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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



WHERE THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM STOOD.

The Open Court Publishing Company
CHICAGO

LONDON: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd.

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CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> The Second Temple of Jerusalem (Schick's Restoration).	
<i>Rome and the Orient.</i> FRANZ CUMONT.	193
<i>The Dome of the Rock</i> (Illustrated). EDITOR	206
<i>The Old Testament as a Text-Book.</i> RABBI A. P. DRUCKER	222
<i>Aquileja</i> (With illustration). EDITOR	230
<i>The Zohar and Its Influence on the Cabala.</i> BERNHARD PICK	233
<i>Woman Suffrage and Ballot Reform.</i> EDITOR	244
<i>Book Reviews and Notes</i>	247

The First Grammar of the Language Spoken by the Bontoc Igorot

A Mountain Tribe of North Luzon
(Philippine Islands)

By Dr. CARL WILHELM SEIDENADEL

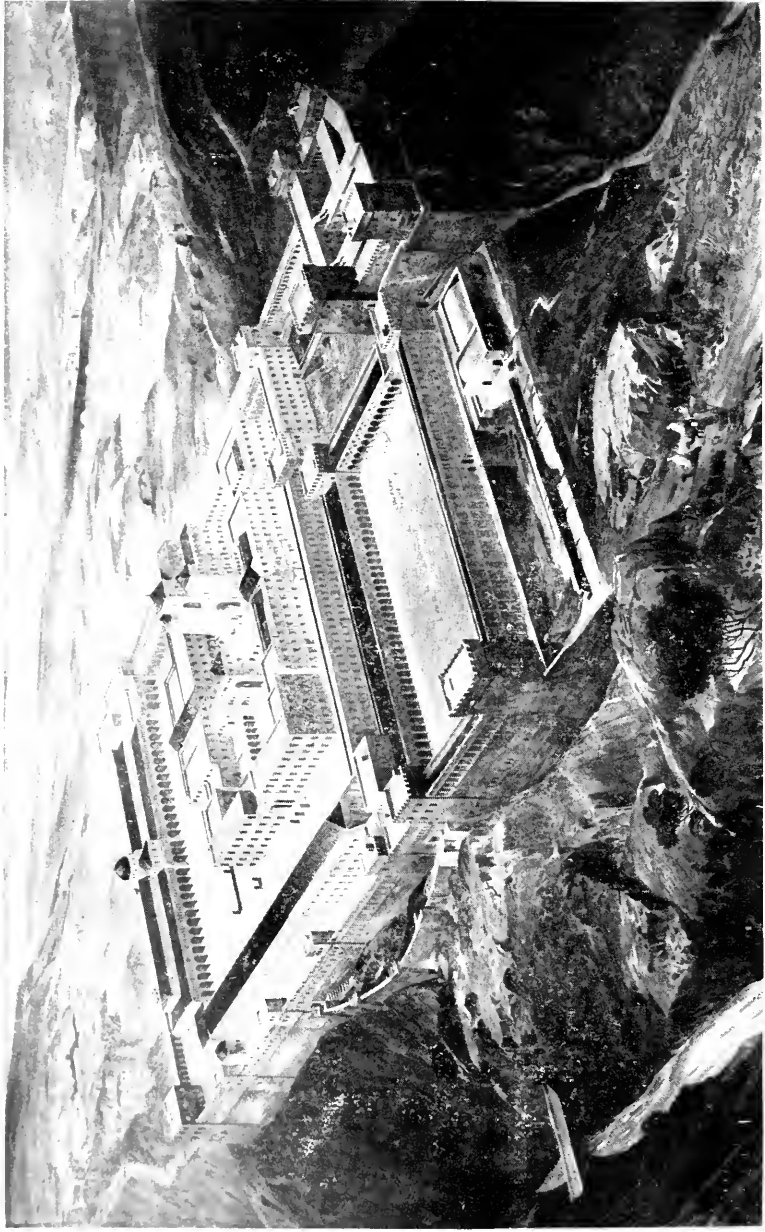
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Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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ROME AND THE ORIENT.*

BY FRANZ CUMONT.

WE are fond of regarding ourselves as the heirs of Rome and we like to think that the Latin genius, after having absorbed the genius of Greece, held an intellectual and moral supremacy in the ancient world similar to the one Europe now maintains, and that the culture of the peoples that lived under the authority of the Cæsars was stamped forever by their strong touch. It is difficult to forget the present entirely and to renounce aristocratic pretensions. We find it hard to believe that the Orient has not always lived, to some extent, in the state of humiliation from which it is now slowly emerging, and we are inclined to ascribe to the ancient inhabitants of Smyrna, Beirut or Alexandria the faults with which the Levantines of to-day are being reproached. The growing influence of the Orientals that accompanied the decline of the empire has frequently been considered a morbid phenomenon and a symptom of the slow decomposition of the ancient world. Even Renan does not seem to have been sufficiently free from an old prejudice when he wrote on this subject:¹ "That the oldest and most worn out civilization should by its corruption subjugate the younger was inevitable."

But if we calmly consider the real facts, avoiding the optical illusion that makes things in our immediate vicinity look larger, we shall form a quite different opinion. It is beyond all dispute that Rome found the point of support of its military power in the Occident. The legions from the Danube and the Rhine were always braver, stronger and better disciplined than those from the Euphrates and the Nile. But it is in the Orient, especially in these countries of "old civilization," that we must look for industry and riches, for technical ability and artistic productions, as well as for

* The first of a series of lectures on "Oriental Religions in Pagan Rome."
Translated from the French by A. M. Thielen.

¹ Renan, *L'Antéchrist*, p. 130.

intelligence and science, even before Constantine made it the center of political power.

While Greece merely vegetated in a state of poverty, humiliation and exhaustion; while Italy suffered depopulation and became unable to provide for her own support; while the other countries of Europe were hardly out of barbarism; Asia Minor, Egypt and Syria gathered the rich harvests Roman peace made possible. Their industrial centers cultivated and renewed all the traditions that had caused their former celebrity. A more intense intellectual life corresponded with the economic activity of these great manufacturing and exporting countries. They excelled in every profession except that of arms, and even the prejudiced Romans admitted their superiority. The menace of an Oriental empire haunted the imaginations of the first masters of the world. Such an empire seems to have been the main thought of the dictator Cæsar, and the triumvir Antony almost realized it. Even Nero thought of making Alexandria his capital. Although Rome, supported by her army and the right of might, retained the political authority for a long time, she bowed to the fatal moral ascendancy of more advanced peoples. Viewed from this standpoint the history of the empire during the first three centuries may be summarized as a "peaceful infiltration" of the Orient into the Occident.² This truth has become evident since the various aspects of Roman civilization are being studied in greater detail; and before broaching the special subject of these studies we wish to review a few phases of the slow metamorphosis of which the propagation of the Oriental religions was one phenomenon.

In the first place the imitation of the Orient showed itself plainly in political institutions.³ To be convinced of this fact it is sufficient to compare the government of the empire in the time of Augustus with what it had become under Diocletian. At the beginning of the imperial régime Rome ruled the world but did not govern it. She kept the number of her functionaries down to a minimum, her provinces were mere unorganized aggregates of cities where she only exercised police power, protectorates rather than annexed countries.⁴ As long as law and order were maintained and her citizens, functionaries and merchants could transact their business, Rome was satisfied. She saved herself the trouble of looking after

² Cf. M. Krumbacher, *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, 1907, p. 710.

³ Kornemann, "Aegyptische Einflüsse im römischen Kaiserreich" (*Neue Jahrb. für des klass. Altertum*, II, 1898, p. 118 f.); and Otto Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserl. Verwaltungsbeamten*, 2d ed., p. 469.

⁴ Cicero, *De Officiis*, II, 8.

the public service by leaving a broad authority to the cities that had existed before her domination, or had been modeled after her. The taxes were levied by syndicates of bankers and the public lands rented out. Before the reforms instituted by Augustus, even the army was not an organic and permanent force, but consisted theoretically of troops levied before a war and discharged after victory.

Rome's institutions remained those of a city. It was difficult to apply them to the vast territory she attempted to govern with their aid. They were a clumsy apparatus that worked only by sudden starts, a rudimentary system that could and did not last.

What do we find three centuries later? A strongly centralized state in which an absolute ruler, worshiped like a god and surrounded by a large court, commanded a whole hierarchy of functionaries; cities divested of their local liberties and ruled by an omnipotent bureaucracy, the old capital herself the first to be dispossessed of her autonomy and subjected to prefects. Outside of the cities the monarch, whose private fortune was identical with the state-finances, possessed immense domains managed by intendants and supporting a population of serf-colonists. The army was composed largely of foreign mercenaries, professional soldiers whose pay or bounty consisted of lands on which they settled. All these features and many others caused the Roman empire to assume the likeness of ancient Oriental monarchies.

It would be impossible to admit that like causes produce like results, and then maintain that a similarity is not sufficient proof of an influence in history. Wherever we can closely follow the successive transformations of a particular institution, we notice the action of the Orient and especially of Egypt. When Rome had become a great cosmopolitan metropolis like Alexandria, Augustus reorganized it in imitation of the capital of the Ptolemies. The fiscal reforms of the Cæsars like the taxes on sales and inheritances, the register of land surveys and the direct collection of taxes, were suggested by the very perfect financial system of the Lagides,⁵ and it can be maintained that their government was the first source from which those of modern Europe were derived, through the medium of the Romans. The imperial *saltus*, superintended by a procurator and cultivated by metayers reduced to the state of serfs, was an imitation of the ones that the Asiatic potentates formerly cultivated through their agents.⁶

⁵ O. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 91, 93 etc. Cf. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, p. 9, n. 2 etc.

⁶ Rostovtzev, "Der Ursprung des Kolonats" in *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, I, 1901, p. 295; and Haussoullier, *Histoire de Milet et du Didymeion*, 1902, p. 106.

It would be easy to increase this list of examples. The absolute monarchy, theocratic and bureaucratic at the same time, that was the form of government of Egypt, Syria and even Asia-Minor during the Alexandrine period was the ideal on which the deified Cæsars gradually fashioned the Roman empire.

One cannot however deny Rome the glory of having elaborated a system of private law that was logically deduced from clearly formulated principles and was destined to become the fundamental law of all civilized communities. But even in connection with this private law, where the originality of Rome is uncontested and her preeminence absolute, recent researches have shown with how much tenacity the Hellenized Orient maintained its old legal codes, and how much resistance local customs, the woof of the life of nations, offered to unification. In truth, unification never was realized except in theory.⁷ More than that, these researches have proved that the fertile principles of that provincial law, which was sometimes on a higher moral plane than the Roman law, reacted on the progressive transformation of the old *ius civile*. And how could it be otherwise? Were not a great number of famous jurists like Ulpian of Tyre and Papinian of Hemesa natives of Syria? And did not the law-school of Beirut constantly grow in importance after the third century, until during the fifth century it became the most brilliant center of legal education? Thus Levantines cultivated even the patrimonial field cleared by Scaevola and Labeo.⁸

In the austere temple of law the Orient held as yet only a minor position; everywhere else its authority was predominant. The practical mind of the Romans, which made them excellent lawyers, prevented them from becoming great scholars. They esteemed pure science but little, having small talent for it, and one notices that it ceased to be earnestly cultivated wherever their direct domination was established. The great astronomers, mathematicians, and physicians, like the originators or defenders of the great metaphysical systems, were mostly Orientals. Ptolemy and Plotinus were Egyptians, Porphyrius and Iamblichus, Syrians, Dioscorides and Galen, Asiatics. All branches of learning were affected by the spirit of the Orient. The clearest minds accepted the chimeras of astrology and magic. Philosophy claimed more and more to derive its inspiration from the fabulous wisdom of Chaldea and Egypt. Tired of seeking truth, reason abdicated and hoped to find it in a revelation preserved

⁷ Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen*, 1891, p. 8 f.

⁸ Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 1905, p. 366.

in the mysteries of the barbarians. Greek logic strove to coordinate into an harmonious whole the confused traditions of the Asiatic religions.

Letters, as well as science, were cultivated chiefly by the Orientals. Attention has often been called to the fact that those men of letters that were considered the purest representatives of the Greek spirit under the empire belonged almost without exception to Asia Minor, Syria or Egypt. The rhetorician Dion Chrysostom came from Prusa in Bithynia, the satirist Lucian from Samosata in Com-magene on the borders of the Euphrates. A number of other names could be cited. From Tacitus and Suetonius down to Ammianus, there was not one author of talent to preserve in Latin the memory of the events that stirred the world of that period, but it was a Bithynian again, Dion Cassius of Nicea, who, under the Severi, narrated the history of the Roman people.

It is a characteristic fact that, besides this literature whose language was Greek, others were born, revived and developed. The Syriac, derived from the Aramaic which was the international language of earlier Asia, became again the language of a cultured race with Bardesanes of Edessa. The Copts remembered that they had spoken several dialects derived from the ancient Egyptian and endeavored to revive them. North of the Taurus even the Armenians began to write and polish their barbarian speech. Christian preaching, addressed to the people, took hold of the popular idioms and roused them from their long lethargy. Along the Nile as well as on the plains of Mesopotamia or in the valleys of Anatolia it proclaimed its new ideas in dialects that had been despised hitherto, and wherever the old Orient had not been entirely denationalized by Hellenism, it successfully reclaimed its intellectual autonomy.

A revival of native art went hand in hand with this linguistic awakening. In no field of intellect has the illusion mentioned above been so complete and lasting as in this one. Until a few years ago the opinion prevailed that an "imperial" art had come into existence in the Rome of Augustus and that thence its predominance had slowly spread to the periphery of the ancient world. If it had undergone some special modifications in Asia these were due to exotic influences, undoubtedly Assyrian or Persian. Not even the important discoveries of M. de Vogüé in Hauran⁹ were sufficient to prove the emptiness of a theory that was supported by our lofty conviction of European leadership.

⁹ De Vogüé et Duthoit, *L'Architecture civile et religieuse de la Syrie centrale*, Paris, 1866-77.

To-day it is fully proven not only that Rome has given nothing or almost nothing to the Orientals but also that she has received quite a little from them. Impregnated with Hellenism, Asia produced an astonishing number of original works of art in the kingdoms of the Diadochs. The old processes, the discovery of which dates back to the Chaldeans, the Hittites or the subjects of the Pharaohs, were first utilized by the conquerors of Alexander's empire who conceived a rich variety of new types, and created an original style. But if during the three centuries preceding our era, sovereign Greece played the part of the demiurge who creates living beings out of preexisting matter, during the three following centuries her productive power became exhausted, her faculty of invention weakened, the ancient local traditions revolted against her empire and with the help of Christianity overcame it. Transferred to Byzantium they expanded in a new efflorescence and spread over Europe where they paved the way for the formation of the Romanesque art of the early Middle Ages.¹⁰

Rome, then, far from having established her suzerainty, was tributary to the Orient in this respect. The Orient was her superior in the extent and precision of its technical knowledge as well as in the inventive genius and the ability of its workmen. The Cæsars were great builders but frequently employed foreign help. Trajan's principal architect, a magnificent builder, was a Syrian, Apollodorus of Damascus.¹¹

Her Levantine subjects not only taught Italy the artistic solution of architectonic problems like the erection of a cupola on a rectangular or octagonal edifice, but also compelled her to accept their taste, and they saturated her with their genius. They imparted to her their love of luxuriant decoration and of violent polychromy, and they gave religious sculpture and painting the complicated symbolism that pleased their abstruse and subtle minds.

In those times art was closely connected with industry, which was entirely manual and individual. They learned from each other, they improved and declined together, in short they were inseparable. Shall we call the painters that decorated the architecturally fantastic and airy walls of Pompeii in Alexandrian or perhaps Syrian taste artisans or artists? And how shall we classify the goldsmiths, Alexandrians also, who carved those delicate leaves, those picturesque animals, those harmoniously elegant or cunningly animated groups that cover the phials and goblets of Bosco Reale? And

¹⁰ This fact has been established by the researches of M. Strzygowski.

¹¹ Cf. also Pliny, *Epist. Traian.*, 40.

descending from the productions of the industrial arts to those of industry itself, one might also trace the growing influence of the Orient; one might show how the action of the great manufacturing centers of the East gradually transformed the material civilization of Europe; one might point out how the introduction into Gaul¹² of exotic patterns and processes changed the old native industry and gave its products a perfection and a popularity hitherto unknown. But I dislike to insist overmuch on a point apparently so foreign to the one now before us. It was important however to mention this subject at the beginning because in whatever direction scholars of to-day pursue their investigations they always notice Asiatic culture slowly supplanting that of Italy. The latter developed only by absorbing elements taken from the inexhaustible reserves of the "old civilizations" of which we spoke at the beginning. The Hellenized Orient imposed itself everywhere through its men and its works; it subjected its Latin conquerors to its ascendancy in the same manner as it dominated its Arabian conquerors later when it became the civilizer of Islam. But in no field of thought was its influence, under the empire, so decisive as in religion, because it finally brought about the complete destruction of the Greco-Latin paganism.¹³

The invasion of the barbarian religions was so open, so noisy and so triumphant that it could not remain unnoticed. It attracted the anxious or sympathetic attention of the ancient authors, and since the Renaissance modern scholars have frequently taken interest in it. Possibly however they did not sufficiently understand that this religious evolution was not an isolated and extraordinary phenomenon, but that it accompanied and aided a more general evolution, just as that aided it in turn. The transformation of beliefs was intimately connected with the establishment of the monarchy by divine right, the development of art, the prevailing philosophic tendencies, in fact with all manifestations of thought, sentiment and taste.

We shall attempt to sketch this religious movement with its numerous and far-reaching ramifications. First we shall try to show what caused the diffusion of the Oriental religions. In the second place we shall examine those in particular that originated in Asia Minor, Egypt, Syria and Persia, and we shall endeavor to distinguish their individual characteristics and estimate their value. We shall see, finally, how the ancient idolatry was transformed

¹² Cf. Courajod, *Leçons du Louvre*, I, 1899, pp. 115, 327 ff.

¹³ Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*, II, p. 283, n. 1.

and what form it assumed in its last struggle against Christianity, whose victory was furthered by the Asiatic mysteries, although they opposed its doctrine.

* * *

But before broaching this subject a preliminary question must be answered. Is the study which we have just outlined possible? What items will be of assistance to us in this undertaking? From what sources are we to derive our knowledge of the Oriental religions in the Roman empire?

It must be admitted that the sources are inadequate and have not as yet been sufficiently investigated.

Perhaps no loss caused by the general wreck of ancient literature has been more disastrous than that of the liturgic books of paganism. A few mystic formulas quoted incidentally by pagan or Christian authors and a few fragments of hymns in honor of the gods¹⁴ are practically all that escaped destruction. In order to obtain an idea of what those lost rituals may have been one must turn to their imitations contained in the chorus of tragedies, and to the parodies comic authors sometimes made; or look up in books of magic the plagiarisms that writers of incantations may have committed.¹⁵ But all this gives us only a dim reflection of the religious ceremonies. Shut out from the sanctuary like profane outsiders, we hear only the indistinct echo of the sacred songs and not even in imagination can we attend the celebration of the mysteries.

We do not know how the ancients prayed, we cannot penetrate into the intimacy of their religious life, and certain depths of the soul of antiquity we must leave unsounded. If a fortunate wind-fall could give us possession of some sacred book of the later paganism its revelations would surprise the world. We could witness the performance of those mysterious dramas whose symbolic acts commemorated the passion of the gods; in company with the believers we could sympathize with their sufferings, lament their death and share in the joy of their return to life. In those vast collections of archaic rites that hazily perpetuated the memory of abolished creeds we would find traditional formulas couched in obsolete language that was scarcely understood, naive prayers conceived by the faith of the earliest ages, sanctified by the devotion of past centuries, and almost ennobled by the joys and sufferings

¹⁴ Cf. Cumont, *Monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, I, p. 313, n. 1.

¹⁵ Cf. Adami, *De poetis scen. Græcis hymnorum sacrorum imitatoribus*, 1901.

of past generations. We would also read those hymns in which philosophic thought found expression in sumptuous allegories¹⁶ or humbled itself before the omnipotence of the infinite, poems of which only a few stoic effusions celebrating the creative or destructive fire, or expressing a complete surrender to divine fate can give us some idea.¹⁷

But everything is gone, and thus we lose the possibility of studying from the original documents the internal development of the pagan religions.

We would feel this loss less keenly if we possessed at least the works of Greek and Latin mythographers on the subject of foreign divinities like the voluminous books published during the second century by Eusebius and Pallas on the Mysteries of Mithra. But those works were thought devoid of interest or even dangerous by the devout Middle Ages, and they are not likely to have survived the fall of paganism. The treatises on mythology that have been preserved deal almost entirely with the ancient Hellenic fables made famous by the classic writers, to the neglect of the Oriental religions.¹⁸

As a rule, all we find in literature on this subject are a few incidental remarks and passing allusions. History is incredibly poor in that respect. This poverty of information was caused in the first place by a narrowness of view characteristic of the rhetoric cultivated by historians of the classical period and especially of the empire. Politics and the wars of the rulers, the dramas, the intrigues and even the gossip of the courts and of the official world were of much higher interest to them than the great economic or religious transformations. Moreover, there is no period of the Roman empire concerning which we are so little informed as the third century, precisely the one during which the Oriental religions reached the apogee of their power. From Herodianus and Dion Cassius to the Byzantines, and from Suetonius to Ammianus Marcellinus, all narratives of any importance have been lost, and this deplorable blank in historic tradition is particularly fatal to the study of paganism.

It is a strange fact that light literature concerned itself more with these grave questions. The rites of the exotic religions stimulated the imagination of the satirists, and the pomp of the festivities

¹⁶ Cf. Cumont, *Monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, I, p. 298; II, p. 60.

¹⁷ Cf. Reitzenstein, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, VII, 1904, p. 395.

¹⁸ Cf. Cumont, *Monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*.

furnished the novelists with brilliant descriptive matter. Juvenal laughs at the mortifications of the devotees of Isis; in his *Necyomancy* Lucian parodies the interminable purifications of the magi, and in the *Metamorphoses* Apuleius relates the various scenes of an initiation into the mysteries of Isis with the fervor of a neophyte and the studied refinement of a rhetorician. But as a rule we find only incidental remarks and superficial observations in the authors. Not even the precious treatise *On the Syrian Goddess*, in which Lucian tells of a visit to the temple of Hierapolis and repeats his conversation with the priests, has any depth. What he relates is the impression of an intelligent, curious and above all an ironical traveler.¹⁹

In order to obtain a more perfect initiation and a less fragmentary insight into the doctrines taught by the Oriental religions, we are compelled to turn to two kinds of testimony, inspired by contrary tendencies, but equally suspicious: the testimony of the philosophers, and that of the fathers of the church. The Stoics and the Platonists frequently took an interest in the religious beliefs of the barbarians, and it is to them that we are indebted for the possession of highly valuable data on this subject. Plutarch's treatise *Isis and Osiris* is a source whose importance is appreciated even by Egyptologists, whom it aids in reconstructing the legends of those divinities.²⁰ But the philosophers very seldom expounded foreign doctrines objectively and for their own sake. They embodied them in their systems as a means of proof or illustration; they surrounded them with personal exegesis or drowned them in transcendental commentaries; in short, they claimed to discover their own ideas in them. It is always difficult and sometimes impossible to distinguish the dogmas from the self-confident interpretations which are usually as incorrect as possible.

The writings of the ecclesiastical authors, although prejudiced, are very fertile sources of information, but in perusing them one must guard against another kind of error. By a peculiar irony of fate those controversialists are to-day in many instances our only aid in reviving the idolatry they attempted to destroy. Although the Oriental religions were the most dangerous and most persistent adversaries of Christianity, the works of the Christian writers do not supply as abundant information as one might suppose. The reason for this is that the fathers of the church often show a certain reserve in speaking of idolatry, and affect to recall its monstrosities

¹⁹ On its authenticity cf. Croiset, *Essay sur Lucien*, 1882, pp. 63 and 204.

²⁰ Cf. Neustadt, *Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1907, p. 1117.

only in guarded terms. Moreover, as we shall see later on,²¹ the apologists of the fourth century were frequently behind the times as to the evolution of doctrines, and drawing on literary tradition, from epicureans and skeptics, they fought especially the beliefs of the ancient Grecian and Italian religions that had been abolished or were dying out, while they neglected the living beliefs of the contemporary world.

Some of these polemicists nevertheless directed their attacks against the divinities of the Orient and their Latin votaries. Either they derived their information from converts or they had been pagans themselves during their youth. This was the case with Firmicus Maternus who has written a bad treatise on astrology and finally fought the *Error of the Profane Religions*. However, the question always arises as to how much they can have known of the esoteric doctrines and the ritual ceremonies, the secret of which was jealously guarded. They boast so loudly of their power to disclose these abominations, that they incur the suspicion that the discretion of the initiates baffled their curiosity. In addition they were too ready to believe all the calumnies that were circulated against the pagan mysteries, calumnies directed against occult sects of all times and against the Christians themselves.

In short, the literary tradition is not very rich and frequently little worthy of belief. While it is comparatively considerable for the Egyptian religions because they were received by the Greek world as early as the period of the Ptolemies, and because letters and science were always cultivated at Alexandria, it is even less important for Phrygia, although Cybele was Hellenized and Latinized very early, and excepting the tract by Lucian on the goddess of Hierapolis it is almost nothing for the Syrian, Cappadocian and Persian religions.

The insufficiency of the data supplied by writers increases the value of information furnished by epigraphic and archeological documents, whose number is steadily growing. The inscriptions possess a certainty and precision that is frequently absent in the phrases of the writers. They enable one to draw important conclusions as to the dates of propagation and disappearance of the various religions, their extent, the quality and social rank of their votaries, the sacred hierarchy and sacerdotal personnel, the constitution of the religious communities, the offerings made to the gods, and the ceremonies performed in their honor; in short, conclusions

²¹ Cf. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 1st ed., ch. VIII, p. 244.

as to the secular and profane history of these religions, and in a certain measure their ritual. But the conciseness of the lapidary style and the constant repetition of stereotyped formulas naturally render that kind of text hardly explicit and sometimes enigmatical. There are dedications like the *Nama Sebesio* engraved upon the great Mithra bas-relief preserved in the Louvre, that caused a number of dissertations to be written without any one's explaining it. And besides, in a general way, epigraphy gives us but little information about the liturgy and almost nothing regarding the doctrines.

Archeology must endeavor to fill the enormous blanks left by the written tradition; the monuments, especially the artistic ones, have not as yet been collected with sufficient care nor interpreted with sufficient method. By studying the arrangement of the temples and the religious furniture that adorned them, one can at the same time determine part of the liturgic ceremonies which took place there. On the other hand, the critical interpretation of statuary relics enables us to reconstruct with sufficient correctness certain sacred legends and to recover part of the theology of the mysteries. Unlike Greek art, the religious art at the close of paganism did not seek, or sought only incidentally, to elevate the soul through the contemplation of an ideal of divine beauty. True to the traditions of the ancient Orient, it tried to edify and to instruct at the same time.²² It told the history of gods and the world in cycles of pictures, or it expressed through symbols the subtle conceptions of theology and even certain doctrines of profane science, like the struggle of the four elements; just as during the Middle Ages, so the artist of the empire interpreted the ideas of the clergy, teaching the believers by means of pictures and rendering the highest religious conceptions intelligible to the humblest minds. But to read this mystic book whose pages are scattered in our museums we must laboriously look for its key, and we cannot take for a guide and exegetist some Vincent de Beauvais of Diocletian's period²³ as when looking over the marvelous sculptured encyclopedias in our Gothic cathedrals. Our position is frequently similar to that of a scholar of the year 4000 who would undertake to write the history of the Passion from the pictures of the fourteen stations, or to study the veneration of the saints from the statues found in the ruins of our churches.

But, as far as the Oriental religions are concerned, the results of all the laborious investigations now being made in the classical

²² Cf. Cumont, *Monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, I, pp. 75 and 219.

²³ Cf. Mâle, *L'Art du XIIIe siècle en France*.

countries can be indirectly controlled, and this is a great advantage. To-day we are tolerably well acquainted with the old religions of Egypt, Babylonia and Persia. We read and translate correctly the hieroglyphics of the Nile, the cuneiform tablets of Mesopotamia and the sacred books, Zend or Palilavi, of Parsecism. Religious history has profited more by their deciphering than the history of politics or of civilization. In Syria also, the discovery of Aramaic and Phœnician inscriptions and the excavations made in temples have in a certain measure covered the deficiency of information in the Bible or in the Greek writers on Semitic paganism. Even Asia Minor, that is to say the uplands of Anatolia, is beginning to reveal herself to explorers although almost all the great sanctuaries, Pessinus, the two Comanas, Castabala, are as yet buried underground. We can, therefore, even now form a fairly exact idea of the beliefs of some of the countries that sent the Oriental mysteries to Rome. To tell the truth, these researches have not been pushed far enough to enable us to state precisely what form religion had assumed in those regions at the time they came into contact with Italy and we would be likely to commit very strange errors, if we brought together practices that may have been separated by thousands of years. It is a task reserved for the future to establish a rigorous chronology in this matter to determine the ultimate phase that the evolution of creeds in all regions of the Levant had reached at the beginning of our era, and to connect them without interruption of continuity to the mysteries practiced in the Latin world, the secrets of which archeological researches are slowly bringing to light.

We are still far from welding all the links of this long chain firmly together: the orientalists and the classical philologists cannot, as yet, shake hands across the Mediterranean. We raise only one corner of Isis's veil, and scarcely guess a part of the revelations that were, even formerly, reserved for a pious and chosen few. Nevertheless we have reached, on the road of certainty, a summit from which we can overlook the field that our successors will clear. In the course of these lectures I shall attempt to give a summary of the essential results achieved by the erudition of the nineteenth century and to draw from them a few conclusions that will, possibly, be provisional. The invasion of the Oriental religions that destroyed the ancient religions and national ideals of the Romans also radically transformed the society and government of the empire, and in view of this fact it would deserve the historian's attention even if it had not foreshadowed and prepared the final victory of Christianity.

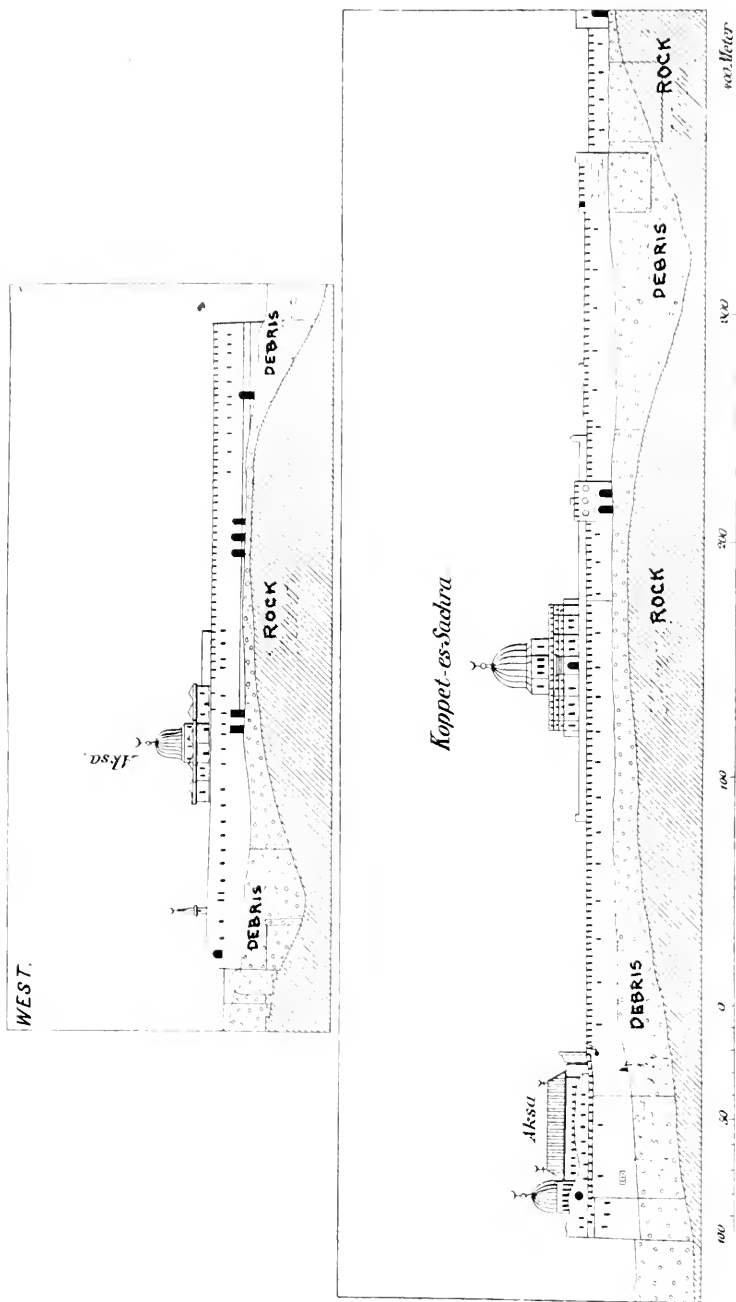
THE DOME OF THE ROCK.

BY THE EDITOR.

WHATEVER doubts there may be concerning the topography of Jerusalem, and they are almost unlimited, one thing is certain, that the site of Moriah, the sacred hill where Solomon's temple stood, is the high ground known as the Haram, or Enclosure. Its full name is Haram esh-Sherif, which literally translated means the "enclosure of distinction," for the pious Moslems deemed it the most sacred place in the world next to the Caaba at Mecca.

The southern portion of the Haram has been raised to the level of the temple area since about the fourth century of the Christian era, and on the west it is covered by a building which stands high above the natural rock, resting partly on a thick layer of debris and partly on arches. It is now called the Mosque-el-Aksa, which means the "distant mosque," so called by the Mohammedan conquerors on account of its great distance from Mecca. There is scarcely any doubt that this was the place where, on lower ground than the temple, Solomon built his palace, and in the times of Herod it was covered by a monumental basilica. Here Emperor Justinian built a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary which was afterwards called Anastasis, the Church of the Resurrection. When Calif Omar took Jerusalem he changed it into a mosque which, however, for unknown reasons fell into decay, and was rebuilt by Calif el-Mahdi. When the crusaders took Jerusalem it again became a Christian church called sometimes the Temple of Solomon, sometimes the Palace, because it served occasionally as the residence of the kings of Jerusalem. Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem, assigned it to a new order of knights who took from it the name "Templars." The Templars changed part of it and in front of their temple built a large granary; but Saladin restored the old building and this is the shape in which it is still standing.

The vaults underneath the Mosque-el-Aksa are now called the

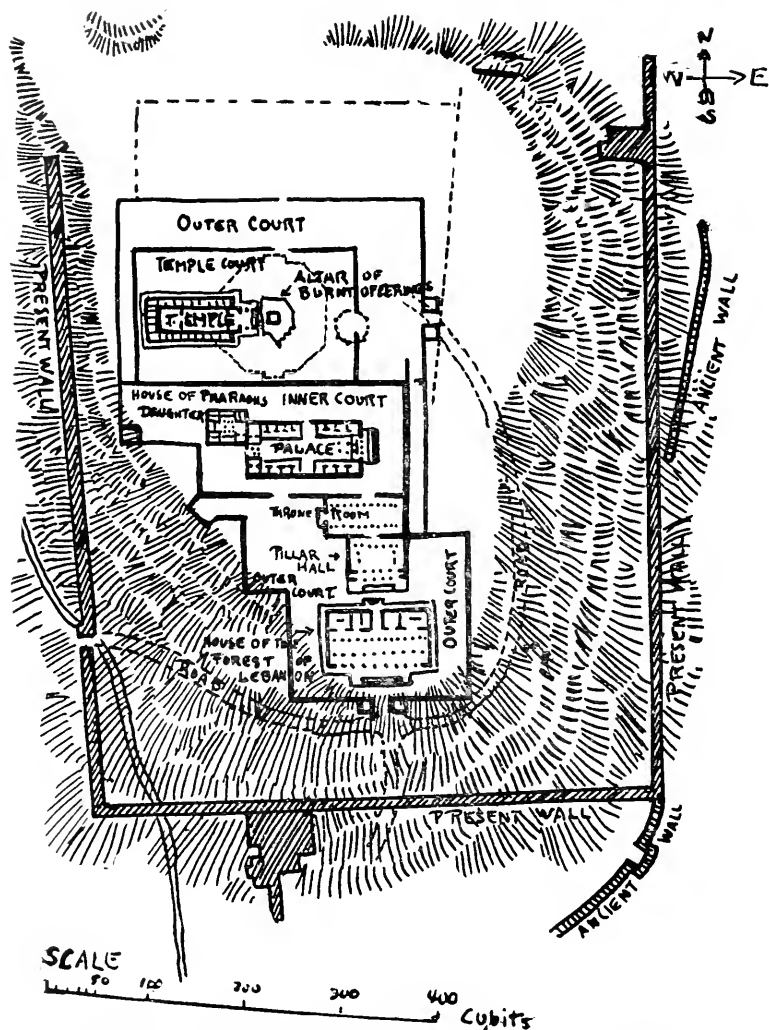


WEST-EAST AND SOUTH-NORTH ELEVATION OF THE TEMPLE AREA.

According to C. Schick.

Stables of Solomon, which name has of course no foundation in fact, but it is quite probable that the Templars kept their horses there.

Here on the south side of Moriah was in ancient times the main ascent to the temple. Solomon visited the holy place from



MT. MORIAH WITH PALACE AND TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.
According to P. E. Osgood.

his palace and still in Herod's time this way was open to worshippers. Even in Christian times access could be had to the temple area from the south. There are three gates still standing, but all

of them are now walled up. The one on the east is single, the middle one is triple, and the western gate is double. The triple gate, however, appears to have been the main entrance, and the German architect Conrad Schick claims that it was a triple entrance from the start. The pillar between the double door, according to the same authority, is very ancient, presumably Jewish. Other parts of the masonry are of later construction, for we find in one place a Roman inscription¹ built into the wall upside down, which shows that the Crusaders used the material of Hadrian's temple for various restorations, and so the construction, or rather reconstruction, dates back to the time of the Crusaders. These gates were all walled up by the Mohammedans.

In the southeast corner the wall of the Haram is steeper than in any other place. It is very high above the natural rock and contains a room of considerable interest which lies below the temple area and is accessible from above by a winding staircase of thirty-two steps.

Upon the ground in this room lies an ancient Roman niche cut in a block of white marble 1.60 meters long and one meter broad. It may have been part of the temple of Hadrian and must have contained a statue. It is scalloped at the head end and though it looks more like a trough is now called the cradle of Jesus. The legend informs us that when Joseph and Mary came from Bethlehem to have the babe circumcised, they dwelt in this room and used the hollow stone as a cradle. The Mohammedans who look upon Jesus as one of their prophets have built above it a cupola, and had the room walled up until 1871, when the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg visited Jerusalem and expressed the wish to enter it.

The stone called the cradle of Christ is quite old, for it is mentioned in the travels of the Pilgrim of Bordeaux who visited the place in 333, but it is scarcely possible that it antedates the temple of Hadrian.

The room of the cradle of Jesus stands in the place which according to Schick must have formed the southeast tower of the temple fortifications, and we may assume that the lower stones date back to Jewish times. In the corner there is an unusually large

¹ The inscription reads:

TITO AEL HADRIANO
ANTONINO AUG PIO
PP PONTIF AUGUR
D. D.

The translation is: "To Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Father of his Country, Pontiff Augur; by Decree of the Decurions."

stone, 1.83 meters high and 6.70 meters long, and it is interesting to note that Mr. Schick believes that this stone furnished to Jesus the occasion of referring to the stone rejected by the builders which has become the head of the corner. This stone, he insists, was probably intended for the temple, but was discarded because one corner of it is visibly injured, and when the walls were built it furnished the best possible material for "the head of the corner." Claiming that Jesus always fell back upon impressions from real life for his parables, and considering the fact that this stone on the south-east corner of the temple area had lain there in the times of Jesus and must then have been as conspicuous as now, Mr. Schick² confidently insists on the probability of his suggestion.

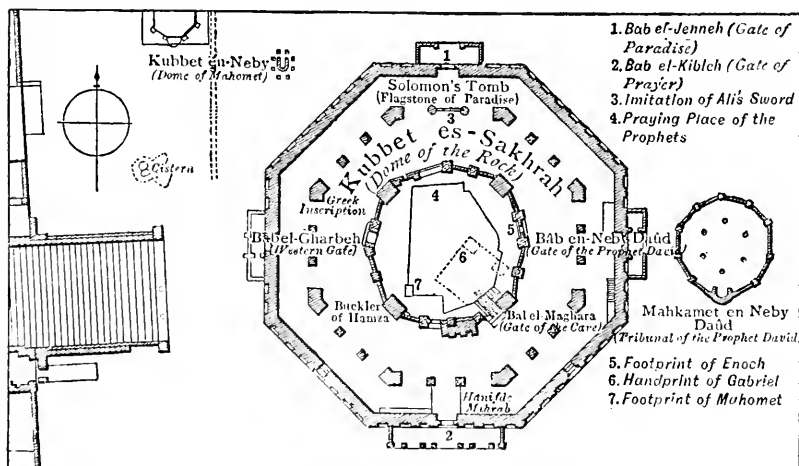


DIAGRAM OF TEMPLE AREA.

After Murray's Guide Book.

The Turkish government guards with special jealousy the so-called Golden Gate in the northern portion of the eastern wall, and could not be prevailed upon to open the old entrance, for a tradition, still living in the minds of the people, has it that the time will come when Jerusalem shall again be taken by the Christians, and the conqueror of Palestine will then enter the Holy City through this Golden Gate.

The most sacred spot on the Haram-esh-Sherif is the rock which for good reasons is assumed to be the Holy of Holies of the ancient Hebrew temple. From this piece of natural rock the building takes its name and is called Kubbet-es-Sakhrah, the Dome of the Rock.

² Conrad Schick, *Die Stiftshütte, der Tempel in Jerusalem und der Tempelplatz der Jetztzeit*, pp. 306-307.

The Dome of the Rock stands upon an almost rectangular platform (called the *chel*) rising six cubits above the level of the surrounding area of the Haram and is surrounded by an artistic balustrade with thirteen entrances to which we ascend by twelve, and in one place fourteen, steps.

The Romans knowing the fanaticism of the Jews, granted them the privilege of prohibiting Gentiles from entering their holy place. An inscription written in somewhat faulty Greek in large letters and easily readable, was inserted in this enclosure, and declares that any one bold enough to venture into this place should only have himself



WARNING TO GENTILES.
Inscription in the Temple Enclosure.

to blame if he were slain by the Jews. It is one of the oldest inscriptions discovered in Jerusalem and reads thus:

ΜΗΘΕΝΑ ΑΛΛΟΓΕΝΗ ΕΙΣΗΘ
ΡΕΥΞΟΑΙ ΕΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΕ
ΡΙ ΤΟ ΙΕΡΟΝ ΤΡΥΦΑΚΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΥ ΟΣΔ'ΑΝ ΔΗ
ΦΘΗ ΕΑΥΤΩΙ ΑΙΤΙΟΣ ΕΣ
ΤΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΒΕΒΗΚΟΛΟΥ
ΘΕΙΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ

The translation is as follows: "No stranger is to enter within the balustrade round the temple and enclosure. Whoever is caught will himself be responsible for his death which will ensue."

Before we turn to the main building, the Dome of the Rock, we will take note of a little cupola standing on two columns in the northwest corner of the Chel, which is called the Demon's Cupola. It covers a cave in which tradition knows that Solomon who is believed to have been a great magician, kept his demons sealed up.



THE DOME OF THE ROCK.

Title-page vignette of Ebers's *Palästina*.

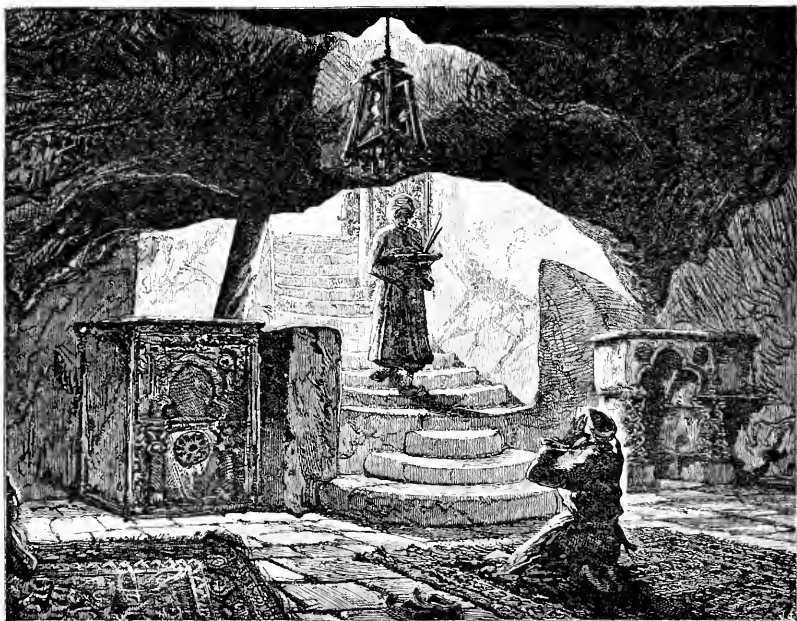
The Dome of the Rock is a most elegant octagonal building, one of the noblest instances of Moslem art, and reminds us partly of the Byzantine style and partly of Moorish remains in Spain. On entering we find a rotunda of two concentric rows of columns, the inner circle of which supports a drum whereon rests the dome surmounted by a crescent. The proportions are perfect and the details



INTERIOR OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK.

of the decorations show an exquisite workmanship and good taste. The stained glass windows are of rare beauty, and one of them bears the name of Solyman and the date 935 of the Hejira (1528 A. D.).

The purpose of the building is not to serve as a mosque, but to cover the holy rock sacred to Judaism, Christianity and Islam. This is the place where the Jews offered innumerable sacrifices to the God of Israel; here is seen the footprint of Enoch and likewise the footprint of Mohammed, covered by a little shrine containing also a hair from the prophet's head. From this rock Mohammed ascended to heaven on his marvelous mare el-Burak and the rock tried to

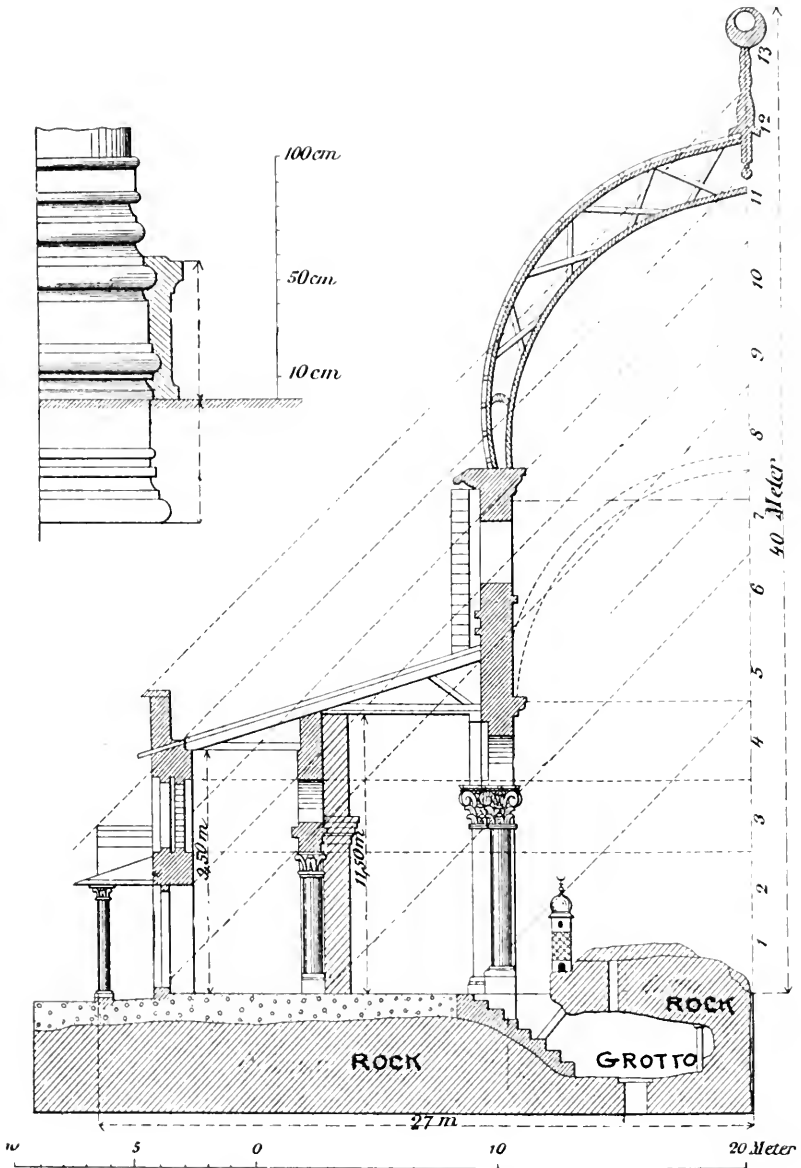


GROTTO UNDER THE SACRED ROCK.

follow him, but was kept back by the restraining hand of the angel Gabriel, the imprint of which is shown on the upper surface of the rock almost in the center.

Underneath the rock is a grotto, the entrance to which lies in the southeastern part and leads under the holiest portion of the rock.

The grotto has an opening in the rock above, through which light is admitted. Its walls are plastered with gypsum, and the floor is covered with marble slabs. In the center the floor sounds hollow which indicates that below this grotto there is another cavity. This



KEY TO THE MEASUREMENTS OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK.

According to C. Schick.

the Moslems call Bir Aruah, i. e., the Well of Souls, and they believe that it is the entrance to Sheol, the nether world. Even the walls of the little grotto have a hollow sound when tapped, and this fact fortifies the popular belief that the holy rock hovers free in space.

We here reproduce a section of the Dome of the Rock, according to Schick which shows the graceful proportions of this beautiful building.



THE TRIBUNAL OF DAVID.

Passing out at the east entrance the visitor is confronted with another structure of the same shape and type as the Dome of the Rock itself, but smaller. It is called Mahkamet en-nabi Daud, the Tribunal of the Prophet David, or simply David's chair.

This elegant little building goes under different names because several legends cluster around it. Tradition claims that David sat here in judgment, and here on the last day the balance of justice will be suspended when the quick and the dead shall appear before the throne of judgment. For this reason it is also called the Dome of Judgment.

One legend relates that at this place a chain hung down from heaven which served as a test of truth. Witnesses were requested by the judge to take hold of the chain and if a man bore false testimony the last link would break off. The story goes that a Jew was accused by a Mohammedan of withholding a debt, and the Jew handed a staff which contained the exact sum of his debt to his creditor to hold while he went to lay his hand on the chain, whereupon he swore that he had returned the money. The chain held because the testimony was literally true, but having been misused it forthwith disappeared. In remembrance of this heavenly chain, David's Chair is also called the Cupola of the Chain (*Kubbet-es-Silsilah*). Its walls are decorated with quotations from the Koran.

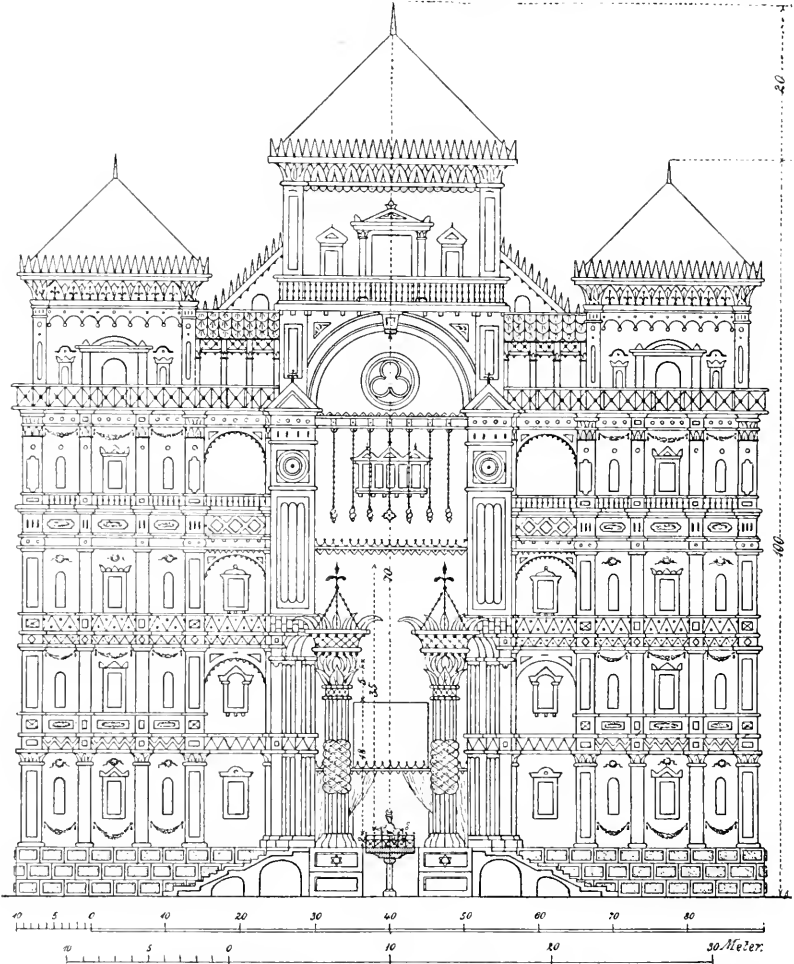
The Dome of the Rock is surrounded by an octagonal wall which architects deem to be a later addition, and if it were removed, it would show at a glance that the building is an exact likeness of the Cupola of the Chain, except that it is three times as large. This makes probable the statement of Arabian historians that the Cupola of the Chain served as a model for the Dome of the Rock.

The people of Jerusalem commonly call the Dome of the Rock the Mosque of Omar although it is neither a mosque nor is it probable that it was built by Caliph Omar. When he conquered the city he ordered the sacred place to be restored and an inscription on the wall informs us that Caliph Abd-el-melech, one of Omar's successors, completed the building in 686.

The question whether the Dome of the Rock was originally Byzantine (i. e., Christian) or a noble instance of old Arabic art has been the object of a discussion between Dr. J. N. Sepp of Munich and Professor Adler of Berlin. The former looks upon the Dome of the Rock as the building of Emperor Justinian, while Adler credits the Caliph Omar and his successors with this achievement. Whichever side may be right, we must grant that the ornamentation of the Dome of the Rock and also of the Cupola of the Chain is the work of Mohammedans, but it is not impossible that the original design is Christian. Schick and Ebers incline to accept the Christian origin. Fergusson even goes so far as to date the building back to the days of Constantine, which, however, is absolutely excluded. He was not sufficiently posted on the archeology of the place, which appears from the fact that he assumed this to be the site of the Holy Sepulcher and looked upon the cave under the rock as the new tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, a belief that at some time was erroneously held by the Christian Crusaders. A middle ground is taken by De Vogüé and Dehío who believe that the Dome of the Rock was

built by Byzantine architects on the order of Caliph Abd-el-Melech (688-691).

We cannot doubt that here Hadrian had his temple of Jupiter erected. According to Schick this was a rectangle and was called the Dodecapylon, which means the sanctum with twelve doors.



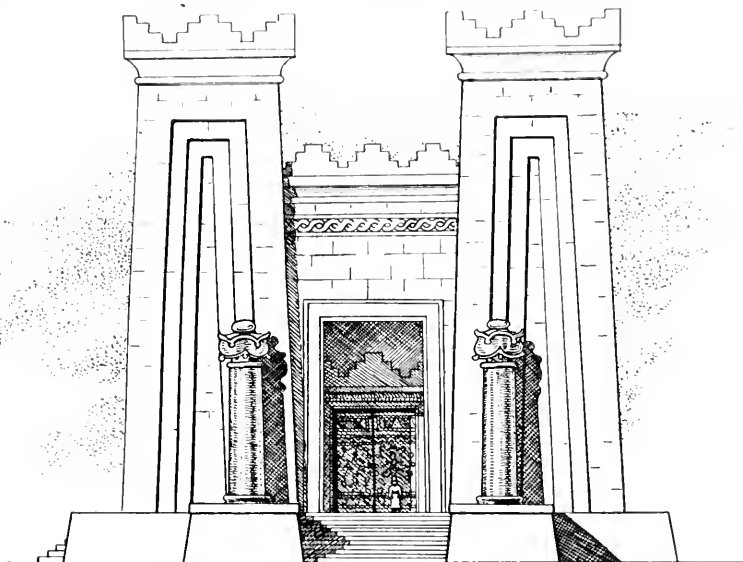
FRONT ELEVATION OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

According to C. Schick.

During this period pagan sacrifices were offered on the rock and the statue of Jupiter must have stood right on the place of the Holy of Holies. According to contemporary records the rock was surrounded by twelve columns which supported a cupola while the sur-

rounding area remained under the open sky. The twelve doors may have been twelve gates in the balustrade of the platform which is still standing. This temple of Jupiter was allowed to fall into decay when Christianity spread, and for some time the Christians did not deem it proper to have the place cleaned and consecrated to religious service so as to fulfil the prophecy of Jesus (Matt. xxiii. 38), "Behold your house is left to you desolate."

The Pilgrim of Bordeaux (333 A. D.) still saw here the statue of the emperor but speaks of the ruins of the temple of Jupiter. Julian the Apostate gave permission to the Jews to rebuild their temple, but after his death the preparations were stopped.



FRONT ELEVATION OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

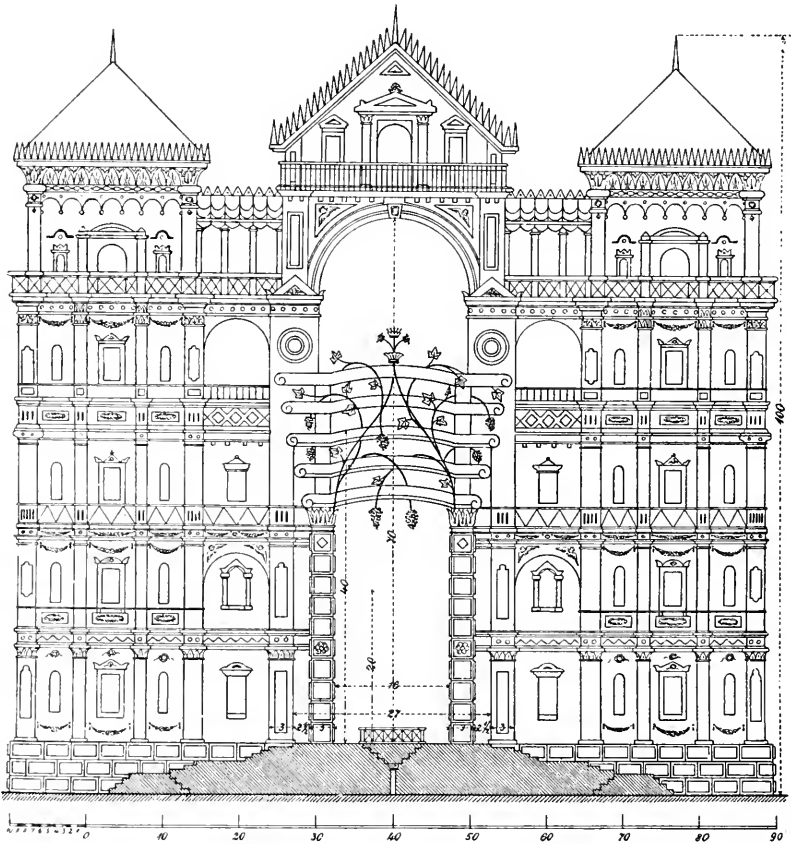
According to P. E. Osgood.

The Haram is covered by a great many cisterns, some of which hold an enormous amount of water and are apparently intended to serve as reservoirs in times of siege.

At the northwestern corner of the Haram the Maccabees had built a fort commanding the temple, the tower of which is called Buris by Josephus. On the same spot was built the Roman fort Antonia which played an important part in the final struggle between the Romans under Titus and the Jews in the year 70, as related by Josephus.

Christians as well as Jews have shown great interest in the

Solomonic and Herodian temples which stood on this ground and have since been utterly wiped off from the face of the earth. The very careful investigations of Schick have been accepted for a long time and there is no question that he has furnished most important data, especially as to the successive changes in the topography of the place; but his reconstruction of the temple suffers from a serious



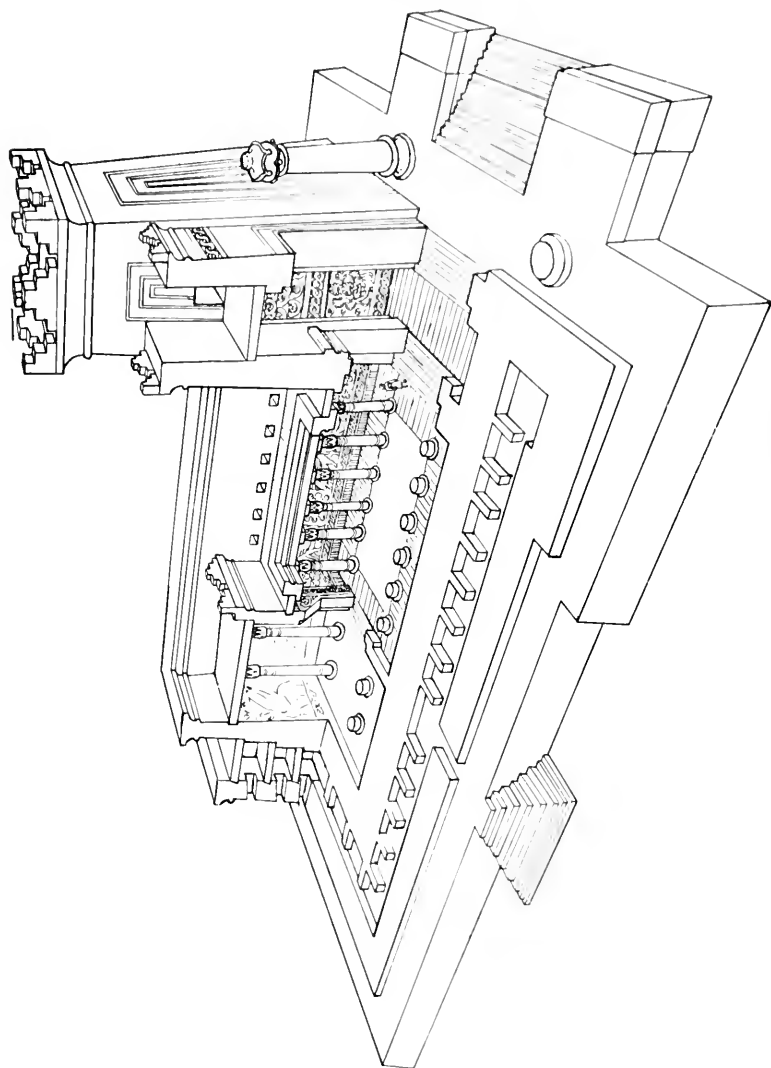
FRONT ELEVATION OF HEROD'S TEMPLE.

According to C. Schick.

drawback. Accepting the traditional statements of Josephus as well as the Bible, he shows us an enormous building, to erect which would tax the skill of a modern architect.

The impossibility of a building of that kind at the time of Solomon and King Herod has induced later investigators to revise

the results of Schick and so Mr. Phillips E. Osgood,³ taking the Biblical measures, arrives at a more plausible solution by assuming that the court was not, as Schick supposed, covered by a roof, but was open to the sky. According to Osgood the Solomonian temple was



THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.
Reconstruction by Phillip E. Osgood.

more modest in its proportions, but we can be assured that his reconstruction is the only plausible solution of the problem.

³ See "The Temple of Solomon," *Open Court*, XXIII, p. 449; also published in pamphlet form (Open Court Publishing Company, 1910).

THE OLD TESTAMENT AS A TEXT-BOOK.

BY RABBI A. P. DRUCKER.

WE have now reached a stage of religious development analogous to that attained by ancient Greece in the days of Plato. It was during the lifetime of this philosopher that the discovery was made that the old myths and stories about the gods were unsuited to the people's advanced philosophical and religious conceptions. It was Plato who declaimed against the old teachings of the priests and the poets, with their immoral stories about Jupiter and the other gods. "How can we," cried the venerable old sage, "how can we expect our present generation, our youth, to be virtuous, when the old myths they hear recounted tell of the immoral deeds of the gods, the unmentionable escapades of Jupiter! They not only corrupt the virtues of the people, but set for them a low standard, an immoral example to follow." We to-day are confronted with the same difficulty in regard to the Bible. The old religious books that were our inspiration, the standard of our conduct, have become antiquated. We have outgrown their teachings; we have developed while they have remained stationary. Unconsciously, we have not only surpassed the teachings of the Bible, but have outgrown its very conception of God. And yet our religious leaders, our educators, insist upon the sanctity and preservation of the Bible as a book from which we should draw sustenance of spirit and inspiration of faith. This Bible is read in our schools, it is the textbook of our Sunday-schools, it is perused in our homes by old and young. In times of trouble we turn to it for advice and guidance; in days of sorrow we seek in it comfort and hope; in moments of perplexity we look into the pages of this vademecum for wisdom and understanding.

But though the Bible has lofty and noble thoughts, it is also full of unethical, immoral, and corrupt ideas, and hence its influence is not always for the best. Its conception of God as a cruel and

unjust despot; its stories, often lewd and unwholesome; and finally its very teachings and laws harsh and unethical in the extreme: what stimulus can these offer toward the realization of the high ideals we would hold out before our children? That Satan has a chance to quote the Bible shows that the Holy Book is not without Satanic passages. Indeed this should not surprise us when we review the history of the Book, and recall that it was written in an age when humanity was savage, ignorant, and licentious; at a time when the moral standard was very low. In order to understand how completely we have outgrown the Biblical ideas, let us enter upon a detailed examination of the Old Testament, its ethical teachings, its moral laws, and its God-idea.

A study of the Old-Testament God-idea will show how far this is beneath our present-day standard. From the beginning of the Old Testament to its end, God is represented as a jealous,¹ revengeful,² and severe tyrant, who punishes his enemies with a fury unbecoming a supreme being. He covets honor and praise, he objects to the other gods' depriving him of one jot of the glory due to himself. He is even cruel and barbarous, for he commands the Children of Israel to slay every one of the Canaanites, men, women, and children,—not a soul must be allowed to live.³ He is wroth with them for having spared some of the Midianite women. "You should have killed them all," is the cry of his prophet, Moses.⁴ King Saul is denounced as an enemy of Yahawe,⁵ because he had pity on the Amalekites, and suffered their king to live.⁶ God slew Uzzah, we are told, because that luckless man, in his anxiety to prevent the Ark from falling, stretched forth his hand to support it.⁷ King Ahab, too, is censured by Yahawe's prophet for allowing the King of Aram to escape.⁸

God is truth, we hold. And yet we read unblinkingly how he bids Moses tell Pharaoh that the Children of Israel are to leave Egypt for a three days' journey only, when in reality he is planning their entire freedom,—they should never return.⁹ He likewise commands Moses to order the Israelites to borrow gold and silver vessels, ornaments and jewelry, from the Egyptians under false pretences,

¹ Ex. xx, 5: "I am a jealous god, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children."

² Ps. xciv. 1.

³ Deut. xx, 16.

⁴ Num. xxxi. 14-16.

⁵ The spelling "Yahawe" indicates the pronunciation used at the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York.

⁶ 1 Sam. xv, 9, 11.

⁷ 2 Sam. vi, 6-7.

⁸ 1 Kings xx, 42.

⁹ Ex. iii, 18.

promising to return them later, although the intention was otherwise.¹⁰ In this connection he shows himself hardly less vainglorious than untruthful, for he says to Moses: Tell Pharaoh to send the People of Israel out of Egypt, but (as I am anxious to become known in the world as a powerful god) I will harden his heart, so that he will not suffer them to depart. This will give me the opportunity to show my arm and my strength to the Children of Israel.¹¹ Thus, for a mere whim, to prove his strength, to show off, as it were,—God is willing to pervert Pharaoh's heart not to do his bidding.

Again, Yahawe is depicted in the Old Testament as ignorant of the future, for we read how God repented in his heart of having made man, after he found out that man was iniquitous. He seems to have learned his mistake too late; and therefore, because man was not so docile as his Maker expected him to be, God sent a flood to exterminate him from the face of the earth.¹² In like manner, on learning that King Saul was not so amenable to his harsh commands as he had anticipated, he repented of having anointed him as ruler over Israel.¹³ As for his dread of man's acquiring wisdom, it is almost pusillanimous. Thus he first places a temptation before the innocent Adam and Eve, forbidding them to eat of the tree of knowledge for no cause whatever, and then punishes them harshly for disobeying, as if he had not known the result beforehand.¹⁴ The reason given for this prohibition is: lest man become as wise as God, knowing good from evil.¹⁵ Are we to infer then that God objects to man's endeavors to acquire knowledge; that he wishes his creatures to remain ignorant and stupid? The same fear of man's ingenuity is apparent in the story of the Tower of Babel. When the people gathered in the valley of Shinar and determined to build a tower whose head should reach heaven, Yahawe was terrified. "Let us go down," he cried, "and confuse their tongue, lest they carry out their intentions."¹⁶

Leaving these illustrations of the Biblical God-idea and turning to the examples set by the heroes of the Bible for our guidance and emulation, we are again disillusioned. We find the heroes, too, ignoble and anything but ideal. We find Abraham deceiving Pharaoh in regard to his wife, for instance. Because he fears the ruler of Egypt will kill him in order to possess himself of his wife,

¹⁰ Ex. iii. 21, 22; also xii. 35-36.

¹¹ Ex. vii. 3-5; and x. 1-2.

¹² Gen. vi. 5-7.

¹³ 1 Sam. xv. 11.

¹⁴ Gen. iii. 16-19.

¹⁵ Gen. ii. 16.

¹⁶ Gen. xi. 1-9.

he proclaims Sarah to be his sister, and thus saves his own life at the expense of her honor.¹⁷ (Later he plays the same trick on Abimelech, King of the Philistines.¹⁸) Indeed it would seem that, with the example of Yahawe before him, Abraham does not hesitate to falsify whenever occasion presents itself; for again, when about to sacrifice his son, notwithstanding he believes Isaac will never return he says to the two servants who accompany him, "Stay ye here with the ass, while I and my lad shall go up there, bow, *and return to you here.*"¹⁹ Nor has Sarah, with the example of her husband before her, any scruples against contradicting God and telling an untruth to Abraham.²⁰ Or, what effect if not a pernicious one, are the deceptions of Jacob bound to have upon the young child who is taught to look upon the Bible as an inspired book,—Jacob, who when his brother Esau is at the point of starvation, forces him to sell his birthright.²¹ Desirous of securing for himself the blessing of his aged father, he disguises himself and changes his voice so that the blind old man does not recognize him and, mistaking him for the eldest-born, blesses him.²² Later, in his dealings with Laban, he stoops to tricks which would be held criminal in our modern commercial world.²³ Yet all these men are extolled as heroes, men of God, from whom our youth should gain inspiration!

Even Moses, the great lawgiver, what acts does he not perpetrate in the name of his sovereign Yahawe! To quell a righteous revolt and maintain his power and that of his brother Aaron, he orders the death of hundreds of people.²⁴ Because the Israelites ignorantly made a calf of gold to represent the old god Elohim, many thousand men were slain by the command of Moses.²⁵ Samson's dealings with the Philistines, too, when he *devised* pretences for slaying them,²⁶ would be considered heinous at this day; nor is Samuel's treatment of the unfortunate Saul less outrageous from our modern point of view, for the latter had been kind and humane. In spite of this fact, or rather because of it, the Prophet deemed him unfit to be king of Israel "after the heart of Yahawe."²⁷ King David above all others is held up to us as an inspired, noble hero, whose psalms we sing, whose example we should follow; but what cruelties and bloodshed were committed by him! His deceitful prac-

¹⁷ Gen. xii. 11-16.¹⁸ Gen. xx. 2.¹⁹ Gen. xxii. 5.²⁰ Gen. xviii. 15.²¹ Gen. vi. 29-34.²² Gen. xxvii. 2-29.²³ Gen. xxx. 37-42.²⁴ Num. xvi. 1-35.²⁵ Num. xxxii. 27-29.²⁶ Judg. xiv. 4.²⁷ 1 Sam. xv. 26-28.

tices toward his generous host Achish, King of Gath, are absolutely beneath contempt.²⁸ In cold blood he murdered the people of Moab by throwing them down on the ground, measuring two lines to put to death and one to keep alive.²⁹ The descendants of Saul he delivered over to the cruel Gibeonites, to pander to their craving for vengeance,³⁰ and at the same time disgrace the name of his predecessor. He lusted after the wife of one of his soldiers, committed rape, and then, to conceal his crime, coolly sent her rightful husband to his death.³¹ As for the licentiousness of King Solomon's conduct,³² so gross is it, that it almost defies the most decadent example of modern literature for a parallel.

Elijah's unmerciful murders do not mark him for us as a prophet of God. When the priests of Baal were outwitted by him, he ordered their massacre as a matter of course,³³ and when King Jehoram bade the captain and his fifty men summon Elijah before him, the same prophet unhesitatingly cursed: "If I am a man of Elohim, let a fire come down and consume you and your fifty men." The fire came and consumed them; and he repeated this imprecation when the second summons came from the king.³⁴ With equal cruelty, Elisha, when he was provoked because innocent little children called him names, called bears from the forest to devour them; and thus caused them to perish for a trivial, childish offense.³⁵

The Biblical stories in their whole conception are positively immoral, and therefore unfit reading for our children. The lurid story of Cain and Abel with its picture of hatred terminating in fratricide³⁶ is strange juvenile literature. The episode of Lot and his daughters is obnoxious.³⁷ The account of Sarah's cruelty toward Hagar,³⁸ and the selling into slavery of Joseph by his brethren,³⁹ are hardly elevating. And the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife,⁴⁰ were it the topic of a modern novel, would not fail to elicit the sharpest condemnation of the preacher and the moralist. No less unwholesome is the account of the rape of the Benjaminites, with all its cruelties and consequent bloodshed.⁴¹ Even the narrative of Ruth, so poetic and idyllic on the surface, is not devoid of objectionable features, in its realistic description of her entrance to the

²⁸ 1 Sam. xxvii. 8-11.

²⁹ 2 Sam. xxi. 1-10.

³⁰ 1 Kings xi. 1-3.

³¹ 2 Kings i. 9-13.

³² Gen. iv. 4-8.

³³ Gen. xxi. 9-14.

³⁴ Gen. xxxix. 7-12.

²⁹ 2 Sam. viii. 2.

³¹ 2 Sam. xi. 2-17.

³³ 1 Kings xviii. 40.

³⁵ 2 Kings ii. 23-24.

³⁷ Gen. xix. 31-38.

³⁹ Gen. xxxvii. 3-8.

⁴¹ Judg. xix, xx.

threshing floor at night, where Boaz slept.⁴² The disgraceful act of Amnon, David's son, toward his sister,⁴³ and the incest of his other son, Absalom, who thus flaunted publicly his undying hatred toward his father,⁴⁴—all these incidents are baldly narrated in the book we are taught to describe as the Word of God, *Holy Writ!* We see then, how far we have advanced from the Biblical standard of morality and good taste, since there is scarcely a page of this book that will altogether escape the censor's pen. These stories were not held to be immoral at the time they were written, but to-day no mother would countenance their perusal by her children had they not the sanction of the Bible.

Perhaps some one will suggest the Psalms and songs of ancient Israel as an exception to this stricture on the moral tone of the Bible. True, we are charmed by their melody, uplifted by their religious fervor; but even these beautiful Psalms and songs are interspersed with cursing and reviling of the enemies of God, with hatred toward the unbeliever. The Psalmist exults in the wrath of God over his foes, prays for the death of the sinner; hurls maledictions upon his opponents; revels in the contemplation of bloodshed.⁴⁵

The very laws of the Old Testament are outrageous to our ethical standards. Polygamy has the sanction of God.⁴⁶ Slavery is recognized as a noble institution.⁴⁷ The hapless slave who, finding himself homeless at the expiration of his six-years' servitude, expresses a wish to remain a little longer with his master, must, according to the Law,⁴⁸ have his ears bored to the wall in punishment and be enslaved forever. Monarchical tyrants are exalted as executors of the divine will.⁴⁹ The cruel Law of "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a hand for a hand, a foot for a foot," is still proclaimed in the holy Book as the word of a God of love! God is still, according to the Old Testament, eager for sacrifice; he still desires lambs and rams brought upon his altars as burnt offerings; and while we have outgrown these ideas, nevertheless we revere with adulation and believe to be inspired these laws that fall woefully short of our own standards. This inconsistency of believing that every word of the Bible is inspired and yet not living up to it, proves

⁴² Ruth iii. 3-4; 7-8.

⁴³ 2 Sam. xiii. 1-20.

⁴⁴ 2 Sam. xvi. 22.

⁴⁵ See, for instance, Psalms, xviii, xxxv, lii, lviii, lxxxiii, xciv, ci, cxxxvii. "Praise be to the one who will take and dash thy little ones against the stones."

⁴⁶ 1 Sam. xii. 8.

⁴⁷ Josh. ix. 27.

⁴⁸ Ex. xxi. 5-6.

⁴⁹ 1 Sam. viii. 9-17.

in how far, despite our professions, we have outgrown the old teachings.

The reason we still cleave to the old Bible is, first because we cannot regard it otherwise than as the word of God; and yet we cannot do to-day as did the heroes it extols. We would not in our courts of law inflict the same inhuman punishments specified in the Book. We would brook no animal sacrifices. Besides we *know* that the Bible is not the word of God, because we find from observing natural phenomena that God's work grows and develops constantly, whereas that of man remains stationary. The trees put forth branches and leafage; but the pyramids remain as they were in the days of their erection. We find no vestige of growth or development in the Bible after it was once canonized by the late editors. As it was first put together by Ezra and his school, thus is it to-day.

Secondly, our reverence for and acceptance of the Bible is invoked on the ground that it is an old book. The Church exclaims: "Give honor to the hoary head and the grey head, for age hath wisdom." But the sole reason for which age has a claim on our reverence and obedience is because it has learned from experience, has gained knowledge from the vicissitudes of an ever-changing life. If the mind of a man were stunted and its growth checked in youth through some accident, though he lived to a hoary age he would have no claim on our reverence and respect, for his knowledge and wisdom would still be those of the youth. The same is true of the Bible. Its growth and development were thwarted by its canonization; its wisdom is that of the wild ignorant people whose horizon was bounded by the Euphrates on the one side and the Mediterranean on the other. Why then, should this expression of the infancy of the human race command our respect and obedience? We call the Bible an old book, but in reality it is a young book, written when the race was young, crude, inexperienced; its God-idea is low, its code of morals primitive, its ideals are obnoxious. With all our reverence and admiration for those who outgrew their horrible paganism and made such an heroic effort to break away from their barbarous past and immoral surroundings, we must not forget that it was an absolute impossibility for them to emancipate themselves entirely from their conditions and environment. We may revere them for their efforts, but must not forget their shortcomings. Our sentiment must not darken our reason. We may feel a certain sentimental affection for the garments we wore in our infancy, yet how ridiculous it were in us,

did we keep on patching them and wearing them after we have grown up. The time has come when, just as the myths of Greece were an outgrown garment for the contemporaries of Plato, our old ideas of God must yield to newer and higher ones: the old myths must recede, and a new Bible be adopted by the rising generation, a new code of ethics evolved, that will be in keeping with our modern laws, our modern ideas of God, and our modern state of knowledge.

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

Times have changed indeed! Twenty years ago who would have expected a member of the Conference of American Rabbis and the Rabbinical Association of Chicago to write on the Bible in the way that Mr. Drucker discusses it here? The statements he makes cannot be gainsaid; the remarkable feature consists in this that he boldly says what has otherwise been tacitly admitted.

It may appear to some readers that this view of the Bible seems to dispose finally of its importance and discredit it as a book to be read and studied, but this is not so. The Bible is and will after all remain the most important book not only of the past but of the present and future, though it is wrong to look upon it as dictated by the Holy Ghost. The Bible is a collection of religious documents which mark the path of progress. They contain not one but several conceptions of God which characterize successive stages, the highest of which is a product of the prophetic movement culminating in the Fourth Gospel where Jewish theology is quaintly blended with Greek philosophy as presented by neo-Platonism.

The Bible is truly sacred and it deserves careful study, but our study must be discriminating. Not all passages are of equal value and sometimes the passages expressing morally low conceptions are of greatest interest to the historian and the student of folk-psychology.

While the Bible is sacred we must not forget that there are more religious books than those of our own tradition. They are the sacred books of the Parsis, of the Brahmans, of the Buddhists, of the Chinese, and all of them possess the claim of sacredness; all of these books, each in its own way, are revelations which characterize the development of man's comprehension of the divinity that shapes our ends.

AQUILEJA.

BY THE EDITOR.

BY a lucky accident some antique mosaics and reliefs, probably dating back to the early time of imperial Rome, have been discovered in Aquileja, and we reproduce one of them which shows an Eros angling for fishes.

Aquileja is a town in the northeastern corner of the Adriatic belonging to Austrian Illyria. Philologists doubt whether the name Aquileja is to be derived from *aquila* or from *aqua*. In the former case it would have to be considered as an eyrie, and this is possible as on the rocky coast of Illyria there are many sea eagles. In the other case it might be translated by "Watertown." A third possibility, however, must be admitted, viz., that it may be a Romanized form of an ancient and now forgotten Illyrian name. The Slavs call it Voglej and during the Middle Ages it bore the name Aglar.

Aquileja was a city of no mean importance during the days of imperial Rome. Founded in the year 181 B. C. as a Roman military colony and a fortified harbor for the sake of suppressing piracy, it developed rapidly as the capital of Venetia and the residence of many Roman officers and magistrates. It naturally became the center of an extended commerce, for not only did the Via Aemilia pass through it leading from Rome to the Danube provinces, but the surrounding country itself abounded with valuable products, especially gold and wine. During the unsettled period of the invasion of the Huns when in 452 A. D. Attila came with his hordes, it was besieged and after a long resistance was finally taken and destroyed; but its inhabitants retired to the lagoons in the Adria where they built up a new city called Venice. Accordingly Venice may truly be considered the daughter of Aquileja.

Aquileja was rebuilt by Narses but never regained its former prosperity. We may say that at present Triest has to some extent

taken the place of the ancient Aquileja and of the Venice of the Middle Ages.

The bishop of Aquileja held a unique position in the Church.



MOSAIC FROM AQUILEJA.*

* This illustration as well as the data concerning the discovery of this and other archeological treasures we owe to the *Illustrirte Zeitung* of October 7, 1909.

Since 557 he had called himself "Patriarch" and his diocese extended beyond the provinces of Venetia and Illyria. He did not recognize the authority of Rome, even when its bishop had assumed the title of pope and was recognized by the Latin Church as the head of Christianity. The patriarchate of Aquileja formed a church by itself.

The patriarch of Aquileja maintained his independence until 698 when an agreement was reached with Pope Sergius who recognized his title and granted him certain prerogatives on the promise of joining the Church of Rome.

In the tenth century the patriarch was favored by the Ghibelline emperors and became very powerful. He extended his dominion over Friuli, and for a time even the king of Bohemia owed him allegiance.

The power of the patriarchate waned when Venice gained ascendancy. The Venetians deprived the patriarch of most of his Italian possessions in 1420, and the patriarchate was finally abolished in 1758. In 1809 Aquileja was annexed to Austria.

The city of Aquileja gradually lost its significance on account of the formation of swamps which spoiled the inner harbor and rendered the condition of the city so unwholesome as to drive out its inhabitants.

Aquileja possesses a large basilica built under the patriarch Poppo (1019-1042) and when recently the entrance to the chapel began to sag, an investigation of its foundations revealed some Roman mosaics underneath. They had lain covered with two feet of dust and broken stones, which proves that walls fell down upon them, presumably during the Hunnish invasion, and later generations did not take the trouble to remove the debris.

The combination of Eros and the fish is not accidental. In olden times the fish was the symbol of immortality, and here we find Eros as a fisher, the meaning of which will be better understood if we consider that in Christianity Christ calls the apostles "fishers of men."

THE ZOHAR AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE CABALA.

BY BERNHARD PICK.

NAME AND CONTENTS OF THE ZOHAR.

THE titles of the Zohar vary. It is called "Midrash of Rabbi Simon ben Jochaï," from its reputed author; "Midrash, Let there be light," from the words in Gen. i. 4; more commonly "*Sepher ha-Zohar*," from Dan. xii. 3, where the word *Zohar* is used for "the brightness of the firmament." The title in full is: *Sepher ha-Zohar al ha-Torah, me-ish Elohim Kodsh, hu more meod ha-tana R. Simon ben Jochaï*, etc., i. e., "The Book of Splendor on the Law, by the very holy and venerable man of God, the Tanaite rabbi Simon ben-Jochaï, of blessed memory."

The *editio princeps* is the one of Mantua (3 vols., 1558-1560) and has often been reprinted. The best edition of the book of Zohar is that by Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, with Jewish commentaries (Sulzbach, 1684, fol.) to which his rare *Kabbala Denudata* (1677-1684) forms an ample introduction. This edition was reprinted with an additional index (Amsterdam, 1714, 1728, 1772, 1805, 3 vols.). Recent editions of the Zohar were published at Breslau (1866, 3 vols.), Livorno (1877-78, in 7 parts), and Wilna (1882, 3 vols.; 1882-83 in 10 parts, containing many commentaries and additions).

The body of the work takes the form of a commentary of a highly mystic and allegorical character extending over the entire Pentateuch; but the Zohar is not considered complete without the addition of certain appendices attributed to the same author or to some of his personal or successional disciples.

These supplementary portions are:

1. *Siphra di Tseniutha*, i. e., "The Book of Secrets" or "Mysteries," contained in Vol. II, 176-178. It contains five chapters and

is chiefly occupied with discussing the questions involved in the creation. In the second and third chapters the prophet Elijah communicates the secret which he learned in the heavenly school, that before the creation of the world God was unknown to man, but made known his essence after the creation of the world. The history of the creation is represented under the figure of a scale, which adjusts the opposite aspects of God before and after the creation. This portion has been translated into Latin by Rosenroth in the second volume of his *Kabbala Denudata* (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1684; Englished by Mathers, *loc. cit.*, pp. 43-108).

2. *Iddera Rabba*, i. e., "The Great Assembly," referring to the community or college of Simon's disciples in their conferences for cabalistic discussion. These discussions are chiefly occupied with a description of the form and various members of the Deity; a disquisition on the revelation of the Deity, in his two aspects of the "Aged" and the "Young," to the creation and the universe; as well as on the diverse gigantic members of the Deity, such as the head, the beard, the eyes, the nose, etc., etc.; a dissertation on pneumatology, demonology, etc., etc. This part is generally found in Vol. III, pp. 127*b*-145*a*, and has been translated into Latin by Rosenroth, *loc. cit.*, and Englished by Mathers, pp. 109-257.

3. *Iddera Zuta*, i. e., "The Small Assembly," referring to the few disciples who still assembled for cabalistic discussion towards the end of their master's life or after his decease. It is to a great extent a recapitulation of the *Iddera Rabba*, and concludes with recording the death of Simon ben Jochai, the Sacred Light and the medium through whom God revealed the contents of the Zohar. This part is found in Vol. III, 287*b*-296*b*, and from the Latin of Rosenroth (Vol. II of the *Kabbala Denudata*) it has been Englished by Mathers, pp. 259-341.

To these three larger appendices are added fifteen other minor fragments, viz.:

4. *Saba*, i. e., "The Aged Man," also called "*Saba demishpatim*," or "The Discourse of the Aged in Mishpatim," given in II, 94*a*-114*a*. "The Aged" is the prophet Elijah who holds converse with Rabbi Simon about the doctrine of metempsychosis, and the discussion is attached to the Sabbatic section called "Mishpatim," i. e., Exod. xxi. 1-xxiv. 18.

5. Midrash Ruth, a fragment.

6. *Sepher hab-bahir*, i. e., "The Book of Clear Light."

7 and 8. *Tosephta* and *Mattanitan*, i. e., "Small Additional Pieces," which are found in the three volumes.

9. *Raia mehemna*, i. e., "The Faithful Shepherd," found in the second and third volumes. The faithful shepherd is Moses who holds a dialogue with Rabbi Simon, at which not only the prophet Elijah is present, but Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Aaron, David, Solomon, and even God himself make their appearance.

10. *Hekaloth*, i. e., "The palaces," found in the first and second volumes, treats of the topographical structure of paradise and hell.

11. *Sithre Torah*, i. e., "The Secrets of the Law."

12. *Midrash han-neclam*, i. e., "The Concealed Treatise," in which passages of Scripture are explained mystically. Thus Lot's two daughters are the two proclivities in man, good and evil (I, 110). It also discourses on the properties and destiny of the soul.

13. *Raze de Razin*, i. e., "Mysteries of Mysteries," contained in II, 70a-75a, is especially devoted to the physiognomy of the Cabala, and the connection of the soul with the body.

14. *Midrash Chazith*, on the Song of Songs.

15. *Maamar to Chazi*, a discourse, so entitled from the first words, "Come and see."

16. *Yanuka*, i. e., "The Youth," given in III, 186a-192a, records the discourses delivered by a young man who according to R. Simon was of superhuman origin.

17. *Pekuda*, i. e., "Illustrations of the Law."

18. *Chibbura Kadmaah*, i. e., "The Early Work."

The body of the work is sometimes called *Zohar Gadol*, "The Great Zohar."

QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP.

Who is the author of this remarkable book, which has continued to be a text-book up to the present day, for all those who have espoused the doctrines of the Cabala? We have anticipated the answer, but let us see which reasons were adduced by modern scholarship to prove that the Zohar is a forgery of the thirteenth century.

Now the Zohar pretends to be a revelation from God communicated through Rabbi Simon ben Joehai to his select disciples, according to the *Iddera Zuta* (*Zohar* III, 287b). This declaration and the repeated representation of Rabbi Simon ben Joehai, as speaking and teaching throughout the production, fixed the authorship upon Rabbi Simon, an opinion maintained not only by Jews for centuries, but even by distinguished Christian scholars. On the other hand it has been clearly demonstrated by such Jewish scholars as Zunz, Geiger, Jellinek, Graetz, Steinschneider, and a

host of others, that the Zohar is not the production of Rabbi Simon, but of the thirteenth century, by Moses de Leon (1250-1305).¹ Simon ben Jochai was a pupil of Rabbi Akiba; but the earliest mention of the book's existence occurs in the year 1290, and the anachronisms of its style and in the facts referred to, together with the circumstance that it speaks of the vowel-points and other Masoretic inventions which are clearly posterior to the Talmud, justify J. Morinus (although too often extravagant in his wilful attempts to depreciate the antiquity of the later Jewish writings) in asserting that the author could not have lived much before the year 1000 of the Christian era (*Exercitationes Biblicae*, pp. 358-369). This later view of the authorship is sustained by the following reasons:

1. The Zohar most fulsomely praises its own author, calls him the Sacred Light, and exalts him above Moses, "the faithful Shepherd" (Zohar III, 132*b*; 144 *a*), while the disciples deify Rabbi Simon, before whom all men must appear (II, 38*a*).

2. The Zohar quotes and mystically explains the Hebrew vowel-points (I, 16*b*, 24*b*; II, 116*a*; III, 65*a*), which were introduced later.²

3. The Zohar (II, 32*a*) mentions the Crusades, the temporary taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders from the Infidels, and the re-taking of it by the Saracens.

4. The Zohar (III, 212*b*) records events which transpired A. D. 1264.

5. The doctrine of *En-Soph* and the *Sephiroth*, as well as the metempsychosian retribution, were not known before the thirteenth century.

6. The very existence of the Zohar, according to the staunch Cabalist Jehudah Chayoth (about 1500), was unknown to such distinguished Cabalists as Nachmanides and Ben-Adereth (1235-1310); the first who mentions it is Todros Abulafia (1234-1306).

7. Isaac of Akko (about 1290) affirms that "The Zohar was put into the world from the head of a Spaniard."

8. The Zohar contains passages which Moses de Leon translated into Aramaic from his works, e. g., the *Sepher ha-Rimmon*, as

¹ See my article *s. v.* in McClintock and Strong. Professor Strack, who is entitled to a hearing in matters of Rabbinic literature, says: "He [Rabbi Simon] has long been regarded as the author of the Zohar; but this main work of the Cabala was in reality composed in Spain by Moses ben Shem Tob de Leon in the second half of the thirteenth century, as has been proved especially by Jacob Emden, in *Mitpahath Sepharim*, Altona, 1768."—*Einleitung in den Talmud*, 4th ed., Leipsic, 1908, p. 93.

² See my article "Vowel-Points" in McClintock and Strong.

Jellinek has demonstrated in his *Moses de Leon und sein Verhältniss zum Sohar*," Leipsic, 1851, p. 21-36; (see also Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, VII, 498; 2d ed., 1873, p. 477 et seq.).

These are some of the reasons why the Zohar is now regarded as a pseudograph of the thirteenth century, and that Moses de Leon should have palmed the Zohar upon Simon ben Joehaï was nothing remarkable, since this rabbi is regarded by tradition as the embodiment of mysticism. There was also a financial reason, for from the Book *Juchasin* (pp. 88, 89, 95, ed. Filipowski, London, 1857) we learn that when his wife asked him why he published the production of his own intellect under another man's name, Moses de Leon replied "that if he were to publish it under his own name nobody would buy it, whereas under the name of Rabbi Simon ben Joehaï it yielded him a large revenue."

With the appearance of the Zohar we find also a Zohar School, which is a combination and absorption of the different features and doctrines of all the former methods, without any plan or method; and we must not be surprised at the wild speculations which we so often find in the writings of the post-Zohar period. In Spain especially the study of the Zohar took deep root, and found its way to Italy, Palestine and Poland.

HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CABALA IN THE POST-ZOHAR PERIOD.

The new text-book of religion which was introduced into Judaism by stealth, "placed the Kabbala, which a century before had been unknown, on the same level as the Bible and the Talmud, and to a certain extent on a still higher level. The Zohar undoubtedly produced good, in so far as it opposed enthusiasm to the legal dry-as-dust manner of the study of the Talmud, stimulated the imagination and the feelings, and cultivated a disposition that restrained the reasoning faculty. But the ills which it has brought on Judaism outweigh the good by far. The Zohar confirmed and propagated a gloomy superstition, and strengthened in people's minds the belief in the Kingdom of Satan, in evil spirits and ghosts. Through its constant use of coarse expressions, often verging on the sensual, in contradistinction to the chaste, pure spirit pervading Jewish literature, the Zohar sowed the seeds of unclean desires, and later on produced a sect that laid aside all regard for decency. Finally, the Zohar blunted the sense for the simple and the true, and created a visionary world in which the souls of those who

zealously occupied themselves with it were lulled into a sort of half-sleep and lost the faculty of distinguishing between right and wrong. Its quibbling interpretations of Holy Writ, adopted by the Kabbalists and others infected with this mannerism, perverted the verses and words of the Holy Book, and made the Bible the wrestling-ground of the most curious insane notions."

During the thirteenth century the Cabala was represented in Italy by Menahem di Recanati who wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch which is little else than a commentary on the Zohar. This work was translated into Latin by Pico della Mirandola.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century Joseph ben Abraham ibn Wakkar (1290-1340) endeavored to reconcile the Cabala with philosophy, and to this end wrote a treatise on the cardinal doctrines of the Cabala. An analysis of this treatise, which is still in manuscript in the Bodleian library (cod. Laud. 119; described by Uri No. 384) is given by Steinschneider in Ersch und Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, Part II, Vol. XXXI, p. 100 f.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Cabala was especially cultivated in Spain. In unmeasured terms the Zoharites denounced their co-religionists who could not see the advantages of the Cabala. Prominent among the Zoharites was Abraham of Granada, who composed (between 1391 and 1409) a cabalistic work *Berith menuchat*, "The Covenant of Peace," (Amsterdam, 1648), a farrago of strange names of the Deity and the angels, of transposed letters, and jugglery with vowels and accents. "He had the hardihood," says Graetz, "to teach that those who could not apprehend God by Cabalistic methods belonged to the weak in faith, were ignorant sinners, and like the depraved and the apostate were overlooked by God, and not found worthy of His special providence. He thought that the relinquishment of their religion by cultured Jews was explained by their fatal application to scientific study, and their contempt for the Cabala. On the other hand he professed to see in the persecutions of 1391, and in the conversion of so many prominent Jews to Christianity, the tokens of the Messianic age, the suffering that must precede it, and the approach of the redemption." Another such writer was Shem Tob ben Joseph ibn Shem Tob (died 1430), author of *Emunoth*, i. e., "Faithfulness" (Ferrara, 1557), in which he attacks Jewish thinkers and philosophers as heretics, and maintains that the salvation of Israel depends upon the Cabala. The third writer was Moses Botarel (or Botarelo), also a Spaniard, who claimed to be a thaumaturge and prophet, and even announced himself as the Messiah. He prophesied that in the spring of 1393 the

Messianic age would be ushered in. As the Cabala penetrated all branches of life and literature, voices were also raised against the Zohar. The first among the Jews who opposed its authority was Elias del Medigo, who in his *Bechinath ha-duath* (i. e., "Examination of the Law," written in December 1491) openly expressed his opinion that the Zohar was the production of a forger, and that the Cabala was made up of the rags and tatters of the neo-Platonic school. But his voice and that of others had no power to check the rapid progress of the Cabala, which had now found its way from Spain and Italy into Palestine and Poland.

Passing over some minor advocates and teachers of the Cabala, we must mention two scholars in Palestine, who distinguished themselves as masters of the Cabala, Moses Cordovero³ and Isaac Luria. The former (1522-1570) was a pupil of Solomon Alkabez⁴ and wrote many works on the Cabala. His principal work is the *Pardes Rim-monim*, i. e., "The Garden of Pomegranates," (Cracow, 1591), excerpts of which have been translated into Latin by Bartoloci in *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, Vol. IV, p. 231 f., and by Knorr von Rosenroth, "*Tractatus de Anima ex libro Pardes Rimmonim*" in his *Kabbala Denudata*, Sulzbach, 1677. Cordovero is chiefly occupied with the scientific speculations of the Cabala, or the speculative Cabala, in contradistinction to the wonder-working Cabala, which was represented by Isaac Luria (born in Jerusalem in 1534, and died 1572). He claimed to have constant interviews with the prophet Elijah, who communicated to him sublime doctrines. He visited the sepulchers of ancient teachers, and there, by prostrations and prayers, obtained from their spirits all manner of revelations. He was convinced that he was the Messiah, the son of Joseph, and that he was able to perform all sorts of miracles. He imagined a complete system of transmigration and combination of souls. He saw spirits everywhere; he saw how the souls were set free from the body at death, how they hovered in the air, or rose out of their graves. On the Sabbath he dressed in white, and wore a fourfold garment to symbolize the four letters of the name of God. His sentiments he delivered orally and his disciples treasured up his marvelous sayings, whereby they performed miracles and converted thousands to the doctrines of this theosophy.

His disciples were divided into two classes, the "initiated" and

³ See my article s. v. "Moses Cordovero." *loc. cit.*

⁴ He is the author of a hymn "*Lecha dodi*," i. e., "Come my beloved," which is found in all Jewish prayer-books, and used in the service for Sabbath eve.

the "novices," and boastfully called themselves "*guré ari*," i. e., "the lion's whelps." They systematically circulated the most absurd stories about Luria's miracles, and thus it came about that his cabalistic doctrines caused inexpressible harm in Jewish circles. Through Luria's influence a Judaism of the Zohar and the Cabala was formed side by side with the Judaism of the Talmud and the rabbis; for it was due to him that the spurious Zohar was placed upon a level with, indeed higher than, the Holy Scriptures and the Talmud.

The real exponent of Luria's cabalistic system was Chayim Vital Calabrese⁵ (1543-1620). After his master's death he diligently collected all the manuscript notes of the lectures delivered by Luria, which together with his own jottings Vital published under the title of *Es chayim*, i. e., "The Tree of Life,"⁶ having spent over thirty years upon their preparation. The work consists of six parts; that portion which treats of the doctrine of metempsychosis (*Hagilgulim*), is found in a Latin translation in Knorr von Rosenroth's work.

The Luria-Vital system found many adherents everywhere. Abraham de Herera (died 1639) wrote in Spanish two cabalistic works, the "House of God" (*beth Elohim*) and the "Gate of Heaven" (*shaar ha-shemayim*), which the Amsterdam preacher Isaac Aboab translated into Hebrew. Both are given in a Latin translation in Knorr von Rosenroth's work, together with a translation of "The Valley of the King" (*emek ha-melech*) by Naphtali Frankfurter. Besides these we may mention Isaiah Horwitz (died at Tiberias in 1629), author of *Sh'nc luchos haberith* (abbreviated *Shela*), i. e., "The Two Tables of the Covenant," a kind of Real-Encyclopedia of Judaism on a cabalistic basis. This work has been often reprinted and enjoys a great reputation among the Jews. Abridgments of it were frequently published (Amsterdam, 1683; Venice, 1705; Warsaw, 1879).

There were not wanting those who opposed the Cabala. Of the numerous opponents which the Zohar and Luria-Vital's works called forth, none was so daring, so outspoken and powerful as Leon de Modena of Venice (1571-1648). He is best known as the author of *Historia dei Riti Hebraici ed osservanza degli Hebrei di questi tempi*, or the "History of the Rites, Customs and Manner of Life of the Jews" (Padua, 1640), and translated into Latin,

⁵ See my article *s. v.* "Vital" in McClintock and Strong.

⁶ For a description of the component parts of this work, see Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, III, pp. 479-481.

French, Dutch, English.⁷ But besides this and other works, he also wrote a polemical treatise against the Cabalists, whom he despised and derided, entitled *Ari'noham*, i. e., "Roaring Lion," published by Julius Fürst, Leipsic, 1840. In this treatise he shows that the cabalistic works, "which are palmed upon ancient authorities, are pseudonyms; that the doctrines themselves are mischievous; and that the followers of this system are inflated with proud notions, pretending to know the nature of God better than any one else, and to possess the nearest and best way of approaching the Deity." He even went so far as to question whether God will ever forgive those who printed the cabalistic works (comp. Fürst, p. 7), and this no doubt, because so many Cabalists joined the Church.

But no opposition could stem the tide of the Cabala. Its wonder-working branch had now largely laid hold on the minds and fancies of the Jews, and was producing among them the most mournful and calamitous effects. The chief actor in this tragedy was the cabalist Sabbatai Zebi,⁸ born at Smyrna, July, 1641. When fifteen years of age he rapidly mastered the mysteries of the Cabala, which he expounded before crowded audiences at the age of eighteen. When twenty-four years of age, he revealed to his disciples that he was the Messiah, the son of David, the true Redeemer, and that he was to redeem and deliver Israel from their captivity. At the same time he publicly pronounced the Tetragrammaton,⁹ which the high priest was only permitted to do on the day of atonement. As he would not desist, he was excommunicated by the Jewish sages at Smyrna. He went to Salonica, Athens, Morea and Jerusalem, teaching his doctrines, proclaiming himself the Messiah, anointing prophets and converting thousands upon thousands. As his followers prepared to be led back by him to Jerusalem, they wound up their affairs, and in many places trade was entirely stopped. By the order of the Sultan, Mohammed IV., Sabbathai Zevi was arrested and taken before him at Adrianople. The Sultan said to him: "I am going to test thy Messiahship. Three poisoned arrows shall be shot into thee, and if they do not kill thee, I too will believe that thou art the Messiah." He saved himself by em-

⁷ The English translation is found in Picard's *Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Various Nations of the Known World*, Vol. I. London, 1733.

⁸ See my article s. v. "Sabbatai Zebi" in McClintock and Strong; see also *Geschichte des Sabbatai-Zebi, sein Leben und Treiben*, Warsaw, 1883; and *Der Erzbetrüger Sabbatai Sevi, der letzte falsche Messias der Juden*, etc., Halle, 1760; Berlin, 1908.

⁹ Called by the Jews *shem-hammephorash*, on which see my article s. v. in McClintock and Strong.

bracing Islamism in the the presence of the Sultan, who gave him the name Effendi, and appointed him Kapidji-Bashi. Sabbathai died Sept. 10, 1676, after having ruined thousands upon thousands of Jewish families. In spite of this fiasco the number of Sabbathai's followers was not diminished.

Famous as a champion of orthodoxy was Jacob Israel Emden (1696-1776) rabbi of Altona. During his rabbinate there, the famous Jonathan Eybenschütz¹⁰ (born in Cracow in 1690) was called to Altona in 1750, since the German and Polish Jews were divided in that place. As every rabbi was regarded as a sort of magician, the new-comer was expected to stop the epidemic raging at that time in the city. Eybenschütz prepared amulets, which he distributed among the people. For curiosity's sake one was opened, and lo! in it was written: "O thou God of Israel, who dwellest in the beauty of thy power, send down salvation to this person through the merit of thy servant Sabbathai Zevi, in order that thy name, and the name of the Messiah Sabbathai Zevi, may be hallowed in the world." This amulet came into the hands of Emden. Eybenschütz denied all connection with the adherents of Sabbathai, and as he had already gained a great influence, he was believed; at least, almost everybody kept quiet. But Emden was not quiet, and finally the ban was pronounced against Eybenschütz. Even the King Frederic V of Denmark sided with Emden, and Eybenschütz lost his position. Being forsaken by his friends, Eybenschütz went to his former pupil, Moses Gerson Kohen, who after baptism took the name of Karl Anton. Anton wrote an apology in behalf of his teacher, which he dedicated to the King of Denmark. This and other influences had the effect that the whole affair was dropped and Eybenschütz was elected anew as rabbi of the congregation. Eybenschütz died in 1764 and was followed twelve years later by his opponent Emden. Both are buried in the Jewish cemetery of Altona.

Another Zoharite was Jacob Frank¹¹ (Jankiew Lebowicz), the founder of the Jewish sect of the Frankists, born in Poland in 1712. He acquired a great reputation as a Cabalist, and settled in Podolia, where he preached a new doctrine, the fundamental principles of which he had borrowed from the teachings of Sabbathai Zevi. He was arrested through the influence of the rabbis, but was liberated through the intervention of the Roman Catholic clergy, and authorized by the King to profess freely his tenets. His followers then,

¹⁰ See my article *s. v.* "Eybenschütz" in *loc. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 367.

¹¹ Comp. Graetz, *Frank und die Frankisten*, Berlin, 1868.

under the name of Zoharites and Anti-Talmudists oppressed their former adversaries in turn. As the papal nuncio at Warsaw declared against them, Frank and most of his adherents embraced Christianity. Frank continued to make proselytes and his sect increased in Poland and Bohemia. He lived in princely style on means furnished him by his followers, and died at Offenbach, in Hesse, December 10, 1791.

The Cabalists of the eighteenth century, with the exception of Moses Chayim Luzzatto (born 1707, died 1747), are of little importance. Modern influences gradually put a stop to the authority of the Cabala, and modern Judaism sees in the Cabala in general only a historical curiosity or an object of literary historical disquisitions.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND BALLOT REFORM.

BY THE EDITOR.

WOMEN are now clamoring more than ever, especially in England, for the rights of suffrage, and there is not the slightest reason why they should be refused. Women are in public business just as much as men and no one can deny that there are women more intelligent than many men. Then, too, there is a goodly number who have practical interests at stake which are decided at the polls. It seems an outrage that a woman who has property in her own right and who is perhaps in command of a large household should not be permitted to make her opinion felt in the elections, while her butler or colored servant takes an active part in political life.

Many people feel that the alterations implied by woman suffrage would upset political life. It is still an unknown factor, and we do not yet know how it will work. Accordingly the special interests which pander to man's private comfort such as the liquor and tobacco trades, fight shy of the issue, and the manufacturers of silks, of gloves, stockings, and similar goods fear that women will have import duties cut down. At the same time the political bosses so far have not universally provided the voters with polling places fit for ladies to enter.

In comment on these difficulties we would say that they can be overcome and in many cases will force upon us some much needed reforms. It would be a blessing for men if the entire premises around the polls would be so decently arranged that no lady would have cause to feel ashamed to enter and cast her ballot. As they are at present, they are certainly a poor recommendation for the constitution of a government of the people, by the people and for the people. They are a palpable demonstration that the vulgar element is permitted to have the upper hand. I purposely do not say the poor, but the vulgar. A poor man is often enough a gentleman at heart. Whether rich or poor, a gentleman seems out of

place at the polls, while the "boss" has a good chance there to bulldoze and control. Why do we not use churches for polling stations? Church property is free of duty and here is a chance for the Church to offer a service in return. It is but right that the polls should stand in a place of sanctity, for the casting of the ballot is a sacred act in which we should be guided by conscience. The government by the people, of the people and for the people is a problem which has not yet been solved.

Universal suffrage as it now prevails, is apparently not the right thing, for here a large class of irresponsible voters have the same right as those who pay the bills. Yet it would be a mistake to take the ballot away from even those who are in the habit of recklessly disposing of public funds, of sacrificing the public weal either for a bribe of some kind or through a mistaken party loyalty or clannishness. The right cure for these evils would be to extend the ballot to those who have deeper interests in the commonwealth and in the preservation of its financial moral health. Under these conditions I would advocate that the married men should have a second vote, perhaps even a third if they have children. The man of family looks beyond the short span of the present hour and has at heart the future of the country for the sake of his children even after he himself is gone. This would be an important reform and the measure would be just. There can be no doubt that the large class of voters who have neither property nor any family ties care less for the establishment of wholesome conditions than the men who rear children and wish to leave to them the inheritance of a well-governed country.

It might be advisable to give an extra ballot to the educated men, say to every one who has graduated from High School, for this would tend to encourage education. Further it might be suggested to give an extra vote to the man who pays taxes though this might appear as if permitting the rich to exercise too great a share in the government of the country and our national traditions have always been opposed to it. In extenuation of this idea, I would say that if both the small tax payer and multimillionaire were treated alike, we would have as a result only the conservative spirit of the man who helps to pay the bill, however small his share may be, and this could not lead to any oppression of the poor by the rich. That the tax-payer who finally pays the public expenses should be heard and that his vote should have more weight than the numerous voters of the irresponsible class is but just.

The United States government started as a revolution based on

the principle of "no taxation without representation." The result is that we have representation without taxation. Bosses of those classes who do not pay the taxes of the town run the municipality and seldom dispose of the public funds in the interests of the taxpayers. This is an evil that should be remedied.

The democratic form of government has so far proved a failure, at least in municipal affairs, and reactionary thinkers, especially in Europe, point to the conditions in American cities as the best proof of this contention.

There is an inveterate error, often proclaimed, at the bottom of the common conception of a government by the people, namely, that democratic government means majority rule. This is untrue, for it would sooner or later lead to mob rule. A democratic government means a government by law. It is true that law must be made by majorities, but a safeguard against wrong laws is the principle that every law should be of universal application. There ought to be no class legislation, no law should ever apply to a special set of people, and no law should ever make exemptions. We repeat that the government by, of, and for the people has as yet only been imperfectly worked out, but we do not deem its realization for that reason impossible.

Ballot reform is not a burning question at present, but we offer these suggestions in the hope that they may be borne in mind by those who are interested in the subject, and we hope that the time will come when these seeds will bear fruit.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BOOK REVIEWS.

ODES ON THE GENERATIONS OF MAN. By *Hartley Burr Alexander*. New York: Baker & Taylor Company, 1910. Pp. 110. Price \$1.00 net.

The author of this philosophical poem is Mr. Hartley Burr Alexander, professor of philosophy at the University of Nebraska, who has contributed to recent numbers of *The Open Court* an article on "The Religious Spirit of the American Indian." The publishers announce the little volume as "a book of poems marked by dignity of theme, splendor of imagery and varied music of rhythm and phrase."

Mr. Alexander compares his poem to a musical composition and characterizes the several odes of his cycle by musical inscriptions after the fashion of a sonata. He begins with the *Largo* as a prelude, addressed to "Earth! 'Twixt sky and sky wide spun," etc. He passes over to an *Andante fiorito*, celebrating in song the first man emerging from brute life and his first manlike cry. An *Adagio pugnente* follows beginning, "Strange prayers ascending up to God." It is written in a mood in which the poet has perhaps found the happiest expression of his cosmic song. An *Allegretto misterioso* follows, which is called an "Antiphonal Interlude," and consists of a responsory between two voices. An *Andante maestoso* unrolls before our eyes a picture of history. It begins with the words, "Of blood and dreams are built the towns of men." A *Grave* then touches upon the topics of suffering, "I had a vision of the King of Pain in awful crucifixion high enthroned," and a livelier poem follows with a Dithyrambic Interlude as an *Allegro appassionato*, and the last ode is written in an *Adagio elegaico*, "There comes a kind of quieting with years." The postlude finally returns to the first movement and is conceived again as *Largo*, dedicated to the earth, the mother of man. To give a taste of Mr. Alexander's poem we select from his third movement the following lines:

Adagio pugnente.

"Strange prayers ascending up to God
Through all the aching aeons, year on year;
Strange tongues uplifting from the sod
The old antiphony of hope and fear:
Strange if He should not hear!

"There was the primal hunter, where he stood
Manlike, not man, lone in the darkening wood
When fell the storm:
From hill to hill it leaped, snuffed light and form,

Licked up the wild,
 And him—lost hunter!—him left isled
 Mid desolation. Bogey-wise
 Down the tempestuous trail
 Gaunt Terrors sprang with shrill wolfish wail
 And windy Deaths flew by with peering eyes...
 Then in the dread and dark
 To the dumb trembler staring stark,
 Just for the moment, beaconlike there came
 The Ineffable, the Name!...
 Oh, wildered was the dull brain's grope
 With anguish of a desperate dear hope
 Escaping!... 'Twas a Name
 Not his to frame
 Whose clouded eye, tongue inarticulate,
 Thought's measure and thought's music yet await:
 Not his the Name...but such the hunter's cry
 As souls do utter, that must die!"

"There was the savage mother: she who gave
 Her child, her first-born, wailing into the hand
 Of the black priest, upright at the prow...
 The glistening bodies rhythmically did bow,
 And from the rushy strand
 Broad paddles drave
 The sacrificial craft with gauds bedecked.
 He held it high—
 With mummerly and mow
 The fetish priest held high
 The offering,—then stilled its cry
 Beneath the torpid wave...
 Sudden the pool was flecked
 With scaly muzzle, yellow saurian eye,
 And here a fount of crimson bubbling nigh!...
 Shout came answering shout
 From all the horde
 That round about
 Waited the sign of fetish god adored,
 Waited the sign with lust of blood implored!...
 But she—the mother,—in her eyes there shone
 A dazzle of calm waters, and her heart's flood
 Was dried, and bone of her bone
 Burned in her, and she stood
 Like to an image terrible in stone.

"Aye, men have prayed
 Strangely to God:
 Through thousand ages, under thousand skies,
 Unto His thousand strange theophanies,
 Men have prayed...
 With rite fantastic and with sacrifice

Of human treasure, scourged with heavy rod
 Of their own souls' torment, men have prayed
 Strangely to God...
 East, North, South, West,
 The quartered Globe,
 Like a prone and naked suppliant whose breast
 A myriad stinging memories improbe—
 Hurt of old faiths,
 And the living scars
 Of dead men's anguish, slow-dissolvent wraiths
 Of long-gone yearnings, and delirious dream
 Of sacrificial pomp and pageant stream:
 Gods of the nations and their atavars!—
 East, North, South, West,
 The suppliant Globe
 Abides the judgment of the changeless stars,—
 Abides the judgment and the answering aid
 Of Heaven to the prayers that men have prayed
 Strangely to God...

"Out of the living Past,
 Children of the dragon's teeth, they spring
 Full-panoplied—the idols vast
 That man has wrought of man's imagining
 For man's salvation...
 Isle and continent, continent and isle,
 Lifting grim forms unto his adoration
 In tireless variation
 Of style uncouth with style,
 Until the bulky girth
 Of the round zonéd Earth
 Is blazoned o'er
 As with a zodiac of monsters, each dread lore
 In turn begetting dreadful lore."

"From the dark burials of the nations
 Mid echoing supplications
 They arise...
 Mid echoing supplications:
 Prayers and cries
 Of men in strait of battle, ecstasies
 Of saints, and the deep-toned call
 Of prophets prophesying over all
 The devastation of a kingdom's fall...
 The ruins of the temple still resound
 With women weeping Tammuz' yearly wound;
 And still from out the vale
 Do ghostly voices lift the ancient wail
 Of those who gashed their bodies, crying 'Baal! Baal!'
 When Baal was gone ahunting. Still Mahound
 Leads desert hordes to battle:

'Allah! Ya Allah! Ya Allah ilah Allah!
 And Paradise is found
 In arch of flashing cimatars. Still go
 In nightly revelry through field and town
 Curete, Bacchant and wild Corybant,
 Rapt Maenad by the god intoxicant,
 And the swift-dancing rout
 Of frenzied Galli raising olden shout
 To Attis and to Cybele:
 'Io Hymenae Hymen Io!
 'Io Hymen Hymenae!'...

While adown
 The vanished centuries endure
 The chanting of dead Incas: 'Make me pure,
 'O Vira Cocha, make me ever pure!'...

"—There, in the blackness of Gethseman's grove,
 One anguished night *He* strove
 Mightily with God...
 Hour by hour there passed
 Athwart the gloom
 A huge ensanguined image, like a shadow cast
 By outstretched arms, and overspread
 The living and the dead
 Throughout the wide world's room...
 And so His prayer was said,
 And answeréd.

"Oh, up to God
 Through all the aching aeons, year on year,
 Men's prayers ascend,
 In hope and fear
 Striving to bend
 His pity and His wrath forefend...
 Strange if He should not hear!"

PSALMS OF THE EARLY BUDDHISTS: Psalms of the Sisters. By *Mrs. Rhys Davids*. London: Frowde, 1909. Pp. 200.

This collection is a very interesting addition to the publications of the Pali Text Society, and Mrs. Rhys Davids has entered most sympathetically into the spirit of these early Buddhist nuns who in refinement and intellectuality compare favorably with the Christian orders in days when Western learning was mostly bound by convent walls. In many respects the songs of the Buddhist Bhikkuni resemble the attitude and meditation of their Christian sisters, and as Mrs. Rhys Davids says are "profoundly and perennially interesting as expressions of the religious mind universal and unconquerable." Still in some instances the spirit here shown is different from the Christian type as might easily be suspected from the difference in emphasis of the two faiths.

To many the vows of the order came as a blessed release, as liberty. The twenty-first psalm ascribed to a certain unknown sister called "Sumangala's Mother" expresses this feeling of freedom:

"O woman well set free! how free am I,
 How thoroughly free from kitchen drudgery!
 Me stained and squalid 'mong my cooking-pots
 My brutal husband ranked as even less
 Than the sunshades he sits and weaves away.

"Purged now of all my former lust and hate,
 I dwell, musing at ease beneath the shade
 Of spreading boughs—O, but 't is well with me!"

Mettika, who the commentator says was a contemporary of the Buddha, expresses a similar feeling of exaltation:

"Though I be suffering and weak, and all
 My youthful spring be gone, yet have I come,
 Leaning upon my staff, and clomb aloft
 The mountain peak.
 "My cloak thrown off,
 My little bowl o'eturned: so sit I here
 Upon the rock. And o'er my spirit sweeps
 The breath of Liberty! I win, I win
 The Triple Lore! The Buddha's will is done!"

Then, too, if freedom allured some to renounce the world, others were driven by grief to the step for consolation:

"Woeful is woman's lot! hath He declared—
 Tamer and Driver of the hearts of men!"

The bereaved mother learned from the unwritten psychology of the Buddhists that she could not say her own sorrow was all important, but realized that she

"...had better live no longer than one Day,
 So she behold, within That Day, That Path!"

Whereas Christian monasticism held out to its followers a future state of bliss where she who renounced the joys of this world would be the bride of a heavenly Lord, the Buddhist sister was bidden "Come to thyself," and confessed herself victor over pain and sorrow,

"In that I now can grasp and understand
 The base on which my miseries were built."

In other guise, however, a future reward was promised, the attainment of Nirvana (in Pali, Nibbana):

"Come, O Dhira, reach up and touch the goal
 Where all distractions cease, where sense is stilled,
 Where dwelleth bliss; win thou Nibbana, win
 That sure Salvation which hath no beyond."

Acceptance of a supreme will above one's own desires belongs to all ages and times:

"The Buddha's will be done! See that ye do
 His will. And ye have done it, never more
 Need ye repent the deed. Wash, then, in haste
 Your feet and sit ye down aloof, alone."

No one believes these verses are the actual words of the recluses to whom they are ascribed, but they are attributed to certain eminent sisters and form the second part of the canonical work entitled *Thera-theri-gatha*, "Verses of the Elders, Brothers and Sisters." Some beautiful and appropriate photographs of Indian scenes illustrate Mrs. Rhys-Davids's book, and to these she adds a reproduction of Bouguereau's *Vierge Consolatrice* as illustrative of the spirit of one psalm of comfort, which if read unthinkingly and unsympathetically might seem but cold comfort to the Western mind.

THE MESSAGE OF THE EAST. By *Ananda K. Coomarasawmy, D. Sc.* Madras: Ganesh & Co. Pp. 50. Price 4 annas.

The author of this little book is well fitted for the task of being an interpreter of the East to the West, since he is himself a mixture of both races, and though Indian in residence and sympathies, is married to an English lady, who was one of the striking personalities at the Religious Congress held at Oxford in 1908. We have perused this book with great interest and consider that its main value consists in the recognition of the needs of the East, and that it would be highly desirable if our author's views were listened to by his Hindu countrymen, although apparently he mainly addresses the West. He points out that the good old Indian spirit has faded away from the memory of modern India and has made room for an insipid imitation of the productions of European commerce. He says on pages 44-45:

"This loss of beauty in our lives is a proof that we do not love India; for India, above all nations, was beautiful not long ago. It is the weakness of our national movement that we do not love India; we love suburban England, we love the comfortable bourgeois prosperity that is to be some day established when we have learned enough science and forgotten enough art to successfully compete with Europe in a commercial war conducted on its present lines. It is not thus that nations are made. And so, like Mr. Havell, I would say to you, 'Leave off asking the Government to revive your art and industries; all that is worth having you must and can do for yourselves; and when you have achieved all that you can do, no Government would refuse to grant you the political rights you desire, for the development of your faculties will give back to India the creative force her people have lost. It will infuse into all your undertakings the practical sense and power of organisation which are now so often wanting.'"

We believe that Dr. Coomarasawmy goes too far when he criticizes the West for its scientific materialism, and he also exaggerates what he calls the "subtle Indianization of the West." He says:

"The 'new Theology' is little else than Hinduism. The Theosophical movement is directly due to the stimulus of Indian thought. The socialist finds that he is striving for very much that for two or three millenniums has been part and parcel of the fundamentally democratic structure of Indian society. Exhibitions of Indian art are organized in London for the education of the people. The profound influence which Indian philosophy is destined to

exert on Western thought and life is already evident. Indian science had a far-reaching effect on the development of certain aspects of mathematics earlier in the nineteenth century, and is now exerting its influence in other ways."

The influence of ancient India in Western countries can not be denied and has been very favorable, but we do not go all the way with Dr. Coomarasawmy when he says that science has corrupted art and also that England is so very much backward in culture in comparison to India as is stated in these words:

"England with a blindness characteristic of a youthful and materially successful country has conceived that it has been her mission not merely to awaken and unite, but to civilize India. Only very gradually is England realizing the truth of Sir Thomas Munro's declaration, that if civilization were to be made an article of commerce between the two countries, she would soon be heavily in debt."

There is a truth in Dr. Coomarasawmy's claims but we must take them with a grain of salt.

P. C.

THE POET OF GALILEE. By *William Ellery Leonard, Ph. D.* New York: Huebsch, 1909. Pp. 150. Price \$1.00 net.

Dr. William Ellery Leonard here points out a new view of Jesus, which reflects a sympathetic conception of Christ, avoiding the dogmatic issues without antagonizing them. It is introduced by a poem in praise of all religious aspirations, but above all of Christ, bearing the refrain:

"Praise be to all! but to thee,
Praise above praise, Galilean! . . .
Even from me."

The contents treat of Jesus as The Observer, The Lover, The Seer, The Inspired, The Man of Sorrows, The Scourger, The Humorist, The Alert, The Story-Teller, The Sayer, and as a Hero of Folk-Lore.

As poet appeals to poet, so Dr. Leonard has been able to interpret the Synoptic stories of the life of Jesus in a very lifelike way. The humanity of Jesus is emphasized and he is made the most charming and lovable of characters. The author thinks that the intellectuality of Jesus is often underrated, and emphasizes his quickness at repartee and readiness to take advantage of the strong points of a situation. He adduces the many puns and picturesque exaggeration of his figures as instances of his alert sense of humor, and in order to bring the value and applicability of his parables clearly to the fore compares him to Lincoln as a relator of stories. Nothing is wanting in sympathetic treatment to make the intense humanity of Jesus realizable. The miracles are treated either as probable ("It is quite likely that his gentle and commanding personality quieted the epileptic and the mentally deranged, who in these cruelly ignorant times roamed at large in such numbers; and it is quite likely that this contributed to the legends of his cures") or as a mystical statement which is the very natural outgrowth of folklore accretions around the figure of the beloved hero. To those who wish to become intimately acquainted with the Man of Galilee as the great Elder Brother of the race, no better interpretive introduction to the Synoptic Gospels can be offered than Dr. Leonard's *Poet of Galilee*.

COSMIC CONSCIOUSNESS; or the Vedantic Idea of Realization or Mukti in the Light of Modern Psychology. By M. C. Nanjunda Row. Madras: Natesan, 1909. Pp. 237. Price 2s.

This is a revision of a paper read at the seventy-sixth birthday anniversary of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. The author believes that the Vedantic idea of Mukti, or liberation, is the same as the Western idea of cosmic consciousness as expounded for instance in Doctor Richard M. Buck's book on the subject. He also believes that this is the basic truth of the teachings of all great religions and that in this conception lies the opportunity for an eventual harmony between the composite nationalities of India. Mr. Row's conception of this principle was that of an unsolvable mystery, until he came in contact with the life and teachings of a simple unlettered Brahman lady whose one claim to greatness was that she was supremely happy. He feels sure that she possessed preeminently all the characteristic signs of Mukti (later described in the chapter on "Effects of Liberation"). A vision came to her in her thirtieth year from which she gained an insight which led her to exclaim:

"O Light, Holy Light, that art the very essence of my life! Thou existed for all eternity, Thou wert with me while I was an infant, when I grew into girlhood, and then into a woman, and in fact always. Is it to realize Thee that I had to struggle so hard these ten years and undergo all this tribulation and mental suffering? Thou wert never without me, and I never without thee.

'Thou art mine own, mine equal and my Spouse,
My complement, without whom I were naught;
So in mine eyes thou art more fair than I,
For in thee only is my life fulfilled.'

Oh! now that I have realized thee birth and death are at an end. I see I am unchangeable; I am all bliss; I am ever existent; I am all pervading; naught else exists but me. How happy I am."

As soon as Mr. Row read Dr. Buck's *Cosmic Consciousness* and Professor James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* he realized how greatly this illiterate woman exemplified the cosmic consciousness. He quotes her as saying, "I never read any book, I do not know your Gita, nor your Upanishads; but when Pandits versed in these works came and told me all about the attributes of the Atman, it struck me as if they were exposing my very inner being and describing my own experiences. In fact, it is I who confirmed the truth of the Gita and the Upanishads and they in their turn confirmed my experiences." This account of a poor Hindu woman is certainly of great psychological interest and it is under the inspiration of this Vedantic saint that Mr. Row gives his exposition of Mukti under the headings "Stages of Mental Evolution," "Stages of Evolution in Man," "Effects of Liberation," "Methods of Attainment," and "Cosmic Consciousness as it Affects our Present Condition."

THE DIMENSIONAL IDEA AS AN AID TO RELIGION. By W. F. Tyler. New York: Fenn. Pp. 75. Price 50 cents.

Here is an attempt of a man to work out his own religion on the basis of his education and environment. Judging from the preface the author dis-

claims a philosophical education and says that he is a "hard-working individual" following his "introspective gropings stimulated by his desultory reading." This is all true and appears from the book. As the most interesting feature of the author's explanations we may point out that he is apparently thoughtful and a man of wide experience. To characterize his common sense we quote these sentences from the preface: "Many dissatisfied with and distrustful of the beliefs in which they were brought up, search about for some new belief appealing to some facet of their nature. In many cases they will discard a belief because one-tenth of it does not appeal to them, and accept in its stead another, of which only one-tenth does appeal. Such are those who take to the so-called Christian Science, to Spiritualism, and to the New Theology. They throw away an old established mystic idea because it is mystic, and adopt in its place merely a new mysticism no easier to understand than the old one." Incidentally it crops out that the author lives in China and visits England frequently. He aspires to become clear about the mystery of mysteries, the inwardness of man's life and to make it plausible that there is something more than this material and tridimensional world, but he is unfortunate in selecting what he calls the dimensional idea to be the corner stone of his religious hope. He sees many possibilities in the fourth dimension, and its incomprehensibility is discarded on the ground "that infinity and eternity exist and yet these ideas are incomprehensible to us." We will not criticize the details of this book. We will only say that eternity and infinitude are aspects of time and space. They are not realities or actualities but unlimited functions of our thought, and if viewed as such they are by no means incomprehensible. On the contrary it would be incomprehensible if we were obliged to think of time and space as limited. What is impossible is only to represent or, as it were, to visualize an infinity or an eternity as a completed real thing, but such a demand is not made and should not be made. Yet on such a notion hinges the widely spread claim that infinity and eternity are incomprehensible. We do not believe that the fourth dimension can yield what Mr. Tyler expects of it, but we believe that his aim of securing the higher ground of what might be popularly called religion, is obtainable by comprehending that the fleeting forms of existence are actualizations of eternalities. The life of every individual passes, but the significance of his aspirations, his aims and highest ideals are the expressions of an eternal world-order which in the Christian religion is called God.

ST. GEORGE OF CAPPADOCIA IN LEGEND AND HISTORY. By *Cornelia Stoketec Hulst*. London: David Nutt, 1909. Pp. 156.

This attractive book with its many exquisite illustrations is a collection of the literature and art which have clustered about the personality of St. George. In 494 the learned Pope Gelasius said of him that his "virtues and names are rightly adored among men but his actions are known only to God," thus warning the people against believing in what he called "forged false acts of St. George." The claims of St. George were reconsidered at the time of the Reformation, and Calvin classed him as a mythical saint, in which judgment Protestants have generally agreed. The illustrations are of historic and artistic value; the frontispiece is a reproduction in colors of a section of the Bayeux Tapestry, and the text is interspersed with full-page half-tone repro-

ductions of paintings by Raphael, Veronese, Guido Reni, Giorgone, Tintoretto and many others.

After discussing with great thoroughness the history and legend of St. George, the allegory of St. George and the Dragon, the spread of the Veneration of this saint before the first crusade, the various orders of St. George and institutions and incidents which show his influence, and the romantic developments of the St. George legend, Mrs. Hulst enumerates nearly three hundred artistic representations of the saint and his story, together with the present location of their originals. This is followed by a bibliography of one hundred and twenty titles.

THE OLD TESTAMENT in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia. By *Theophilus G. Pinches*. London: S. P. C. K., 1908. 3d ed., pp. 597.

This work by the famous Assyriologist of University College, London, now appears in its third edition which has been revised in the light of the latest works of inquiry by King, Sayce, Winckler and others. Its original intent was not so much to relate new facts and discoveries as to bring together as many of the old ones as possible in a new form more easily comprehended and more attractive to the general reader than the customary lucubrations of specialists. The author has especially given living interest to his account by breaking the monotony of the narrative with frequent quotations from the original records themselves, thus letting them tell their own story.

Professor Pinches is one of the prominent assyriologists represented in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* recently issued in honor of the great Assyriologist of the University of Pennsylvania, and his contribution is a brief note on "Some Mathematical Tables of the British Museum," which are analogous to a series of tables found among the temple library at Nippur and published by Professor Hilprecht in his report of the Pennsylvania Babylonian expedition.

JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU, A FORERUNNER OF PRAGMATISM. By *Albert Schinz*. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1909. Pp. 39. Price 50c.

This is an interesting comparison between Rousseau and William James in their development and opinions by the author of *Anti-Pragmatism*. Professor Schinz divides the activity of these thinkers into three periods. He discusses first the definition of pragmatism, and then takes up in detail the scientific phase, the physio-psychological phase and the pragmatic phase of Rousseau's thought always with reference to the corresponding element in James. These he follows with "Three Characteristic Applications of Pragmatic Principles." The main essay is followed by three appendices which give additional details with regard to Rousseau's relations with Condillac and Madame de Genlis, and conclude by calling attention to the fact that Rousseau seems to be in favor of pragmatic ignorance for the masses, while holding that for the select few, science is desirable and desirable in the interest of all.

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