back thirty years by going South, we had a far from despicable America three decades ago, and some of us begin to ask if perhaps we might not profitably pick out of the waste-basket many a belief we have since thrown into it.

Politically, too, the South shows here and there the vague first symptoms of approaching change. When early bulletins announced that Mr. Hughes had been elected President, a Southern woman cried, excitedly, "I'll secede and go North and pull out his whiskers!" yet the same Southern woman declared, "The great need of the South is more Republicans," and in the former capital of the Confederacy Republicans maintained headquarters, unmolested, at the leading hotel.

As a rule, lynching is what prompts Northern efforts to "wake up" the South. As a rule, Southerners defend, or condone, or laboriously explain it. But what says that gifted Southern publicist Mr. John M. Moore? "Mob law is the shame of the South." Or what says the Atlanta "Constitution?" "There must be no more mobs. If the Negro is charged with a crime, he must be given the same fair treatment before the law that is given the white man. If anything, it would seem ignorance and weakness demand even more considera-

tion than the crime which lacks that excuse." Addressing the Southern Sociological Congress, at whose sessions representatives of both races speak from the same platform, Dr. Weatherford, of Nashville, said, "The horrible lynchings that have been taking place in the South are enough to make our blood run cold. More of us must speak out. We must cure this horrible cancer that eats at the heart of our civilization, this horrible lack of appreciation for the sacredness of the individual."

#### SAFE IN THEIR KEEPING

owever orthodox, however solid, however traditionalistic in the main, our South is here and there eager for initiative. Years ago Southern lads struck out into the new West; now their sons are returning, to influence religiously, politically, socially the new South. Moreover, the black migration Northward has been accompanied by a white migration Northward; the Southerners in New York City alone are said to number a quarter of a million. Of these a proportion acquire the critical spirit. Their letters home and their visits tend to liberalize Southern thought, and even in the South one meets on rare occasions a liberalism most astonishing.

In conversation with a brilliant young Southern architect I said: "I can meet you half-way. Admit that slavery as an institution was wrong, and I in my turn will admit that the typical slaveholder may have been a conscientious, high-minded fellow, kind to his slaves, and honestly regarding slavery as an institution divinely ordained. Again, admit that secession involved injury to the North and was sure to precipitate war, and I, in my turn, will admit that, in-asmuch as nothing in the Constitution pronounced the Union eternal, the South had—theoretically—a right to secede."

Word perfect, here is his reply: "I don't want to be met half-way. Slavery was wrong, and the slaveholders knew it, and they fought to perpetuate the wrong. As for secession, it was wrong from the beginning."

Few Southerners speak thus frankly. In a region where one hears that "sentiment rules thought" social pressure forbids. Yet year by year more and more Southerners proclaim and practice the fine, chivalric principles of our newest New South. In their keeping its career is safe, requiring no admonitions from the Northern critic, to whom I might say, without prejudice on the one hand or censoriousness on the other: "Have faith in the South."

# THE FALL OF MAN IN BABYLONIAN LITERATURE

### BY EDWARD CHIERA

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

MONG the priceless documents which the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania brought to light through the excavation of the old Babylonian city of Nippur are to be found two tablets dealing with the story of the Fall of Man. Both of them date from a period one or two centuries earlier than 2000 B.C. and both are written in the Sumerian language, which is generally admitted to have been the oldest spoken in southern Babylonia.

The first to attract my attention was a rather small tablet, with only one column of writing on each side. It contained a dialogue between a god and a human being; from the words of the speakers it seemed apparent that this referred to the well-known story of the Garden of Eden. Yet the account, as the tablet gave it to us, was very incomplete. Its beginning was lacking, and, owing to the peculiar characteristic of the Sumerian language which does not distinguish among the genders, it was impossible to determine whether the chief figure of the dialogue was a man or a woman.

The real import of the story might thus have remained somewhat doubtful had not another tablet from the Museum collection come unexpectedly to my help. This was a small fragment from a large document, with three columns of inscription on each side. While on one face it contained a duplicate of the text of the preceding tablet, on the other it gave a different story concerning the invention of the art of writing and the establishment of civilization. This is exactly the kind of sequence we should have expected for the story of the Fall, and a proof that the interpretation I had placed on the first tablet was, in its main points at least, absolutely correct.

THE SUMERIAN STORY OF THE FALL

The first lines of the tablet are partially destroyed; all we can gather is that a human being is speaking to a god. The opening words appear to be: "Like a vegetable food," and then, after a gap of two lines,

To do that, with cunning he has. . . . I have not been obedient to thee.

My heart is full of fear, full of fear, after that.

... has been cast.

Fear, weeping has been cast,

At the sending of thy call.

And I, at thy call,

From my own appearance I was fleeing.

And I, from my own appearance (I was fleeing).

Thy humanity, thy own body, has not been freed. . . .

For mankind the words of understanding are not . . .

Here we have a change of person, and a god is speaking:

Finish thy weeping!

From my place, go into the desert!

To me, forever, for taking of the "tree which establishes clothing," as an outcast, thou shalt not return!

The "plant which frees from death" inferior beings shall not take!

Thou never shalt take!

In no way whatever, after this, thou shalt reach release.

To my ox, for leading it, as an outcast, thou shalt not return!

To my field, for irrigating it, as an outcast, thou shalt not return!

To my field, for tilling it, as an outcast, thou shalt not return!

To my garden, for tilling it, as an outcast, thou shalt not return!

Go, till the land, raise the food for sustenance!

Thou never shalt reach me!

Others like thee will till the garden, their mothers and their fathers will eat the food of god.

Since the hand of the sons of the menials has reached the food, and their eyes have been opened....

Just as for them, ten measures of barley each one of them has heaped up.

Each of the servants of the chief among their fathers, ten measures of barley they have heaped

To each one of their fathers barley has been multiplied.

Barley, oil, wool, sheep have been brought in unto them.

Humanity, thou art to know abundance!

This blessing closes the account on our tablet. The Genesis story is so familiar to every one of us that only the main points of resemblance need to be noted. Leaving out of account the first lines, too fragmentary for translation, we come upon a disobedience on the part of man which is followed by fear and weeping. A call by the god produces the effect of making man run away. A mythical tree is introduced, the name of which refers to the use of clothing, and the fruit of which must have produced the effect of "opening the eyes." tree of life appears also as the "plant which frees from death," and the god affirms that mankind shall never reach it. The actual expulsion from the garden and the command to till the ground and raise food are also very plain. In the beings who succeed mankind in the garden we have probably a reference to the angels of the Biblical story. And it is stated that the reason for all this is that "the hand of the sons of the menials has reached the food and their eyes have been opened."

It is clear that the two accounts must be related in some way to each other. Since the Sumerian story is by far the older, the presumption is that the Hebrew has been derived from it. This would, however, remain a mere possibility, and one might be tempted to seek the explanation of all these similarities in the supposed existence of a common stock of traditions if the Hebrew story itself did not come to our help.

#### THE BIBLICAL STORY HAS BEEN BORROWED

If there is in the whole of Genesis a story that clearly betrays its foreign origin, it is just that of the Fall of Man. The first problem we meet is the location of the garden of Eden. Notwithstanding the apparent wealth of geographical details, the garden cannot definitely be placed; all place names are obscure, except those of the Tigris and Euphrates, the two rivers of Mesopotamia. Thus, wherever the garden may have been, it was certainly not in Palestine.

But the very fact that the scene of the Fall is placed in a garden strikes us as very strange. The Hebrews, being a nomadic people, did not have any sympathy for agriculture and considered it to be strictly related with heathenism. Why, then, place the cradle of humanity in a garden? Why command Adam to till the ground?

As we proceed we are struck by the mention of the tree of life, which is supposed to be well known to us. And yet in early Hebrew writings the very idea that one could reach immortality through the eating of any sort of food is entirely absent. But the most curious

figure we meet is that of the tempter. Previously we had heard nothing of him, and his very presence in the garden of Eden is in contradiction with the ideal conditions which were supposed to have existed there.

Moreover this tempter, though called a serpent, was in his physical appearance quite different from ordinary serpents. He is made "to walk on his belly" only after the episode of the Fall. and as part of his punishment. This so-called serpent can talk and possesses superhuman knowledge; he is therefore semi-divine, and yet not a god. He is supposed to be a very bad character and bent upon the ruin of mankind, and yet, strangest of all, every one of the words he says to the woman. "Your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good from evil," proves to be correct to the letter. Conversely, the god's threat, "Ye shall certainly die," is simply meant to frighten, and is not substantiated by following events.

If all these inconsistencies mean anything, they simply show that the Hebrew writers met with many difficulties in adapting to their own monotheistic beliefs a story that had been developed in a polytheistic religion. The "serpent" was originally a god; this only could explain his superhuman knowledge. He was not an enemy, but a friend of mankind, and thus he spoke the truth to the woman. From internal evidence alone, we are thus able to prove the story of the Fall to be non-Hebraic. But in how far does it agree with Babylonian ideas?

#### THE BABYLONIAN STORIES OF THE FALL

About three years ago Professor Langdon, of Oxford, then curator of the Babylonian Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, discovered a very important tablet of a legendary character. Owing to the damaged condition of a portion of the document, it is impossible to reconstruct entirely its most important episode. It appears, however, that a certain Tag-tug was cultivating a garden, and that in this grew different kinds of plants. A messenger of the gods announces that Tag-tug is allowed to pluck these plants and eat of them, but that there is in the garden a special plant "the destiny of which had been fixed." At this a goddess utters a curse: "The face of life (or health), until he dies, he shall not see." Immediately after the curse certain lower gods, the Anunnaki, bow into the dust in sign of sorrow. Later special gods are appointed to protect mankind against diseases.

It is clear that the point of greatest resemblance with the Hebrew story is the mention of a certain plant which had been singled out for a special purpose; the curse of the goddess might also be paralleled to that of God. However, it does not appear that Tag-tug had really transgressed any special command. Both the curse and the sorrow are somewhat anticipatory.

Notwithstanding this, I believe that Langdon was right in finding there a

reference to the Fall. One point only needs to be corrected. Langdon identified this Tag-tug with Noah and asserted, on the strength of his discovery, that woman was not to blame for the episode of the Fall. An explanatory list, published some time later, makes Tag-tug "the daughter of the god Anu," and therefore a woman. All things considered, Langdon's tablet simply proves that in the Sumerian, as in the Biblical account, a woman is the protagonist in the Fall episode.

#### THE BABYLONIAN PRIMITIVE MAN

In the famous Gilgamesh Epic we find another story that reminds us of the Fall. A goddess creates a man, called Enkidu, out of a lump of clay. This man lives in a forest, in very close companionship with the animals, and his life is no higher than theirs. The hero, Gilgamesh, hears about him and sends a woman to lure him out of the forest. Enkidu, at the sight of the woman, falls in love with her and lets himself be persuaded to abandon his forest and follow her into the city. There he is taught to dress, to drink wine, and to conduct himself as a civilized being.

Enkidu and Gilgamesh become friends and, after a series of exploits which need not interest us here, they go together in quest of the plant that gives immortality. This they find, but it is taken from them. The epic closes with a lament over the fact that human beings cannot escape death.

It is worthy of special notice that a woman is here instrumental in taking the primitive man out of his simple environment and that his first step into civilized life is marked by the adoption of clothing. It is also evident that, having listened to the woman, the condition of the man is improved, not lowered.

#### THE ADAPA MYTH

An entirely different story is also very instructive. There we find how the god Ea fashions a man, called Adapa, who learns to guide a boat and becomes a fisherman. Under the tutoring of the god, Adapa becomes very wise, equaling the gods in his wisdom.

One day, while he was fishing, the south wind, represented as a huge bird, capsizes his boat and makes him fall into the water. Adapa gets angry and, in retaliation, breaks the wing of the south wind. After a time Anu, the father of the gods, notices that the south wind is not blowing any more, and inquires as to the reason of it. Being told of what Adapa had done, he orders him to come to his presence and to explain things.

The god Ea, on hearing this, greatly fears for the safety of his protege. He is especially troubled by the fact that Adapa possesses too much knowledge for a human being and fears that Anu, jealous of the gods' prerogatives, might decide to kill him. To offset this danger, he gives Adapa these parting instructions: "When before Anu, he will

offer to thee the food of death. Do not eat. He will offer to thee the water of death. Do not drink."

Adapa goes, and presents himself before the father of the gods. When Anu finds out that this man had been instructed into the secret knowledge, he exclaims: "Why has Ea revealed to impure humanity the secrets of heaven and earth? Why has he given him an astute heart?" However, things turned out differently from what Ea had anticipated.

Confronted by the fact that Adapa, by possessing so much knowledge, had already become a demigod, Anu decides to grant him immortality also, so as to make him equal to the other gods. He terefore commands that the food of the and the water of life be brought him. Adapa, fearing trickery, refuses the eat and to drink. The god is amazed as says: "Why, O Adapa, hast thou not have nor drunken? Thou with not live to rever." After this sentence Adapa is sent back to the earth, having forfeited immortality.

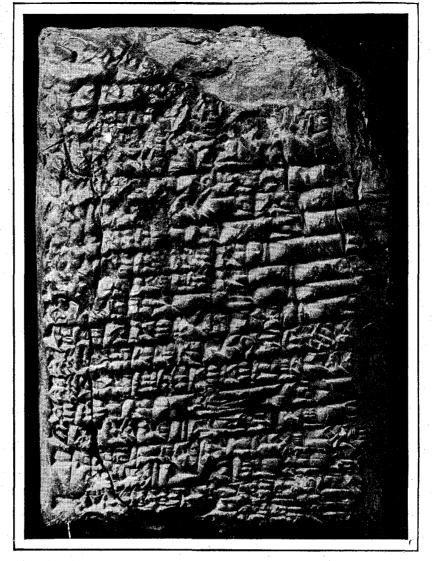
We learn from this story that knowledge plus immortality constitutes equality with the gods, that immortality could have been secured through the eating of a certain food, and, finally, that a human being had succeeded in reaching knowledge, but had missed eternal life.

THE ORIGINAL OF THE BIBLICAL STORY

We are now so clearly in the same cycle of ideas out of which the story of the Fall must have originated that we can reconstruct the original account, as it circulated in Babylonia before being incorporated into the Bible.

One god, probably the head of the pantheon, creates the first couple and places them in a garden. They are destitute, not only of moral knowledge, but also of reasoning powers. Another god, friendly to mankind, decides to come to their help, and tells Eve of the amazing results the fruit of the tree of knowledge would produce. Eve eats of the fruit. then gives of it to her husband and secures for herself and her posterity the incomparable gift of a reasoning mind. The effect of her act is seen immediately, and Adam and Eve realize that they need some kind of clothing. The use of garments thus represents the first step towards civilized life.

The head of the pantheon drives mankind from the garden so as not to give them a chance to eat also of the tree of life and become real gods. There was no idea of punishment in the act of the god, just as there was no sin in that of the woman. The moral idea is absent from these early stories. The Babylonian Noah was not saved from the deluge because he was morally better than his fellow-men; he merely had the good fortune of enjoying the protection of one of the gods. Eve committed no greater sin than that of Prometheus, who stole fire from heaven, for the benefit of mankind. But, while Prometheus



THE OBVERSE OF THE SUMERIAN TABLET, CONTAINING THE STORY OF THE FALL OF MAN

was made to suffer eternally for his act, the Babylonian god forgave Eve and, considering the raised status of her posterity, he blessed humanity on her account.

The story of the Fall strives to explain two things, and two things only: how it is that mankind is endowed with intelligence which the animals do not possess, and also why, notwithstanding this, human beings are still mortal.

#### LATER ADAPTATIONS

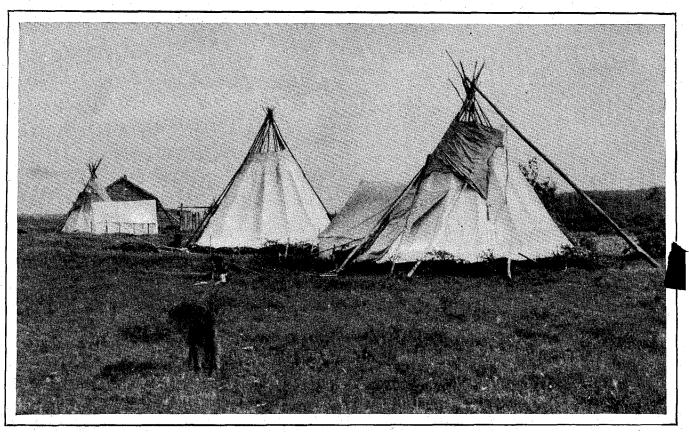
The Hebrew thinkers who adapted this story for their own religion have retained faithfully both of the original ideas, and have added much to them. The simple legend has been made use of in solving the most difficult problem that has ever faced religion: "God, in his holiness, cannot have been the creator of evil. How, then, did it enter into the world?" The problem of evil had never troubled the old Babylonians, for their gods were not necessarily moral.

Not satisfied with having imposed upon the story this great burden of late philosophical speculation, the Hebrew writers made it also explain some minor questions which had been perplexing their time. Thus they tell us why woman suffers at childbirth, why physical labor is attended by fatigue, and also the reason for our instinctive fear of serpents.

These late additions made of Eve the first sinner and the direct cause of all our afflictions. And yet the Babylonian legends, in giving credit to woman for her good share in the acquisition of knowledge, had not gone far from the truth.

Just as nomadic peoples, because they wander about continuously, are less civilized than settled agricultural communities, so in the human family it is to woman, who has stayed at home, that we owe the beginnings of industry. While her husband or father was out in search of food, woman discovered how to spin and to weave. It was probably a woman who made the first loaf of bread and cooked the first meal over a fire.

But we can go a step further. The influence of woman has always spurred man on to greater and better things; but for her, would mankind have ever come out of its primitive lair, to establish civilization upon the earth?



THE FRESHMAN CLASS CAME FROM HOMES LIKE THESE

## THE FRESHMAN CLASS

### BY FULLERTON WALDO

KNOW of but one school that brings its freshman class from the Arctic shores, and that is the school at Hay River, on Great Slave Lake, in the Northwest Territories. I traveled a thousand miles down the Mackenzie River to Fort McPherson from Hay River with the graduating class, and then a thousand miles up-stream with the freshman class; and I can already understand why the little brown hands of Indian and Eskimo children tug at the heart-strings of those who teach them. The cynic says that the missioneducated children return to the tepee and the igloo and immediately revert to the ground-level of their parentage; but the cynic is wrong, quite wrong. Let him make the round trip of four thousand miles north from Edmonton to the Arctic shores and back, and let him see what has been wrought, and if he is fair he will no longer say "the struggle nought availeth."

There were fourteen children shepherded aboard by Mrs. Vale, of the Anglican Mission, for this their first long voyage in the world and their great adventure. Eight other children had to be left behind with their families. The Loucheux Indian fathers and mothers of twelve of the children said farewell with many parental admonitions as well as premonitions. They told the children to wash their faces and brush their hair

and be submissive to Mrs. Vale in everything. The Eskimo parents of the other two children were not less concerned and affectionate. They brought aboard a feather bed, a rabbit-skin quilt, and a mosquito-bar, which they placed in the lee of the bales of fox, ermine, and marten skins on the main deck, in trust that the school would do for their little ones what it had done for others whom they knew. They said the reason why they let their children go was that they saw round about them every day Eskimos and Indians leading better lives and doing better work for the years they spent in school at Hay River. Of course it

AN INTERVIEW WITH

## Colonel Hugh L. Cooper

builder of the great Keokuk Dam,

will be published in an early issue of The Outlook. In this interview Newton Fuessle presents Colonel Cooper's views on the possibilities of power development in the project for the canalization of the St. Lawrence River.

will displease the cynic that these things are so, for it upsets his favorite theory; but there are more things in heaven and earth than the philosophy of the cynic comprehends.

The Eskimo children in their wolverene-trimmed artikis at first were shy and silent; but by the second day the boy had begun to knot a fish-net, tied to the handles of his trunk, no bigger than a doll's; and the girl was riding about over the deck on a freight truck with other children. Seven little Indian girls were busy in a corner with needles and thread and brilliant bits of cambric and gingham making dresses for their dolls. They plied the needle with a dexterity which showed that at home they had more to do than go rummaging and scavenging with the dogs. One had a pair of blunted shears as long as her forearm, which, since it was the only cutting implement in the group, was communistically passed from hand to hand. Nobody told them to sew; they started and stopped of their own motion; it was their favorite diversion.

The father of two of the Indian children was a passenger, and he helped with all of them. He got a basin of water and a cake of soap and washed the faces of his own offspring; he carefully brushed and braided their black hair, and when it was hanging down about their faces while he was combing