selling people meat which had not been submitted to official inspection. The fine went toward the erection of a temple to a goddess."—All other instances cited by him represent simple taboos, prohibitions against the use of certain animals or parts of animals, for human food or for the altars. In these cases no *post mortem* inspection was required. And yet the intelligent layman as well as the student of hygienics would like to know the true origin of so important a branch of preventive medicine, one which is often the means of averting danger to human health and human life. Where did this beneficial institution originate: what suggested it to its originators?

Failing to find the answer in the literary productions treating of the institutions of the Occident, we turn to the investigators of the institutions of the ancient Orient, in the hope of finding a clue to our problem. We consult Dr. Morris Jastrow, Jr., professor of Semitic languages in the University of Pennsylvania. He declares the Babylonian *baru* (inspector, diviner) to be "the prototype of the modern meat-inspector" (*Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria*, New York, 1911, p. 163). It was the *baru's* function to divine the future by inspecting the internal parts, especially the livers, of sacrifices; as such he suggested the idea of examination into the internal condition of the animal killed for human food.

Clear and satisfactory though this postulate appears on the surface, it nevertheless fails to solve our problem. Aside from the fact that there is too little analogy between the function of the sacerdotal *baru* and that of the sanitary meat-inspector, the same question which we are seeking to answer with regard to the putative counterfeit may be raised with regard to the putative prototype: How did the idea of divination originate? What suggested the action of divination by inspection of the entrails of a sacrifice?

Presently it will be shown that the putative prototype was himself but a counterfeit; but first we must discover the immediate pattern of our meat-inspector,—we shall find him among the Jews.

The oldest system of meat-inspection in the modern sense and

the oldest known to history, the inspection of the animal and its organs for evidence of disease, is that of the Jews. It was called forth by the natural instinct of self-preservation; it dates back to pre-Sinaitic times (cf. Kent, *Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents*, p. 212 n.), and traces of its continued practice are found in the several Pentateuchal codes: in the First Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxii. 30 [A. V. 31]), in the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. xiv. 21; cf. Reggio, *Examen Traditionis*, p. 198f), in the Holiness Code (Lev. xxii. 8), and in the Priestly Code (Lev. vii. 24; xvii. 15). Still, like the system of divination, this one too is denied origination through spontaneous generation. Professor Jastrow (*loc. cit.*) states: "Midway between the ancient and the modern *baru* we find among the officials of Talmudical or Rabbinical Judaism an official inspector of the organs of the animal killed for food, whose duty is to determine whether the animal is ritualistically 'clean'; upon this examination depends whether or not the meat could be eaten. There can be no doubt that this ritualistic inspection is merely a modification of the ancient examination for purposes of divination." Thus our pattern is declared to be a mere modification of a pagan rite. But let us probe the tenability of this declaration.

Professor Jastrow himself observes (*loc. cit.*, p. 172, n. 2) that "the Pentateuchal codes abound in protests against customs and rites prevailing among the nations around" the adherents of those codes. As an instance he adduces the burning of "that which hangs over the liver—the caul above the liver"—of a sacrifice on the altar of God (Lev. iii. 4, 10, 15 *et passim*)—"intended as a protest against using the sacrificial animal for purposes of divination, the *pars pro toto* being regarded as a sufficient reminder."

According to Maimonides, the prohibition (*ibid.* ii. 11) against offering leaven and honey unto the Lord, was a protest against the heathen custom of offering just these articles on the altars of the gods (Moreh, III, 46; cf. Herodotus, II, 40).

The Pentateuchal codes—Primitive, Deuteronomic, and Holiness alike—strictly enjoin the Israelites against all kinds and manners of sorcery and divination (see Ex. xxii. 18; Deut. xviii. 10-14; Lev. xix. 26, 31, xx. 6, 27), and as strictly and repeatedly they warn the people against adopting pagan rites. "Take heed to thyself that thou be not ensnared to follow them, . . . and that thou enquire not after their gods, saying, 'How used these nations to serve their gods? even so will I do likewise.' Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God" (Deut. xii. 30; cf. *ibid.* xviii. 9; Lev. xviii. 3, 24, 30; *ibid.* xx. 23 *et passim*). These warnings and injunctions formed

the foundation of Israel's constitution as "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation," and were dutifully followed by all godfearing Israelites.

Considering all this and remembering that the whole structure of Judaism rests on Biblical ground, is it believable that a characteristic pagan rite, or even a semblance thereof, could be introduced into the Jewish ritual?

Moreover, the ancient rabbis, the authors of the Talmud and moulders of Talmudical and Rabbinical Judaism, could not tolerate such a thing, much less do it, consistently with their own principles and enactments. Critics of Rabbinism produce and decry countless instances where the rabbis interdicted customs, harmless if not wholesome in themselves, only because they were characteristically pagan. Even usages originally viewed as manifestations of true Jewish piety and reverence, were prohibited by the rabbis, when such usages became associated with idolatry, in order to eschew and obviate all and every semblance of infidelity to Judaism. Hence, while the rabbis prized human life and health above ritualism; while they repeatedly and forcibly impressed upon their disciples the comprehensive maxim: "We must be stricter in matter involving danger to health than in ritualistic matters;" while in cases threatening human well-being they consistently applied the axiomatic interpretation of the last clause of the Scriptural verse (Lev. xviii. 5): "Ye shall keep My statutes and Mine ordinances, which if a man do he shall live by them," as implying: *but not die through them*,—while they applied this interpretation to all Biblical laws which might interfere with the use of an efficacious remedy, they only excepted, together with the laws concerning incest and bloodshed, those against idolatry and its similitudes. Can we, in the face of all this, even for a moment suppose that the same "legalists" would overtly borrow a notorious pagan rite and incorporate it, or even a modification thereof, in the ritual of Talmudical or Rabbinical Judaism?

But if not from the diviner, from whom did the ancient rabbis learn the rudiments, if not the complete method, of meat-inspection?—They learnt their lesson from the same traditional sources from which the *baru*, the diviner, evolved the art of divination.

In the course of a lengthy disquisition on the Roman *auspices* (*Evolution of the Aryans*, London, 1897, pp. 361-379), Rudolph von Ihering declares (p. 362): "The right interpretation of the Roman *auspices*, as I hope to prove in what follows, is based upon a careful distinction being made between these two periods, one

referring to the time of migration, the other to that of the settlement. In the former we have to deal only with the natural process, adapted merely to the purposes of migration—signs without any religious meaning whatsoever. It was not until the second phase, when, on their becoming settled, the once practical meaning of these signs became quite obliterated, that the *auspices* in the Roman sense of the word, i. e., signs interpreting the consent or non-consent of the gods, came into existence.”

Ihering's thoughtful and judicious disquisition being entirely too long to be reproduced here, we must be satisfied with a succinct statement of his conclusion. Woodruff (*Expansion of Races*, New York, 1908, p. 105) thus epitomizes it: “The Roman process of divination by observing the passage of birds was a remnant of a custom of migratory Aryans looking for the proper way to travel; and divination by examining the intestines and other organs of an animal is a remnant of the habit of looking for diseases among the domestic animals the emigrants slaughtered *en route* to see if the region was a healthy one.”

This explanation of an otherwise inexplicable aberration appears lucid, rational, conclusive. To reverse the evolutionary process in this case would necessitate the belief that the early migrants had an elaborate system of divination, which presupposes a fully developed cult, before they felt the necessity for some precautionary measure to prevent sickness and to secure personal well-being; while we know that it is not human nature to be governed by sentiment before being actuated by the instinct of self-preservation.

But here a question of authority is raised: can a conclusion deduced by Ihering be properly considered conclusive? Ihering held no membership in the guild of learned Orientalists, and no diploma as authorized expositor of ancient Oriental cults; wherefore his right to formulate theories in matters connected with those cults is seriously disputed. A learned upholder of Professor Jastrow's views, as stated above, to whose attention the present writer brought Ihering's opinion, remarked: “Ihering was a great student of law and legal institutions, but he was not an investigator of religious rites, or he would not have struck upon so far-fetched a theory of divination as the one to which you refer. If we find divination methods among all people living in a primitive stage of culture, we must explain it on the basis of a common point of view, and not through such special incidents as migrations.”—However, the impartial reader can readily see that, after advancing this *argumentum ad hominem*, the defender of the anti-Ihering view leaves

the question as to the origin of divination *in statu quo ante*; and since, than that received by the Tuscan ploughman from the demigod Tages, the son of Genius and grandson of Jupiter (Cicero, *De Div.*, II, 23; Ovid, *Metam.*, XV), no more convincing evidence has been produced, proving that divination by inspection of sacrificial entrails was a primary institution, one may rightly assume that, like all other human institutions, it had a progenitor of some kind.

Of course, we unhesitatingly admit that all divination methods had "a common point of view" basis, even though unconditioned by the people's "living in a primitive stage of culture." Already "3000 years before our era civilization and religion in the Euphrates Valley had reached a high degree of development" (Jastrow, *loc. cit.*, p. 2); nevertheless divination was always at home there. But the negative appendix, that the rite cannot be explained "through such special incidents as migrations," leaves room for doubt. Does it mean to imply that the art of divination, or its basic common point of view, presented itself to all people and everywhere simultaneously? Jastrow (*Heb. and Bab. Traditions*, New York, 1914, p. 140) himself declares: "The system [of divination] not only continued its strong hold upon the people of the Euphrates for thousands of years, but passed on to other nations, to the Etruscans, to the Greeks, and to the Romans, perhaps also to Eastern nations." Here we have his own opinion that migration was, if not the first cause of the system, the vehicle for the promulgation of the system: that the system was born at some place in the Euphrates Valley, amidst some people; that it was conveyed to other nations by means of migration, and that eventually its basic point of view became common to many and widely separated nations. But what begot the idea itself? What engendered the common superstition?

When Voltaire asked, "Who was it that invented the art of divination?" and flippantly answered, "It was the first rogue who met a fool!" he may have enunciated the only theory satisfactory to the modern cultured mind; but even he leaves unanswered the natural question, What suggested that idea to that rogue? From what antecedent did there arise so strange and absurd an idea that the position, or the condition, of the entrails of an animal revealed the decrees of the gods?

The same philosopher, however, also says that, "blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and ploughmen were all necessary before there was a man of sufficient leisure to meditate;" and a Biblical tradition tells us that Cain and Abel respectively tilled the ground and kept

sheep before they ever thought of bringing offerings to God. Is it too much to assume that, by the same token, the butcher preceded the metaphysician?

Ihering's conclusion shows this to have been the order of development, and a moment's thought will suffice to convince the unbiased that this conclusion is sober and sensible, founded on human nature and accordant with the genesis of human institutions.

Why hepatoscopy, divination through inspection of the signs of the animal's liver, was so universally practised, is lucidly explained by Professor Jastrow (*Religious Belief in Bab. and Ass.*, p. 159). It was because "the diseases most common to men and animals in marshy districts like the Euphrates Valley primarily attack the liver." In other words, phenomena due to pathological conditions afforded the *baru* opportunities for artful interpretations. Again, the same authority assures us (*ibid.*, p. 4) that "there is no longer any doubt of the fact that the Euphrates Valley from the time it looms up on the historical horizon is the seat of a mixed population. The germ of truth in the time-honored Biblical tradition, that makes the plain of Shinar the home of the human race and the scene of the confusion of languages, is the recollection of the fact that various races had settled there and that various languages were there spoken." Of course, it is not to be thought that all the races came there at one and the same time.. On the contrary, they followed each other; and it may be taken for granted that "when the Semitic hordes, coming from their homes in Arabia, and the Sumerians. . . began to pour into the land" (*ibid.*, p. 12), they found there not only the noxious miasmatic effluvia affecting man and beast, but also that some squatters had preceded them. Is it not reasonable to believe that the aborigines, having repeatedly suffered dire consequences from eating animal meats affected by the diseases indigenous to the district, established the habit of looking for diseases among the animals they killed for food, before they thought of inventing systems of divination by hepatoscopy? To Ihering it clearly appeared so; and also that from the habit, born of experience and primarily established (whether in the Valley of the Euphrates or in—the land of Nod!) for the purposes of hygiene, there was eventually evolved a system of divination in which the liver, as the reputed seat of life, afforded great opportunities for the display of the *baru's* ingenuity or for the overt practice of his disingenuousness.

And now, since the origin of divination so skilfully maintained by Ihering is, I truly believe, fully vindicated, it must be stated that

Ihering never claimed for himself the authorship thereof. On the contrary, he expressly names its author who preceded him by about 2300 years. He writes (*loc. cit.*, p. 369): "That the condition of the intestines of the animal justified them in forming a conclusion as to the food and the healthfulness of the district, as Cicero (*Divin.* II, 13) tells us, has already been stated by Democritus, who brings the inspection of the victim in connection with it." Cicero also remarks (*loc. cit.*, 57): "Democritus believed that the ancients had wisely enjoined the inspection of the entrails of animals which had been sacrificed, because by their condition and color it is possible to determine the salubrity or pestilential state of the atmosphere, and sometimes even what is likely to be the fertility or sterility of the soil." Ihering (*loc. cit.*, p. 370) further says, "I have borrowed my view of the matter from him. . . . I rejoice to have been enabled to raise out of its unmerited obscurity, and to restore to honor, the view of my predecessor, which found so little favor with the antiquarians that they have left it in such unmerited oblivion."

And as for the Talmudic or Rabbinical inspection of animals killed for food, it has been clearly shown that this could not have been copied from the heathen rite of haruspication. Bible and Talmud strictly forbid the adaptation to Judaism of anything savoring of idolatry. We must therefore conclude that the Jewish system of meat-inspection originated independently of the pagan custom. While throughout uncounted centuries, as may be judged from the case in Rome, the sanitary and the visionary systems divided honors in the ancient world, the sanitary Jewish system was not the counterfeit of the pagan rite. Doubtless the Jewish system originated at a very early period in Israel's history, perhaps during the period of his peregrinations through the wilderness. Certain it is that the Jewish system of meat-inspection for sanitary purposes is nothing but an elaborate continuation of some of the same hygienic rules regarding which William Gladstone (*The Impregnable Rock*, Philadelphia, 1895, p. 384) has said, "I have learned enough from some high medical authorities to be warranted in saying that the sanitary qualities of the Jewish race, even in our own time, and their superior longevity, appear in no small manner to be due to the strict observance of the Mosaic laws." It is true, the rabbis, having amplified the system so as to make it difficult, if not impossible, to discover its nucleus, surrounded it with the halo of ritualism; but this is owing to the fact that Judaism recognizes no distinction between religion and hygiene, except that where the two conflict, the latter is considered more obligatory than the former.

After all that has been said, the reader may safely conclude that the modern meat-inspector had for his prototype, not the Babylonian *baru* or the Roman *haruspex*, but the primitive unconsecrated and probably unlicensed butcher. With proud consciousness, the modern meat-inspector may rightly proclaim himself, not the counterfeit, but, by virtue of the lineal descent of his function, the prototype of the heathen diviner. True, the modern meat-inspector did not go back to the age of the Semitic and Sumerian hordes, or even to that of the Aryan migrations, to learn his disease-preventing profession, as did the *baru* and the *haruspex* to learn theirs. But for him there was no occasion to follow the trail of "all people living in a stage of primitive culture." The Talmudical and Rabbinical inspector of the organs of the animal killed for human food was always near at hand to suggest, and to demonstrate the benefit of, the system of careful scientific inspection for hygienic purposes. In short, the modern meat-inspector is the collaborator of the time-honored Rabbinical inspector whose preceptor was the God-given instinct of self-preservation and whose object always was the prevention of disease among his fellow-beings.

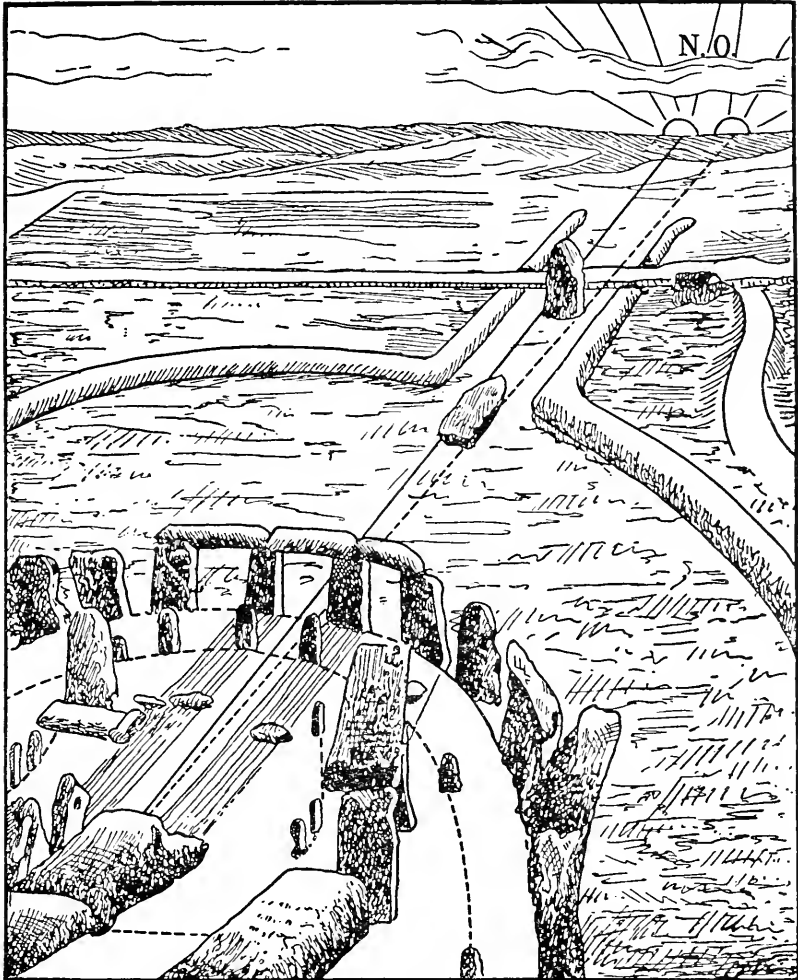
SOLAR WORSHIP.

BY THE EDITOR.

WE are apt to think of our own age as the climax of all history and the perfection of mankind, and that we have passed through all the successive stages of civilization for the sole sake of attaining the blessings which we now enjoy. And what is the result of our attainments? If we consider all in all we find that our happiness may be compared to a fraction, the numerator of which represents our needs and the denominator our satisfactions.

Thus our happiness remains a relative quantity, being approximately a constant throughout the ages, and while the progress of civilization increases the denominators, at the same time the numerators advance in proportion. The Eskimo is in all probability quite satisfied with his scanty denominator simply because his numerator is not as large as it is among civilized people. In consideration of this relative character of our emotional existence we may very well understand that former generations were as elated by their successes as we are to-day when for some reason or another we celebrate a new triumph of science, inventions or progress of

any kind. When we look back upon the relics of the stone age, we must confess that the people who built the monument of Stonehenge in Salisbury Plain were probably filled with the same spirit as the



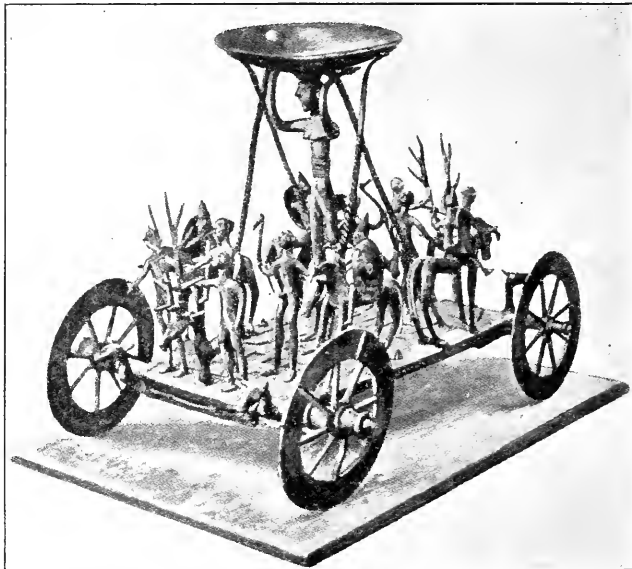
ASTRONOMICAL EXPLANATION OF STONEHENGE.

The dotted line to the right indicates the present direction of the solar rays on the day of the summer solstice at sunrise. The full line to the left marks the solar rays as they were directed in 1680 B. C. From *Archiv für Anthropologie*, N. S., Vol. II.

master masons who finished the cathedrals of the Middle Ages, or the sculptors and architects whose work is immortalized in the

Parthenon of Athens. And if we but understand what an enormous labor the erection of these grand stone pillars must have entailed, we shall gain respect for the men who set them up, with the primitive tools at their disposal, and we may also gain an approximate estimate of their pride in having accomplished a work which testifies nobly to their religious enthusiasm and the dignity of their worship.

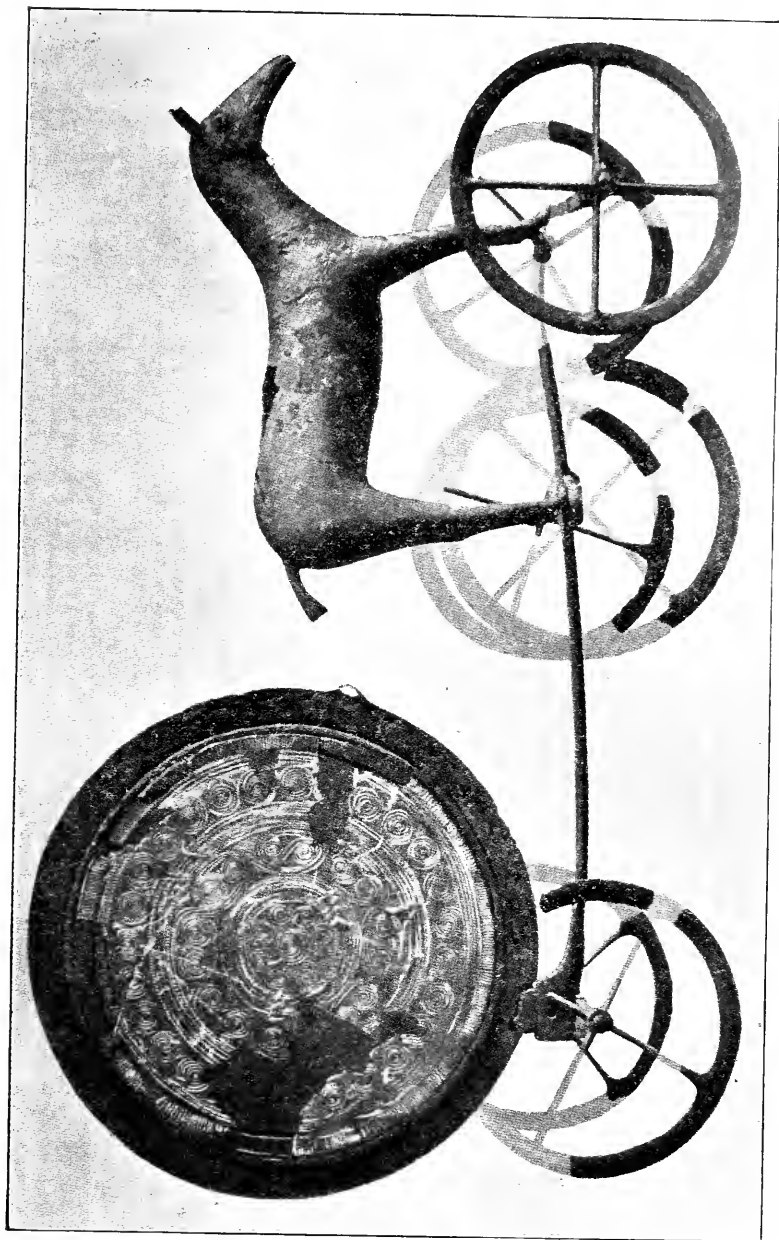
Happily there can be no question that Stonehenge was built in prehistoric days, and that it really is a monument devoted to



BRONZE VIRGIN ON VEHICLE, THE DEITY REPRESENTED AS CARRYING THE SUN.

The surrounding figures are possibly symbolic of clouds and similar spirits.
Found in Judenburg, Styria. From Much, *Kunsthistorischer Atlas*.

what we now call sun-worship. It will be noticed that the whole construction consists of a circle, or rather two circles, of huge stones, set up, as it were, to form gates. Outside the circles, however, there are found two stones which mark a line pointing to northeast, where the sun would rise in midsummer. Accordingly the whole arrangement is made in such a way that on the day of the summer solstice the solar rays, passing the two directive stones and entering the inner space of the sanctuary through the main gate, will touch the center, or the altar, of Stonehenge at sunrise. Now



A REPRESENTATION OF THE SUN, MADE OF BRONZE COVERED WITH GOLD LEAF.
Found in Zealand, Denmark. From Sophus Müller, *Urgeschichte Europas*.

astronomers have noticed that this direction is not exact but indicates a slight deviation, which, however, is easily explained if we take the nutation of the earth's axis into consideration. In calculating the time when, at the sunrise of the longest day of the year, the sun's rays actually fell along the line of the two directive stones so as to be first seen and greeted by the priest at the altar, it was found that it must have been the year 1680 B. C. This is about the time in which our anthropologists place the highest development and slow expiration of the stone age in northwestern Europe. The original construction of Stonehenge, we are told, is probably somewhat older. Thus astronomy and anthropology allied enable us to fathom the enthusiasm that must have inspired our forebears worshipping at a sanctuary of the deity whose visible symbol was the sun, the source of all the happiness of their existence.

There are, of course, other kinds of relics in plenty testifying to the solar worship prevailing in northern and central Europe in prehistoric times, connecting the cult of the stone age tolerably well with well-defined ceremonies that we know from the mythologies of a later day. The sun is mostly represented as a shield or as a wheel, and all over the territory of this slowly emerging civilization, we have found symbols representing the sun as carried about on some sort of vehicle. One of them has been discovered in Denmark, another in Styria, both of the bronze age. We may be sure that these pieces of sacred art were shaped in the same spirit of piety and devotion in which the quattrocentists painted their Madonnas and Thorwaldsen chiseled his statue of Christ.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE SECULAR OBJECTION.

IN ANSWER TO THE HON. JUSTIN HENRY SHAW. FROM THE
CATHOLIC POINT OF VIEW.¹

“EVERYTHING is usually very nearly all wrong with the world,” thus is the present situation excellently characterized by my secularistic friend and opponent, the Hon. J. H. Shaw. There is no chance of talking of a spiritual harmony in human society as it is constituted in these times. It seems the more propitious that two men separated by an abyss in their general outlook

¹ See *The Open Court*, May, 1918, pp. 257ff.

on life should to some extent principally agree in the solution of life's most important problems. It is the aim of the few lines that follow to testify to this agreement publicly, to appreciate the argument of the Hon. J. H. Shaw, and to invalidate certain objections to religious instruction in the schools supported or recognized by the State.

"To live under this American Constitution," thus the Hon. Shaw states the case very correctly, "and to accept its opportunities of religious freedom and religious liberty is the finest privilege that man has ever inherited and enjoyed from his government." I perfectly agree with my opponent. The State has no right to proclaim any laws which would outrage the religious convictions of any one person. The same principle applies to the education and instruction which our children receive in the public schools. No child should be compelled to attend a kind of religious instruction or of service which would imply doing violence to his or her religious convictions. This is exactly why I strongly object to any Bible-reading in our present public schools, and the more so since the fact which is pointed out by the Hon. Shaw, "that sectarian instruction may be given by the frequent reading, without note or comment, of judiciously selected passages," is indeed obvious. And it should not be overlooked that "the American schools are for the children of all the people of every religion and of no religion. The rights of Catholics, Jews, and infidels, agnostics and atheists, are just as much to be regarded and respected as the rights of Protestant Christians." This is why the Hon. Shaw is fully justified in emphasizing the fact that "Jewish children, or children of agnostics, or Catholic scholars of the public schools are quite justified, from social reasons, in refusing diplomas when handed to them by a Protestant preacher officiating where he is not desired, and where he ought not to appear as a religionist," viz., in cases in which the diploma is publicly handed over to the pupil in Protestant churches.

For exactly these reasons have I no patience with the introduction of compulsory instruction in "secular morality" in the public schools, for this also would be a kind of sectarian instruction, viz., a preparation of the children for the religion of secularism, which is at bottom simply a religion *sui generis*. "But ethics," thus the Hon. Shaw goes on to say, "is the science of right human character and conduct. It is in no wise primarily dependent upon religion but has suffered immeasurably by having been associated with it through all the ages." To be sure, the definition of scientific morality is at a first glance very clear and simple, but upon

closer inspection the delusion vanishes rather rapidly. It would be impossible here to subject the altruistic-utilitarian morality to which the Hon. Shaw adheres to a scholarly critique; but I should like to call the attention of my secularistic friend to an assertion made by Gustave Le Bon, certainly an authority who cannot arouse his suspicion, saying that, "*Lorsque les philosophes écriront l'histoire des erreurs de l'esprit humain, ils trouveront de précieux documents dans les traités de théologie, de sorcellerie et de morale.*" (*La vie des vérités*, Paris, 1914, p. 115.) The facts embodied in this statement came to be fully appreciated in the *Congrès international d'éducation morale*, assembled at The Hague in 1912. The most learned men present upon this occasion discovered, with Poincaré, "*qu'il n'y avait pas de morale scientifique.*" Quoting Alfred Croiset, I take the liberty of asking my secularistic friend the following question: "*Au nom de quel principe non-confessionnel enseignera-t-il [that is, the instructor in ethics in a public school] le devoir, l'obligation morale? Il interroge les philosophes et se trouve en présence des réponses les plus discordantes: . . . Il est troublé, incertain. . . . Que faire?*" (*Malaise moral.*) With Gustave Le Bon I apprehend that it is simply a delusion to believe that ethics can safely be based on reason or the intellect alone (*loc. cit.*, p. 119). Which goes to show that the morality of secularism, too, is after all nothing but a simple *matter of faith*.

We may now judge the assertion of the Hon. Shaw that "morality will come from knowledge, and from the better conditions resulting from knowledge obtained in the schools, and not from the teaching of any particular form of dogma or belief, or from any sectarian teaching of sectarian morality." We now know that all the so-called "scientific" systems of morality are after all "sectarian." Besides, daily experience teaches us that science itself is an unreliable guide to life, so that we may sum up with Fairbairn, who writes that, "religion remains thus, in all its forms and ages, a creative and architectonic force, a power all the more absolute that it is moral and intellectual rather than material, economical, or military." (*The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, Chap. VI, Par. I, n. 3, p. 193.) The assertion made by the Hon. Shaw that, if sectarian teaching prevailed (as just quoted), "the schools and knowledge were of no use, and only religion were useful," and the reproach that the Bible is to blame for the present terrible war and that the Bible would sanction also an unjust war, I believe, should not be taken too seriously.

What I have said proves sufficiently that the easiest and sim-

plest solution of all these difficulties would be either the denominational or the interdenominational school. Thus also the convictions of secularistic children would be safeguarded, and it is unequivocally in the name of true freedom that this kind of a school is here advocated, and do not the secularists fight for an untrammelled instruction in the schools also? They do, and very honestly, I believe. For the Hon. Shaw certainly does not demand—of that I am deeply convinced—that secularism should be made the sole compulsory religious instruction in any public school.

But it may be asked by more than one of the readers of *The Open Court*, is a Catholic allowed to defend such religious liberty? The Roman Catholic Church rejects only that brand of "religious toleration" which claims that any religion will do; in all other respects, however, it is the doctrine of Catholic theologians that it is never permissible to act against one's conscience, hopelessly erring though it may be. Romans xiv. 14-23 are completely recognized and appreciated by the Catholic Church in their full value as a rule of life.

A few remarks may be added. The quotation in which the relation between science and religion is touched upon (a question which, unless I am badly mistaken, is of supreme interest to anybody who has a religious life) is as a matter of fact not easily understood by the average reader; yet I think that the strictly technical language used in all the sciences does not differ from it in that respect. The expression "analogy," however, is not in the least "medieval" and is indeed often used in the most modern sciences. The quotation intends to say nothing but this: The Catholic Church, to be sure, has no use for any kind of anthropomorphism, but, for that, not for agnosticism either. The agnostics are right in condemning anthropomorphism, from which, however, it cannot be deduced that in the last analysis *all* supernatural reality is *completely* unknowable.

It never was my intention to smuggle religion into the public schools under the guise of morality. Religion is a much more important force in life than morality. Likewise I regard the argument of the Hon. Shaw that the Church is unable to realize its plan for the salvation of mankind as insufficient. The Hon. Shaw would first have to prove that the cause of the miserable economic and intellectual condition of many religious peoples is really attributable to religion itself. Moreover, the Hon. Shaw certainly knows that it is by no means so very easy to lead a life devoted to duty, and I am afraid that my personal experience might accidentally be that of everybody, viz., that in the case of persons who cannot be induced

to lead a good and moral life by religious principles, all appeals to purely secular and moralistic motives are wasted energy. But should all the noble aspirations of secularism now be held responsible for this failure? Such logic would hardly win much approval.

In regard to the great number of religious criminals one should, in order to arrive at a just verdict in the matter, not merely cite statistics but to calculate, in the first place, what ratio there may exist between the numbers of religious criminals and religious persons as such; in the second place, the social conditions of individuals having criminal propensities should be studied; and in the third place, it should be demonstrated that these criminals belong among people deeply aroused by, and practising, their religion.

After this discussion it is hardly necessary to take up in detail the "nine demands" which the Hon. Shaw submits to the readers of *The Open Court*. Anybody who can see the justice in what I have tried to make plain in the above will form his own opinion regarding them, which, however, will be far from the hearty approval which the Hon. Shaw seems to anticipate.

I wish to conclude this article quoting a man as noble-minded as Holyoake, from whom intellectually my *Weltanschauung* separates me completely: "Men have a right to look beyond this world, but not to overlook it. Men, if they can, may connect themselves with eternity, but they cannot disconnect themselves from humanity without sacrificing duty." This maxim of life is scrupulously adhered to also by the Catholic Church which sees in our earthly life a means of attaining the Kingdom of God. Its philanthropic and educational institutions are the best proof for the correctness of my assertion. "Religion is not a thing," thus Mr. Holyoake continues, "to drive us from the world, not a perpetual moping over 'good' books; but being and doing good. . . . This end we reach not by a *theological*, but by a *secular*, path" (*Rationalism*, p. 117). Not until here we part. For that, however, we harbor no hostility whatever against our secularist friends, we only ask them to take into consideration that the largest part of mankind does attain this aim in a "theological," I had better say "religious," fashion. And this is a fact which secularism, too, will have to take into account, no matter whether its friends like it or not.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A NOTE ON "HUME'S SUPPRESSED ESSAYS," WITH A SLIGHT CORRECTION.

I am very sure the publication of Hume's two essays, on "The Immortality of the Soul," and on "Suicide," in the December, 1917, number of *The Open Court*, was of wide interest. Undoubtedly the essay on "Suicide" is not to be had in the book-market, as stated by Dr. Carus in his editorial introduction. The information is entirely new in regard to this composition, so far as I know, with my limited reading. The publication of these two articles is very commendable and helpful. And so far as general readers have been concerned there can be no doubt that both essays had been effectually suppressed.

But the editor has overlooked the fact that one of the essays, "The *Mortality of the Soul*," had been brought out by the English Rationalists in 1890. I am sure it has simply been overlooked by Dr. Carus because I purchased my copy through *The Open Court* book-department, I should think four or five years ago. My copy, and of the particular title just given, further reads: "By David Hume. Reprinted from the Original Edition of 1789, with An Introduction by G. W. Foote. Price twopence. London: Progressive Publishing Company, 28 Stonecutter Street, E.C., 1890."

The text of the English republication is substantially the same as *The Open Court* copy. The only differences are that "'tis" has been rendered into "it is," and some other changes to make a more modern punctuation and more paragraphs. The italics are identical.

I am also confident those who have read the essays republished in December, with the splendid introductory by Dr. Carus, will be further interested in the considerations by Mr. Foote in his introduction to the English republication, especially in regard to the differences in the title of the essay on the "Soul." That part of it applicable to this note I will quote:

"...In the ordinary editions of Hume's *Essays* the following reprint is not to be found. This essay was published for the first time after his death, at Edinburgh, in 1789, by C. Hunter, Parliament Square. It was the second of two posthumous essays, the first being a remarkable essay on *Suicide*. A copy of the original edition has been faithfully followed in this reprint. Not a word has been changed, but such forms as "'tis" have been brought into accord with the sedate fashion of to-day, and the frequent dashes in the midst of long passages have been treated as the marks of fresh paragraphs.

"Professor Huxley, whose thoroughness is apparent to all who follow him, gives the title to this essay *On the Immortality of the Soul*, but the word used on the original title-page is *Mortality*, which indicates the author's argument. This is a mere inadvertence, however, for Huxley is well acquainted with the essay, and gives long extracts from it in his splendid little volume on Hume. (Hume, *English Men of Letters* Series.) He calls it a 'remarkable essay,' and 'a model of clear and vigorous statement.' It long remained but little known, but 'possibly for that reason its influence has been manifested in unexpected

quarters, and its main arguments have been adduced by archiepiscopal and episcopal authority in evidence of the value of revelation. Dr. Whatley, sometime archbishop of Dublin, paraphrases Hume, though he forgets to cite him; and Bishop Courtenay's elaborate work, dedicated to the Archbishop, is a development of that prelate's version of Hume's essay."

"...We must conclude this Preface with a word of warning to the reader. Let him not be misled by the opening and closing paragraphs of Hume's essay into supposing that the great sceptic deferred to the authority of Revelation. They are only his ironical bows to orthodoxy. He indulges in the same gestures in his *Essay on Miracles*. This has brought upon him, as it brought upon Gibbon, a charge of disingenuousness. But both of these masters of irony were perfectly aware that every sensible man understood them. If they wore a mask, it was transparent, and did not conceal their features; and those who upheld the Blasphemy Laws for the persecution of Freethinkers, had no right to complain when conformity was yielded with an expressive grimace."

If the foregoing may add an interest to the service by Dr. Carus in reprinting the essays, I shall be well repaid for this note.

JUSTIN HENRY SHAW.

KITTERY, MAINE.

BOOK REVIEWS.

LECTURES ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF MATHEMATICS. By *James Byrnie Shaw*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1918. 193 pages. Price, cloth, \$1.50 net.

The modern philosopher and thinking layman is in a difficult position when he undertakes to get some notion of what the modern mathematician is talking about. He finds out with little trouble that mathematics long ago ceased to be the science of number and quantity solely, and has grown into a sturdy giant whose power is evidently expanding year by year. But if he picks up even an elementary book on mathematics he finds much of it unintelligible not only on account of the notation and the terminology, which have become highly technical, but also because the mathematician does not hesitate to talk about space with four dimensions, points at infinity, curves that occupy an area and other equally incomprehensible things. He may be inclined indeed to take one of two widely prevalent views: the one assuming that when the mathematician is talking in terms that have no meaning for every-day conscious sensible experience, he is really using the words merely symbolically—that, for instance, when he says four-dimensional space he really means combinations of four variables; the other assuming that the mathematician lives most of the time in a dream world with no way at all of ascertaining whether the propositions he asserts about his dream world are true or even consistent, as for instance, that a Lobachevskian space is a fiction, like a hippogriff, and though its geometry may seem to be valid in itself, yet nevertheless the consistency is hypothetical, with a strong suspicion that some day it will break down.

The present book undertakes to give an intelligible account of the main ideas of mathematics in such form that the average college graduate can get a fair notion of what it is about and what kind of things it is dealing with. For

instance, the notion of number is shown to be an evolving conception, numbers including first integers, then fractions, then irrationals, then pointsets, then ensembles of any kind, the history of mathematics showing what has taken place in the growth of this term and what it contains. Again the wide presence of the invariant is the subject of another chapter, in which the principle of invariance is shown to permeate much of mathematics. In one of the chapters the power of the mathematician in creating new or ideal entities to enable him to go on with his constructions is exhibited. The methods of mathematical research are explained, and the sources of the truths of mathematics examined. In the last chapter the meaning for science and art of the existence of mathematics with its honorable expansion for thousands of years is discussed, and distinct encouragement given to all the outgrowths of the creative imagination.

The thoughtful general reader, the philosopher by profession, the reflective scientist, and the artist who ponders the whence and the whither of art, will find in this book much to consider, and may find solutions to many perplexing questions.

ESSAYS IN SCIENTIFIC SYNTHESIS. By *Eugenio Rignano*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1918. 254 pages. Price, cloth, \$2.00 net.

This is the English edition of the essays of the editor of *Scientia* which were first published in book form in French, 1912 (Félix Alcan, Paris). A translation in racy English implies an appeal to a wider circle of readers, at least to everybody who wants to keep himself informed of the most recent developments in the sciences, without being able to get a connected view when referring to the specialists' publications.

M. Rignano's position is that of the "theorist," a natural outgrowth of that of the science editor: while no longer permitted by time to chain himself to the laboratory or the experiment station, he has a far better opportunity at his desk that any specialist would have to attempt a synthesis intended to cover the field as a whole. Replacing the cheap and superficial methods of a "popularizer" by original thought based upon an accurate knowledge of the facts known and just coming to be known, he has something to offer to the science student in any stage of his development.

The Table of Contents announces discussions on the following subjects: (1) The Synthetic Value of the Evolution Theory; (2) Biological Memory in Energetics; (3) On the Mnemic Origin and Nature of the Affective Tendencies; (4) What is Consciousness? (5) The Religious Phenomenon; (6) Historic Materialism; (7) Socialism.

Each chapter, while solving, from the author's point of view, its own problem, unfolds another, so that the reader is led on by his own scientific interest kindled ever afresh. It is especially the epochal theory of the *mneme*, now largely identified with the work of Richard Semon, that holds the center of attention. But the bearing that, and what bearing, any branch of the sciences has upon any other, from the problems which the naturalist faces to the most vexed present-day questions of sociology and economics, is really what becomes apparent in the book, justifying the author in calling it a "synthesis."

An attractive binding, good print, good paper adding dignity and distinction, it is hoped that the volume will meet with the same hearty approval which accompanied the original publication in France.

MODERNIST STUDIES IN THE LIFE OF JESUS. By *Ray Oakley Miller*. Boston, Sherman, French and Company, 1917. Pp. 51. Price \$.80 net.

This book attempts to construct a life of Jesus from the viewpoint of modern times, and by "Modernist" the author declares that his conception shall "not be without a genuine sympathy for, and an appreciation and appropriation of, the fundamental elements of idealism and faith." Liberalism, if it simply discards the old faith and accepts principles which allow one to be liberal in his life, makes him a libertine not a true liberal. A "truly liberal faith leaves nothing of any value behind," and "a liberal is one whose blood is growing warmer, whose charity is growing broader, whose vision is growing clearer; who, in the last analysis, is deeply in love with life."

Our author retains as much of the doctrines of the faith of Jesus as a rationalistic conception will allow, and he looks upon Jesus as "the fulfiller."

We may regard as the main portion of his doctrine the proposition of a belief in a personal God. Personality is to him "the momentous fact in the world—the personality of God as well as the personality of man"—and, he adds, "anything less than this, therefore, in any concept of God is unphilosophic, and eventually degrading to the human spirit." κ

HUGO DE VRIES OPERA E PERIODICIS COLLATA. Vol. I. Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1918. Pp. 630.

As the title indicates, the present volume contains the papers contributed by De Vries to various periodicals, to the exclusion, however, of any that are singly obtainable in the book-market. This principle has been discarded only in the case of the treatises *Die mechanischen Ursachen der Zellstreckung* and *Intracellulare Pangenesis*, an inconsistency which will meet with ready approval. The different papers are reprinted in the languages in which they were first published, Dutch, French and German, even the original spelling and, possibly, misprints being adhered to. The arrangement is by subject-matter and chronology. The first volume at present submitted includes only articles appealing chiefly to the scientist. Another volume, containing De Vries's *populaire geschriften*, is in preparation. Paper, print, and binding are of high quality. Since nobody signs as responsible editor—only the suggestion for the book being given by *een aantal vrienden en vereerders*—the publisher may take all the credit for reminding us in such a dignified and pleasant fashion of the seventieth anniversary of the birth of the famous naturalist.

Lectures on the Philosophy of Mathematics

Cloth, 193 pages

By JAMES BYRNIE SHAW

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Mr. Shaw's book does not limit its readers to those few who have dared to explore far into the boundless realms of numbers. It is an inspiration to any man who enjoys the pure pleasure of exercising the imagination.

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