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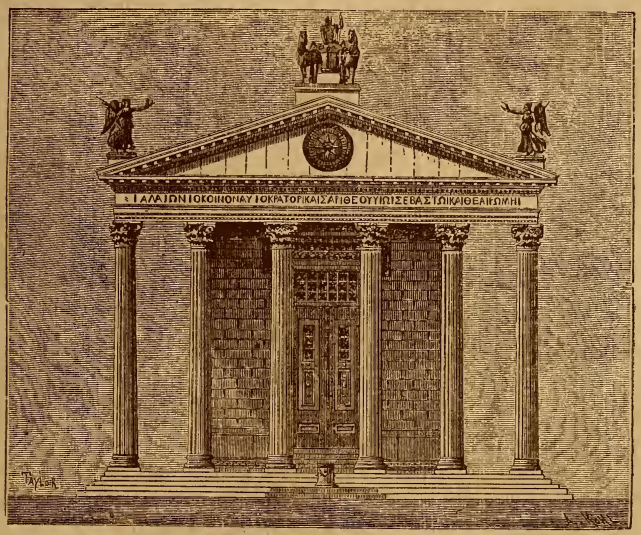
The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER



TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS RESTORED.
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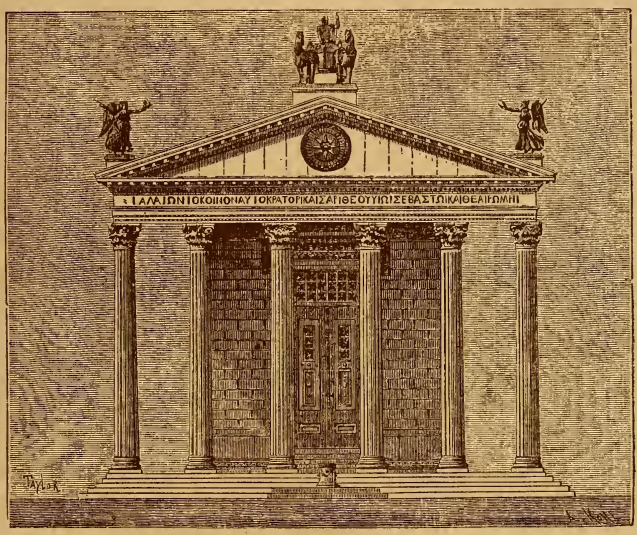

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THE ROUND TABLE OF FREDERIC THE GREAT.

From a painting of Adolf Menzel.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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FREDERIC THE GREAT'S BIOGRAPHY OF JULIEN OFFRAY DE LA METTRIE.

TRANSLATED BY GERTRUDE CARMAN BUSSEY.

[The University of Berlin was anticipated by Frederic the Great in a Royal Academy of Science which he had founded and in the transactions of which he took a personal interest. One of his contributions was a eulogy on La Mettrie, a French physician and philosopher who on account of his book *L'homme machine* had been banished from Holland and was received with honor at the Prussian court. The eulogy written by Frederic the Great was read by his secretary Darget at a public meeting of the Academy of Berlin, to which on Frederic's initiative La Mettrie had been admitted. So far as we know this eulogy has never been translated into English and even the French original is almost inaccessible. Under these circumstances we deem it desirable to bring it before the English speaking public. Adolf Menzel has portrayed the royal philosopher surrounded by a circle of savants in his castle at Sans Souci. La Mettrie is seated at the extreme right hand of the picture, a reproduction of which serves as a frontispiece to the present number.]

JULIEN Offray de la Mettrie was born in Saint Malo, on the twenty-fifth of December, 1709, to Julien Offray de la Mettrie and Marie Gaudron, who were living by a trade which was large enough to procure a good education for their son. They sent him to the college of Coutances to study the humanities; he went from there to Paris, to the college of Plessis; he studied his rhetoric at Caen, and since he had much genius and imagination, he won all the prizes for eloquence. He was a born orator, and was passionately fond of poetry and *belles-lettres,* but his father thought that he would earn more as an ecclesiastic than as a poet, and destined him for the church. He sent him, the following year, to the college of Plessis where he studied logic under M. Cordier, who was more a Jansenist than a logician.

It is characteristic of an ardent imagination to seize forcefully the objects presented to it, as it is characteristic of youth to be prejudiced in favor of the first opinions that are inculcated. Any other scholar would have adopted the opinions of his teacher but that was not enough for young La Mettrie; he became a Jansenist, and wrote a work which had great vogue in that party.

In 1725, he studied natural philosophy at the college of Harcourt, and made great progress there. On his return to his country, M. Hunault, a doctor of Saint Malo, advised him to adopt the medical profession. They persuaded his father, assuring him that the remedies of a mediocre physician would pay better than the absolutions of a good priest. At first young La Mettrie applied himself to the study of anatomy: he dissected for two years. After this, in 1725, he took the degree of doctor at Rheims, and was there received as a physician.

In 1733, he went to Leyden to study under the famous Boerhaave. The master was worthy of the scholar and the scholar soon became worthy of the master. M. La Mettrie devoted all the acuteness of his mind to the knowledge and to the healing of human infirmities; and he soon became a great physician.

In the year 1734, during his leisure moments, he translated the treatise of the late M. Boerhaave, his *Aphrodisiacus,* and joined to it a dissertation on the venereal maladies, of which he himself was the author. The old physicians in France rose up against a scholar who committed the affront of knowing as much as they. One of the most celebrated doctors of Paris did him the honor of criticizing his work (a sure proof that it was good). La Mettrie replied; and, to confound his adversary still more, he composed in 1736, a treatise on vertigo, esteemed by all impartial physicians.

By an unfortunate effect of human imperfection a certain base jealousy has become one of the characteristics of men of letters. It inflames the mind of those who have reputations, against the progress of budding geniuses. This blight often fastens on talents without destroying them, but it sometimes injures them. M. La Mettrie, who was advancing in the career of science at a giant's pace, suffered from this jealousy, and his quick temper made him too susceptible to it.

In Saint Malo, he translated the "Aphorisms" of Boerhaave, the "Materia Medica," the "Chemical Proceedings," the "Chemical Theory," and the "Institutions," by this same author. About the same time, he published an abstract of Sydenham. The young doctor had learned by premature experience, that if he wished to live

in peace, it was better to translate than to compose; but it is characteristic of genius to escape from reflection. Counting on himself

JULIEN OFFRAY DE LA METTRIE.

alone, if I may speak thus, and filled with the knowledge he had gained from researches into nature, he wished to communicate to the public the useful discoveries which he had made. He wrote

his treatise on smallpox, his "Practical Medicine," and six volumes of commentary on the physiology of Boerhaave. All these works appeared at Paris, although the author had written them at Saint Malo. He joined to the theory of his art an always successful practice, which is no small recommendation for a physician.

In 1742, La Mettrie came to Paris, led there by the death of M. Hunault, his old teacher. Morand and Sidobre introduced him to the Duke of Gramont, and a few days after, this lord obtained for him the commission of physician of the guards. He accompanied the Duke to war, and was with him at the battle of Dettingen, at the siege of Freiburg, and at the battle of Fontenoi, where he lost his patron, who was killed by a cannon shot.

La Mettrie felt this loss all the more keenly, because it was at the same time the reef on which his fortune was wrecked. This is what took place. During the campaign of Freiburg, La Mettrie had an attack of violent fever. For a philosopher an illness is a school of physiology; he thought that he perceived that thought is but a consequence of the organization of the machine, and that the disturbance of the springs has considerable influence on that part of us which the metaphysicians call soul. Filled with these ideas during his convalescence, he boldly bore the torch of experience into the night of metaphysics; he tried to explain by the aid of anatomy the thin texture of understanding, and he found only mechanism where others had supposed an essence superior to matter. He had his philosophic conjectures printed under the title of "The Natural History of the Soul." The chaplain of the regiment sounded the tocsin against him, and at first sight all the devotees cried out against him.

The common ecclesiastic is like Don Quixote, who found marvelous adventures in commonplace events, or like the famous soldier, so engrossed with his system that he found columns in all the books that he read. The majority of priests examine all works of literature as if they were treatises on theology, and filled with this one aim, they discover heresies everywhere. To this fact are due so many false judgments, so many accusations, formed, for the most part, in an ill timed manner against the authors. A book of natural philosophy should be read in the spirit of a physician; nature, the truth, is its sole judge, and should absolve or condemn it. A book of astronomy should be read in the same manner. If a poor physician proves that the blow of a stick smartly rapped on the skull disturbs the mind, or that at a certain degree of heat, reason wanders, one must either prove the contrary or keep quiet. If a skilful

astronomer proves, in spite of Joshua, that the earth and all the celestial globes revolve around the sun, one must either calculate better than he, or admit that the earth revolves.

But the theologians, who might make the weak believe, by their continual apprehension, that their cause is bad, are not troubled by such a small matter. They insisted on finding seeds of heresy in a work dealing with physic. The author underwent a frightful persecution, and the priests claimed that a doctor accused of heresy could not cure the French guards.

To the hatred of the devotees was joined that of his rivals for glory. This was rekindled by a work of La Mettrie's entitled "The Politics of Physicians." A man full of cunning, and carried away by ambition, aspired to the place, then vacant, of first physician to the king of France. He thought that he could gain it by throwing ridicule upon those of his contemporaries who might lay claim to this position. He wrote a libel against them, and abusing the easy friendship of La Mettrie, he enticed him to lend him the volubility of his pen, and the richness of his imagination. Nothing was needed to complete the downfall of a man little known, against whom were all appearances, and whose only protection was his merit.

La Mettrie, having been too sincere as a philosopher and too obliging as a friend, was compelled to leave his country. The Duke of Duras and the Viscount of Chaila advised him to flee from the hatred of the priests and the revenge of the physicians. Therefore, in 1746, he left the hospitals of the army where he had been placed by M. Sechelles, and came to Leyden to philosophize in peace. He there composed his "Penelope," a polemical work, in which, after the fashion of Democritus, he made fun of the vanity of the physicians, whose quackery was painted in true colors. The curious result was that they themselves could not help laughing when they read it, and that is a sure sign that they found more wit than malice in it.

M. La Mettrie having lost sight of his hospitals and his patients, gave himself up completely to speculative philosophy; he wrote his "Man as Machine" or rather he put on paper some fine thoughts about materialism, which he doubtless planned to rewrite. This work, which was bound to displease men who by their estate were declared enemies of human reason, roused all the priests of Leyden against its author. Calvinists, Catholics and Lutherans forgot for the time that consubstantiation, free will, mass for the dead, and the infallibility of the pope divided them: they all united

again to persecute a philosopher who was moreover unfortunate enough to be French, at a time when that monarchy was waging a successful war against their High Powers.

That he was a philosopher and at the same time unfortunate was enough to procure for La Mettrie a refuge in Prussia with a pension from the king. He came to Berlin in the month of February in the year 1748; he was there received and made a member of the Royal Academy of Science. Medicine reclaimed him from metaphysics, and he wrote a treatise on dysentery, another on asthma, the best that had then been written on these cruel diseases. He sketched works on a variety of philosophical subjects which he had proposed to look into. By a sequence of accidents which befel him these works were stolen, but he demanded their suppression as soon as they appeared.

La Mettrie died in the house of Milord Tirconnel, minister plenipotentiary of France, whose life he had saved. It seems that the disease, knowing with whom it had to deal, was clever enough to attack his brain first, so that it would more surely confound him. He had a burning fever, and was violently delirious. The invalid was obliged to have recourse to the science of his colleagues, and he did not find there the resources which he had so often found in his own, both for himself and for the public.

He died on the eleventh of November, 1751, at the age of forty-three years. He had married Louise Charlotte Dré Anna, by whom he left only a daughter, five years and a few months old.

La Mettrie was born with a fund of natural and inexhaustible gaiety, he had a quick mind, and such a fertile imagination that it made flowers grow in the arid field of medicine. Nature had made him an orator and a philosopher; but a yet more precious gift which he received from her, was a pure soul and an obliging heart. All those who are not imposed upon by the pious insults of the theologians mourn in La Mettrie a good man and a wise physician.

THE AVESTA AND THE VEDA.[1]

THE ESTRANGEMENT AND THE BREAK.

BY PROF. LAWRENCE H. MILLS.

BUT amidst this mass of unquestioned evidence of unity we come upon a phenomenon which, at the first sight upon it, undoes it all. Internal differences, as we are all too well aware, have everywhere lowered religious names, and holy offices once held most sacred fall to less repute. "Unpreaching prelates," let us recall for instance, were once not approved by Puritans, and the chief titular Christian Bishop is openly called "Antichrist" by a large fraction of those who profess to worship the same great Lord. Many also who exalt the "saints" with conscientious devotion are termed "idolaters" by their co-religionists, while they, in their turn, hurl back the retort of "heretic," each party to the conflict being doubtless both serious and fervent, while each also consigns the other without hesitation to the flames of an eternal future.

It was still more natural in the first struggles of the Faith with the classic heathenism for the early Christians to find "Jupiter" a possessing devil, or to withdraw "Apollo" through the nostril of the neophyte. No facts, indeed, would seem to be more cruel than such as these which show the dearest gods of one race made the very demons of the next.

The Great Dethronement.

But where—to resume—in the wide history of religions or religious peoples, will you find the gods whom the very men involved themselves once worshiped,—nay the supreme chief one of them, long regarded as creator and at last dethroned, a god still adored by their own close kindred,[2] those of their present defamers;

[1] Completed from the issue of July, 1910, being a revised and second edition from *East and West* of 1902, February and March.

[2] The kindred of the very men who now condemn them.

nay not alone dethroned,—*transformed* like any foreign god *to fiend*, and this not only in spite of their kinsmen's unchanging belief, but in fact possibly, if not probably, *because* of it. Yet this is what stares at us from every folio of Avesta, as from many a section of the Veda. Not only have some of the subordinate divinities turned upon their *alter-egos*, but the very name of Heaven itself is violated; and this, as I regret to say, upon the side of Iran. No name more fitted to beneficial spiritual powers could ever, as one would think, have fastened itself upon the receptive sensibilities of happy worshipers, than that name of the "shining sky"; and *Deva* (*to div*) is, indeed, still used by several branches at the great Indo-Germanic family as *deus, Deity,* and the like, a household word in Eastern and South Europe (more book-word with the Teutons). And what sounds could really be more appropriate as the tonic signs to mark our recognition of the God-head!

And so in classic times as well *Zeus pater* is *Jupiter,* as *divas pater* was Heaven's father, and yet it was this "Heaven" itself, *Zeus-divas*, which Iran used for the gods of Hell! A great pity, as we may well concede; it might indeed even shock us, but so it remains the fact! From the very Gathas on, throughout the old, the intermediate, and the new Avesta, throughout the period of *Pahlavi*, through that of the exquisite Persian literature (early, middle and late), down to this very day hardly the very smallest trace of a serious deviation has been discovered or reported. *D(a)eva* and *Dev* have never been made use of prominently, if at all,—so far as I have observed, or can remember,—in all our surviving Iranian to designate those holy beings whom the ancestors of both Indian and Iranian once worshiped with the word (so fitted for such a use)!

Its Cause.

And how did this sad change occur, as we must in due course inquire? It might assist our answer if we first look for a moment at a still greater profanity, if not, indeed, still greater blasphemy, —as we might so term it, and this time still quite as unhappily if, as was the fact, upon the other side. *Asura became displaced.* The Indian Aryans, and some of them at an excessively early period, themselves dragged down this once honored name for the Supreme Spirit whom their own still earlier seers adored. *Asura* itself was changed by the ancestors of Indians, as by Indians themselves, and not only changed but inverted in its turn, as in the other case of *Deva* a generic name was degraded; but this was worse than de-

grading a mere generic name. "Deva," however glorious, seldom meant an individual deity till later days,[3] while Asura was seemingly at times beyond all doubt a distinct person, or at least rhetorically so used, and as such he had his name taken horribly in vain,—at all events as the great *god-class*. He was once the believer's father,[4] not only "Heaven's Deva"[5] as in the older Veda, but father of the heroes that bear the earth,[6] and even of the infinite "eternals." And not man alone, but "gods" bore hymns to him,[7]—"the offerers of the great race of *Angirases* are his servants, sons of Heaven,"[8] so three of the First *Adityas* are his champions.[9] Even Agni, dearest of the gods, is born of him.[10]

> "Seven-priested from of old forth, forth he beameth
> As in the mother's womb apart he shines,—
> Eye hath he never closed, the watchful, joyful,
> Since from Asura's loins he issued child."

One would think that Asura's place as a god—so far as he was so signally a person—was safe, if ever a deity's possessions were. But he begins to lose it, and before a redoubted rival, who is found indeed uniting with Heaven itself and the wide Earth against him, Asura—for all bow down before the rising Indra (R. V., I, 131, 1). The full celestial civil conflict at length breaks out:[11]

> "O Lord of prayer, Brihaspati, O Indra,
> With thy hot bolt split through Asura's men
> As thou of old didst smite with daring fury—
> So smite to-day, O Indra, that fell fiend!"

And this of Asura, erstwhile the father of both gods and men![12]

> "O Indra, Vishnu, all Sambara's strongholds
> Ninety and nine, ye smote, though fastened tight
> A *varchin's* hundred, yea a thousand foemen
> Ye slew them all, Asura's thousand might."

At last he is totally "ungodded" (called "no-god," *adeva*)[13] with his once peerless hosts:

[3] Cicero's *deus* was often merely "the divine," as was also the Greek *theos* often.

[4] Or "the dead father" was called *Asura*. R. V., X, 124, 3.

[5] R. V., V, 41, 3. *Asura* of heaven.

[6] R. V., X, 10, 2.

[7] R. V., V, 41, 3.

[8] R. V., III, 7, and X, 67, 2, etc.

[9] R. V., III, 56, 8.

[10] R. V., III, 29, 14 (so reading, and not *Dyaus*).

[11] R. V., II, 30, 4.

[12] So also retrospectively, R. V., VII, 99, 5.

[13] R. V., VIII, 85 (96), 9; literally "with thy wheel."

"Bladeless the non-gods Asuras oppose thee,—
With hurling spear, O headlong, drive them hence!"

And this goes back as early as R. V., IV, *23*, 5. The *Rishis* foil their tricks,—and in R. V., VI, *7*, *2*, defeat them, considered as a class. Several of the gods claim to overshadow him—Asura—as an individual (R. V., X, 53, 4). No fall could be more signal. Even the *Dasa,* the "scorcher," (see above) is coupled with him (R. V., X, *22*, 4).

It is a very remarkable phenomenon, look at it in whatever light we may. And this occurred in hymns sung by Rishis of the same people, in the same meters, and in the self-same line of priests (apparently). Here then is a god, spiritually supreme in one century, or perhaps even in one decade, and yet not only degraded but reviled in another closely succeeding period,—and in the same country, by the same people.

And so, again, we have the question, as of the *D(a)eva* name, though *Asura* is somewhat less familiar. Let us now ask more closely, How did this happen? The great name *Ahura,* as *Asura,* held itself unrivalled in the other land from one end of the Iranian territory and history to the other; it never lost its supremacy. Why did it not likewise continue to be supreme in India as well? And why did the like—only approximately—parallel reverse take place with the name of *D(a)eva*[14] as we have seen: *adored* in one accidentally far separated lore—territorially separated, and *execrated* with dynamitic fury in the other. Was theology alone the evil cause in both cases of lost sovereignty?

That the once twin peoples later quarreled theologically on the matters of ritual and creed none can doubt; and that their religious quarrels had something, as of course, to do with their mere geographical division seems certain. In the case of Asura this took place not with the division between Indian and Iranian alone, but with the jarrings between school and school among the Indians; there were such bickerings beyond a doubt, and as usual, and this even between *shrine* and *shrine.* To explain this deplorable, but too often recurring, mishap, we must, as so often now, go back to the pettiest of all small causes. Some poet in a favored center had made too brilliant illustrations—this was the difficulty; or some woes predicted by one priesthood there had turned out too strikingly, though perhaps accidentally, correct; or again, more simply and as a familiar case, one community had become too prosperous, so that

[14] I. e., Deva.

their especial patron deity must be a little taken down. Such were beyond all doubt the far-back secrets of the thing.

So, low and deep, the mutterings began against the prestige of the now alas! too loudly praised Asura: "Those vaunted deeds of that especial deity, or class, *give flocks and herds* across yon river, or yon border;" "This is the very cause, perhaps, why flocks and herds *are dwindling here*;" "*Asura,* once supreme for all of us, is turning out to be a party-god to the great profit of *those* rivals." And as the negro first neglects and later pounds his fetish, so the Indians began to drop Asura hymns, then to murmur in undertone some fragments in a hostile strain; till at last after some savage struggle they cast off all reserve and openly reviled the god who could so help the hated neighbor and so forgot the days when they too raised his name in song as sweet as any.

This was the true motive of the change, we may depend upon it, as between Indian and Indian; and—take my word for it—it is the secret of half the changes in opinions since. Could things like this have failed to help on, if not actually to cause as well, the differences also between the men of Veda and men of Avesta (and this while they, the future Indians and the original Iranians, still touched each other in their homes), as such like things most certainly brought on the same sort of differences between Indians and Indians in their Southern settlements also *still later on*? The contrary seems hardly possible; things like these must have been the causes here at work. That these grave, and ultimately fatal, differences, with all their mournful but inevitable consequences, had their actual origin from anything like simple and clear differing radical *intellectual* convictions, stirring the very soul and conscience, is unlikely to the very last degree. Why, even the precipitation in some of our own great modern reformations had their impetus from the smallest of all trivial hopes or fears. No, it is extremely foolish to suppose that a purely rational theological antagonism in opinion was really at that early period, the moving cause of the harsh events which followed upon these sub-divisions in either case. Theological rancor,—as indeed to some degree of old, as I have conceded—deepened, and become embittered by every selfish instinct fermenting in the minds of the great leaders; and this to some degree and as a thing of course kept them, as they intended, active both in the stream and at the helm, and more sincere fanatical convictions must have helped on the conflict everywhere and throughout,—but the mainspring of the conflict lay, as ever, in *brute jealousies.*

As the Indo-Iranian tribes extended, the advanced settlements

became somewhat too far off from the chief centers, and the bands of inter-racial connection became at times attenuated. Differing interests,—if only in the great markets in the wider meaning of the term—could not fail to stir up discord. Unequal fortunes nourished hatred; greed grew furious as wealth grew insolent; border friction became more constant as the country's sections grew personally more and more estranged; bloody brawls led on to still more bloody raids, and these to remorseless, inextinguishable feud, until the long fratricidal wars themselves began, and the battle-shouts were deities. As Moslim cried "Allah, Allah," with terrible effect, so each side in murderous affrays called on its favored name. "Deva, Deva," was shouted along the one line, and "Ahura, Ahura," rose fiercely from the other; and in the roar of the chorus the keener wit and the nimbler tongues[15] of the future Rishis too often wove the better words, and silence sank upon the ranks of Iran. And when victory came, with its known atrocities, we can well perceive how "Deva, Deva," became more feared, and if possible more hated (though it was once to both a name endeared), while Ahura as Asura was correspondingly despised by the southern throngs.

The one side in desperate fury cried:

> "Your kindred, O ye D(a)evas, are a seed from the mind polluted;
> Who praise unto you most offers, with the deed of the lie deceiveth;
> Advanced your stratgems are, renowned in the sevenfold earth."[16]

I am convinced that this was the explanation of the strange changes as regards the gods of each.

The Results, or Some of Them.

Victory was not always on the Deva's side, and with victory captives were divided; many a Northwestern was carried off towards India, beyond a doubt, and some from amongst future Indians were dragged back to Iran. There, after the sullen peace, these D(a)eva-worshipers became a servile caste amid the subjects of Ahura, and we actually find them mentioned in the Gatha prominently, and in the New Avesta incidentally. There, in the New Avesta, they are at home, domesticated, and to a degree assimilated, but with such scanty civil rights that their very lives were lightly risked. A grim while the other side thundered back with hymns such as I have quoted.[17]

[15] The short shouts went back on battle hymns; recall the soul-stirring hymns of modern civil war.

[16] Yasna, XXXII, 3. Something such like, or parts of it in short cries.

[17] The hymns behind the battle-shouts.

smile forces itself upon us as our eye runs down the pages; the form of cruelty is as quaint as it is merciless. The tyro-surgeon might try his virgin knife on them, these D(a)eva worshipers, but on no account could he begin his practice on a believer in full credit. If he "cuts" three times, and all three times his patient dies, his knife must rest for ever. Only if he cuts three times, and all three times his D(a)eva-worshiper survives,—then only may he proceed and "cut" the orthodox.[18]

These Differences and Inversions Only the More Acutely Point the Facts of Unity First Noticed.

Such murderous estrangements—as is often elsewhere too clearly seen—only heighten still more the singular effect of the phenomenon of the agreements on which we set such store, and they set the last seal to our convictions. The ancient, but alas! now too often spiteful, sisters, were once almost one, as members of a family. If the chief gods (see above) lost their hold among the Indian-Aryans themselves, how much more was it to be expected that brother deities of lesser magnitude in the two great race divisions, should lose their caste, and that even some leading—if still, also somewhat *sub*-chieftain gods should suffer similarly after they has become the pet saviours of one or of the other of the angry sides?[19] *Mainyu,* "spirit," is indifferent—as a word—in Avesta, needing an adjective to define it more closely as the "evil," though it sometimes occurs alone, and often, to designate a "good" deity. And so, at the first in the Veda; it was "good" enough—though standing quite alone—as "zeal" or "forceful passion" not yet personified, but, like the name above, it became at last, not mere "spirit" as in the other lore, but "spirit anger"; and so also at times personified, while in Avesta it is never the Supreme Devil without its adjunct *angra.*

Then there were the *Nasatyas,* who were, under a still higher name, the *Asvins* of the Veda; but *Nanhaithya* (the same) is a demon in Avesta. Whether the *Angirases* of Veda are the *Angra* of Avesta is much more doubtful.[20]

Then the *Gadharvas,* gods of sheen-mist, are so high in the Veda that they even put the stimulating power into *soma* (sacred

[18] Vend, VIII, 36 (94) f.

[19] If "D(a)evas" carried havoc among the Iranians in conflict with Indians, no better reason could be furnished for their neglect and final detestation, and so of Asura among the future Indians, not only in civil war between the neighboring Indian tribes, but in some frontier battles with Iranians. Of course, as I have said, the matter by no means stopped at this.

[20] For the Angirases some think are mentioned in a good sense in early Persian; but see below as to changes in the same old usage.

drink)[21] beside very many other mighty functions,—but in Avesta *Ga(n)darva* actually attacks the *haoma* (which is *soma*), as a *D(a)eva*—demon attacks a sacred object in an opposing book.

Kalpa is the holy rite, among many other momentous items in Veda, but the *Karpans* are a hated band in the Avesta. Even great Indra was a devil in the Iranian lore, and little wonder, though he fights the Drajon just as the Avesta champions did.

Ithyejah is a demon in Avesta, but *tyajas* (the same) is often not an evil in the Veda. *Buiti* is a demon in the one lore, but *bhuti* means "plenty" in the other; so *Bujin* is a demon in the one, and *bhuji* means "enjoyment" in the other. So other sub-gods and sub-devils fall, or rise, on one side or the other, but the list would tire us. Among the heroes too are many changes. *Krcanu* shoots to save the *soma,* bringing down its keen foe the hawk; but in Avesta *Keresani* is an enemy of *H(a)oma,* which is *soma. Gotema,* and his progeny, are singers and heroes in the Veda, but *G(a)otema* is cursed in the Fravardin Yasht, etc.

One item aside from personalities should be noticed. Curiously enough *Dahyu,* the marked name for the provinces in the Avesta, is *Dasyu,* which is used for hostile tribes in the Rik, and here, indeed, we are so startled by the coincidence that we are almost forced to see in the one a pointed reference to the other. These Dasyus mentioned in the Veda were tribes that did not worship Devas, and they are supposed to have been the savage aborigines whom the Aryan Indians forced further back, as the advancing white man drove the red man elsewhere.

But were those who formed this opinion aware of the familiar Iranian name? Those Dasyus were not only unbelievers, and non-sacrificers, but "people *with other rites.*" What rites had savages which could raise them to the rank of rival worshipers?[22]

To finish with analogies. As Asura turned demon among the Indians (or future Indians) and Manyu with him; as D(a)evas were once gods in Iran, in times before the Gathas, so in the same lore we have from the same cause, a good and evil *Vayu,* and among heroes with their families a good and evil *Kavi,* and the like.

These crossings and recrossing of gods and sub-gods, heroes and head-knaves, from one side to the other in the celestial or in-

[21] Apparently the first there discovered intoxicating liquid, and from that quality deemed to be supernatural.

[22] Some doubt that the etymology here is identical with that of *Dasyu.* If the Indian's *dasyu* had an evil origin in India itself this may have been overlooked by the Iranians. If Indian enemies called Iranian regions *Dasyu* like their own evil *dasyu,* this may have been sufficient cause for Iran to accept the name.

fernal minuet, do not affect the argument. Let me again assert Veda and Avesta *are almost one*; and, to clinch the matter, I will add the chief item here, as perhaps the most unexpected of them all.

The Languages Themselves Almost Identical.[23]

Not only are the gods the same, with the history, and the mythologies, but the very languages are nearer to one another than the several dialects of Greece are to each other. Indeed the distinguished Professor Oldenberg of Kiel asserted that these Aryan languages are more closely related to each other than the very dialects of Indians are near to one another,[24] than the very Vedic is near to its own Sanskrit epic.

This seems to us, at the first hearing of it, to be hardly credible, but what is really more wonderful is that it is so little known. It is actually the fact that we have a mass of documents from the remote northwest which are verily twin-sister to the south and southeast Sanskrit,—and not to the later type of it but the earlier, to the Vedic rather than to the post-Vedic; and this is true also even of the later parts of the late Avesta. There is one main feature of identity to which we should never allow ourselves to grow accustomed; the *meters are the same,* and the most beautiful of all the trishtup predominates in the hymns of the original united home.

Which Holds the Claim to Be the Most Original?

As to which side bears the fullest traces of their common origin is not so easy to decide. Now the older forms seem to gather in the Avesta, now in the Indian, but that all are remotely ancient as terms in Indo-Germanic speech no expert anywhere has doubted.

I refrain from further items. It seems clear, indeed, without more said that Avesta is nearly Veda in history, features, meter and language.

The Impossibility of Later Fabrication.

If so, to return to our first question, how can its greatest and oldest part be the cunning product of the Augustan age? and on Persian soil where the Avesta language had been dead for centuries? A dead speech can live in literature, and Kalidasa[25] could speak no Sanskrit, writing in a left-off lingo, but it would be hazardous to

[23] See my letter to the *Times of India* of July 28, 1909.

[24] See my communication to the *Times of India* under date of July 28, 1909. This gentleman was quoting a chapter of my own in Roth's *Festgruss,* in which I had endeavored to turn the forms of Zend into those of Sanskrit; see his *Religion des Weda,* p. 27.

[25] As some think.

postulate too suddenly the same conditions of things for ancient Iran as for less ancient India. The scenes presented in the old Avesta, the Gathic, teem with intellectual life indeed, rough and severe, and they do not show a hyper-cultivated finesse. The Gathas almost surpass the credible in sublimity of tone, their age and place considered; but in view of the later over-elaborated ideas of India, they betray a too unsuspicious view of life, and we doubt whether the men that wrote them knew the modern world too well. Not even in the latest Avesta, or post-Avesta fragments down to the time when Avesta could have been no longer written[26] do we see the smallest trace of any such malign capacity as could forge the old hymns, working up a mass of broken allusions which depict, in passing, scenes too often far from pleasing, scowling with party passions and all directed to one single aim.[27]

If Genuine, a Later Date for Them Is Unthinkable.

The fabrication of such productions as the Gathas would betray its origin in every line, while as to the seemingly still open possibility that they were late and still *genuine,* it hardly deserves to be discussed. If there was a *Vishtaspa* at the time of Christ, a *Frashaoshtra* and a *Zarathushtra,* they could not possibly have then written pure old Aryan with the very names still perfect, and with the whole cast and coloring such as it lies before us.

Either—entirely unlike the rest of the Avesta—they describe in their vehemence scenes which were actually transpiring and sentiments that were personally felt; or else somebody made them up to imitate the half-baffled fury of a group of leaders struggling with a religious-political crisis. This last would call for a letter-miracle, as said above, and the age for this is past (or never was).[28] Nobody living high up in the hills of sparse Iran could well have worked up a fiction such as that. It would have been a masterpiece immense. Such is the state of the case. There is, however, always the one main result indeed which nothing here affects.

We can offer to inquiring applicants in the Avesta some of the most delicate, as well as momentous, suggestions in ancient literature. With the exception of a frequent solecism, the passages are all, one after the other, but little disputed as to literal terms in their primal sense. It is here the last step which costs as to the last exact point, and not the first. Our doubts are great indeed as to the precise

[26] As a vernacular.

[27] The victory of a bold political-religious party in the struggle for a throne.

[28] See in the previous communication.

turn of the detailed ideas intended by the composer to be expressed; and it is here that we specialists consume each other. But they are next to nil as to preliminary elucidations, and the cruces often fall in dependent parts of sentences, which might actually often be left unrendered with little loss to the main theme.

No one, as I suppose, has ever denied in any tongue the extraordinary elevation of the sentiment in the most ancient pieces of the Avesta, silly as its later excrescences may be, nor does any one question the subtlety of their distinctions as "to thought, and word and deed." The grouping of the Ameshaspenta alone is a marvel, for they mean God's attributes now personified as the Archangels, and again, still denoting characteristics implanted in His people, with the result of healthful weal and deathless long-life (also much personified), but resulting in an especially subjective future state. And all the elements, instinct as they are with religious vitality, have, strange, and again not so strange to say, their traces in the Veda.

We may remember the man in the fiction[29] who objected to "Semitism" as too much immortality, etc. Little did he know that it was far more Aryan than Semitic. While the Hebrew exile had a Sadusaic faith with few glimpses towards the "other side," he came back from his Persion East with a soul all moved by futurity. His God took closer notice,[30] and his Devil had more form. His Judgment was to be forensic, and he came prepared to write the Daniel piece with many more. His spirit, the Iranian's, was to be lashed indeed (if bad), hereafter, but it was by his own evil personal emotions, and his pangs were to be "bad thoughts and deeds," while zephyrs of aromatic fragrance were to meet his soul if blest, as it left the lifeless clay for the Bridge of the Discriminator and the Last Assize. In the approach to these a beautiful form was to appear which was declared to be "his own religious nature," or, as some would read, "himself"; and she would answer to his bewildered question, "I am thy conscience, thy good thoughts and words and deeds, thy very own." Still dazed, though not alarmed, the soul would proceed under her benediction, till it came before the "Throne all golden" where Vohumanah, like the Son of God, arises to hail and reassure it; souls of the holy dead throng to meet it; the Almighty intervenes to spare it painful reminiscences; and it enters a Heaven of "good thoughts and words and deeds." But this is Avesta, and by no means Veda.

[29] Cp. Mr. Disraeli's *Lothair*, i. e., see my letter to the *Times of India* of September 24, 1909.

[30] Spiritual notice.

THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT GAUL AND CÆSAR WORSHIP.

BY THE EDITOR.

HISTORY as taught in schools gives us much information concerning the progress of political events. We learn how Rome conquered one country after another and we are told even the details of the battles through which the fate of nations was decided. But our sources as to the economical and cultural history of the world are very few and we have to piece together our knowledge concerning the development of religious institutions from stray bits of information incidentally mentioned in connection with political events. Thus our comprehension of the gradual progress of religious, economical and social conditions remains to a great extent a matter of conjecture. Nevertheless some facts of history stand out clearly and allow us to note the changes which have set in from time to time, and the most important transformation of the old religions is what might be called the foundation of an official state religion in the reign of Augustus. This transformation of the local worship in the several provinces was accomplished with great discretion and it was of extraordinary importance because it gave stability to the empire by adding a religious sanction to the order established by conquest.

Religion played a greater part in ancient history than we are commonly aware of, and the office of Pontifex Maximus, or high priest, was more significant than it might seem, judging from our usual treatment of history.

When the empire was established the Pontifex Maximus of Rome became superior also to the Roman priests in the provinces, and especially in the colonies and municipal towns. His authority from what might be called a bishop of Rome changed into that of a bishop of bishops, or pope, and we can here clearly understand how the religious rites and institutions of pagan Rome prepared the way for the superiority of Christian Rome.

STATUE OF AUGUSTUS.

The first great province which added an untold increase of power to the Roman empire was Gaul. Sicily, Africa, Macedonia, Greece, Spain and Pergamon were prosperous and rich countries, but none

of them possessed a population of such native vigor as this northern province which had been added by Cæsar to the sway of Rome's dominion. Italy had lost its warlike strength to a great extent, and Gaul offered new resources for recruiting soldiers and officers. Cæsar had understood how to turn the capabilities of the Gauls to use, and we must assume that great as he was in the field he was still greater in statesmanship. He must have known how to gain the confidence and friendship of those Gallic people who saw their own advantage in a connection with their more civilized, richer and more powerful southern neighbors. He must have established trade and commerce, and the cities were satisfied with the new government not only because it was firmly established through Roman victories, but also because the old misrule of local aristocracies was superseded by a wider outlook and the hope of establishing peaceful connections with countries beyond their own borders. The Gallic youths of rural districts enlisted in the Roman legions for love of booty as well as the expectation of a comfortable life after retirement in some military colony, and such well organized conditions must have done more than victories on the battle-field to establish Roman authority in this large country of a restless population.

The most important step, however, which finished the conquest definitely was the religious change which gradually abrogated ancient Gallic religion, and replaced it by the political institution of Cæsar worship.

We must assume that the introduction of this Cæsar worship was no difficult matter because the idea of a god-man, of a hero, of a saviour, was common among all the pre-Christian nations, and it appears to have been an essential feature of the faith also of ancient Gaul. To replace the language was even less difficult probably through the fact that the ancient Celtic dialects belonged to a family next in kin to Latin, and so the change was in some degree the establishment of a literary dialect over those which had not yet been fixed in writing. Briefly stated, Roman power and civilization were organized while the languages as well as the religious cults of the provinces were not organized and so it was easy for Roman institutions to replace those of native origin.

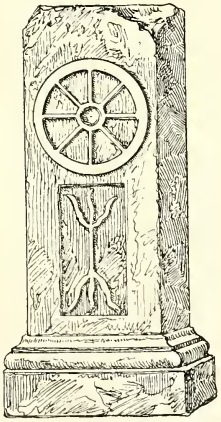
The ancient religion of Gaul has practically disappeared, and we know only a little of it through some monuments that have been discovered in various parts of France. A few of these relics are purely Celtic, but most of them show the influence of Greco-Roman civilization. Some Gallic gods have been changed into their analogous Greco-Roman figures, to Apollo, Mercury, Vulcan, Jupiter,

Hercules, etc., but others have preserved their original barbarian form. Among the latter we find a god with horns called Cernannos,

THE GALLIC GOD CERNANNOS.

ALTAR SCULPTURE OF THE GALLIC WHEEL-GOD.

Found at Theley, district Ottweiler, and preserved in the Museum at Treves. The other three sides show Hygeia, Minerva and Hercules.



ALTAR OF THE GALLIC WHEEL-GOD.

In the Maison Carrée at Nimes.

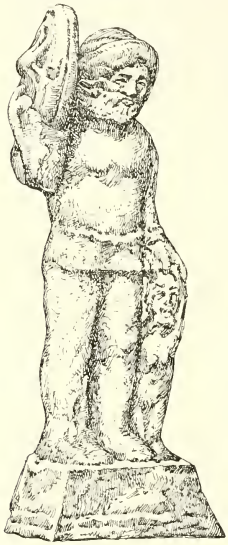
BRONZE FIGURE OF THE GALLIC WHEEL-GOD.

About four inches high found at Chatelet, Haute Marne, and preserved in the Louvre.

presumably a god of vegetation, or a personification of all nourishing nature. Another god represents a trinity, and this seems to have

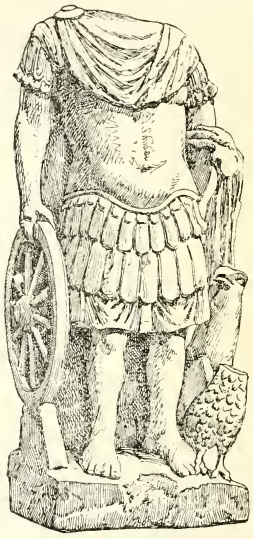
been the chief deity of Gaul, which may have been one reason why he resisted longest the Romanizing influence.

Jupiter, the Greek Zeus, has been identified with the Gallic god of the wheel who must have been very popular all over Gaul, for there are innumerable statues of him found on the left bank of the Rhine. He carries a wheel in one hand and sometimes a thunderbolt in the other, which proves that he was a sun god and at the same time the thunderer. An altar now in the Maison Carrée at Nimes



AN ARCHAIC STATUE OF THE WHEEL-GOD.

Reconstructed from fragments in terra cotta by M. Bertrand of Moulins.



COLOSSAL STATUE OF THE WHEEL-GOD.

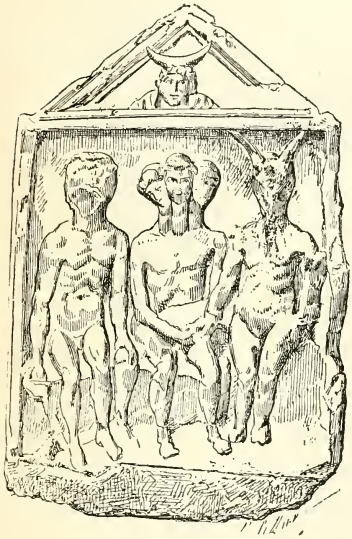
Found at Séguret, Vaucluse, and now in the Museum at Avignon.

must have been dedicated to him, for on the front it bears his two symbols.

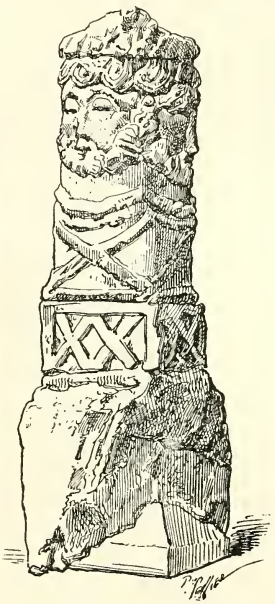
The trinitarian god of Gaul has been preserved in several monuments, of which perhaps the oldest is the altar of Beaune, where he sits between two other gods of whom the one is horned while the other, a plain human figure, is assumed to be the Gallic Apollo. Another monument to the old trinitarian deity is a short pillar found at Rheims representing him with three faces looking in three differ-

ent directions. The least archaic form of this same deity has been found at Autun which minimizes the two heads. It seems to be a concession to the more artistic and cultured taste that spread after the Roman conquest, for it shows one face in front which is normal, while the other faces on either side are not made prominent, which arrangement takes away the ugliness of a three-faced monstrosity.

An interesting account of the Gallic Hercules so called, is preserved by Lucian who under this name describes a Celtic divinity of eloquence. He says:



ALTAR OF BEAUNE.

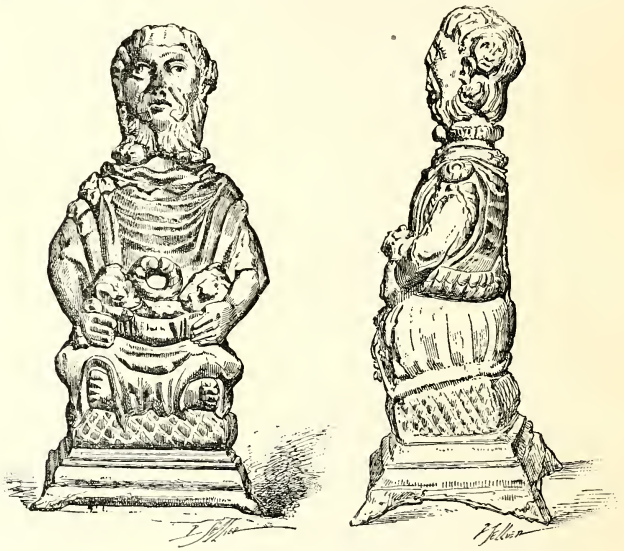


TRICEPHALUS AT RHEIMS.

"The Gauls call Hercules in their own language Ogmios, but they picture him quite different than the Greeks and indeed strange enough. I have seen his portraiture once where he is represented as an old bald-headed man, his hair gray as much as there is left of it, his face full of wrinkles and of as swarthy a complexion as that of old sailors. One might have taken him for Charon or Iapetus or some other inhabitant of Tartarus, indeed for anything but for Hercules. But his dress was quite Herculian, for he carried the lion

skin on his back, a club in his right hand, a bow in his left and a quiver over his shoulder. In this respect he was a true Hercules. My first thought was that this burlesque figure had been drawn for the purpose of ridiculing the Greek gods, perhaps in revenge for the robberies which Hercules had committed in Gaul, when he was searching for the oxen of Geryon.

"The most peculiar feature of this picture I have not yet told, for this old Hercules drew after him a great number of people who were fettered to him by their ears, the chains being made of gold



STATUETTE AT AUTUN.

and amber as light and delicate as are the necklaces of our ladies. It might have been easy for his prisoners to break their brittle fetters and run away, but they never thought of it. There was not one who resisted or tried to free himself and they all followed their leader joyfully and praised him highly. Some of them were so delighted with their state that they ran ahead of him so long as their chain permitted in order to be near him. Yea, I could see that they would have been very sorry if they had been set at liberty. But the most nonsensical part of this picture appeared to me this that the artist in his perplexity how this Hercules should hold the chains

since he had his hands full, attached them to the tongue of the god which for this purpose had been perforated at its tip, and he turned his head towards his prisoners with a bland smile."

It is obvious that Ogmios is not Hercules, but some deity which represents the power of persuasion or the superiority of mind, but neither the heroism of the Greek Heracles nor the rustic sportiveness of the Italian Hercules.

The Celtic god Esus seems to correspond to the Teutonic Bal-

GALLIC TRIAD ON AN ALTAR AT RHEIMS.
The three-headed god has divided; Esus-Jupiter is attended by his Roman family Apollo and Mercury.

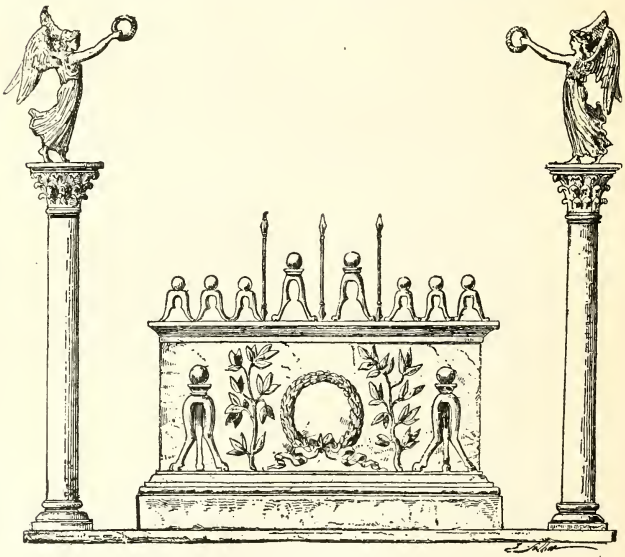
dur, for he is represented as cutting the mistletoe, the sacred plant which was assumed to have grown from seed that fell from heaven. As such he has been identified by an inscription on the bas-relief of an altar, the fragments of which have been found on the site of Notre Dame of Paris. Baldur was the god of light who at the summer solstice was killed through the intrigue of the winter god Hödur, but the festival of his return to life was celebrated in the winter solstice at Yule tide. The mistletoe, the innocent cause of

his death, appears green in midwinter giving promise in the darkest days of the year of the return of spring and a resurrection of Baldur.

The details of Celtic mythology have been lost, but we may be sure that the Gauls possessed in Esus a similar if not the very same

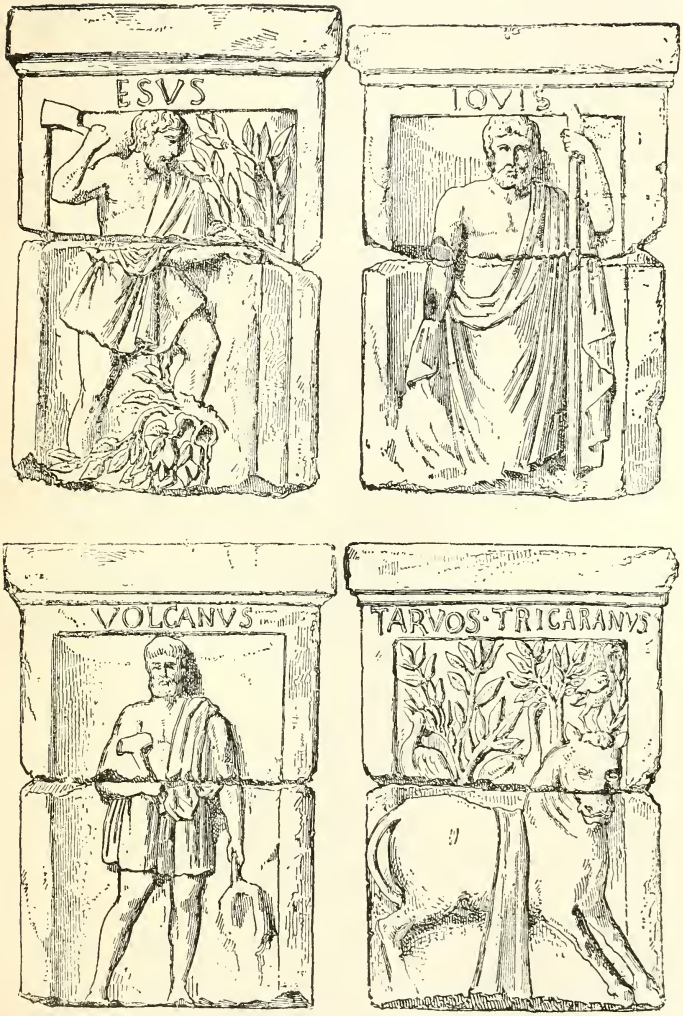
ALTAR AT LYONS ON COIN.

TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS ON COIN.



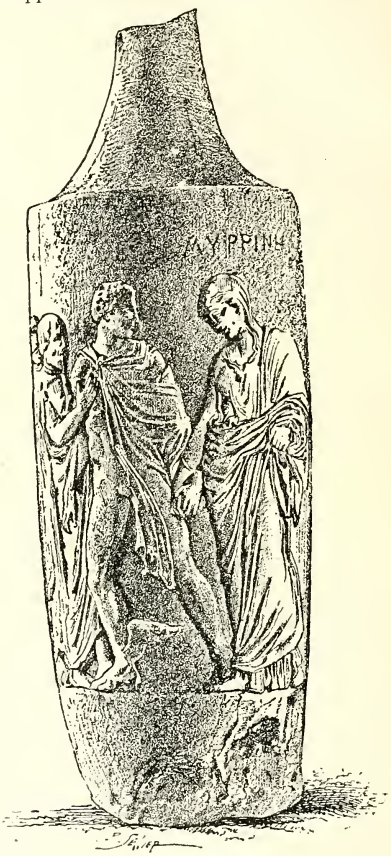
ALTAR OF ROME AND AUGUSTUS AT LYONS.
(Reconstruction.)

figure as the Teutonic Baldur, and we notice the strange though unquestionably accidental similarity in sound with the personal name of the Christian Saviour, Jesus.



GALLIC ADAPTATIONS OF ROMAN GODS.

That the Gauls believed in an immortality of some kind is considered as assured, but the relics we find indicate that Greco-Roman ideas must have supplanted their aboriginal custom at a very early

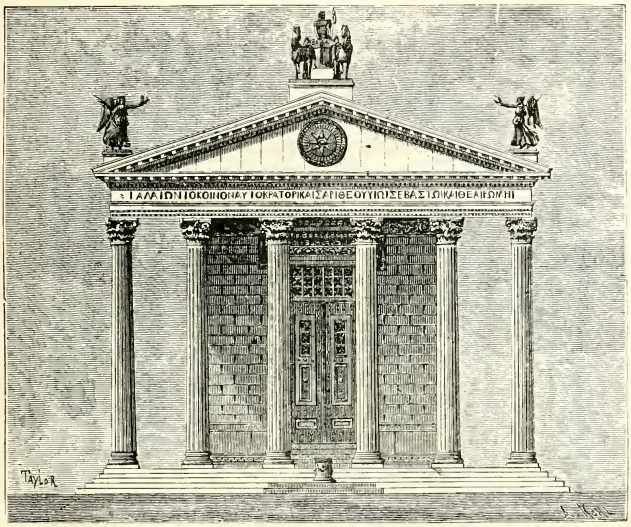


FUNERAL URN OF MYRRHINA.

date, at least among the aristocratic classes. A vase, containing the ashes of a certain Myrrhina, now preserved in the Louvre, shows the typical picture of the dead being led by Mercury after the prototype of the Orpheus basreliefs, and so we learn that views similar

to those of the Orpheus cult which was still unforgotten in the times of Christianity, had a hold upon Gallic imagination. We may well assume that the ancient Gauls had practically the same ideas of immortality and that Mercury and Orpheus took the place of some more primitive Gallic divinities, who had charge of the souls in the land of the dead.

And how did the Romans deal with these deities, who, as we learn, were worshiped by a regular priestly class, called the Druids? How did Rome succeed in avoiding a religious conflict between her



TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS RESTORED.

own religious system and the conservative Gallic orthodoxy? In the Augustan age the Romans simply introduced into Gaul the worship of Rome and Augustus, and left the old clergy alone. There was no suppression of the old faith, no antagonism, no persecution, and yet the druidic religion was doomed to merge into Roman Cæsar worship simply by discontinuing the influence of the Gallic clergy with their primitive superstitions. The barbaric rites of the druidic worship, such as human sacrifices, were forbidden by a decree of the Roman Senate. Otherwise no one was hindered or

disturbed in his religious faith. On the other hand the new priests of Rome were favored by the government and enjoyed the advantage of having political connection with the capital. The ceremonies were brilliant and in the form of public festivities that attracted the crowds and appealed to popular imagination, while the ancient druidic rites, so far as we can judge, were gloomy and quite incompatible with the spirit of a progressive civilization.

The decisive step of laying the foundation of the new religion was taken in the year 12 B. C., when upon the invitation of Drusus deputies of the three Gallic provinces assembled at Lyons to erect

PRAETORIAN GUARDS.

an altar dedicated to Rome and to Augustus, and a nobleman of the Aeduan tribe was elected by the assembly to officiate as high priest at the inauguration of the new temple.

This institution of Cæsar worship in the shape of a religious faith, believing in a saviour who was the representative of God on earth, and the incarnation of all authority, became the cement which rendered the foundation of the Roman Empire enduring for several centuries. The organization that resulted therefrom, the institution of imperial priests inspected and controlled by their provincial high priest, who in his turn was subject to the Pontifex Maximus at

Rome, became the prototype of the political institution of the Roman Catholic Church.

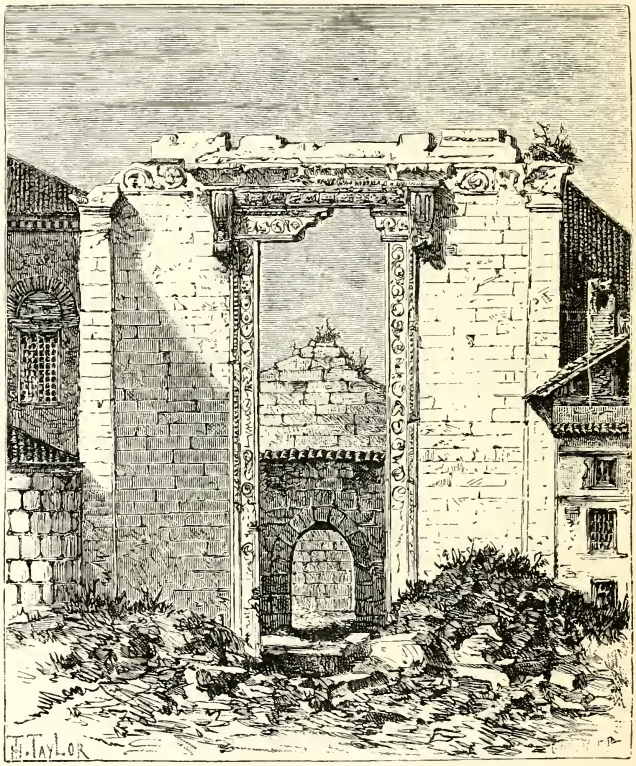
Rome had conquered the world by the sword, but the immortal city became naturally the victim of its own method. He who wielded the sword became the master of Rome, and this lot, after several

AUGUSTUS AS OFFICIATING PRIEST.

vain attempts by Marius, Sulla, and others, fell into the hands of Cæsar. Cæsar had trained his army in Gaul and though the officers were Romans, many of his men were native Gauls. It was thus possible that they could be used as well for the cause of Rome as against it.

Cæsar's successor Augustus had reorganized the army and made

it a permanent institution, on the one hand subjecting it to a severe discipline, on the other hand holding out to the veterans the promise of an honorable retirement. He established the rule that recruits should first serve in the regular army and not until they had been

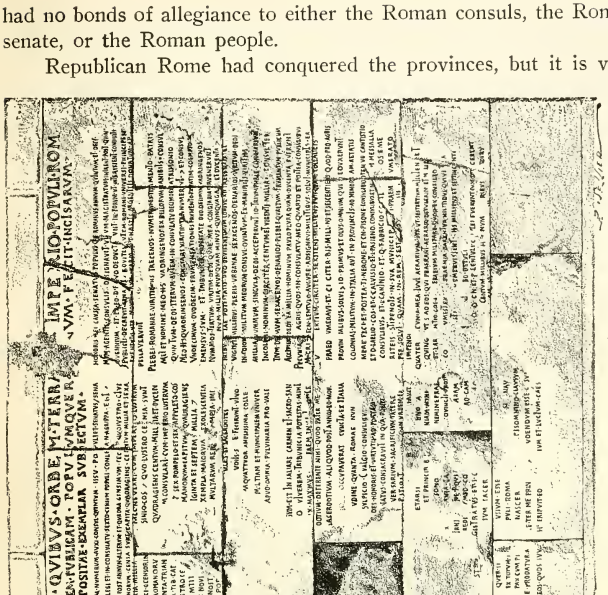


RUINS OF AUGUSTAN TEMPLE.

tried and found reliable were they transferred to the Praetorian guards. The Emperor had more than twenty-five legions recruited from countries outside of Italy, and this arrangement gave him absolute control over the army which depended solely upon him, and

had no bonds of allegiance to either the Roman consuls, the Roman senate, or the Roman people.

Republican Rome had conquered the provinces, but it is very

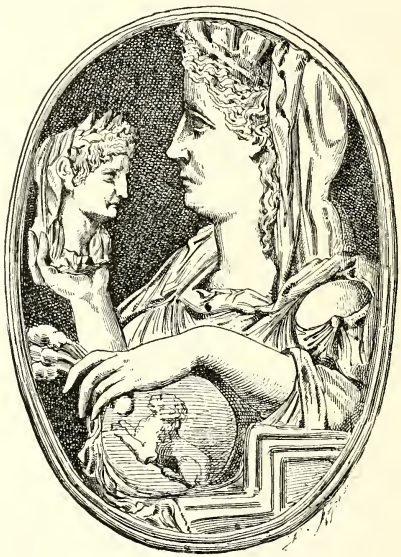


WALL OF THE TEMPLE OF ANCYRA BEARING THE LATIN TEXT OF THE TESTAMENT OF AUGUSTUS.

doubtful whether she could have continued to hold them. Foreign nations had been subjugated and were governed by proconsuls who in the name of Rome committed all kinds of extortions and robberies enriching themselves at the cost of their provinces. This unfair

method of government changed under Augustus who systematized the administration and strengthened his hold on the provinces by abolishing the prerogative of Rome to be exempt from taxation.

When Augustus died the tradition of the worship of a vicegerent on earth did not die with him. On the contrary, it continued to be a factor in the consolidation of the Empire and laid the foundation of the belief in a monarchy by God's grace, which is still upheld in the opinion of the conservatives of Europe.



LIVIA AS CYBELE.

We must remember that the word Augustus is not a name but a title, and it means the August One, which is equivalent to His Holiness, or the Sacred One, or the Venerable One. In his will which has been inscribed on bronze tablets and is preserved in the Augusteum built for that purpose in Rome and in other temples all over the Roman Empire, Augustus narrates not only his deeds and the acts of his generosity, but also his priestly honors. Indeed he dwells on them with evident satisfaction. In the tenth section we read:

"My name, by a decree of the Senate, has been inserted in the Salian Hymn, and a law made that I should be sacrosanct and that I should possess for life the office of tribune. The people offered me the supreme pontificate held by my father before me; but I would not replace any living man in this office. So only some years afterwards when this priesthood became vacant by the death of him who had seized it in our civil dissensions, was I installed in its possession, and so great a crowd gathered from all Italy to attend the meeting on this occasion as had never before been seen; this was during the consulate of P. Sulpicius and C. Volgius."

PRINCESS JULIA.

Augustus further points out with pride that he was the man who restored peace to the Empire. He says in Section XIII:

"The temple of Janus Quirinus, which, according to the command of our fathers, is never closed except when peace prevails over all lands and seas subject to the Romans, had been closed, as our annals attest, but twice since the foundation of Rome; but under my government thrice has the Senate proclaimed that it should be closed."

A second copy of this testament was discovered by M. G. Perrot

on an expedition dispatched to Asia Minor by Emperor Napoleon III.[1]

The senate decreed the apotheosis of Augustus, and the worship of him as the guardian of imperial Rome was kept up throughout the

LIVIA IN PRAYER.

Empire. By the decree of the senate an Augustan Flamen was installed in all large cities, and at Rome a college of 21 pontiffs was established who were chosen by lot from the foremost families.

[1] A full account of the Augusteum of Ancyra where the will of Augustus had been preserved intact together with the Greek translation, is published in Perrot's book *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithyne.*

The first members were Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius and Germanicus, all belonging to the imperial family. Patriotic Romans introduced the worship of the *divus Augustus* in their own household, and Livia,[2] the widow of Augustus, was created priestess of her deified husband. In a subterranean passage which is still in existence she went every morning from her own house to the Emperor's former residence, which had been changed by a decree of the Senate into a sanctuary, a kind of museum, and there she attended to her sacerdotal duties, burning incense before his image.

While the idea of a saviour, a god-man, a prince of peace, became fully established over the whole empire, the successors of Augustus proved very little worthy of this ideal and the result was that the people no longer associated it with a man wielding temporal power. The early Christians believed that the kingdom of Christ was not of this world, but of the world to come, and only later on when Rome ceased to be the capital of Italy, when for a time Ravenna, and again for a time Verona, had taken the place of Rome, when Germanic conquerors quarreled among themselves for the possession of the countries that once constituted the Roman Empire, then only the old institution of a highest pontiff in Rome, which had never been entirely forgotten, rose to new life in the shape of papacy and found a ready supporter in Pepin, the Franconian *Major domus* who in dispossessing the weak legitimate King acquired through his alliance with the church a new legitimacy which henceforth was styled "by the grace of God."

[2] Livia was an ideal wife, and her advice often proved helpful to her husband. Ovid says of her that she had the beauty of Venus and the morals of Juno. Augustus, whose third wife she was, extolled her deportment and recommended her as a model to the Roman matrons. From Claudius Nero, her first husband, she had two sons, Tiberius and Drusus, but she had no children from Augustus. The daughter of Augustus, his only child, Julia, was born to him by Scribonia, his second wife, who had been first married to Agrippa, the old trusted general of Augustus, and after Agrippa's death to Tiberius, the son of Livia. The princess Julia was very different from Livia, who was at the same time her step-mother and her mother-in-law. Julia gave so much offense by frivolity that the Emperor finally banished her to the island Pandataria.

THE RELIGION OF ROSA BONHEUR.

BY THEODORE STANTON.

THE religious beliefs of Rosa Bonheur were unquestionably moulded by the religion of the Saint Simonians, both directly and through her father, Raymond Bonheur, who, himself an artist, was an earnest member of this transcendentalist sect.

It is through his letters, four of which I have been able to discover in the Saint Simonian archives in the Arsenal Library, that the noble and generous character of Raymond Bonheur comes out strongly and in its true light. No sooner had he become a Saint Simonian and believed that he had found on earth the peace of soul and mind so earnestly desired than he longs to share his supreme happiness with his friends, and thereupon displays a characteristic tenderness of sentiment by turning first to his old teacher at Bordeaux, Pierre Lacour. The printed letterhead reads: "St. Simonian Religion," and the letter is dated "Paris, March 1, 1831." It begins as follows, to his "dear and former master":

"I little ever imagined that I, moved by a religious sentiment, would address myself to you. But, unknown to you, I received from you other benefits than those of learning the arts of painting and drawing—arts to-day so poor and unreligious. You will pardon my confidence, my hope, that I may be able to give you something in exchange for your lessons, and as it was due to you that I turned my back on the dangerous doctrines of Boulanger and company, I like to believe that you will at least permit me to thank you and proclaim the wisdom of your course."

The writer then goes on, in a closely-written, four-page, commercial-size sheet, to develop the doctrines of Saint Simonianism, the aim being to convert Lacour; and the wordy and rather wandering epistle ends with this postscriptum: "You may communicate this letter to the members of the Philanthropic Society, of which

I have the honor to be a corresponding member, bearing in mind the purpose of the letter and overlooking its shortcomings."

On the same day and on the same large-size paper he writes another letter, this time six pages in length, addressed to a former fellow pupil of Lacour. He tells how he was converted to Saint Simonianism and paints a dark picture of the society of the time, "where neither kings nor presidents, congresses nor ministers, deputies nor journals, nobody, either of the Right or the Left, knows what remedy to propose." He then continues:

"Like you, my dear Durand, and with the greatest energy, I have cried in the desert—cries of imprecation and sorrow against a blind power which seems cruelly to conduct everything into the yawning mouth of fatality, the fiend of ruin and destruction, which tears us to pieces all the more unmercifully because we are generous and tender! I revolted and strongly protested against every belief except that of my own individual conscience. But consolation could I find nowhere. I was in a state of despairing scepticism, when a friendly voice having directed my attention to the doctrines of Saint Simon, I soon found my hopes the more thoroughly realized because, at first, I was wrong in thinking myself deceived at the reunions in counting on the sympathies of those who acted on impulses like my own. Well, my dear friend, I read much, I meditated long on the works explaining the doctrine, and I attended lectures on the subject. One evening I argued with all my force against everything which appeared to me utopian or visionary, or anarchical, or Jesuitical; for it seemed to me that I saw on all sides contradictory tendencies. But I finally came to recognize that the apparent confusion emanated from myself. I perceived it in the strongest opponent of the doctrine, who, like myself, in the end honestly surrendered."

This letter is signed "James Raimond Bonheur," being the only instance I have found of Raymond Bonheur using the name James. Later he spelled Raymond with an *i*.

In a fourth letter from Ménilmontant Raymond Bonheur refers to "this society which is dissolved by individualism," and thus disposes of the criticism that the Saint Simonians were intolerant: "Scepticism, doubt, can alone tolerate. To tolerate is to abandon, to be indifferent. The man who loves virtue, can he tolerate brigandage?"

The language of Raymond Bonheur's letters written from Ménilmontant is not always clear. But this was peculiar to the writings of the whole sect, the printed and spoken speech of the Father

being especially so; in which respect they again resembled our own transcendentalists. Both these French and New England illuminati had an exasperating way of twisting words away from their ordinary meaning. Curiously enough, this same defect stands out glaringly in many of the letters of Rosa Bonheur, where it is often impossible to guess what she means. A friend once showed her one of her letters and asked her what an obscure passage signified, when she replied: "In the first place, I can't read it, and even if I could, I probably would not know now what I was driving at then. In fact, perhaps I did not know even then!" But probably it is too much to attribute this singularity to Saint Simonian influence, which, however, manifested itself frequently throughout her life and remained with her to the end.

On November 13, 1897, about a year and a half before her death, Rosa Bonheur wrote as follows from By to her friend Venancio Deslandes of Lisbon:

"I have the honor to hold the same views as Mme. George Sand concerning the brief sojourn we make in this world, and, though I never enjoyed the personal acquaintance of, nor saw, this genius, I have read with pleasure the extract herewith enclosed. It was copied out by a distinguished woman well known in the world of art and a friend of one of my men-friends to whom she sent it from New York. Please read it."

The extract referred to above is stated by the copyist to be taken from "an exquisite philosophical book by George Sand," and is a rather remarkable presentation of the novelist's belief in reincarnation; remarkable inasmuch as it anticipates in form much of what is taught to-day by the accredited leaders of theosophy. The salient passage of the extract is the following:

"We are allowed by reason and we are bidden by the heart to count on a series of progressive existences proportioned to our good desires. And certainly the first of all our legitimate aspirations, since it is noble, is to find in this future life the faculty of recollecting in a certain measure our previous lives. It would not be very agreeable to trace back all our pains and sorrows in detail. Even in the present life, such a remembrance would be a nightmare. But the luminous points, the salutary trials wherein we have triumphed, would be a reward, and the celestial crown would be the embracing of our friends and their recognizing us in their turn."

Another proof that such was Rosa Bonheur's acknowledged view of the future life is furnished in these lines sent me by Henri Cain:

"Rosa was always glad to have my brother and me bring her books. She read rather advanced ones. I am interested in occultism and she shared my interest. The doctrine must not be confounded, however, with modern spiritualism or magnetism. The occultism which held our attention was a philosophical form of the conception of the migration of souls, of the survival of the spirit in us after death. Towards the end of her life, Rosa Bonheur gave much thought to these questions and read all she could find on the subject. She began with volumes of Figuier and Flammarion, and did not hesitate to tackle more solid works, if I may so express myself; treatises that went into the details of the whole complex question. Though she may have had a leaning toward spiritualism, I can affirm only that she believed thoroughly in our occult theory."

It should be pointed out that many of these ideas, such, for example, as that of the migration of the soul, are found in the metaphysical speculations of the Saint Simonians, where Rosa Bonheur probably first made their acquaintance.

All her friends agree in the essential facts which show that Rosa Bonheur was a free thinker in the right acceptance of the term. In proof of this assertion I may give these further attestations from some of those who knew her best and longest.

Alexandre Jacob has said to me:

"Of religion, Rosa Bonheur rarely spoke. She was not a member of the Church, never attended mass and probably inherited from her father her thoroughly independent attitude toward catholicism. Yet, while so little attached to ordinary religious observance, she was punctilious as regards the rites of marriage, baptism and burial, and when her friend Nathalie Micas died, she was careful to have performed all the Church requires from the devout."

Louis Passy has said to me, and I noted down his statement in his presence:

"As regards Rosa Bonheur's religious convictions, my opinion is that she was an agnostic. I do not think she ever gave her mind to an examination of those questions. She worked from morning till night, and had no time to study such serious matters. Why, even when on visits, she was sketching all the time. This is my view of the religious mentality of Rosa Bonheur."

Princess Stirbey has written me:

"To hear Rosa Bonheur talk, some people would have considered her an enemy of religion. She certainly did fulminate against many tenets of catholicism, criticising the Church with frankness and at the same time with a popular coloring of expression and

vigor that one would have expected rather in a man. And yet, when Nathalie Micas died, she consented to all the funeral rites being celebrated without a single omission, and was herself present at the whole of them both at the church near By and at the Père Lachaise cemetery, in Paris, where Nathalie was buried. During all this sad day I was with Rosa, who, amid her sobs, kept repeating: 'What will become of me?' She was quite prostrated by the blow, but yet remained devout."

In a conversation with Prince Georges Stirbey, I made these notes while with him:

"When Mlle. Micas died, Rosa Bonheur suffered great grief. It was as if she had been struck by a thunderbolt. She was so upset by her great loss that she could not work. The cruel blow awakened in her thoughts of religion. One day she turned suddenly on me and put this question:

" 'Do you believe in a future life? The thought has troubled me a great deal of late. My spirit is refractory to all ideas of the life to come, and the immortality of the soul. I do not understand these things; but my heart seems to tell me that I will see again my Nathalie.'

"And as I talked with her, I saw that she had a certain sense of religion. Hers was the religion of the artists who see God everywhere and in all nature. But if you spoke to her of complex dogmas, she was no longer able to follow you. It was her heart rather than her mind which governed her in these matters."

In a letter written in April, 1867, to Paul Chardin, occurs this passage: "To my mind, my good Rapin, death does not exist. It is a transformation in the physical as in the moral world." M. Chardin makes the following comment thereon:

"It is quite true that Rosa Bonheur was not a practising Catholic, and her religious ideas were, I think, very vague. But it is certain from this letter that she believed in the immortality of the soul, that she held that there is another life and that there is a moral transformation of the spiritual part of our being tending toward perfection."

Rosa Bonheur's pantheistic conception of the unknown was well expressed in these words of Tennyson, which she warmly approved when they were translated to her by a dear friend: "It is inconceivable that the whole universe was merely created for us who live in this third-rate planet of a third-rate sun." Nor was she one of those "persons who are afraid of holy water while they are living and of the devil when they are dying."

THE DOUBLE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ROME..

BY THE EDITOR.

BEFORE me lies a little book entitled *The Double Doctrine of the Church of Rome* by Baroness von Zedtwitz, one of the Caldwell sisters who founded and endowed the Catholic university at Washington. It contains an account of the author's reasons for renouncing her allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church to which she and her sister from their early childhood had been zealously devoted. In addition to the general interest of such a statement we have a private reason which claims our attention because about twenty-five years ago the editor of *The Open Court* happened to know these ladies and could not help admiring the earnestness of their faith which shone through all their words and acts. At that time they showed an anxiety to procure for the Roman Catholic Church an institution of learning that would be of the same high standing as the best of any Protestant denomination. They furnished the funds for a university of which the first rector was the scholarly and liberal Bishop Kane, one of the most prominent figures in the Religious Parliament, but he was not suffered long in his position, for he was called to Rome and the administration of the university passed into other hands.

Since then years have passed, and in the meantime both sisters have turned Protestants, first Baroness Zedtwitz and then the Marquise des Monstiers Merinville, and the little book before me proves that they took this step after due consideration—in fact after a great struggle and very reluctantly.

The bulk of the book is rather historical and shows much acquaintance with theological literature. Its arguments would perhaps not be considered of great importance, for similar statements have often been made by critics of the Catholic Church, but the

preface is more impressive and proves that we have to deal here with a strong personality who, with the best intentions to accept the Roman Catholic faith, was obliged to rebel against ecclesiastical authority and work her way out into freedom. If the two Caldwell sisters had lived in obscurity, if they had not been thrown into intimate association with the prelates of the church, if they had never gone to Rome and become acquainted with the inner ring of church politics, or as Baroness Zedtwitz calls it, "esoteric catholicism," they might both have remained good Catholics to this day. The Baroness says: "I found myself at last an admitted member in church politics, and at the source and heart of esoteric catholicism."

But she was disappointed. Her own case reminds her of Luther who lost his implicit confidence in the papacy after he had been in Rome (p. 12).

The author's reasons for publishing the book in the United States are stated as follows:

"Owing to the extreme hostile attitude assumed by the Roman church in this country, towards my decision, and its persistent efforts to, at first, deny, and then belittle the sincerity of my renunciation of their system, I have found it necessary to resort to the only way of silencing the voices of those who persistently spread the report that I have never completely severed my connection with the church of Rome." And she adds (p. 16), "my decision is irrevocable."

In her younger years she must have seen much that was irreconcilable with the lofty principles of Christianity, yet she clung to the Catholic church. She says: "In childhood and early girlhood, without palliating the unchristian conduct of almost all the prelates with whom I came in contact, I never ceased to hope and believe that when womanhood had ripened my judgment, the apparent inconsistencies would be fully explained and the truth become evident to me."

Her sojourn in Rome tended to confirm the change in her opinion of that church which she had "always believed 'Holy,'" but, she says, "the voice of conscience became ever louder, and finally drowned the superstitious fear which held me back from the step I knew I must take. . . . Revolt was the inevitable result of my search for enlightenment, and I struggled to be free; but from the desert waste of esoteric catholicism but few can find the true path back to Christianity, and mine was a long and dreary search."

Baroness Zedtwitz has not become an unbeliever. On the contrary it is her Christianity which has asserted itself, but she has come to the conviction that Catholicism and Christianity are not the same. She is well aware of the fact that there are many pious souls in the

fold of the church but they become tools in the hands of the curia and are cunningly used to deceive the world about the real character of Rome. She says: "It were folly to suppose Rome so blind to her own interests as not to perceive the need of saintliness within her fold, and amongst the uninitiated members of the church, numbering both humble priests and laymen, are to be found types of the truest, purest Christians. Such make unconsciously the propaganda of Rome. They nurse the sick, dispense charity to the poor, profess and know of no other doctrine than the Gospels of Jesus Christ. Of the corruptions in Roman ecclesiastical administration, and in church politics they are wholly unaware. It is to them that Rome points as living proofs of the work she is achieving for humanity, knowing well that through ignorance alone they remain in her communion."

In a similar tone the Baroness speaks of the priests. She recognizes that there is "a restricted class of men who have, through a highly developed spirituality, reached that level where they can begin to realize the possibilities of the super-man." They are the exceptions, for, says our author, "It will scarcely be maintained by the most partisan Roman Catholic, that the obligations placed on the priesthood are never violated."

She discusses in her book the quarrel of the Jesuits with the Jansenists and criticises the perverted moral teachings of the officially recognized doctors of the church among whom Alphonsus de Liguori with his work on moral theology ranges very high; and yet this man justifies equivocation or quibbling which just falls short of direct lying, if the deceiving be done for "a just cause." As an instance of a trick by which a lie may be justified through a mental reservation she selects the following: "A man asked if a particular thing be true, which he knows to be true, but does not wish to admit, may lawfully reply: 'I say, No,' meaning thereby only, 'I utter the word, No,' and not, 'I declare that the thing did not happen.'"

We will not enter into further details because similar instances of Liguori and other theologians have frequently been collected and published.

An important point which our author has made, is that the principles of Rome do not encourage the building up of a strong character. They prefer what has been called "moral adaptability" which would be lenient to those who show love of power and wealth and allow an elastic conscience. Even simony is tolerated on the condition that spiritual motives are decisive and that the motive of bribery should not be in the foreground. Baroness Zedtwitz believes that the influence of Romanism is baneful. She says:

"Wherever Rome has had preponderant influence in a country or is gaining in power, a certain specific type of mind and character is developed, however different the races who assume it may be in other respects from one another. It is characterized by a large "moral adaptability," for there is nothing so detestable to Rome as a cast-iron character and an inflexible moral code.... The love of power and wealth are motives which Rome can use and manipulate. Liberty in any form she is impotent to handle."

The book of Baroness Zedtwitz is certainly a remarkable document written by one who has sincerely tried to live up to and continue in the faith of the Roman Catholic church and yet has failed. The question is whether Rome will heed the signs of the time and whether Romanism[1] will by and by die out and let the spirit of true catholicism prevail in the church. Among the prelates whom Baroness Zedtwitz has met there are those also who feel that there is something wrong, and some of them long for a reform. She says:

"Disaffection is already found even amongst the members of the hierarchy; men of learning, some of them sincere, zealous, earnest in the cause of humanity, are awakening from their delusions."

We have no doubt whatever that the Pope himself is honest and that he tries his best to fill the high office to which he has been called. But the great question is, Does he possess the insight and is he truly aware of the gravity of the situation.

It is reported that when he is confronted with an unexpected reversal of his plans which now and then happens to him, he is in the habit of exclaiming *Deus providebit,* "God will dispose of it"; and the Pope's confidence in God is perhaps well founded, though it may be in another and a broader sense than he thinks. The God of history leads mankind onward, and the very mistakes men make must often serve to bring about the ends which he has in view and which his worshipers in their blindness try to avoid.

[1] The distinction between Romanism and catholicism has been brought out in an editorial in the November number under the title "Deus Providebit."

THE RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF A MODERN JAPANESE.

BY SAKYO KANDA.

[It will be interesting and instructive from both a psychological and a religious standpoint to read the autobiography of this Japanese Christian, who here addresses a Western audience. He has passed through the period of the Westernization of his country, and we notice that the influence of the former periods of its history is not obliterated. They are antagonized to a great extent by Western ideas, but after all they continue to exercise a powerful influence. Accordingly we must not expect that the Christianity of a Japanese convert should be our own Christianity. It has practically assumed a new form, just as the Christianity of Northern Europe, now known as Protestantism, is quite different from the religion of the old Roman empire known as Roman Catholicism. It will be noticed also that the Christianity of our Japanese writer has been considerably affected by science, whether we call it materialism or infidelity or rationalism.—ED.]

I AM the descendant of thirty-seven generations of Shinto priests. My father, who died a few years ago, was adopted from another old lineage of Shinto priests. So the hereditary blood flowing through my veins, destined me to worship the gods from my cradle

You will ask me what Shintoism is. *Shinto* is a Chinese word In the Japanese language it is *Kami no michi,* which translated into English is "The Way of the Gods." Then what is Shintoism? This question is extremely complicated. Shintoism has a long history of at least twenty centuries. During this long period, both Confucianism and Buddhism have influenced it. It has changed and developed. Moreover its origin is veiled even at the present time. There are two widely separate opinions among scholars: one considers Shintoism as ancestor-worship, the other as nature-worship. From the evolutionary point of view we must agree with the latter. We cannot deny at the same time that Shintoism has more and more adopted elements of ancestor-worship during the later times. Fortunately, however, our purpose is neither to speculate upon the origin of Shintoism, nor to settle the philosophy of it. We shall be content to investigate what Shintoism is in modern Japanese minds and what relation it has to Japanese life at the present time. This is a vital question.

I was taught sacred dancing from my fifth or sixth year. I was taken to ceremonies and rituals by my father and was obliged to dance. On the other hand, I was taught the works of Confucius only by reading them aloud without any explanation. Unfortunately I was a skeptical youth. I came to dislike sacred dancing and the ritual. I asked the reason of the dancing and the worship at the shrines. My parents were glad to explain the origin of the dance and the worship of the gods. Their reasons were very simple: the gods created Japan; the gods were our ancestors; we are the sons and daughters of the gods; the gods guard and guide both people and country day and night. We must, therefore, worship the gods, love their country and be loyal to the Emperor who is the direct descendant of the gods.

Evolution, however, shows us evidence to the contrary. Men's ancestors were not gods but lower animals. Their conceptions of Shintoism and patriotism are curiously mingled. And the "essential fact in Shintoism is religious patriotism" and loyalty. Indeed their faith is very simple. They hold strictly to the traditions repeated from generation to generation. This is true not only of the Shinto priests, but also of the majority of the Japanese.

After the Russo-Japanese war, our Emperor went down to Ise, about 250 miles from Tokyo, the capital, where the sun-goddess has a shrine, and gave thanks to her for victory in the war. Princes, admirals, generals, and other officers did the same. This reminds us that Socrates often prayed to the sun.

You may have heard that the Japanese hold ideas about several things quite opposed to yours; for instance, we turn the page of a book from the right while you turn from the left. Your signal for "Good-bye" is ours for "come here." Then the sun is a male and the moon a female for you, but in Japan they are just the opposite, the sun is a female or goddess, and the moon is a male or a god. The sun-goddess is selected as the ancestor from whom the emperors derive their descent and authority. Thus "she is the most eminent of the Shinto deities" and the center of Shintoism, the state religion of Japan at present.

American and European writers has discussed the cause of the victory of Japan over Russia. Some said it was due to *Bushido,* the way of warriors, and some said to military drill; while the English thought that it was owing to national education. Therefore, the University of London invited Baron Kikuchi, who is now the President of the Kyoto Imperial University, to give lectures on the educational system of Japan. This may have been one of the factors,

but the majority of the Japanese believe that the victory depends on the guardianship of the gods, the ancestors. According to the popular idea, Japan is a divine land and the people are the descendants of the gods. The country is, therefore, far more important than individuals. This idea is interesting from the psychological point of view. The development of the race-consciousness is pre-eminent in Japanese minds. On the other hand, the idea of self-consciousness or personality is poorly developed. This fact is often found among people who are in lower stages of development. For this reason you may judge the Japanese people to be in a lower stage of development. Indeed Japan is populated by people of greatly different stages, ranging from one extreme to another. If one wants to study the history of civilization, he will find his raw materials in Japan. There is no doubt that this phenomenon is the effect of the caste system of old Japan according to which the people were divided into classes: warriors, peasants, artisans and merchants. The warrior class, which included the priests and comprised about one per cent of the people, was the only soul of Japan. The rest had scarcely any moral and mental culture. In new Japan for forty-two years these four classes have had equal rank. Jewels and pebbles are mixed together. It is not at all strange, therefore, that the American and European travelers and visitors take note of the pebbles that comprise 99 per cent, instead of the jewels that are only one per cent. They speak to their countrymen and write many books about the Japanese, maintaining that the Japanese are liars, dishonest people and so forth. Moreover, the Christian missionaries often report their poor and false observations consciously and unconsciously. Of course, I don't deny that the majority of the Japanese, who belonged to the last three classes, are by heredity inferior in moral and mental culture compared to the persons who belonged to the warrior class. We must discriminate, therefore, these conditions very carefully. In this sense, we Japanese may be primitive and uncultured people. Nevertheless the race-consciousness is equally developed throughout the higher and the lower classes. From the biological point of view, it is quite natural that the isolated location of Japan has favored this very much and we may say that this is the characteristic development of Japan. To my mind this psychological factor played a most important rôle in the Russo-Japanese war. You may easily understand from this reason why the Japanese often claim nationalism.

At any rate, the attitude of our people about Shintoism was all nonsense to me, even when I was only thirteen or fourteen years of

age, though of course I had no deep reason for the feeling. At this time I often escaped from the rituals, and at last when I was sixteen years of age I left home, not only because of my dislike for the Shinto priest, but from a certain family trouble. I had seen my elder sister, who is since deceased, and she had tried to persuade me to become a priest, because my mother, while alive, had been anxious for my future and ambitious for me to be a great Shinto priest. I am sorry to say that my ambition was far greater than hers.

By the way I must call attention to the motherhood of the Japanese woman. We have often heard Western people criticise the Japanese women, saying that they are restricted, and from your point of view it may be true. But it must not be forgotten that to the Japanese mind the country and the nation are far more important than an individual, either a man or a woman. If, however, you ask any of the Japanese about the influence of home, they will tell you about the great influence of their mothers without the slightest hesitation. You all know how the Spartan mothers took care of their children. In the background of every Japanese hero, great man or learned scholar, there stands a mother. If you open the biography of a hero, you cannot go far without finding some statements of the mother's influence upon him. Japanese mothers have their rich and honorable traditions. On this point we really do not know whether Japanese women are more restricted than American women.

Mrs. Motora, who is the wife of Dr. Motora, a professor of the Tokyo Imperial University, wrote me a letter dated last Oct. 7th. She is a highly educated, intellectual, Christian lady. I may also call attention to the fact that Dr. Motora was a pupil of President G. Stanley Hall at Johns Hopkins University about twenty years ago. In the letter she writes as follows: "The American fleet has not arrived as yet. The wives of the officers of the fleet have arrived already. They are welcomed here and there. If they were Japanese ladies they would stay at home, and by taking care of the old people and children would remove from their husbands all anxiety about home during their long trip abroad. There is a great difference between the customs of the East and the West. The American ladies are active and the Japanese are obedient!"

Now your people understand this as restriction, but the restriction is, as it were, the very life—a noble life—of the Japanese women. Your customs are very good for you, but not so good for us; our customs are good for us, but not for you. That is all. These customs are greatly influenced by the teachings of Confucius. I

mentioned before, however, that "the most eminent of the Shinto deities is the sun-goddess." And young women, especially virgins, shared the services at the Shinto shrines, and so it is at present at the big Shinto shrines. We see such customs in the ancient histories of Greece and Egypt.

A certain European writer says, "Women held a far more important and independent position in ancient Japan than they did at a later time when the Chinese ideas of their subjection became prevalent. Old Chinese books call Japan the 'Queen Country.' Women chieftains are frequently mentioned in the history of Japan." But I don't know what he means by subjection. In old Japan, empresses also have often governed the country. "Some of the most important monuments of the old literature were the works of women." Ancient Shintoism recognized the equality of man and woman. Where there is ancestor-worship, there is hero-worship. Sometimes we cannot distinguish which is the older. This is especially true of Shintoism. For instance the Japanese word *Kami,* in English "God" or "gods," means literally "above, superior," and is applied to many other things besides deified beings, such as nobles, the authorities, the hair of the head, the upper water of a river, etc. In the ancient Japanese mind the higher or superior qualities were the attributes of gods and goddesses and of the ancestors. There was no difference, therefore, between a god or a man, and a goddess or a woman. If there was a woman superior to a man, she was respected or even worshiped and *vice versa.* This was not only true in olden times but is also true in the present. The only standard of respect is the higher or superior quality of character, but not the sex.

The so-called restriction does not mean non-respect at least in the Japanese minds. I am proud to say that Japanese mothers, especially educated Japanese mothers, are very anxious to educate their children and make them great. They do not concern themselves about external affairs so much as you do, but about domestic matters. The mothers' greatness and strength, and also their reputation, appear through their children. The child is the only crucible to test the mother. I was only ten years old when my mother died, but I still feel her great influence upon me.

In this connection I will say a few words on the education of Japan, especially that of the girls. The school system is chiefly adopted from the German—primary schools for six years, middle schools for five years, high schools for three years and colleges for three or four years. This makes a seventeen or eighteen years'

course. But the private schools of the missionaries are one or two years less in length than those of the government. Girls' education is somewhat low. After the graduation from primary schools girls go to girls' high schools for a five years' course which corresponds to the boys' middle schools. At present about 87% of Japanese children go to primary schools, while this is true of only 70.26% of American children. Besides these we have normal schools of four years for both boys and girls after graduation from primary schools. The graduates of normal schools become primary school-teachers, and we have higher normal courses of four years for both sexes. Their students are generally the graduates of normal schools, and of middle schools. They are selected by an entrance examination. This course is in preparation for teachers of the middle schools, normal schools, and girls' higher schools. There are several industrial schools and technical colleges, but very few girls' colleges. Two higher normal schools for girls—one founded 19 years ago and the other about to start this coming April—are supported by the government. Besides these, there are private girls' colleges, most of them founded by Christian missionary enterprise. The greatest institution for girls in Tokyo is organized by Mr. Naruso who was a student of Clark University for a short time. This includes a kindergarten, primary school, girls' high school and college.

In Japan they strongly disapprove of co-education, which is confined to the primary schools only. They even announce that they will soon abolish the co-educational system in the primary schools also. One of the most characteristic ideals for the education of Japanese girls over the whole country, is to bring up each girl to become a "good wife and wise mother." In other words, wisdom and a good character are a girl's preparation for becoming a wife and mother.

When Japanese girls marry, they must enter their husbands' family as a new member of it. There the husband's parents, sisters and brothers, and even grandparents may all live together. They watch every deed and word of the bride, the new member of their family, with keen eyes. They severely criticise her whenever she is absent. She must assimilate the customs of the new family as soon as possible. If she fails, there sometimes occurs the tragedy of divorce, even though there may be warm affection between her and her husband. None the less, every Japanese girl, educated or uneducated, has to marry. Thus you will see that in Japan family, race and country are far more important than individuals.

Next I would like to speak to you very briefly of my religious

experience as a Christian. I left my home when I was sixteen years old and experienced much that is bitter in human life. At the age of eighteen I spent about one month at a certain Catholic monastery at Nagasaki, but did not become a convert. Nevertheless, my relatives and friends persecuted me as a Christian. After four years of hard and unpleasant experiences I became a Christian. I was baptized by Dr. J. C. C. Newton, who was one of the students of President Hall at Johns Hopkins University. I then entered a missionary school of the Southern Methodists of America at Kobe, which has two courses, academic and collegiate. I was the oldest of the pupils, because most of my own age had graduated from the academic course. At any rate, I studied for six years there, without receiving any help from others. I worked for my living and studied for my ambition. During the first four or five years at the school, however, my studying was but secondary, because I devoted most of my time to my religious struggle. I was already a Christian, but without knowing what true Christianity is. I began to feel my inner experiences different from the missionaries' interpretation of Christianity. First, I doubted the doctrine of salvation. They taught us that if we believe in Jesus Christ we are saved, but according to my inner experiences, I was not quite free from my sinful feelings so called. If I am saved by Jesus's blood, I felt at that time, I must be entirely free from my sinful feelings. I questioned, therefore, several missionaries and native ministers about my skepticism. None of them could give me any satisfactory explanation at all; they only repeated, "Believe, then you are saved." I tried, of course, to believe so, but all in vain. I asked earnestly, but I was not given any satisfaction. I sought with thirst, but I could not find any enlightenment. I ate the fruit of knowledge. It troubled me very much. At last, I came to a conclusion.

My idea was this: If I am saved, I must have a pure character; if I have it not, I am not saved. In other words, by building up my character better and nobler, I am saved. This is not done suddenly, but by gradual training. To do so, therefore, I must imitate a greater character and follow his steps: then I need Jesus as well as all other great teachers. This is salvation by character, but not by faith. For this purpose, Jesus is one of the greatest teachers and leaders, but not a fantastic divine person.

Later I found I was a Unitarian, but I did not know that there was such a thought as mine at that time and did not read any of Emerson's or Channing's works. I read the Bible over and over again and thought on. The Bible taught me my Unitarianism!

I have been a member of the Japanese Unitarian church in Tokyo for about seven years, but still my Unitarianism is different from yours. It sounds better to say Humanitarianism; or, if you like, you might call it Materialism.

For four years I have been studying Buddhism,—I mean the teaching of Buddha, the greatest sage of ancient India. I am very glad to say that Buddhism gives me satisfactory explanations which Christianity could not give. It never teaches venerable myths such as the existence of a personal God and the immortality of an immaterial soul. It seems to me at least that Buddhism is far greater, more comprehensive, and more scientific than Christianity. Nevertheless, I am neither a Buddhist, nor a Christian, nor a Confucianist, nor a Shintoist. I have outgrown every one of them. My religion is the unity of Shintoism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Christianity, and science. I lay most stress on science.

To avoid misunderstanding, let us consider the relations among Shintoism, Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity. It is reasonable to think that Japanese patriotism is greatly influenced by Confucianism in a moral sense. In other words, the moral ideas of Shintoism are enriched by Confucianism, because Shintoism is too simple in its moral teaching; on the other hand Confucianism is strong in its moral teaching and weak as a religion, and therefore, the two are easily combined. But it is a very striking fact that Shintoism, the way of the gods, and Buddhism or Butsudo, the way of the Buddhas, are related to each other. The believers in Shintoism are at the same time believers in Buddhism, especially among the common people. There was a time when Shintoists and Buddhists fought against each other severely. After a while wise Buddhists tried to reconcile Buddhism with Shintoism and also Confucianism, accepting the three. At last Buddhism with its religious meaning won the Japanese hearts, while Shintoism became more and more the religion of patriotism and loyalty combined or joined with Confucianism. So the Japanese worship gods at the Shinto shrines and Buddhas at Buddhistic temples.

I must call attention to the fact that the three religions—Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism—are mingled or interwoven in the Japanese mind. Moreover we now have Christianity, and Christianity has found a fertile soil in the Japanese mind, but it is doubtful whether it can grow up as such.

Let us take an illustration. Your people are fond of tea which is imported from Japan and China or home made. When you drink it, you put some sugar and milk in it. It seems to be quite

natural to you, because when you drink coffee and cocoa you have the same habit, and, in doing so, it will taste better to you. But the Japanese never do so. To us it thereby loses the pure taste. Tea is the same thing, but the esthetic tastes of the Americans and Japanese are different. Now then, we Japanese import Christianity from your country and Europe. When we take it as our religion, we put Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism into it. Your people are, however, quite satisfied with Christianity alone, as we are in the case of tea. But we are not satisfied without putting Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism into Christianity, as you are in the case of tea. Are we to be blamed?

We often hear missionaries complain that the Japanese are defective in religious instinct. Poor missionaries! When I left the missionary college, I called on one of my teachers, a missionary who is now a Methodist minister in St. Louis. He said to me: "You have degraded yourself." My answer was: "No, I have greatly improved myself."

This reminds me of a very interesting story about a hen. The hen hatched the eggs of a duck. She loved the duck-chicks very much. One day, when they grew strong enough, all of them went into a near pond. Looking at them swim happily there, the poor mother-hen on the shore was very anxious for them and wanted to get them out, but they never minded her anxiety at all. The hen could not understand the hereditary tendency of the duck-chicks. The missionaries and the Japanese Christians are exactly in the same condition. The missionaries hatched the eggs of a duck just as the hen did.

This is a very interesting psychological problem. If missionaries understood this secret thoroughly, they could surely do more fruitful work for Japanese Christianity. But please do not misunderstand me. We Japanese, of course, never forget the missionaries' contribution to the education of both men and women in our country. About their attitude of religion, however, I can not quite agree with them. They are too narrow-minded. Suppose again that I tried to propagate Shintoism as such in this country. Would you become a convert? No? Then am I right in saying that your people are not religious? The Japanese have a mind to taste the sweetness of religion, but not creeds and dogmas.

Are we wrong to assume that the result of the mixture of these four religions—Shintoism, Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity will produce something new?

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE MODERNIST'S REPLY TO HIS CRITICS.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

As the author of the *Letters to His Holiness, Pius X,* I may interest a certain number of the readers of *The Open Court* if I briefly state the impression made on me by the more severe criticisms cited in the November number of this magazine from devoted members and leaders of the Roman Catholic church. If those criticisms fail to take account of the crisis produced by modernism, or to give any consideration to the good faith or even to the sufferings of modernists, I make no complaint. If some of them are ignorant I will not call them so. If others are even vulgar I prefer not to score them as such. It will be more becoming and more just to pass over in silence the unamiable and more personal aspects of these comments, and to regard them as expressing a state of mind and as indicating a process of education which in substance we may treat with tolerance, however little we can admire them.

It must be remembered that to the men who have thus written of the book, their theology and the Truth-Ideal are coterminous and identical. They look upon that theology both in its principles and in its history as the very thought and mind of Deity revealed to man for man's salvation. They have inherited the idea, and have never broken loose from it, that whosoever points out the historical blemishes and the intellectual and spiritual deficiencies of this theology is a falsifier doomed to perdition. For when Deity speaks who can gainsay Him but the black Adversary of double tongue and cloven foot himself? Primitive as this conception appears, destructive of intellectual liberty, and fatal to every form of progress, it is yet connatural to all theologies, and is as prompt among Mohammedans to visit condemnation on the higher critic of the Koran as among Catholics on the critical student of the Judeo-Christian Scriptures or the history of dogma. It requires a high degree of independence in one addicted or vowed to a particular theology to put to himself such fundamental questions as these: Are my theology and eternal Truth absolutely one after all? Ought I to examine the basis of my theory of the Ultimate with open mind and fearless scrutiny? What am I submitting to, the voice of God or the venerable conjectures of men who like myself groped through darkness for the Inscrutable? Have I any right to call a faith my own when I have never yet gone beyond taking it on bended knees and with closed mind from the teachers who transmitted it to me?

As long as such self-respecting questions as these either never drift into the mind of a man, or if they do, are flouted and buffeted away as sins, sins which lead the soul within hearing distance of the roaring furnaces of hell,

we need not be astonished that the innovator is anathematized and his sincere convictions set down as the raving of a deluded mind and the clamor of a corrupted heart. "He blasphemeth!" is an old cry, and we shall cease to hear it only when men keep sequestered in their hearts a clean altar to the most austere of divinities which is Truth, and understand that though tongues cease and prophecies are made void, this God remains as authoritative as immortal. When that day comes we shall see too that of all the handmaidens of Truth the chief is Charity. Until then it behooves us to have much patience and make few remonstrances; to work steadfastly and endure nobly; to hasten as we can the coming day, and if our eyes shall not see it, to die content. It will come in its season despite our weakness and our adversaries' strength.

MY RELIGIOUS CONFESSION.

BY DR. NATHANIEL I. RUBINKAM.

[On returning the proofs of his article "The Bible and the Future Pulpit," together with the editorial reply entitled "The Loyalty of Clergymen" published in the November number of *The Open Court*, Dr. Rubinkam sends the following communication which we publish in justice to him.—ED.]

To the Editor of The Open Court:

Many thanks for your courtesy in sending me your reply to my article on "The Bible and the Future Pulpit." You are at full liberty to publish it in case you, at the same time, print this rejoinder which amounts to a religious confession.

When you assert that the churches are now willing to hear the truth, I would ask, what truth? Would they listen to what I regard the truth, that a "revealed" religion is a thing simply of the imagination; the truth that the Bible has no authority above other books; the truth that the church has no calling superior to any other human institution?

As to my "prejudice" it was originally, and is still, apart from dogma, in favor of the institution in which both myself and my ancestors were deeply imbedded. I was born in the lap of the old orthodoxy. I was educated at the University of Princeton under President James McCosh. After a year in the household of the great German pietist, Dr. August Tholuck, I came back to America and graduated at the Princeton Theological Seminary under Dr. Charles Hodge.

During twenty years of service in the orthodox pulpit, I made one long persistent study of the evidences of what I was preaching. I left no stone unturned. I went to the Orient, studied "holy" places, and the "sacred" persons who were the alleged vehicles of revelation.

Still dissatisfied I returned to Germany and gave long years to research, and took my doctor's degree in Oriental philology and the historical criticism of the Old Testament. My conviction became well grounded, absolute and incontrovertible, that the Bible is a book for the study and dispute of scholars, but in no sense a revelation to the modern man. As to the dogmas founded upon it, I became thoroughly convinced that the idea of the "second person of the Trinity," a child of the "third person," dying to appease a "first person" angered at the human race, was the merest theological drivel.

In spite of all my ancestral and personal prejudices *for* the church, in spite of all family and social influences, I was deeply imbued with the conclusion that the Christian's devil in hell and Father in heaven were pure theological fictions.

My historical critical studies of the Bible showed me that no miracle has occurred in the course of human time.

In spite of my prejudice for the pastoral relation, in spite of a good salary, ten years ago I walked out of one of the best of the Chicago churches.

I was at that time nearing middle life, and did not know whence financial support would come.

In the ten years since I left the ministry, I have come to a world-view as complete and satisfactory, I believe, as it is possible for a man to obtain.

I am not an atheist, for atheism as well as theism in any theological sense, has been wiped from my vocabulary. I believe that every effect has a cause, and if we could reach the author of the vast and wonderful universe, he too must be an effect, requiring a cause, and hence we come simply to an infinite series of causes. I am not an infidel, as we have no national revelation to deny, and as I am, I trust, true to myself. I am not an agnostic. I dislike the phrase manufactured by Huxley. I am open to all the knowledge which may be discovered by the indefatigable endeavors of science, psychical research included.

I am none of the *ites* following the *isms* which the inquiring religious minds of the world have formulated. I am simply a child of vast, glorious, baffling nature, and belong to the race of humanity still in the evolutionary struggle.

To be explicit: In my opinion, all of the world's "revealed religions," all heavens and all hells, and all supernaturalism, are simply and wholly the products of the imagination.

It is the privilege and duty of every intelligent man and nation, improving upon the past, from present experience and knowledge of nature, to formulate a new ethics and religion. These should be taught our children in the public schools, not as dogma but as present knowledge, leaving to the unfolding wisdom of the future to do the same. This is the only logical attitude toward the thought of evolution.

I am a lover of nature, and my religion consists in a love of nature in its widest, all-enfolding sense. You quote a friend who has a satisfaction in a personal Heavenly Father, and who has a certain knowledge of Him. I have no objection to this view, for your friend. I too am an idealist and believe in the power of the human mind to create ideals, and to commune with them. I know of another who talks with Jesus, of one who communes with the Virgin Mary, of another who converses with his dead friends, and still another holds friendly intercourse with "the devil"; one acquaintance, of the baser sort, actually sees snakes and demons prowling and crawling about in his room. I have a friend in the Christian pulpit whose god is simply his higher life ideals. In my view these phenomena are all in "the mind's eye."

To me there is sufficient in wide nature to satisfy all religious aspiration, to give all possible comfort. In other words I am thoroughly happy in this religion of the natural universe, as happy as I think it possible for a man to be in this world, so far as religion is concerned.

I sympathize with Rostand's blackbird who cannot believe that the chantecler's crow makes the sun to rise, and says: "It is not my fault that I am no gull."

The professors who are the editors of the religious magazine and a year ago asked me to write for them the article, could not publish it on account of their readers. They are holding down their positions, and I do not blame

them; for a church that educates young men and starts them to preach and teach its system, is in an important sense responsible—and after wife and children are added to life's expenses, the church owes them a living.

But I could not retain such a position. In spite of all the sacrifices that were involved in leaving the church, in spite of all the neglect and obloquy which follow in the train of such an action, I have been content and to a degree successful in obtaining a living in the line of my ideals.

While I continually cherish a love and a charity toward all who differ from me in opinion, I have each day the glory of possessing a completely free, unbiased, untrammeled mind.

THE BERLIN CENTENNIAL TO FICHTE.

The University of Berlin has this year celebrated the centennial anniversary of its existence. It was founded during the most trying days of Prussia when Germany lay prostrate at the feet of the French conqueror and when patriotic men despaired of the future of their country. We must remember that in spite of their deep humiliation these days were glorious times in the history of Germany, for then German genius celebrated its greatest triumphs in philosophy, literature and music. This was the period in which Kant and Fichte, Goethe and Schiller, Mozart and Beethoven, created their immortal works. In the year 1810 the great naturalist Humboldt suggested to the King of Prussia the foundation of a university, and Fichte, the most brilliant disciple of Kant, was selected as its rector.

Fichte's philosophy is considered a most thorough-going idealism, to some extent resembling Berkeley and having analogies in the Vedantism of ancient India. The only realities we know of are the feelings, ideas and volitions of the ego, and the absolute ego is God. It would be difficult to explain, defend or criticise Fichte's philosophy without entering into details, and so we rest satisfied with the bare statement, for we deem it out of place to discuss the subject in this connection.

Whatever we may think of his philosophy, Fichte stands out as a gigantic figure in the history of the German people, for he distinguished himself by moral courage evinced in the presence of the foreign usurper. He appealed to the patriotism of the citizens of Berlin through his *Reden an die deutsche Nation,* though he knew that he risked his life. It is well known that Napoleon had Herr Palm, a harmless bookseller, shot on a much slighter provocation.

Johann Gottlieb Fichte was born at Rammenau in 1762; he entered upon the theological course at the University of Jena in 1780. Financial troubles required him to become tutor in 1784, and in 1788 he accepted a similar position in Zurich where he met his future wife, a niece of Klopstock. In 1790 he gave private instruction in Leipsic, and here he became acquainted with Kant's philosophy. In 1791 he sought and found a position as tutor in Königsberg in order to be near Kant and to know him personally. He introduced himself to Kant by sending him a pamphlet on "The Critique of all Revelation," which appeared anonymously the next year and was thought to be written by Kant. As a result of this pamphlet he was offered the chair of philosophy at Jena in 1793 and was married the same year. His "Theory of Science" appeared in 1794; "Natural Law" (*Naturrecht*) in 1796; and "The Theory of Morals" in 1798. Accused of atheism, he resigned his chair in 1799, and finally took refuge in Berlin. His "Vocation of Man" appeared in

1800, the "Nature of the Scholar" in 1805, and the "Doctrine of Religion" in 1806. Then came his stirring addresses to the German nation to which is

FICHTE AS A PATRIOT.

largely attributed the German uprising against Napoleon, and his appointment as rector of the Berlin University. He died of typhoid fever in 1814.

THE STORY OF TABI-UTUL-BEL AND NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

BY CLARA BEWICK COLBY.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

In your August issue you published a poem translated by Professor Jastrow under the title, "A Babylonian Parallel to the Story of Job." Is not that

poem rather a parallel to the story of Nebuchadnezzar? Nebuchadnezzar was the greatest of Babylonian kings, and his history is closely connected with that of the Hebrews. It is expressly stated that he was used by God to punish the nations and that Egypt was given to him as his reward, and also that he was given power over the beasts of the field and they should serve him. At one time Nebuchadnezzar gave credit to the God of the Hebrews for what he had accomplished, saying "It hath seemed good unto me to show the signs and wonders that the Most High God hath wrought toward me." But when he became arrogant and said, "Is not this great Babylon which I have built," disregarding the warning of Daniel to "break off his iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor," he was smitten with a peculiar disease which bent him so that he seemed to be walking on all fours, and it was so loathsome that he was driven out from among men and had to subsist on the herbs of the field.

In the poem, Tabi-Utul-Bel has a similar experience. His ears were stopped, his eyes holden; instead of being a king he becomes a slave; he said he was under a ban from which his priest could not release him, and which threw him to the ground and bent his high stature like a poplar; his members became powerless and his feet were entangled in their own fetters. In all this there is a close and remarkable parallel to the downfall and sufferings of Nebuchadnezzar. But there is a more remarkable coincidence still. Nebuchadnezzar has "to dwell with the beasts of the field and to eat grass like the oxen." Tabi-Utul-Bel says:

"In my stall I passed the night like an ox;
I was saturated like a sheep in my excrements."

When released from the ban Nebuchadnezzar becomes able to lift up his eyes unto heaven, and he praises and blesses the Most High. Tabi-Utul-Bel regained his hearing and sight:

"The neck which had been bent downwards and worn,
He raised erect like a cedar."

Then burst forth the song of praise to the "Lord of Wisdom."

The whole setting is Babylonish and there is as perfect a parallel between the two stories as one could expect when related by different authors. The Babylonian king of the Bible story and of the poem was in both cases pious and taught his subjects "to commemorate the name of God." In each story he becomes proud, and is punished for it—justly as afterwards recognized—by being cast down from his high estate. In each story he suffers from a strange malady which produces the same results for a period of time. Then without human intervention and when companions were estranged and priests were powerless, the king becomes able to recognize God in the affliction and is restored. After this both stories give the prayer of thankfulness to the divinity, and the warning to others not to sin in the same way, "for those that walk in pride he is able to abase" and "He who sins against E-sagila, through me let him see."

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

It is true enough that the story of Tabi-Utul-Bel describes a monarch who was deeply humiliated and rose to power again through the grace of God, but the interest of the story does not center in the idea that a great man is humiliated, but rather that a pious man is tried in the furnace of dire affliction and is finally found patient and submissive to the divine will.

The theme of the story of Nebuchadnezzar in the Old Testament conveys

the idea that God will humiliate the haughty. If this story has a prototype in Babylonian legend it has not been discovered. Incidentally we will add that the biblical characterization of Nebuchadnezzar has not the slightest foundation in fact. Neither did he commit the iniquities attributed to him in Daniel iii and iv, nor may we assume that he was ever punished by a spell of insanity. The story appears to have been fixed upon him more by the narrow-minded patriot who saw in Nebuchadnezzar the conqueror of Jerusalem and vented his hate in this fictitious tale.

Nebuchadnezzar was the founder of the Babylonian kingdom and in fact he made it great. When he passed away its glory faded rapidly, for twenty-three years after his death Babylon passed into the hands of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian kingdom. Professor Cornill offers us a brief description of this king in his *Prophets of Israel,* p. 128:

"Nebuchadnezzar is styled by modern historians, not unjustly, "the great." He is the most towering personality in the whole history of the ancient Orient, and a new era begins with him. The greatness of the man consists in the manner in which he conceived his vocation as monarch. Nebuchadnezzar was a warrior as great as any that had previously existed. He had gained victories and made conquests equal to those of the mightiest rulers before him. But he never mentions a word of his brilliant achievement in any of the numerous inscriptions we have of him. We know of his deeds only through the accounts given by those whom he conquered, and from strangers who admired him. He himself tells us only of buildings and of works of peace, which he completed with the help of the gods, whom he worshiped with genuine reverence. The gods bestowed on him sovereignty, that he might become the benefactor of his people and subjects. He rebuilt destroyed cities, restored ruined temples, laid out canals and ponds, regulated the course of rivers, and established harbors, so as to open safe ways and new roads for commerce and traffic. We see in this a clear conception of the moral duties of the state, where its primary object is to become a power for civilization."

CONFESSIONS OF A CLERGYMAN.

An anonymous book written by a priest of the Anglican church under the title of *Confessions of a Clergyman* (London, Geo. Bell & Sons, 1910) is worthy of careful perusal and is sure to be a comfort to his brethren who have grown liberal after their ordination and feel the discomfiture of no longer being in harmony with the creed to which they have been pledged. The paper wrapper bears the following characteristic publishers note: "This book is an attempt to relieve distressed faith by a restatement of the Christian position in terms acceptable to modern thought and knowledge. It is the record of a personal mental experience very common in these days, but rarely recorded with a like sincerity and freedom."

Through his Confessions we become acquainted with the author and the result of his struggle which very strongly resembles the case of Robert Elsmere. He resents the Catholicity of the Apostles creed, for he believes in an individual adherence to primal truth. He does not want to promulgate any strange new doctrine, nor does he desire the uprising of a new sect or cult (p. 83). He expresses his dislike for certain doctrines, such as the Apostolic succession and eternal punishment. He has come to the conclusion

that bishops are "presbyters exalted by their own body and derive their authority from below" (p. 87). He has set himself free from the dread of the unseen powers of evil, of fear of hell and devils. He says (p. 89):

"Thank God we have put away these things now, and surely the devil himself may take his departure with them. Long ago we were told that he was full of wrath because his time was short. Truly the time is come when he should be flung aside—not, alas, with derisive laughter, for his reign has been too cruel and too terrible for that, but with the furious scorn of men who have been long deceived."

"The world of demons has ceased to exist save in the lurid imagination of the bigot and the insane; the horrible night of dread apparitions is passed away, never to return, and we who are children of day, may now see more clearly the Father's face."

Science has demolished and exposed many similar idols of the church, and he asks himself if this negativism goes on, "What is it we would destroy? The Church, or a false ideal of the Church?" (p. 91) and his answer is obvious. Without imposing his views on others he has formulated a creed of his own which satisfies him and reads as follows:

"What then is our refuge? to whom or to what shall we then turn? I hold that still God is our refuge; but of that God we know less than the theologians suppose. In one sense, in one direction, we know more. The vastness of the universe, the infinite number of its years, convince man that his God is no local deity with any peculiar love for a peculiar people: trivial details of ritual and ceremonial, the yearly round of fast and festival, the innumerable legal restrictions of an ecclesiastical system, cannot affect in the slightest degree His relation with His creatures. We recoil from these, and in the recoil we fall back upon those primal instincts from which religion took its birth. The sense of the Unseen, the craving for immortality."

He rejoices that the passage in Mark relating to the story of the Ascension has been cut out by higher criticism so that it will no longer trouble a distressed faith. He has not much relish for miracles, for he declares that the purpose of Jesus was to teach men, not to astonish them (p. 100), and he calls attention to the fact that miracles are absent in the more awful and significant events in the life of Jesus. "There were no dramatic scenes of an extraordinary character at the crucifixion." He believes in the resurrection, though his conception does not define the traditional details and its mode. He says:

"The evidence for the Resurrection grows in volume from age to age, like the thunder among the hills; the enthusiasm, the hopes, the strivings of generations of men, bear witness to the truth that he who was dead is now alive for evermore—the Living One. What more shall I say? The influence of Jesus over men for nineteen centuries is the real and adequate proof of the Resurrection, and appears to me a more stupendous miracle than any recorded in the Gospels. I may question those lesser miracles because I am by no means satisfied with the evidence which supports them; but I believe with all my heart in the miracle of the Resurrection because the evidence for it is irresistible and not to be gainsaid. My conscience rejects the one; the other my conscience dare not refuse."

The author considers his case as typical, and so he feels "fully justified in publishing these Confessions, that the thoughts of many hearts may be

revealed." He expects that his book "will find a responsive echo in the hearts of many," and we hope in addition that it will lead to a revision of the ordination pledge in all those denominations which still believe in the wisdom of restricting the intellectual growth of both clergy and laity. In this connection we wish to call attention to an editorial article published some time ago in *The Monist,* entitled "The Clergy's Duty of Allegiance." It contains suggestions for solving this problem bewildering to many clergymen in a most conservative way which would yet allow liberty of conscience.

THE TEMPLE LIBRARY OF NIPPUR.

BY ALAN S. HAWKESWORTH.

Dr. Hugo Radau, Ph. D., of the University of Pennsylvania, closes the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* with three essays upon "Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts from the Temple Library of Nippur," profusely illustrated by 30 full-page engraved plates, and 22 halftone reproductions.

He points out, first, in an introductory essay, the excessive difficulty and labor involved in adequately cataloguing these texts, written, as most of them are in one of the two Sumerian dialects, in a confused and nearly illegible script. This illegibility has been deliberately added to, in too many cases, by their wanton mutilation during the sack of the city and temple thirty-five centuries ago.

"The Age of the Older Temple Library of Nippur" is next considered, and proofs are advanced that all the tablets from the said library date from the times of the second dynasty of Ur, and the first of Isin (2700-2400 B. C.).

The transliteration and translation of, and critical notes upon, a long hymn of 77 lines is given, the text itself being shown in 3 half-tone plates. A colophon on the tablet dedicates it to the goddess Nin-an-si-an-na [i. e., Gestinna, Bau, or Ishtar]; and states that it was composed for, and chanted in the sanctuary of Nippur by Idin-Dagan, King of Isin [2400 B. C.]

That the king of a rival city should thus go to Nippur to perform ritual acts, is a striking example of the religious sovereignty inherited by En-lil of Nippur, a thesis elaborated in the third and last essay upon "En-lil and His Temple E-Kur; the Chief God and Chief Sanctuary of Babylonia."

Dr. Radau divides the religious history of Babylonia into three great epochs. There is, first, the primitive Sumerian era, lasting from perhaps 5700 to 2200 B. C. and having En-lil in his temple "E-Kur" at Nippur as the chief of the gods, so that these texts from the Older Temple Library mark merely the closing 500 years of En-lil's acknowledged supremacy.

The second period, that of the "Canaanitish" or Semitic conquerors, from 2200 to 600 B. C., has Marduk as its supreme divinity, with his throne at the temple "E-Sagilla" of Babylon; while the third Assyrian period, synchronous with the second, honors Ash-shur.

Lastly, there is a 12-page "Description of the Tablets," shown in the 30 full-page engraved plates, and 22 half-tones upon 15 full-page plates, that complete and close the Anniversary Volume. Dr. Radau and all concerned are to be warmly congratulated upon the thoroughness and scholarly acumen displayed throughout the volume.

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PRESS COMMENTS

The Sphinx. January, 1910.

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A few copies of ZARATHUSHTRA, PHILO, THE ACHÆMENIDS AND ISRAEL, pp. 460+xxx, (Chicago: Open Court Pub. Co., 1906, price $4.00 net), are still to be had of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. and of the leading booksellers in Oxford at 12s. 6d. "He treats his subject thoroughly and exhaustively....deep and patient studies." J. J. Modi, Head Priest of the Parsi Colaba, Bombay, in the *Parsi* of Bombay, 1900. —"A wealth of learning and thought." *Nation*, N. Y., Aug. 30, 1906.

AVESTA ESCHATOLOGY COMPARED WITH DANIEL AND REVELATIONS, by L. H. Mills, (published by the Open Court Pub. Co., 1908, 50 cents net). SAGGI DI LETTURE, TENUTE ALL' UNIVERSITA DI OXFORD, SULLA RELIGIONE DELL' AVESTA, dal Prof. Lorenzo Mills. Being sections of lectures delivered in the University of Oxford, translated into Italian by an accomplished Italian man of letters upon his own initiative. Torino, 1909. To be had of G. Sacerdote, Turin, Italy. Pp. 75. Price, 2s.

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"Professor Mills's name stands foremost in the ranks of those who have explored the field of Avestic literature." The *Rast Goftar*, Bombay, April 18, 1909.—"Beyond question our leading authority now living, on the Gāthas." The *Nation*, N. Y., Aug. 30, 1906.—(Mills (Earlier) of the Gāthas) Das Ergebniss einer erstaunlichen Arbeit sehr mannigfaltiger Art — unser Verständniss der Gāthas mächtig gefördert. *Gött. Gelehr. Anz.* May 13, 1893. "Insbesondere von Mills, der diese schwierigen Gedichte in gründlichster Weise behandelt hat." *Preussisches Jahrbuch*, 1897, Prof. Justi (Lexicographer). "Tous ceux qui s'occupent de l'interprétation des Gāthas rendront hommage a l'immense labeur scientifique de M. Mills...son livre reste un instrument indispensable pour l'étude." Prof. James Darmesteter, *Revue Critique*, September 18, 1893.

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THIS work is undoubtedly one of Sweden's most remarkable and interesting contributions to contemporary philosophy.

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* * * *

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