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AUGUST, 1910

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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

Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS.

Associates: { E. C. HEGELER.
 { MARY CARUS.



THE HOLES IN THE SOUTHERN SKY.

Which Mr. Theodore Cooper identifies with the "chambers of the south"
mentioned in Job ix. See pages 500-504.

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The First Grammar of the Language Spoken by the Bontoc Igorot

A Mountain Tribe of North Luzon
(Philippine Islands)

By Dr. CARL WILHELM SEIDENADEL

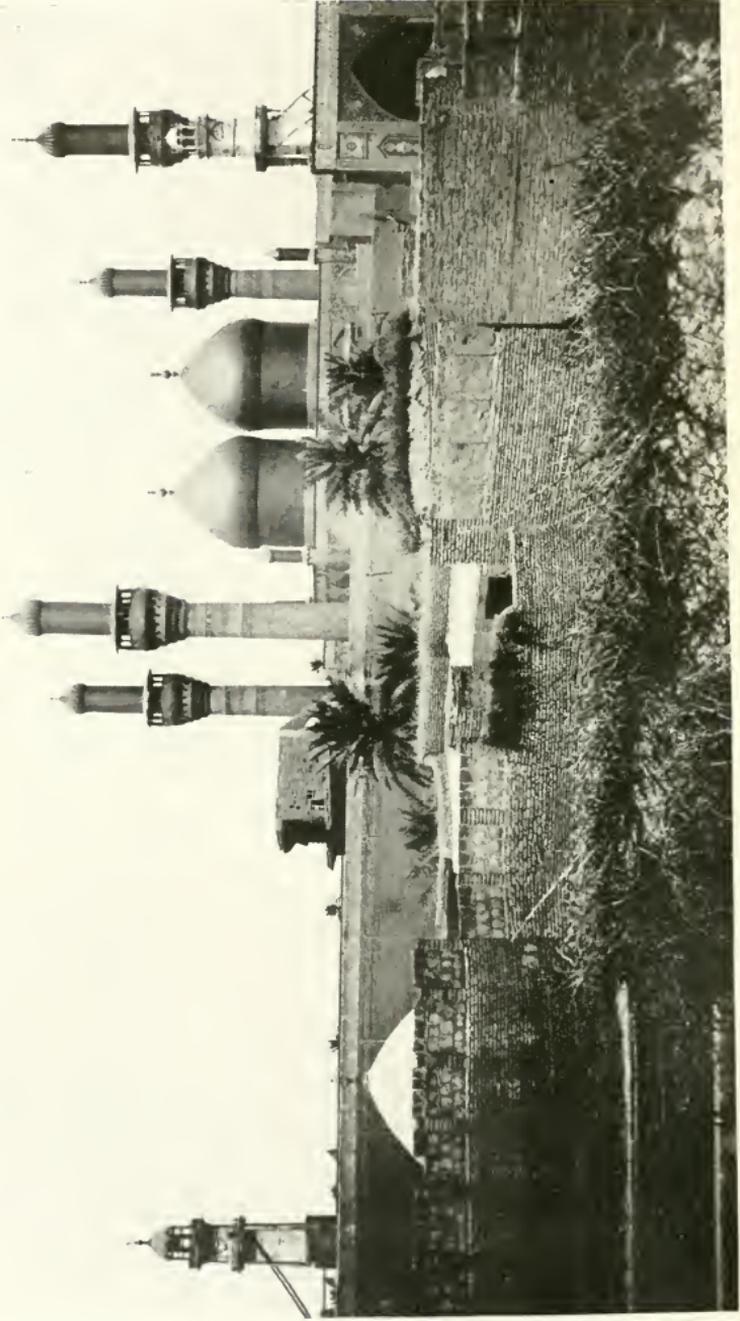
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THE SHRINES OF HUSSEIN AND ABBAS AT KERBELA.

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THE SACRED CITIES OF EASTERN ARABIA.

BY EDGAR J. BANKS.

IT is popularly supposed that in the Mohammedan world Mecca is the one and only sacred city, yet the Moslems themselves count ten sacred places to which they make their pilgrimages. Mecca they place foremost among them, for there the Prophet was born, and there all Moslems, regardless of sect, flock to worship about the sacred Kaaba. It is the one best known to Christians, because the few adventurers who have risked their lives to enter it, have given thrilling accounts of their experiences. On the eastern side of the desert, in the vicinity of the once glorious Bagdad, are three cities, Kazamieh, Kerbela and Nejef, which to the Shiah branch of Moslems—the Persians, Indians and several of the desert Arab tribes—are scarcely less sacred. In the winter of 1904-5, disguised as a Turk, and under the guidance of a faithful Moslem servant, I performed the pilgrimage, at least to the exterior of these three shrines.

From whatever direction one approaches Bagdad, the eye is first attracted to the six lofty golden minarets of Kazamieh. The city, lying to the right of the Tigris four miles north of Bagdad, derived its name from Kazim, a nephew of Ali and an early Moslem saint; now his tomb has become a magnificent mosque in which the eastern Moslems love to worship and store their wealth. For several years an antiquated horse-railway has connected the city with Bagdad, yet in spite of this representative of the West, the Christian who enters Kazamieh, is met with angry glances and insults. To pass the gate-way of the shrine, or to glance in at the open court, is to endanger life. A few years ago, while stealing a forbidden glance from the street, a British consul was fired upon, and later, as I was passing the open gate-way, an ancient Persian woman

rushed at me so furiously that to avoid trouble I beat a hasty retreat.

The shrines of all the sacred cities closely resemble each other in construction. High walls, entirely lined within and partly without with beautifully enameled Persian tiles, enclose a large rectangular court. Gate-ways on three sides of the enclosure lead into the court, while upon the fourth side is the mosque or shrine, decorated with all the barbaric splendor which the money wrung from the visiting pilgrims can purchase. Before the mosque at Kazamieh is a colonnade of teak wood inlaid with mother of pearl. Six minarets, all capped with gold, stand at the corners and at the centers of the longer sides of the court, and a large golden dome rises



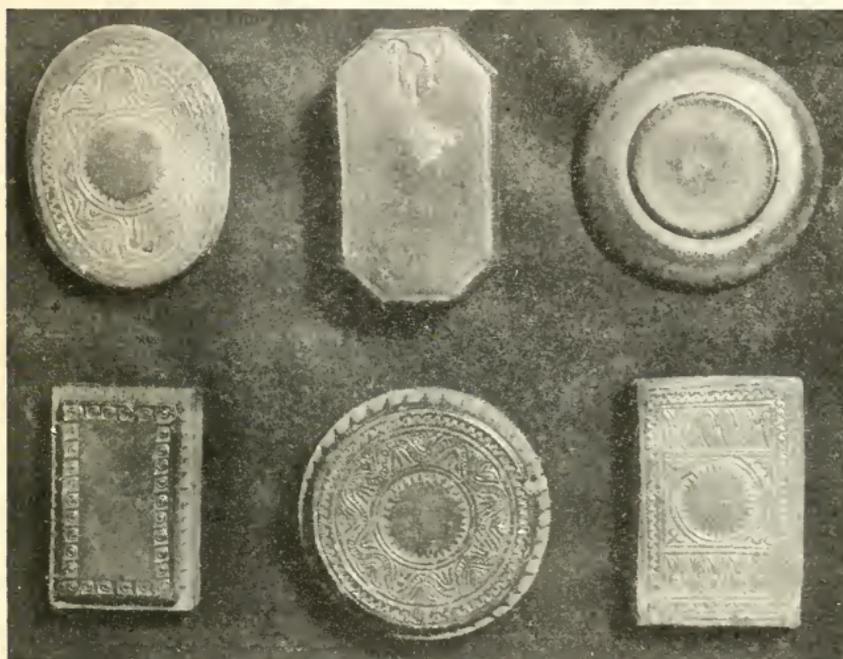
DERVISHES WHO WANDER FROM ONE SACRED CITY TO ANOTHER.

above them. Only the Kaaba at Mecca has a greater number of minarets.

In the mosque, directly beneath the dome, are the tombs of the saints enclosed in a huge lattice-frame; the walls about it are gorgeously decorated with tiling, precious stones and metals. This description applies in a general way also to the shrines of Kerbela and Nejef, each of which is provided with but two minarets.

The number of pilgrims visiting the sacred cities of Irak have increased so rapidly in recent years that a daily stage employing about twenty carriages, each accomodating eight passengers, runs from Bagdad to them. Kerbela lying about forty miles from Bagdad, in the desert to the west of the Euphrates, has a population approxi-

mating fifty thousand, and it is said that the city is increasing at the rate of a thousand houses a year. It has far outgrown the ancient walls which are now but little more than an enclosure for the shrines. The city is famous in Moslem history, for there Hussein, the son of Ali, was killed in the year 680 A. D.—an event which gave rise to the grewsome festival of the month of Moharrem, when all devout Shiahs beat and cut themselves in grief assumed for the occasion. To enter Kerbela is no longer difficult for the Christian,



CLAY BLOCKS USED IN PRAYER.

That the heads of the moslems may rest upon them instead of upon the ordinary dirt, during their prostrations. The clay is from the soil of the sacred city of Kerbela, and in it is supposed to be the blood of the martyred saints Hassan and Hussein.

and Jews have long lived there. From the roof of the inn in which I was lodged, I could look down upon the sacred shrines, yet it was unsafe to attempt to approach the entrance.

The graves of Hussein and of his younger brother Abbas have been the life of Kerbela. Thither the Shiah pilgrims flock by thousands, carrying with them their dead to bury in the sacred soil. Some come upon horse-back, with their dead wrapped in bundles

of reeds or in rugs which they sell to meet the expense of the journey, or jammed into saddle bags; others arrive by stage, carrying as baggage a mysterious basket in which are the bones of a body exhumed to be transplanted in the sacred soil; still others cross the desert on foot, carrying upon their shoulders the few remaining bones which have not dropped out of their wrappings on the way to lighten the burden. To the pious Shiah the chief aim in life is to be buried in one of the sacred cities, and while dying, the promise which he extracts from his relatives, is that his body shall be taken there, that he may rise with the saints on the resurrection day. The promise is generally fulfilled, though perhaps years later.

The soil of Kerbela is more sacred than of any other city, for it drank the blood of the martyred saints; now the priests mould little pieces of the clay-like soil, stamp them with a design or with verses from the Koran, and sell them to the pilgrims. Thus the pilgrims may carry away with them a bit of Kerbela, which they place upon the ground before them whenever they prostrate themselves in prayer, and thus in their distant homes they may always pray on sacred soil.

Though Hussein is a saint of the greatest importance, Abbas is feared more than he is revered, and the people of the town relate strange tales of his actions. Frequently, so they say, he rises from his grave and walks about the streets of the city to punish the unjust. He never slumbers, and as each pilgrim enters the mosque, he reads his most secret thoughts. Once when a proud soldier approached his grave with drawn sword, Saint Abbas was angered, and with invisible hand, he seized the sword, and severed the soldier's head from the body; then in the twinkling of an eye he fixed the head in space in the vault of the dome above; there within plain sight of all the people, both it and the sword are suspended together, without support, as a warning to all who enter. Once when a Greek Christian attempted to enter the mosque, the saint in his grave perceived that an infidel was approaching, and the Greek fell dead upon the threshold. Similar stories without number are circulated by the priests for the purpose of magnifying the power and the popularity of the saint.

From Kerbela, a stage drawn by four mules abreast carries the pilgrims southward over the stony plains for sixty miles to the desert city of Nejef. Long before the journey of ten hours is over there appear upon the horizon the two golden minarets and the tall dome of the tomb of Ali, the first Moslem martyr, glittering in the sunlight, then the duller roofs of the houses and the towers

of the old city walls, and finally a myriad of gilded domed tombs which have been crowded into the desert outside the city, form a picture worthy of the days of the Arabian Nights. Nejef, with a population of about twenty thousand, is a city of fanatics, and the headquarters of various sects of dervishes, and though a Turkish garrison is now stationed there, the government has little control over its over-religious subjects. During my visit to the city, I was lodged in the Turkish guardhouse, in a little chamber over the city gate, nor was I permitted to venture into the streets unless accompanied by several armed soldiers.

The city is still surrounded by its ancient crumbling walls, and the streets are unusually narrow and filthy. The interior of the shrine, as far as I know, has never yet been seen by a Christian.



TOMBS IN THE DESERT.

Nejef in the distance to the right. In the center and to the left are tombs outside the city.

In architecture, the shrine resembles those of the other sacred cities, and as at Kerbela a square clock-tower with a chime of bells to strike the hours, stands midway between the minarets and the tomb. The striking of the bells, though once forbidden by the Moslems because employed by the Christians, to call them to worship, sounds out of place in the mosque yard, especially when it deadens the voice of the muezzin in the minaret gallery singing the call to prayer.

No shrine is more richly decorated than this supposed tomb of Ali. It is said that the gold covering its minarets and dome has the value of two and a quarter millions of dollars. Slabs of gold are laid into the floor about the three graves; a silver fence surrounds

them, and the walls about are inlaid with precious stones. In the central and largest of the three graves within the enclosure formed by the silver fence, and directly beneath the center of the dome, lies Ali, who, so the Shiah say, should have been the first successor of Mohammed. In the other two tombs Adam and Noah are said to be buried.

Nejef is particularly a city of the dead, for every nook and corner has been used for burial purposes over and over again until the government has forbidden more bodies to be buried within the walls. However, the faith in the sanctity of the soil of Nejef is stronger than the firmans of the Sultan, and the hundreds of bodies which arrive at the city daily, are smuggled through the breaches in the city wall, or are admitted by bribery through the gates, to find a resting place near the shrine. The result is that the cellars and court yards of the houses are filled with the dead; the streets are undermined; holes are dug into the walls, and the decomposing bodies are stored away in dark rooms and upon the house tops to await the great day and the resurrection of Ali. Beneath the mosque is a deep pit into which the bones of those who have been buried in the vicinity for twenty years or more, are thrown. For each person living in the city, there are probably a thousand dead, and the living are waiting to die that they may be buried in the sacred soil.

Everything is expensive in Nejef. Bread is sold at double the Bagdad price. House rent is made dear by the many wealthy Indians who have come there to die on sacred soil, but to die is the most expensive thing of all. For permission to lie beneath the sand far out of the city on the distant horizon, just within sight of the golden tips of the minarets, where the jackals and hyenas are sure to devour the body before the first morning, the cost is never less than a Turkish lira (\$4.40); the price of a grave nearer the sacred center depends upon the circumstances of the friends of the dead, and their ability to bargain. A wealthy Persian recently paid \$44,000 for the privilege of being buried for twenty years in the basement of a mosque beneath the tomb of Ali; at the end of that period his body was to be disinterred and thrown into the pit beneath the shrine.

The annual revenue of this small desert city, derived from the sale of graves alone, is said to amount to more than two million dollars a year. In spite of the enormous income, the priests who are always in attendance at the mosques to serve or to fleece the bearers of the dead, receive no salary, yet they grow wealthy and

self-important upon the gifts which they extort from the pious faithful. When the treasury of the Turkish empire is empty, to replenish it, the sultan might but make an expedition to these sacred desert cities, for in their coffers are stored riches which have been accumulating for ages,—diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls without number, gold coins of every age and country, silks and carpets of rarest design and workmanship. Nothing is too valuable for the Shiah Moslem to present to the shrine of Ali, for thus he purchases an eternal home in Paradise, and smoothes the rough, thorny way over which he must travel to reach the crystal palace and the dark-eyed hours of musk awaiting him there.

HASAN AND HUSAIN: THE PASSION PLAY OF PERSIA—A CONTRAST.

BY BERTHA JOHNSTON.

THE stream of pilgrims which this decennial year flows from all quarters, from all lands, into the little valley of Oberammergau, has probably reached a height never before attained, because the impressive and artistic merit of that most daring of dramatic productions is known now as never before.

It is perhaps familiar to few of those who have seen or read of the wonderful Oberammergau play, that one great division of the followers of Mohammed has also developed a miracle play, given annually in both Persia and India, requiring ten days for its presentation and awakening intense emotion, and impassioned grief wherever played.

A brief comparison of these two tremendous dramas, whose characters, scenes, and the lessons therein taught have become in each case an integral part of the adherents of their respective religions, woven into the very thread and fibre of their being, cannot fail to be of interest to all "who love their fellow-men."

The origin of the play of Oberammergau is familiar to all, so we will restate it briefly. In 1633 a pestilence raged in this region and the villagers made a solemn vow that if its progress were stayed they would perform the Passion Play every tenth year. This vow has been faithfully observed.

Like other great folk-plays and epics this production as at present given has been a matter of growth and evolution. As it stands now it may properly be regarded as the production of the scholarly Geistlicher Rath Daistenberger who for thirty years prior to 1889, trained the villagers, and rewrote, remodelled, added to and eliminated from the drama until it assumed the form in which it is now presented, a masterpiece in the expression of strong religious

feeling and a consummate effort when measured by the severest standards of dramatic art.

As presented at Oberammergau, there are nineteen principal performers in the play, including the Choragus, who gives the numerous explanatory prologues.

The language is for the most part simple, direct, to the point, as in the New Testament, although as occasion demands, words, sentences and paragraphs have been judiciously interpolated in order to carry on the story intelligently. Both as regards color harmonies and composition, the many tableaux are wonderfully effective, and the singing of the choruses, the acting of the performers, have reached the highest degree of perfection.

Preceding every scene is given a tableau of a corresponding incident in Old Testament history which serves to emphasize the particular lesson conveyed. Thus, the Council of the High Priests is preceded by the tableau of Joseph cast into the pit, and the parting at Bethany is prefigured by the departure of Tobias from his home.

As for the characters and the scenes selected for dramatization—here we see exhibited malignant jealousy, revengeful greed, frenzied finance, cruel spite, craven irresolution, determined will, sign-seeking superstition, pious hypocrisy, back-sliding fear, traitorous betrayal, much as we meet them on every hand to-day. And on the other side, are most wonderfully expressed faithful affection, tender forethought, agonizing repentance, frightful remorse, unselfish service and the noblest heights of pure redeeming love, unexampled love of humanity, understanding of its weaknesses, comprehension of its aspirations and noble possibilities, forgiveness of its wrongs.

Humanity in its weakness and its strength, its vices and its virtues stands before us and those who see the play must needs leave that judgment hall in all meekness of heart and with renewed self-pledges to devote life, talent, money to the service of even the least of these little ones—knowing that “where love is, God is.”

And what of the Persian Passion Play, its origin, manner of presentation and influence?

As with Christianity, so with Islam, schisms arose and sects appeared soon after the death of the founder of the new faith. In Christendom the divisions came about through dissensions over dogma and the correct interpretation of texts not uninfluenced by political motives. Among the Mohammedans the grand schism was occasioned by disputes not only over which of the traditions were

or were not canonical, but over the proper succession to the caliphate.

The claimants to the caliphate were four, Ali (first cousin to the Prophet and also husband to his daughter Fatimah) and his three fathers-in-law, Abu Beker, Omar, and Othman. The latter three succeeded in turn to the high office, being upheld by the Sunnis or traditionalists, who were found mostly among the Turks and Arabs. When Persia was overcome by the Saracens, she, hating her Turkish conquerors, upheld the claims of Ali and his descendants and affiliated with the great Shiah sect, whose major article of faith is that the descendants of Ali are the rightful sovereign pontiffs.

On the plains of Karbala, A. D. 780, Husain, grandson of Mohammed, was killed in battle, his brother Hasan having been poisoned by the Sunnis ten years before. In time the Miracle Play of Hasan and Husain evolved, centering around the martyrdom of these two sons of Ali and grandsons of the Prophet. The main characteristics are thus summed up by an English official long resident in Persia and India and who has published a translation of thirty-seven of the scenes.

"It is singular in its intolerable length; in the fact of the representation extending over many days; in its marvelous effects upon a Mussulman audience, both male and female; in the curious mixture of hyperbole and archaic simplicity of language, and in the circumstance that the so-called unities of time and space are not only ignored but abolished. The Prophet Mohammed and his family are at once the central figures and moving spirits of the whole, whether the scene may be that of Joseph and his brethren on earth, or of the Patriarchal Family at the Judgment Day. Mohammed appears on the scene at will; and with him as with the Creator, it seems to be a universal Here and a universal Now."

As we study this lengthy drama, we obtain interesting and illuminating glimpses into the strange life of the Orient. The portrayal of simple, primitive passions, of fierce hate and generous, self-denying love, of family fealty and clannish devotion, brings us back to the period when our ancestors led the nomadic life and were swayed by the most elementary emotions.

At the first cursory superficial reading the play impressed one as the outgrowth of fanatical sectarianism. It seemed as if the primary object of its creators was not so much the dissemination of the light of Islam, as an intention to cut deeper the lines and build higher the walls that separate the two great Mohammedan denominations; to make the Shialis hate with an ever-increasing

hatred the successors of those whom they considered responsible for the deaths of Hasan and Husain. So virulent is this feeling that some of the more bigoted Shiah's will have the sign of Omar tattooed upon the soles of their feet that they may thus continually tread it under foot; a feeling paralleled by the fanaticism of those Christians who would still persecute the Jews because their ancestors were in part responsible for the death of Jesus. The Persian Passion Play is not calculated to moderate this bitter antagonism.

But the sufferings of Ali and his family, grievous as they were, were no worse than befall any soldier in any war. In what then consists the great merit of the death of Ali and his family? What is it that arouses in an entire people from Shah to common laborer such a passion of sorrow and excited grief?

Although the two great Passion Plays seem at first comparison as far apart as the two poles, we know that, far apart as the poles are, they are each a part of our great globe, our common Mother Earth, and these two folk dramas are not in essential spirit, in their deeper meanings, quite as different as external characteristics would seem to indicate.

We find two main correspondences between the two dramas. Ali and his two sons are unwarlike in spirit, disinterested, gentle, pious, forgiving, uninterested in mere politics and intrigues. Even his arch-enemy Yezid is quoted as saying of his defeated foe, "God loved Husain but would not suffer him to attain anything." At the final battle of Karbala, when all were suffering agonies from thirst and the river but a short distance away, one by one Abbas, Ali Akbar and two younger brothers in vain try to get to the river and back with the precious water for their loved ones, and in remembrance of this suffering and sacrifice young men of the highest rank carry around water-skins with which to supply the needs of even the poorest of the audience during the play. Love, pity, gratitude, are the emotions stirred as at Oberammergau. Again, throughout the play we are reminded that all the sufferings, all this anguish, is endured by Husain, in order that those who are his followers may be saved on the Day of Judgment from eternal torment.

But let us study the play more in detail.

In a volume before us, the introductory chapter or scene takes us back, as in the Oberammergau play, to the parting of Jacob from Joseph and the casting of the latter in the pit. As Jacob bemoans the loss of Joseph apparently he foresees the future and wonders "what will be the feelings of Fatimah, the mother of Husain, when she sees her son's blood-stained coat after he shall have been put

to death in a most cruel manner." And Gabriel reminds him that his sufferings are as naught compared to those of Husain who sees his relatives killed before his eyes, just before he himself is slain.

One scene pictures Fatimah with the little Husain seated on her knee as she combs his locks. The pulling of a hair causes him to cry out and then the angel Gabriel reminds her of the greater anguish to come. Later, in this same scene while the children are happily digging a well in the sand, a group of boys stone them, these boys being their victorious and cruel enemies in the days to come. Thus are we reminded of events pictured in the Apocrypha of the New Testament.

Another strange and pathetic chapter shows the death of the little son of Mohammed, who is made to converse with the Prophet and the angel of death, Izrail, having first asked permission of his schoolmaster to return home and prepare for a long journey from which there is no return, and begging pardon for past faults and neglected duties. In reality the child at the time of his death was less than two years old.

Another scene brings before us the disobedient son who has for his unfilial conduct been consigned to the torments of hell. Mohammed is much distressed at his cries of anguish, and he, Ali, Fatimah and Hasan, implore his mother to forgive him and for the sake of their agonies to release him, but she is obdurate until when Husain rehearses his sufferings at Karbala and an angel threatens her with swift punishment, she relents and the forgiven son comes out of the grave.

Many times the Prophet's children suffered from lack of the very necessities of life, and we can imagine how affecting would be that scene in which the two boys, Hasan and Husain, ask their parents in vain for food. Finally Fatimah decides to appeal to her father although as she says "I am ashamed to complain to my father respecting Ali my husband." Later, Mohammed and the children return to the mother's home, but the boys are so faint they can hardly move and we hear their grandfather saying, "O Husain and Hasan, ye lights of the eye of God's elect, ye two ornaments of the shoulders of Mohammed, the chosen of God, come and ride both of you on my back, that I may take you to your mother." And he offers the prayer "O God, I adjure Thee by the merit of my cousin, the Lion of God, and by these two dear things I am supporting on my shoulders, freely have mercy on Ali's followers in the Day of Resurrection, as I voluntarily suffer ignominy in this world for their sake." Arrived at home, the larder bare, angels from Paradise

supply their needs with fresh dates. Ali meanwhile has gone out to find employment and meets a youth who is seeking to kill him, to whom Ali magnanimously offers his head when he learns that the young man is in love and wishes to give it as a dowry to the father of the lady of his love. The youth is impressed by this self-abnegation and becomes a convert. "Better generosity than this none has ever seen, that one should freely give his head to another man," which seems a paraphrase of that noble utterance of Jesus under far more impressive circumstances, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

We are permitted to be present at the deathbed of Mohammed, where, before he expires he addresses in turn each beloved member of his family, telling them of the particular woes in store for each and asking if for the sake of their people they are willing to endure this great suffering. Great indeed must have been the devotion of Fatimah who for the service of God is willing that even her best-beloved Husain shall be given up to sorrow; great indeed the love of Husain who besides his own woes must endure to give up his brother Abbas and to see his son Ali Akbar slain before him. As the Prophet dies he exclaims, "Oh! let me suffer the severity of death, instead of my people. Give all the afflictions and sorrows of my followers to me alone to bear."

Here and there in the dialogues we are surprised by allusions to Christ and Mary and are thus obliged to remind ourselves that Jesus is revered by the Mohammedans almost as much as by the Christians. In a pathetic conversation between Ali, Fatimah and the other members of the "Family of the Tent," as they are called, we hear the family crying in chorus to their father, "When thou openest thy mouth thou givest us life; thou makest the dead live by thy *Christlike* influence. Tell us, O Ali, our adventures; after we have heard them thou wilt see what patience we each of us possess."

Having just heard both Mohammed and Ali foretell what are to be the peculiar sufferings of each of the martyr family, we are somewhat surprised in the succeeding paragraphs to hear them imploring their enemy to refrain from his cruel usurpation, and acting in each case as if the deed were quite unexpected. Throughout the play there is this curious mingling of past and present and future; of willing acceptance of what must be, and pathetic if not violent reproaches cast upon those responsible for all the suffering.

Thus, the murder of Ali, in the mosque by the traitor Ibn Muljam, seems to come as a tragic surprise to his devoted family and the scene gives us sad but pleasing glimpses into a united family

life, in which Hasan and Husain and their sisters, Zainab and Kulsam, mutually mourn and sympathize with each other.

Moawiyah, Governor of Bussorah, is one of the bitter enemies of the Family of the Tent, and he induces Hasan's wife to poison her husband. Hasan expires in agony, surrounded by his bewailing sisters, brothers and children. He reproaches without betraying her, the wife who was responsible for his death, and when another brother would fain draw his sword at the grave to destroy the guilty people, Husain replies, "Nay, my brother; it is better to have patience with them for a while; for thus has Hasan enjoined, saying, 'You must take care not to excite the people, or provoke them to jealousy, lest there should be bloodshed over my bier.'"

Still another martyr was Muslim, an envoy of Husain's, sent to Kufah to find out the feeling of the people and discover if they would be true to certain promises made. He is executed by the city's ruler, but before this happens our sympathies are excited by his two little boys whom he has brought with him and who become tired of the town and ask their father to take them on an excursion to the river. Later, when danger threatens, the oldest one is heard saying, "Dear father, seeing alms avert calamitous events, and sacrifices prevent impending misfortunes, offer then, thy two sorrowful sons to the living God as acceptable sacrifices, that thy Lord may have mercy on thy youth and save thy soul from death." The children wander around disconsolately, each weary and hungry, but thinking ever of the other's comfort. In the succeeding scene they are both murdered. And here again there is a loving rivalry between the brothers, as to who shall suffer first, the elder hoping that if he be killed first their enemy's wrath may be appeased.

We cannot make even a brief reference to all of the many chapters or scenes which continue the long drama; but there are several in which we become acquainted with little Sukainah (daughter of Husain) whose years however it is difficult to determine as is the case with the other children, for what they say often indicates the little child, while the language is most mature and dignified. Passages between the little maid and her aunt Zainab show the loving relation between them and the trial it was for those who loved each other to be hopeless to assist or make them comfortable or happy. The little one longs for her father who comes and tenderly holds her in his lap.

Just before battle one of his foes, although he knows that Husain is on the losing side, becomes converted and comes to his defense, followed by his son and brother, preferring imperishable

to the perishable riches, and thus throughout the entire story we see love and pity triumphing over the sterner passions.

As the final scene draws near, Kasim implores his uncle Husain's permission to enter the conflict, although only a youth of sixteen, but desiring martyrdom and its eternal reward. Husain finally consents but first desires that Kasim shall espouse his daughter Fatimah, and thus we are brought face to face in almost the same breath with the two events that stir so deeply all our emotions. The marriage ceremony takes place, the youth mournfully yet determinedly separates himself from his beautiful bride, and hurries into battle.

The final catastrophe comes at last. Husain is killed and the women, with heads uncovered (so dreadful a situation to the Eastern woman) are led through the streets of the conquering city, having previously suffered cruel beatings from their brutal foes. They are imprisoned, but the sovereign's wife visits them and becoming interested asks mercy for them and is herself forthwith executed for her temerity.

The final scene presents to us the Judgment Day, when the angel Gabriel receives the order to blow his trumpet for calling up the dead, and we learn how unavailing are any other means of salvation than the martyrdom of Husain. Abraham is the first to arise, imploring rescue from the flames of torment, no matter what becomes of his beloved Isaac; and Isaac beseeches that he be saved even if his father must continue to suffer; Jacob appears and has forgotten all about his dear Joseph of the first scene. All that he thinks of is his own suffering and rest therefrom; and when Joseph rises from the flames he thinks not of his father, but only how he himself may be relieved of his agony. All this of course is to lead up, by contrast, to the difference between even the ancient fathers, and the wonderful loving sacrifices of the Mohammed-Ali faction. In turn Mohammed, Ali, Fatimah, and Hasan appear and because of their vicarious sufferings ask that their believing followers be saved future pain and sorrow, but the Most High will not listen until at last appears Husain, recounting all his many sorrows, willingly endured for his people, and the sacrifice is accepted.

Thus runs the strange, powerful story, which annually affects millions of men and women to a frenzy of excitement and demonstration of utmost grief and passion, whether in the large cities of India or the isolated desert towns of Persia. And yet the stage setting is of the simplest, the arrangements in many particulars reminding us of the European drama in its beginnings.

In Persia all of the larger houses have their own *tabut* or *tazia* (a model of the tombs at Karbala) among the wealthier Shiah's these being beautiful fixtures of silver, gold, ivory, inlaid work or other rich material. The stage is a kind of movable pulpit covered with rich materials, and with no wings to conceal the coming and the going of the actors; thus again recalling early English conditions. With this play, a lion skin, suspended, reminds the on-lookers that this is a scene in the desert; a silver basin of water symbolizes the river Euphrates, whose cool waters are so desired by the thirsty martyrs; a little heap of chopped straw represents the ashes or earth with which the woeful mourners bestrew their dishevelled hair; and without apparently disturbing the train of thought the master of ceremonies will himself at the proper moment, in view of the audience, place in the hands of the right person the straw needed or will give a timely suggestion to the children who play their parts with rare and touching seriousness, for it is a most solemn occasion to the little ones; these frequently come from the most influential families who feel honored to have them thus take part in the sacred function.

The actors are regularly trained for their parts, and to them too it is a sacred office which they perform. It is said that they throw themselves into it with great and serious feeling. Indeed, strange to say, so real is the suffering and rare patience of the martyred ones that even those who take the parts of the tyrants break down and sob as they perform their cruel offices. The martyr family speak always in a lyrical chant; the language of the persecutors is prose.

The Oriental style of speech with its extravagant similes and comparisons, its formal modes of address even when between those who are most intimate, the number of words necessary to make a most simple statement, all sound strange into our ears, accustomed to the most direct, matter-of-fact modes of communication. We have given a few quotations; here are a few examples of quaint and unusual comparisons which however give us a peep into the Oriental households. When Hasan is about to die Kulsum complains, "Let me know if heaven has rolled up the carpet of my life." In the same scene Kasim says, "Time has pelted the bottle of my heart with cruel stones"; and Hasan himself, "The pot of my life has ceased from its natural ebullition."

A maiden is as beautiful as the moon on the fourteenth night, and the zephyr becomes as "musk passing through her hair." Hasan is the "disembarking Noah of the present generation." The Euphra-

tes is "restless as quicksilver"; the head is "cloven asunder like the point of a pen." Curious indeed is the affirmation "I am a doorkeeping dog in the street of thy affection and faith"; another quaint simile is that which compares one's life with "a tattered page in sorrow's volume." We alluded above to references to Christian saints, and in another place we find Mohammed saying to Fatimah, "Thou being in God's sight the Mary of this people, the Creator will give thee patience."

These quotations might be continued indefinitely but enough has been given to indicate something of the language and spirit of the play as presented in the translations* to which we have had access. In his *Essays in Criticism* (1865) Matthew Arnold includes a study of the Persian Passion Play, but at the time there was no English translation. His knowledge was derived from the observations of the French traveler and Orientalist Gobineau, and it is necessarily incomplete. But the philosophic mind of the great English essayist, enriched by much thinking, reading and travel, has enabled him to understand and sympathize with the universal need of the human heart that called the play into being. The need of an ideal, pure, unselfish, innocent of transgression, long-suffering, willing for the sake of righteousness and of humanity to suffer to the end.

The two-volume play seems crude, strained, artificial in many of the situations, especially when without the accompaniment of dramatic action that makes it so real to the people whence it originated. But in its earlier form the Christian Passion Play was equally crude, with much of coarseness in many of the scenes enacted. There is nothing in this drama of the vulgar humor so conspicuous in our former miracle plays and moralities. In its present form, that of Persia is a true expression of popular feeling, and is encouraged by the popular friars but is condemned by the regular ecclesiastical authorities of the Moslem Church as being heretical and "addressed to the eye," thus coming within the confines of the forbidden. Nor is it approved by the more restrained and critical judgment of those who esteem themselves above the common crowd. Its effect upon the people seems to resemble the violent hysterical excitement aroused at some of our revival meetings.

During the first ten days of the first month (Mohurrum) of the Mohammedan year (the anniversary of the ten days of suffering) the people dress in mourning, carry black flags and keep Mohurrum fires lighted (if only a nightlight in a simple basin) all through the

* *The Miracle Play of Hasan and Husain*, Pelly and Wollaston.

period. The scenes of excitement and of self-inflicted injury recall the Flagellants and other zealots of times past and present, before the folk awaken to the truth, ancient but ever young, that justice and judgment and mercy are more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice and self-mutilation.

It is said by our compiler that "up country in India where the *tabuts* in the final processions are brought to the Mohammedan cemeteries and Sunnis and Shiahhs meet face to face before the open graves of Hasan and Husain, the feuds between them which have been pent up all the year are often fought out to a bloody end." We know similar scenes of violence take place wherever the real spirit of religion is forgotten in race hatred or sectarian bigotry. Mohammedans forget that Hasan forbade bloodshed at his grave as Christians forget that Jesus said "Forgive them, they know not what they do."

It is certainly interesting to observe the general resemblance between these two great expressions of religious feeling in the principal ideas upon which each rests. They spring from the same human heart that cries for light and love wherever man is found. What we miss most in the Moslem is that sense of things spiritual which raises the modernized German play far above its Persian counterpart. Mild, tender, loving, self-sacrificing, as are the Mohammedan victims, they fall short of the ideal of the Christ. There is a lack of constructive righteousness, of hunger for the ideal; no expression of sorrow for evil done or temptation conquered. One dies to save people from sinning, the other from the results of their sinning; and the Heaven of the Christian orthodox faith is assuredly more spiritual, rests on a higher plane, than that promised by Mohammed to his followers.

But perhaps we are drawing finer distinctions than really exist. It might be more just to compare the Persian Play with the Christian one in its earlier form. When it comes to final arbitrament as to which is the true religion we find the answer in Lessing's inspired Play "Nathan the Wise," where he tells the story of the three rings. Real religion is seen in the lives of those who profess it. Where are found truth, righteousness, purity, love, continued aspiration for the higher life, there is the real Passion Play. Which audience is most inspired to forgetfulness of injuries, to loving service, "to deeds of daring rectitude"? That is the final test by which both plays must be judged.

THE MUHARRAM IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY LUCIA C. G. GRIEVE.

INDIA is the land of festivals. There is no day which is not sacred to some god or saint; and many of these celebrations overlap or coalesce. Amid this welter of festivity, half a dozen great festivals stand out by themselves.

The Muharram* is the high festival of the Muslims in India. It falls on the first ten days of the first month of the Muslim year, called Muharram, or "sacred"; and by this name it is usually known. The historical basis of the festival is found in the tragic death of Ali, who married the daughter of Muhammad, and of his two sons; but of that we shall speak later.

For many days before the festival begins, the village carpenter is busy erecting mimic tombs of bamboo, to be covered finally with tinsel and colored paper. These tazias, as they are called in the north, or tabuts, in Western India, are intended as effigies of the tomb of the martyrs; and a fine turban and costly armor are laid at the back to represent the state and consequence of Husayn, Ali's son, slain on the bloody plain of Karbala. In the wealthy Muhammadan states of the north, these tazias are magnificent and costly creations; some of which are held over from year to year, and exhibited to the wondering eyes of the tourist. Large or small, they are

* The following table shows some common variants in the spelling of Muhammadan names. The spelling preferred by the author is followed in this article.

PREFERRED FORM	OLDER FORM
Muharram	Mohurrum
Muslim	Moslem
Muhammad	Mohammad, etc.
Hasan	Hassan
Husayn	Hosein
Qasim	Cassim
Q̄uran	Koran
K̄arbala	Kerbela
Sunnis	Sunnites
Shiahs	Shiites
Shiva (better, Shiwa)	Siva, Civa
Shaivites	Sivites, Civites
Himalyas	Himalayas

fairly faithful copies of the domed Muslim tombs which lend picturesqueness to every scene. In the Maratha country, as Western India is more properly called, originality is sought after. Although Islam acknowledges no caste, the guilds of the various trades band together to erect tabuts. Thus, in Satara where I was living, the beef-butchers built one four stories high; the vegetable venders had one on which, appropriately, they induced rice or some other quick-growing grain to sprout, so that it was covered with a velvety coat of living green; one guild of mutton-butchers displayed the figure of a horseman attacked by a tiger; while a fourth had an athlete standing between two women. In the north there is much bitter feeling between the Muhammadans and the Hindus; but in Western India, owing to the Muslims being in a weak minority, a general friendliness prevails, so that each tabut is supported not only by the men of its own guild and quarter but by subscriptions from Hindus as well.

The Ashura Khana, or Ten-Day House, is erected. Here every evening during the festival, crowds of people assemble for the majlises, or mourning meetings, a band of singers chant the *Marsiya*, a poem in honor of Husayn; and the *Waqia Khan* narrates in graphic style the story of the tragic and pathetic death of the hero, while the audience sway their bodies and beat their breasts, wailing, "Ali! Ali! Husayn! Husayn!"

While the festival is in progress, bands of boys, and sometimes girls, wander about the streets, blowing raucous blasts on hollow bamboos; others, preceded by drummers, and arrayed fantastically, demand subscriptions from shop-keepers and householders. Near the tabut, an Arab mummer makes nerve-racking cracks with a split bamboo. Some see in this man a scapegoat or guardian, who frightens homeless spirits from the mimic tombs in which they would like to dwell. *Sabils*, or little refreshment stands, are set up in many places to supply sherbet to thirsty devotees.

On the tenth day comes the *Tazion ka Mela*, or real "feast of mourning." On this day the great procession assembles. All the tabuts from the surrounding villages press into the nearest town, and, packed in the mouths of the narrow streets giving on the main route of march, await their turn to fall into line. The scene is one of the greatest confusion. Throngs of gaily dressed natives of every creed and caste mass themselves on the narrow sidewalks, and, overflowing walls and roofs, fill windows and doorways. In the country towns in Western India, it is usually a good-natured crowd, out for a holiday, eating fruit and sweets, chaffing each other, and

having a good time generally. Above the noise a greater din arises, strengthened by kettle-drums and all manner of unmusical instruments, and the cry goes round that the procession is coming! At the head of this motley rout is led the white *duldul* horse, two in Satara, typical of the steeds of the martyrs. Other emblems carried on poles crowd close on these. On *ucz sahibs*, imitation spears, since the government has prohibited real ones, limes are borne, typical of the carrying of Husayn's head at Karbala, and of much else in India. Horse-shoes, recalling Husayn's swift steed, serve also as a trap for wandering spirits. The *panja*, or hand, is popularly supposed to represent the five members of the Prophet's family, Muhammad, Fatima, Ali and his two sons; probably its original signification was merely that of a tomb, for it is well known that the hand takes the place of the skull and cross-bones on Semitic tombstones. Bunches of black hair figure among the standards and may typify Husayn's horse (which was white); but more probably is the hair which takes the place of a victim in a funeral sacrifice. Western Indian Muhammadanism is thoroughly saturated with Hinduism as well as with its own original heathenism. The most remarkable adjunct of the Muharram is seen in the tiger-men. They are in evidence throughout the ten days and swarm in the final procession. In the recent celebration in Mysore, a touch of realism was given by carrying one about in a cage. But of these more anon.

With Oriental dilatoriness, it is generally late in the afternoon when the thronging ill-regulated procession gets fairly under way. With many halts and turns and twists, it moves slowly through the crowded streets. Night falls, and a myriad swinging lights spring into being. Torches flaming at both ends are whirled, making double circles of fire. The music, the shouting, the wailing, the hysteria, increase; the procession becomes a mad rabble; and in the small hours of the deepening night, the devotees, fevered, exhausted, smitten by the chill wind, creep back to their homes for a brief troubled sleep or a continuation of the orgy.

Next day, the procession forms anew, generally in the morning. The enthusiasm of the night evaporates under the sunshine. The tabuts are taken to the seaside, or to the bank of a tank or river. Here the ornaments and everything of value are stripped off; and the bamboo skeleton, often broken and bedraggled, is *takked*, that is, thrown with ceremony into the water, in a frank following of Hindu custom. In Bombay City, the two rival factions, Sunnis as well as Shiahhs, observe the Muharram with processions of tabuts, immersion, and the rest. When a friendly spirit prevails, as was the case

two years ago, the processions march at different hours, and everything passes off quietly. But when the two processions collide, as they did last year, there is trouble, often resulting in loss of life. The Shiahs are generally the aggressors, keeping a pious silence as they pass their own mosques, but giving vent to much noisy music as they pass those of their rivals. Just before the recent Muharram, the leaders of both factions were brought together at a great dinner, and peace and friendship were declared; but the only outcome was a sullen foregoing of the processions and final rites.

Back of this feast of mourning, or the Muharram, to use its popular name, is a chapter of history. When Muhammad undertook his great work of reforming society and promulgating a new religion, he found the Arab tribes engaged in perpetual fights and bitter feuds. So fierce and deadly was this intertribal warfare, that Islam might have failed at the beginning for lack of a man to accept it, had not some early Arab Solon induced his fellows to set aside four months in the year, the first seventh, eleventh and twelfth, as months of peace, to allow of the practice of religion. We observe a similar *tabu* on fighting during the Olympic Games in ancient Greece; and in the curious institution of the *Trêve de Dieu* in France in the Middle Ages, which is paralleled to-day in the Khaiber Pass. The Prophet found this arrangement so beneficial that he incorporated it into his religion; and the Muslim Muharram, literally the "sacred" first month of the year, began as a month of peace, wherein pilgrims might safely perform their return journey from Mecca.

Had Muhammad been equally careful to appoint his successor, the Muharram might still have remained a time of truce. On his death, many thought that Ali, his cousin and son-in-law and first disciple, should succeed him; but to others the more gifted Omar seemed the right person. This caused a faction, which came to a head when Ali, after becoming the fourth Caliph, was murdered in 661. His son Hasan succeeded him; but being a weak youth, more given to piety and uxoriousness than to war and government, he abdicated the office within a year and retired into private life. His end is uncertain; some claim that he was killed by a tiger; others, that after divorcing seventy wives (some say only fifty) the next one poisoned him. Husayn, meanwhile, grew up noble, brave and beautiful, the hero of many a song and tale, skilled in all manly accomplishments, and beloved of all. Like many a similar leader of a lost cause, bad advice and treachery were his undoing, and his noble and pathetic death at Karbala gave him the crown of martyr-

dom and the aureole of a saintly champion. With his death ended the struggle of the Fatimid family for the Khalifat. But the Muslim world was hopelessly split into the factions of the Sunnis and Shiahs.

The Sunnis are the orthodox party, following the Sunnat, or "tradition," and rejecting the claims of Ali and his descendants. They observe Muharram as a month of fasting, as originally instituted; but keep the tenth day as a festival, saying that on that day God created Adam. The Muslims of Hyderabad, the largest native state in India, observe, instead of the tenth, the seventh, Langar Day, telling a local legend about a boy prince rescued from an elephant. But with that we have nothing to do.

The Shiahs, of whom are most of the Muslims of Persia and India, hold that Ali was the Vicar of God, little, if any, inferior to Muhammad, and that Omar, in making up the canon of the Quran, left out many important passages proving this. They revere Ali, his two sons, and their seven successors as the ten Imams; and hold in high regard their descendants, of whom many are still living. Their principal tenet is hatred of the Sunnis; and their greatest holiday the first ten days of Muharram as a feast of mourning, which we have just described.

Back of the history, which is genuine enough, lies the mythological matrix. Here we have one of the many instances in which a historical person serves as a nucleus for the crystallization of brilliant and beloved myths. Muhammad made the sacred year rigidly lunar, rejecting the intercalation of an extra month once every two or three years, as impious. As a result, the Muharram, during a period of thirty-three years, swings through every season. Originally, Muharram was really the beginning of the solar as well as of the lunar year; and our Indian "festival of grief" links up with the tabued Tammuz festival, prototype of the Adonis festival of Asiatic Greece and the Easter of pagan Europe. Wherever winter follows summer, and is followed in turn by spring, there we find the weird myths of death and resurrection, whether of Korè or of Ishtar, of Baldur the Beautiful or of Shiva the Destroyer.

The Muharram festival, like the Baldur story, lacks the essential feature of the resurrection, probably because the mythical hero has been replaced by an historical one; perhaps, too, because Islam, in its break with Christianity, did not care to have any resurrection *motif* made prominent. But the resurrection idea comes forward in an unexpected manner, namely, in the presence of the tiger-men. Their presence is accounted for in many ways. On one of the floats

at the festival in Satara, a tiger attacks a horseman, and the story is told that thus Hasan came to his death; but this story has not a wide credence. Another explanation is that the tiger is a great spirit house for attracting and quieting spirits disturbed by a funeral procession. Neither seems sufficient to account for the number and prominence of the tiger-men.

Tiger-men are found in Persia; but there they are generally boys disporting themselves harmlessly. In India, especially Western India, they are for the most part Hindus, usually of low caste. Dressed only in a scanty loin-cloth, their bodies striped black and yellow, a long tiger-tail switching behind, and a sharp antelope horn in each hand, these men, drunk with *bhang*, during the whole of the Muharram festival roam the country in imitation of tigers, dancing, raging, even killing. It is a remarkable fact that the victims are generally persons against whom the tiger-man, before assuming the character, had some grudge. It is impossible to convict such a man of murder; for the people believe that the tiger-men are inspired by God (Parameshwar = *θεός*), and therefore that the god claimed a sacrifice and not that the man committed a murder.

The tiger is the most mystical animal in India. This reverence for him, increased by the belief that no man or beast once mauled by a tiger ever recovers, probably accounts for the great number of people who annually fall victims to his claws. In some provinces these victims are not allowed to be buried or burned lest evil, especially drought, befall the land.

The tiger is closely connected with Shiva; and in the Linga worship, the tiger skin, according to the *Linga Purana*, plays an important part. Most of the Hindus of Western India are Shaivites, especially of the subdivision called Lingaits; and the fact that a respectable Hindu woman will not look at a tiger-man goes to confirm the conjecture that the tiger-man is an incarnation of Shiva.

Shiva's position as third of the Hindu Trinity has nearly obliterated his earlier character. He was not a Vedic deity; and much ingenuity has been required to identify him with Rudra. That he was a frequenter of graveyards, a companion of ghosts, a drunkard, a reveler, a mad man and a wanderer, insulted and cursed by gods and demigods, shows that he was a foreigner; and many of these attributes point to some form of Dionysus brought in from the north, over the Himalyas. The Greek Dionysus, under the name of Iacchos, was of that dread circle who had chthonian attributes, a god of decaying and returning vegetation. It would be interesting to follow out the parallel between Shiva and this divinity, both of

Semitic origin, both gods of the dead, outcasts and despised, yet rising to the highest rank in their respective pantheons. It is significant also that as the panther was sacred to Bacchus, so the tiger belongs to Shiva. In the Hindu philosophy, with its overwhelming belief in rebirth and continued existence after death, this aspect of Shiva as a god of resurrection, loses its force, or, rather, is transformed into that of the destroyer and re-creator, which practically amounts to the same thing. It may seem far-fetched to see in the tiger-men in the Muharram festival the missing resurrection *motif*; but such things are not uncommon in religious observances.

A few days before Husayn's murder, to go back to the historic narrative, he gave his favorite daughter in marriage to Qasim, son of Hasan. This event is commemorated on the seventh day of the Muharram, called the Mahdi, when the Alam i Qasim, or standard, is carried in procession, and fine garments are borne on the backs of horses and camels, as at a wedding. When this standard is brought back to the Ashura Khana, as Qasim's representative, it is laid down, covered over, and treated as a corpse.

In Bombay a more realistic "bridegroom" is found. The Dula, as he is called, sits, in fulfilment of a vow, with his head green capped, over an urn of frankincense. At intervals he is raised, a pole bearing the funeral *panja*, or hand, is bound to his chest, and a bunch of peacock feathers is given him. Thus encumbered, and intoxicated with the fumes of the incense, he is led through the streets; and people supposed to be afflicted with evil spirits or witchcraft appeal to him for relief.

Here we have a marriage interjected into the very midst of funeral wailing; nor does it require much ingenuity to see in this, even more than in the tiger-men of Shiva, a hint of the resurrection. To the Hindu mind, the father lives in the son; Husayn, about to die, gives his daughter in marriage to his dead brother's son, and thus provides for the continuity of the race. In mythology, moreover, marriage is closely connected with death, that death which is but the ante-chamber of a new life. This idea is especially emphasized in Greece, where Korè, the bride of Hades, is typical of the soul; and this mystic marriage is set forth in a whole series of fine amphorae.

In conclusion, we may see in the wild orgy of grief of the Muharram, not merely a sectarian celebration of the glorious death of a martyr, but a new mingling of the palm and the willow, a reiteration of the oldest beliefs and fears and hopes of the race, the sorrow for the untimely end of the noble and the beautiful; the hope, dim, timid, yet real and fervent, of a life to come.

SYRIA.*

BY FRANZ CUMONT.

THE religions of Syria never had the same solidarity in the Occident as those from Egypt or Asia Minor. From the coasts of Phœnicia and the valleys of Lebanon, from the borders of the Euphrates and the oases of the desert, they came at various periods, like the successive waves of the incoming tide, and existed side by side in the Roman world without uniting, in spite of their similarities. The isolation in which they remained and the persistent adherence of their believers to their particular rites were a consequence and reflection of the disunited condition of Syria herself, where the different tribes and districts remained more distinct than anywhere else, even after they had been brought together under the domination of Rome. They doggedly preserved their local gods and Semitic dialects.

It would be impossible to outline each one of these religions in detail at this time and to reconstruct their history, because our meager information would not permit it, but we can indicate, in a general way how they penetrated into the Occidental countries at various periods, and we can try to define their common characteristics by showing what new elements the Syrian paganism brought to the Romans.

The first Semitic divinity to enter Italy was *Atargatis*, frequently mistaken for the Phœnician Astarte, who had a famous temple at Bambyce or Hierapolis, not far from the Euphrates, and was worshiped with her husband, Hadad, in a considerable part of Syria besides. The Greeks considered her as the principal Syrian goddess (*Συρία θεά*), and in the Latin countries she was commonly known as *dea Syria*, a name corrupted into *Iasura* by popular use.

We all remember the unedifying descriptions of her itinerant priests that Lucian and Apuleius¹ have left. Led by an old eunuch

* Translated by A. M. Thielen.

¹ Lucian, *Lucius*, 33 f., and Apuleius, *Metam.*, VIII, 24 f.

of dubious habits, a crowd of painted young men marched along the highways with an ass that bore an elaborately adorned image of the goddess. Whenever they passed through a village or by some rich villa, they went through their sacred exercises. To the shrill accompaniment of their Syrian flutes they turned round and round, and with their heads thrown back fluttered about and gave vent to hoarse clamors until vertigo seized them and insensibility was complete. Then they flagellated themselves wildly, struck themselves with swords and shed their blood in front of a rustic crowd which pressed closely about them, and finally they took up a profitable collection from their wondering spectators. They received jars of milk and wine, cheeses, flour, bronze coins of small denominations and even some silver pieces, all of which disappeared in the folds of their capacious robes. If opportunity presented they knew how to increase their profits by means of clever thefts or by making commonplace predictions for a moderate consideration.

This picturesque description, based on a novel by Lucius of Patras, is undoubtedly extreme. It is difficult to believe that the sacerdotal corps of the goddess of Hierapolis should have consisted only of charlatans and thieves. But how can the presence in the Occident of that begging and low nomadic clergy be explained?

It is certain that the first worshipers of the Syrian goddess in the Latin world were slaves. During the wars against Antiochus the Great a number of prisoners were sent to Italy to be sold at public auction, as was the custom, and the first appearance in Italy of the *Chaldaei*² has been connected with that event. The *Chaldaei* were Oriental fortune-tellers who asserted that their predictions were based on the Chaldean astrology. They found credulous clients among the farm laborers, and Cato gravely exhorts the good landlord to oust them from his estate.³

Beginning with the second century before Christ, merchants began to import Syrian slaves. At that time Delos was the great trade center in this human commodity, and in that island especially, Atargatis was worshiped by citizens of Athens and Rome.⁴ Trade spread her worship in the Occident.⁵ We know that the great slave revolution that devastated Sicily in 134 B. C. was started by a slave from Apamea, a votary of the Syrian goddess. Simulating divine madness, he called his companions to arms, pretending to act in accord-

² Cf. Riess in *Pauly-Wissowa*, s. v., "Astrologie," col. 1816.

³ Cato, *De agric.*, V, 4.

⁴ *Bull. corr. hell.*, VI, 1882, p. 497, No. 15; p. 498, No. 17.

⁵ Livy, XXXIX, 6.

ance with orders from heaven.⁶ This detail, which we know by chance, shows how considerable a proportion of Semites there was in the gangs working the fields, and how much authority Atargatis enjoyed in the rural centers. Being too poor to build temples for their national goddess, those agricultural laborers waited with their devotions until a band of itinerant galli passed through the distant hamlet where the lot of the auction had sent them. The existence of those wandering priests depended, therefore, on the number of fellow-countrymen they met in the rural districts, who supported them by sacrificing a part of their poor savings.

Towards the end of the republic those diviners appear to have enjoyed rather serious consideration at Rome. It was a pythoress from Syria that advised Marius on the sacrifices he was to perform.⁷

Under the empire the importation of slaves increased. Depopulated Italy needed more and more foreign hands, and Syria furnished a large quota of the forced immigration of cultivators. But those Syrians, quick and intelligent as they were strong and industrious, performed many other functions. They filled the countless domestic positions in the palaces of the aristocracy and were especially appreciated as litter-bearers.⁸ The imperial and municipal administrations, as well as the big contractors to whom customs and the mines were farmed out, hired or bought them in large numbers, and even in the remotest border provinces the *Syrus* was found serving princes, cities or private individuals. The worship of the Syrian goddess profited considerably by the economic current that continually brought new worshippers. We find her mentioned in the first century of our era in a Roman inscription referring in precise terms to the slave market, and we know that Nero took a devout fancy to the stranger that did not, however, last very long.⁹ In the popular Trastevere quarter she had a temple until the end of paganism.¹⁰

During the imperial period, however, the slaves were no longer the only missionaries that came from Syria, and Atargatis was no longer the only divinity from that country to be worshiped in the Occident. The propagation of the Semitic worships progressed for the most part in a different manner under the empire.

At the beginning of our era the Syrian merchants, *Syri negotiatores*, undertook a veritable colonization of the Latin provinces.¹¹

⁶ Florus, II, 7 (III, 9).

⁷ Plutarch, *Vita Marii*, 17.

⁸ Juvenal, VI, 351.

⁹ Suetonius, *Nero*, 56.

¹⁰ Gauckler, *Bolletino comunale di Roma*, XXII, 1907, pp. 225 f.

¹¹ Courajod, *Leçons du Louvre*, I, 1899, pp. 115; 327 f.

During the second century before Christ the traders of that nation had established settlements along the coast of Asia Minor, on the Piraeus, and in the Archipelago. At Delos, a small island but a large commercial center, they maintained several associations that worshiped their national gods, in particular Hadad and Atargatis. But the wars that shook the Orient at the end of the republic, and above all the growth of piracy, ruined maritime commerce and stopped emigration. This began again with renewed vigor when the establishment of the empire guaranteed the safety of the seas and when the Levantine traffic attained a development previously unknown. We can trace the history of the Syrian establishments in the Latin provinces from the first to the seventh century, and recently we have begun to appreciate their economic, social and religious importance at the true value.

The Syrians' love of lucre was proverbial. Active, compliant and able, frequently little scrupulous, they knew how to conclude first small deals, then larger ones, everywhere. Using the special talents of their race to advantage, they succeeded in establishing themselves on all coasts of the Mediterranean, even in Spain.¹² At Malaga an inscription mentions a corporation formed by them. The Italian ports where business was especially active, Pozzuoli, Ostia, later Naples, attracted them in great numbers. But they did not confine themselves to the seashore; they penetrated far into the interior of the countries, wherever they hoped to find profitable trade. They followed the commercial highways and traveled up the big rivers. By way of the Danube they went as far as Pannonia, by way of the Rhone they reached Lyons. In Gaul they were especially numerous. In this new country that had just been opened to commerce fortunes could be made rapidly. A rescript discovered on the range of the Lebanon is addressed to sailors from Arles, who had charge of the transportation of grain, and in the department of Ain a bilingual epitaph has been found mentioning a merchant of the third century, Thaïm or Julian, son of Saad, decurion of the city of Canatha in Syria, who owned two factories in the Rhone basin, where he handled goods from Aquitania.¹³ Thus the Syrians spread over the entire province as far as Treves, where they had a strong colony. Not even the barbarian invasions of the fifth century stopped their immigration. Saint Jerome describes them traversing the entire Roman world amidst the troubles of the invasion, prompted by the lust of gain to defy all dangers. In the barbarian society the

¹² Kaibel, *Inscr. gr.*, XIV, 2540.

¹³ CIL, III, S., 14165^a.

part played by this civilized and city-bred element was even more considerable. Under the Merovingians in about 591 they had sufficient influence at Paris to have one of their number elected bishop and to gain possession of all ecclesiastic offices. Gregory of Tours tells how King Gontrand, on entering the city of Orleans in 585, was received by a crowd praising him "in the language of the Latins, the Jews and the Syrians."¹⁴ The merchant colonies existed until the Saracen corsairs destroyed the commerce of the Mediterranean.

Those establishments exercised a strong influence upon the economic and material life of the Latin provinces, especially in Gaul. As bankers the Syrians concentrated a large share of the money business in their hands and monopolized the importing of the valuable Levantine commodities as well as of the articles of luxury; they sold wines, spices, glassware, silks and purple fabrics, also objects wrought by goldsmiths, to be used as patterns by the native artisans. Their moral and religious influence was not less considerable: for instance, it has been shown that they furthered the development of monastic life during the Christian period, and that the devotion to the crucifix¹⁵ that grew up in opposition to the monophysites, was introduced into the Occident by them. During the first five centuries Christians felt an unconquerable repugnance to the representation of the Saviour of the world nailed to an instrument of punishment more infamous than the guillotine of to-day. The Syrians were the first to substitute reality in all its pathetic horror for a vague symbolism.

In pagan times the religious ascendancy of that immigrant population was no less remarkable. The merchants always took an interest in the affairs of heaven as well as in those of earth. At all times Syria was a land of ardent devotion, and in the first century its children were as fervid in propagating their barbarian gods in the Occident as after their conversion they were enthusiastic in spreading Christianity as far as Turkestan and China. As soon as the merchants had established their places of business in the islands of the Archipelago during the Alexandrian period, and in the Latin period under the empire, they founded chapels in which they practised their exotic rites.

It was easy for the divinities of the Phœnician coast to cross the seas. Among them were Adonis, whom the women of Byblus mourned; Balmarcodes, "the Lord of the dances," who came from

¹⁴ Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Fr.*, VIII, 1.

¹⁵ Bréhier, *Les origines du crucifix dans l'art religieux*, Paris, 1904.

Beirut; Marna, the master of rain, worshiped at Gaza; and Maiuma,¹⁶ whose nautical holiday was celebrated every spring on the coast near Ostia as well as in the Orient.

Besides these half Hellenized religions, others of a more purely Semitic nature came from the interior of the country, because the merchants frequently were natives of the cities of the *Hinterland*, as for instance, Apamea or Epiphanea in Coele-Syria, or even of villages in the flat country. As Rome incorporated the small kingdoms beyond the Lebanon and the Orontes that had preserved a precarious independence, the current of emigration increased. In 71 Commagene, which lies between the Taurus and the Euphrates, was annexed by Vespasian, a little later the dynasties of Chalcis and Emesa were also deprived of their power. Nero, it appears, took possession of Damascus; half a century later Trajan established the new province of Arabia in the south (106 A. D.), and the oasis of Palmyra, a great mercantile center, lost its autonomy at the same time. In this manner Rome extended her direct authority as far as the desert, over countries that were only superficially Hellenized, and where the native devotions had preserved all their savage fervor. From that time constant communication was established between Italy and those regions which had heretofore been almost inaccessible. As roads were built commerce developed, and together with the interests of trade the needs of administration created an incessant exchange of men, of products and of beliefs between those out-of-the-way countries and the Latin provinces.

These annexations, therefore, were followed by a renewed influx of Syrian divinities into the Occident. At Pozzuoli, the last port of call of the Levantine vessels, there was a temple to the Baal of Damascus (*Jupiter Damascenus*) in which leading citizens officiated, and there were altars on which two golden camels¹⁷ were offered to Dusares, a divinity who had come from the interior of Arabia. They kept company with a divinity of more ancient repute, the Hadad of Baabek-Heliopolis (*Jupiter Heliopolitanus*), whose immense temple, considered one of the world's wonders¹⁸ had been restored by Antoninus Pius, and may still be seen facing Lebanon in majestic elegance. Heliopolis and Beirut had been the most ancient colonies founded by Augustus in Syria. The god of Heliopolis participated in the privileged position granted to the inhabitants of

¹⁶ Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'archéol. or.*, IV, p. 339.

¹⁷ Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* "Damascenus, Dusares."

¹⁸ Malalas, XI, p. 280, 12 (Bonn).

those two cities, who worshiped him in a common devotion,¹⁹ and he was naturalized as a Roman with greater ease than the others.

The conquest of all Syria as far as Euphrates and the subjection of even a part of Mesopotamia aided the diffusion of the Semitic religions in still another manner. From these regions, that were partly inhabited by fighting races, the Cæsars drew recruits for the imperial army. They levied a great number of legionaries, but especially auxiliary troops, who were transferred to the frontiers. Troopers and foot-soldiers from those provinces furnished important contingents to the garrisons of Europe and Africa. For instance, a cohort of one thousand archers from Emesa was established in Pannonia, another of archers from Damascus in upper Germany; Mauretania received irregulars from Palmyra, and bodies of troops levied in Ituraea, on the outskirts of the Arabian desert, were encamped in Dacia, Germany, Egypt and Cappadocia at the same time. Commagene alone furnished no less than six cohorts of five hundred men each that were sent to the Danube and into Numidia.²⁰

The number of inscriptions consecrated by soldiers proves both the ardor of their faith and the diversity of their beliefs. Like the sailors of to-day who are transferred to strange climes and exposed to incessant danger, they were constantly inclined to invoke the protection of heaven, and remained attached to the gods who seemed to remind them in their exile of the distant home country. Therefore it is not surprising that the Syrians who served in the army should have practised the religion of their Baals in the neighborhood of their camps. In the north of England, near the wall of Hadrian, an inscription in verse in honor of the goddess of Hierapolis has been found; its author was a prefect, probably of a cohort of Hamites stationed at that distant post.²¹

Not all the soldiers, however, went to swell the ranks of believers worshiping divinities that had long been adopted by the Latin world, as did that officer. They also brought along new ones that had come from a still greater distance than their predecessors, in fact from the outskirts of the barbarian world, because from those regions in particular trained men could be obtained. There were, for instance, *Baltis*, an "Our Lady" from Osroene beyond the Euphrates;²² *Aziz*, the "strong god" of Edessa, who was identified with

¹⁹ CIL, X, 1634.

²⁰ Cichorius in *Pauly-Wissowa*, s. v. "Ala" and "Cohors."

²¹ CIL, VII, 759.

²² *Baltis* in *Pauly-Wissowa, Realenc.*, s. v.

the star Lucifer;²³ *Malakbel*, the "Lord's messenger," patron of the soldiers from Palmyra, who appeared with several companions at Rome, in Numidia and in Dacia.²⁴ The most celebrated of those gods then was the Jupiter of Doliche, a small city of Commagene, that owed its fame to him. Because of the troops coming from that region, this obscure Baal, whose name is mentioned by no author, found worshipers in every Roman province as far as Africa, Germany and Brittany. The number of known inscriptions consecrated to him exceeds a hundred, and it is still growing. Being originally nothing but a god of lightning, represented as brandishing an ax, this local genius of the tempest was elevated to the rank of tutelary divinity of the imperial armies.²⁵

The diffusion of the Semitic religions in Italy that commenced imperceptibly under the republic became more marked after the first century of our era. Their expansion and multiplication were rapid, and they attained the apogee of their power during the third century. Their influence became almost predominant when the accession of the Severi lent them the support of a court that was half Syrian. Functionaries of all kinds, senators and officers, vied with each other in devotion to the patron gods of their sovereigns, gods which the sovereigns patronized in turn. Intelligent and ambitious princesses like Julia Domna, Julia Maesa, Julia Mamaea, whose ascendancy was very considerable, became propagators of their national religion. We all know the audacious pronouncement of the year 218 that placed upon the throne the fourteen year-old emperor Heliogabalus, a worshiper of the Baal of Emesa. His intention was to give supremacy over all other gods to his barbarian divinity, who had heretofore been almost unknown. The ancient authors narrate with indignation, how this crowned priest attempted to elevate his black stone, the coarse idol brought from Emesa, to the rank of supreme divinity of the empire by subordinating the whole ancient pantheon to it; they never tire of giving revolting details about the dissoluteness of the debaucheries, for which the festivities of the new *Sol invictus Elagabal* furnished a pretext.²⁶ However, the question arises whether the Roman historians, being very hostile to that foreigner who haughtily favored the customs of his own country, did not misrepresent or partly misunderstand the facts. Heliogabalus's attempt to have his god recognized as supreme, and to establish a

²³ *Pauly-Wissowa, Realenc.*, s. v. "Aziz."

²⁴ Dussaud, *Notes*, 24 f.

²⁵ Kan, *De Jovis Dolicheno cultu*, Groningen, 1901.

²⁶ Réville, *Religions sous les Sévères*, pp. 237 f.

kind of monotheism in heaven as there was monarchy on earth, was undoubtedly too violent, awkward and premature, but it was in keeping with the aspirations of the time, and it must be remembered that the imperial policy could find the support of powerful Syrian colonies not only at Rome but all over the empire.

Half a century later Aurelian²⁷ was inspired by the same idea when he created a new worship, that of the "Invincible Sun." Worshiped in a splendid temple, by pontiffs equal in rank to those of ancient Rome, having magnificent plays held in his honor every fourth year, *Sol invictus* was also elevated to the supreme rank in the divine hierarchy, and became the special protector of the emperors and the empire. The country where Aurelian found the pattern he sought to reproduce, was again Syria. Into the new sanctuary he transferred the images of Bel and Helios, taken from Palmyra, after it had fallen before his arms.

* * *

The sovereigns, then, twice attempted to replace the Capitoline Jupiter by a Semitic god and to make a Semitic religion the principal and official religion of the Romans. They proclaimed the fall of the old Latin idolatry and the accession of a new paganism taken from Syria. What was the superiority attributed to the creeds of that country? Why did even an Illyrian general like Aurelian look for the most perfect type of pagan religion in that country? That is the problem to be solved, but it must remain unsolved unless an exact account is given of the fate of the Syrian beliefs under the empire.

That question has not as yet been very completely elucidated. Besides the superficial opusculum of Lucian on the *dea Syria*, we find scarcely any reliable information in the Greek or Latin writers. The work by Philo of Byblus is a euhemeristic interpretation of an alleged Phœnician cosmogony, and a composition of little merit. Neither have we the original texts of the Semitic liturgies, as we have for Egypt. Whatever we have learned we owe especially to the inscriptions, and while these furnish highly valuable indications as to the date and the area of expansion of these religions, they tell us hardly anything about their doctrines. Light on this subject may be expected from the excavations that are being made in the great sanctuaries of Syria, and also from a more exact interpretation of the sculptured monuments that we now possess in great numbers, especially those of Jupiter Dolichenus.

Some characteristics of the Semitic paganism, however, are

²⁷ Zosimus, I, 61.

known at present, and it must be admitted that it would appear at a disadvantage if judged by the features that first attract our attention.

It had retained a stock of very primitive ideas and some aboriginal nature worship that had lasted through many centuries and was to persist, in part, under Christianity and Islam until the present day.²⁸ Such were the worship of high elevations on which a rustic enclosure sometimes marked the limits of the consecrated territory; the worship of the waters that flow to the sea, the streams that arise in the mountains, the springs that gush out of the soil, the ponds, the lakes and the wells, into all of which offerings were thrown with the idea either of venerating in them the thirst-quenching liquid or else the fecund nature of the earth; the worship of the trees that shaded the altars and that nobody dared to fell or mutilate; the worship of stones, especially of the rough stones called bethels



COIN OF EMESA



COINS OF PAPHOS



Showing conical representations of the deity.

that were regarded, as their name (*beth-El*) indicates, as the residence of the god, or rather, as the matter in which the god was embodied.²⁹ Aphrodite Astarte was worshiped in the shape of a conical stone at Paphos, and a black aerolite covered with projections and depressions to which a symbolic meaning was attributed represented Elagabal, and was transferred from Emesa to Rome, as we have said.

The animals, as well as inanimate things, received their share of homage. Remnants of the old Semitic zoolatry perpetuated themselves until the end of paganism and even later. Frequently the gods were represented standing erect on animals. Thus the Dolichean Baal stood on a steer, and his spouse on a lion. Around certain temples there were sacred parks, in which savage beasts roamed

²⁸ Janssen, *Coutumes des Arabes du pays de Moab*, Paris, 1908, pp. 297 f.

²⁹ Titus of Bostra, II, 60, pp. 60, 25, ed. de Lagarde.

at liberty,³⁰ a reminder of the time when they were considered divine. Two animals especially were the objects of universal veneration, the pigeon and the fish. Vagrant multitudes of pigeons received the traveler landing at Ascalon,³¹ and they played about the enclosures of all the temples of Astarte³² in flocks resembling white whirlwinds. The pigeon belonged, properly speaking, to the goddess of love, whose symbol it has remained above all to the people worshipping that goddess.

"Quid referam ut volitet crebras intacta per urbes
Alba Palaestino sancta columba Syro?"³³



GODDESS ON A LIONESS
From a rock-carving at Boghaz-Koi.



COIN OF TARSUS
Showing goddess on an animal, the conical stone and dove.



BETHEL ON COIN OF TARSUS

The fish was sacred to Atargatis, who undoubtedly had been represented in that shape at first, as Dagon always was.³⁴ The fish were kept in ponds in the proximity of the temples.³⁵ A superstitious fear prevented people from touching them, because the goddess punished the sacrilegious by covering their bodies with ulcers and tumors.³⁶ At certain mystic repasts, however, the priests and initiates consumed the forbidden food in the belief that they were ab-

³⁰ Lucian, *De dea Syria*, c. 41.

³¹ Philo Alex., *De provid.*, II, c. 107 (II, 646 M).

³² Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.*, s. v. "Dea Syria," col. 2242.

³³ Tibullus, I, 7, 17.

³⁴ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV, 46; V, 331.

³⁵ Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.*, col. 2241.

³⁶ Selden, *De dis Syris*, II, c. 3, pp. 268 f., ed. 1672.

sorbing the flesh of the divinity herself. That worship and its practices, which were spread over Syria, probably suggested the ichthys symbolism in the Christian period.³⁷

However, over this lower and primordial stratum that still cropped out here and there, other less rudimentary beliefs had formed. Besides inanimate objects and animals, the Syrian pagan-



ASTARTE AND THE DOVE



ASTARTE'S DOVE (DETAIL)

ism worshiped personal divinities especially. The character of the gods that were originally adored by the Semitic tribes has been ingeniously reconstructed.³⁸ Each tribe had its Baal and Baalat who protected it and whom only its members were permitted to worship. The name of *Ba'al*, "master," summarizes the conception people had

³⁷ Usener, *Sintheutsagen*, 1899, pp. 223 f.

³⁸ Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, pp. 292 f.

of him. In the first place he was regarded as the sovereign of his votaries, and his position in regard to them was that of an Oriental potentate towards his subjects; they were his servants, or rather his slaves.³⁹ The Baal was at the same time the "master" or proprietor of the country in which he resided and which he made fertile by causing springs to gush from its soil. Or his domain was the firmament and he was the *dominus caeli*, whence he made the waters fall to the roar of tempests. He was always united with a celestial or earthly "queen" and, in the third place, he was the "lord" or husband of the "lady" associated with him. The one represented the male, the other the female principle; they were the authors of all fecundity, and as a consequence the worship of the divine couple often assumed a sensual and voluptuous character.

As a matter of fact, immorality was nowhere so flagrant as in the temples of Astarte, whose female servants honored the goddess with untiring ardor. In no country was sacred prostitution so developed as in Syria, and in the Occident it was to be found practically only where the Phœnicians had imported it, as on Mount Eryx. Those aberrations, that were kept up until the end of paganism,⁴⁰ probably have their explanation in the primitive constitution of the Semitic tribe, and the religious custom must have been originally one of the forms of exogamy, which compelled the woman to unite herself first with a stranger.⁴¹

As a second blemish, the Semitic religions practised human immolations longer than any other religion, sacrificing children and grown men in order to please sanguinary gods. In spite of Hadrian's prohibition of those murderous offerings,⁴² they were maintained in certain clandestine rites and in the lowest practices of magic, up to the fall of the idols, and even later. They corresponded to the ideas of a period during which the life of a captive or slave had no greater value than that of an animal.

These sacred practices and many others, on which Lucian complacently enlarges in his opusculum on the goddess of Hierapolis, daily revived the habits of a barbarous past in the temples of Syria. Of all the conceptions that had successively dominated the country, none had completely disappeared. As in Egypt, beliefs of very different date and origin coexisted, without any attempt to make them agree, or without success when the task was undertaken. In

³⁹ Fossey, *Bull. corr. hell.*, 1907, p. 60.

⁴⁰ Cf. Eusebius, *Vita Constant.*, III, 55.

⁴¹ Strabo, XII, 3, 36.

⁴² Porphyry, *De abst.*, II, 56.

these beliefs zoolatry, litholatry and all the other nature worships outlived the savagery that had created them. More than anywhere else the gods had remained the chieftains of clans⁴³ because the tribal organizations of Syria were longer lived and more developed than those of any other region. Under the empire many districts were still subjected to the tribal regime and commanded by "ethnarchs" or "phylarchs."⁴⁴ Religion, which sacrificed the lives of the men and the honor of the women to the divinity, had in many regards remained on the moral level of unsocial and sanguinary tribes. Its obscene and atrocious rites called forth exasperated indignation on the part of the Roman conscience when Heliogabalus attempted to introduce them into Italy with his Baal of Emesa.

* * *

How, then, can one explain the fact that in spite of all, the Syrian gods imposed themselves upon the Occident and made even the Cæsars accept them? The reason is that the Semitic paganism can no more be judged by certain revolting practices, that perpetuated in the heart of civilization the barbarity and puerilities of an uncultivated society, than the religion of the Nile can be so judged. As in the case of Egypt we must distinguish between the sacerdotal religion and the infinitely varied popular religion that was embodied in local customs. Syria possessed a number of great sanctuaries in which an educated clergy meditated and expatiated upon the nature of the divine beings and on the meaning of traditions inherited from remote ancestors. As their own interests demanded, that clergy constantly amended the sacred traditions and modified their spirit when the letter was immutable in order to make them agree with the new aspirations of a more advanced period. They had their mysteries and their initiates to whom they revealed a wisdom that was above the vulgar beliefs of the masses.⁴⁵

Frequently we can draw diametrically opposite conclusions from the same principle. In that manner the old idea of *tabu*, that seems to have transformed the temples of Astarte into houses of debauchery, also became the source of a severe code of morals. The Semitic tribes were haunted with the fear of the *tabu*. A multitude of things were either impure or sacred because, in the original confusion, those two notions had not been clearly differentiated. Man's ability to use the products of nature to satisfy his needs, was thus limited

⁴³ This was the case even where cities had arisen.

⁴⁴ Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, I, pp. 405; 409.

⁴⁵ Hippolytus, *Adv. hæres.*, V, 11, § 7.

by a number of prohibitions, restrictions and conditions. He who touched a forbidden object was soiled and corrupted, his fellows did not associate with him and he could no longer participate in the sacrifices. In order to wipe out the blemish, he had recourse to ablutions and other ceremonies known to the priests. Purity, that had originally been considered simply physical, soon became ritualistic and finally spiritual. Life was surrounded by a network of circumstances subject to certain conditions, every violation of which meant a fall and demanded penance. The anxiety to remain constantly in a state of holiness or regain that state when it had been lost, filled one's entire existence. It was not peculiar to the Semitic tribes, but they ascribed a prime importance to it.⁴⁶ And the gods, who necessarily possessed this quality in an eminent degree, were holy beings (*ἅγιοι*)⁴⁷ *par excellence*.

In this way principles of conduct and dogmas of faith have frequently been derived from instinctive and absurd old beliefs. All theological doctrines that were accepted in Syria modified the prevailing ancient conception of the Baals. But in our present state of knowledge it is very difficult indeed to determine the shares that the various influences contributed, from the conquests of Alexander to the Roman domination, to make the Syrian paganism what it became under the Cæsars. The civilization of the Seleucid empire is little known, and we cannot determine what caused the alliance of Greek thought with the Semitic traditions.⁴⁸ The religions of the neighboring nations also had an undeniable influence. Phœnicia and Lebanon remained moral tributaries of Egypt long after they had liberated themselves from the suzerainty of the Pharaohs. The theogony of Philo of Biblus took gods and myths from that country, and at Heliopolis Hadad was honored "according to Egyptian rather than Syrian rite."⁴⁹ The rigorous monotheism of the Jews, who were dispersed over the entire country, must also have acted as an active ferment of transformation.⁵⁰ But it was Babylon that retained the intellectual supremacy, even after its political ruin. The powerful sacerdotal caste ruling it did not fall with the independence of the country, and it survived the conquests of Alexander as it had previously lived through the Persian domination. The researches of Assyriologists have shown that its ancient worship persisted

⁴⁶ Robertson Smith, *loc. cit.*, pp. 446 f.

⁴⁷ Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'archéologie orientale*, II, 1896, p. 104.

⁴⁸ Cf. Dussaud, *Notes*, pp. 89 f.

⁴⁹ Macrobius, I, 23, § 11.

⁵⁰ Enting, *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.*, 1885, p. 669.

under the Seleucides, and at the time of Strabo the "Chaldeans" still discussed cosmology and first principles in the rival schools of Borsippa and Orchoë.⁵¹ The ascendancy of that erudite clergy affected all surrounding regions; it was felt by Persia in the east, Cappadocia in the north, but more than anywhere else by the Syrians, who were connected with the Oriental Semites by bonds of language and blood. Even after the Parthians had wrested the valley of the Euphrates from the Seleucides, relations with the great temples of that region remained uninterrupted. The plains of Mesopotamia, inhabited by races of like origin, extended on both sides of an artificial borderline; great commercial roads followed the course of the two rivers flowing into the Persian Gulf or cut across the desert. and the pilgrims came to Babylon, as Lucian tells us, to perform their devotions to the Lady of Bambyce.⁵²

Ever since the Captivity, constant spiritual relations had existed between Judaism and the great religious metropolis. At the birth of Christianity they manifested themselves in the rise of gnostic sects in which the Semitic mythology formed strange combinations with Jewish and Greek ideas and furnished the foundation for extravagant superstructures.⁵³ Finally, during the decline of the empire, it was Babylon again from which emanated Manicheism, the last form of idolatry received in the Latin world. We can imagine how powerful the religious influence of that country on the Syrian paganism must have been.

That influence manifested itself in various ways. First, it introduced new gods. In this way Bel passed from the Babylonian pantheon into that of Palmyra and was honored throughout northern Syria.⁵⁴ It also caused ancient divinities to be arranged in new groups. To the primitive couple of the Baal and the Baalat a third member was added in order to form one of those triads dear to Chaldean theology. This took place at Hierapolis as well as at Heliopolis, and the three gods of the latter city, Hadad, Atargatis and Simios, became Jupiter, Venus and Mercury in Latin inscriptions.⁵⁵ Finally, and most important, astrolatry wrought radical changes in the characters of the celestial powers, and, as a further consequence, in the entire Roman paganism. In the first place it gave them a second personality in addition to their own nature.

⁵¹ Strabo, XVI, 1, 6.

⁵² Lucian, *De dea Syria*, c. 10.

⁵³ Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, I, pp. 233 f.

⁵⁴ *Comptes Rendus Acad. Inscr.*, 1907, pp. 447 f.

⁵⁵ Dussaud, *Notes*, p. 24.

The sidereal myths superimposed themselves upon the agrarian myths, and gradually obliterated them. Astrology, born on the banks of the Euphrates, imposed itself in Egypt upon the haughty and unapproachable clergy of the most conservative of all nations.⁵⁶ Syria received it without reserve and surrendered unconditionally;⁵⁷ numismatics and archeology as well as literature prove this. King Antiochus of Commagene, for instance, who died 34 B. C., built himself a monumental tomb on a spur of the Taurus, in which he placed his horoscope, designed on a large bas-relief, beside the images of his ancestral divinities.⁵⁸

The importance which the introduction of the Syrian religions into the Occident has for us consists therefore in the fact that indirectly they brought certain theological doctrines of the Chaldeans with them, just as Isis and Serapis carried beliefs of old Egypt from Alexandria to the Occident. The Roman empire received successively the religious tribute of the two great nations that had formerly ruled the Oriental world. It is characteristic that the god Bel whom Aurelian brought from Asia to set up as the protector of his states, was in reality a Babylonian who had emigrated to Palmyra,⁵⁹ a cosmopolitan center apparently predestined by virtue of its location to become the intermediary between the civilizations of the Euphrates and the Mediterranean.

The influence exercised by the speculations of the Chaldeans upon Greco-Roman thought can be asserted positively, but cannot as yet be strictly defined. It was at once philosophic and religious, literary and popular. The entire neo-Platonist school used the names of those venerable masters, but it cannot be determined how much it really owes to them. A selection of poems that has often been quoted since the third century, under the title of "Chaldaic Oracles" (*Λόγια Χαλδαϊκά*) combines the ancient Hellenic theories with a fantastic mysticism that was certainly imported from the Orient. It is to Babylonia what the literature of Hermes Trismegistus is to Egypt, and it is equally difficult to determine the nature of the ingredients that the author put into his sacred compositions. But at an earlier date the Syrian religions had spread far and wide in the Occident ideas conceived on the distant banks of the Euphrates. I shall try to indicate briefly what their share in the pagan syncretism was.

⁵⁶ Boll, *Sphacra*, p. 372.

⁵⁷ Diodorus, II, 31, 2.

⁵⁸ Cumont, *Mon. myst. Mithra*, I, p. 188, fig. 8.

⁵⁹ Sobernheim, "Palmyrenische Inschriften," *Mitt. der vorderasiat. Gesellschaft*, X, 1905, pp. 319 f.

We have seen that the gods from Alexandria gained souls especially by the promise of blessed immortality. Those from Syria must also have satisfied doubts tormenting all the minds of that time. As a matter of fact the old Semitic ideas on man's fate in after-life were little comforting. We know how sad, dull and hopeless their conception of life after death was. The dead descended into a subterranean realm where they led a miserable existence, a weak reflection of the one they had lost; since they were subject to wants and suffering, they had to be supported by funeral offerings placed on their sepulchers by their descendants. Those ancient beliefs and customs were found also in primitive Greece and Italy.

This rudimentary eschatology, however, gave way to quite a different conception, one that was closely related to the Chaldean astrology, and which spread over the Occident towards the end of the republic. According to this doctrine the soul returned to heaven after death, to live there among the divine stars. While it remained on earth it was subject to all the bitter necessities of a destiny determined by the revolutions of the stars; but when it ascended into the upper regions, it escaped that fate and even the limits of time; it shared equally in the immortality of the sidereal gods that surrounded it.⁶⁰ In the opinion of some, the soul was attracted by the rays of the sun, and after passing through the moon, where it was purified, it lost itself in the shining star of day.⁶¹ Another more purely astrological theory, that was undoubtedly a development of the former, taught that the soul descended to earth from the heights of heaven by passing through the spheres of the seven planets. During its passage it acquired the dispositions and qualities proper to each planet. After death it returned to its original abode by the same route. To get from one sphere to another, it had to pass a door guarded by a commandant (*ἄρχων*).⁶² Only the souls of initiates knew the password that made those incorruptible guardians yield, and under the conduct of a psychopompus⁶³ they ascended safely from zone to zone. As the soul rose it divested itself of the passions and qualities it had acquired on its descent to the earth as though they were garments, and, free from sensuality, it penetrated into the eighth heaven to enjoy everlasting happiness as a subtle essence.

⁶⁰ See below.

⁶¹ Cf. Wendland, *Philos Schrift über die Vorschung*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 68, n. 1; 70, n. 2.

⁶² A belief still held by present-day Nosairis in Syria.

⁶³ A divinity believed to conduct souls to their proper abodes.

Perhaps this doctrine, undoubtedly of Babylonian origin, was not generally accepted by the Syrian religions, as it was by the mysteries of Mithra, but these religions, impregnated with astrology, certainly propagated the belief that the souls of those worshipers that had led pious lives were elevated to the heights of heaven, where an apotheosis made them the equals of the luminous gods.⁶⁴ Under the empire this doctrine slowly supplanted all others; the Elysian fields, which the votaries of Isis and Serapis still located in the depths of the earth, were transferred into the ether bathing the fixed stars,⁶⁵ and the underworld was thereafter reserved for the wicked who had not been allowed to pass through the celestial gates.

The sublime regions occupied by the purified souls were also the abode of the supreme god.⁶⁶ When it transformed the ideas on the destiny of man, astrology also modified those relating to the nature of the divinity. In this matter the Syrian religions were especially original; for even if the Alexandrian mysteries offered man just as comforting prospects of immortality as the eschatology of their rivals, they were backward in building up a commensurate theology. To the Semitic races belongs the honor of having reformed the ancient fetichism most thoroughly. Their base and narrow conceptions of early times to which we can trace their existence, broaden and rise until they form a kind of monotheism.

As we have seen, the Syrian tribes worshiped a god of lightning,⁶⁷ like all primitive races. That god opened the reservoirs of the firmament to let the rain fall and split the giant trees of the woods with the double ax that always remained his emblem.⁶⁸ When the progress of astronomy removed the constellations to incommensurable distances, the "Baal of the Heavens" (*Ba'al šamîn*) had to grow in majesty. Undoubtedly at the time of the Achæmenides, he was connected with the Ahura-Mazda of the Persians, the ancient god of the vault of heaven, who had become the highest physical and moral power, and this connection helped to transform the old genius of thunder.⁶⁹ People continued to worship the material heaven in him; under the Romans he was still simply called *Cælus*, as well as "Celestial Jupiter" (*Jupiter Cælestis*, Ζεὺς Οὐρά-

⁶⁴ Anz, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnosticismus*, 1897.

⁶⁵ Macrobius, *Comm. somm. Scip.*, I, II, § 8.

⁶⁶ Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 31.

⁶⁷ Originally he was the god of thunder.

⁶⁸ Cf. Usener, *loc. cit.*, p. 20.

⁶⁹ Pognon, *Inscr. sémit.*, 1907, pp. 165 f.

νός),⁷⁰ but it was a heaven studied by a sacred science that venerated its harmonious mechanism. The Seleucides represented him on their coins with a crescent over his forehead and carrying a sun with seven rays, to symbolize the fact that he presided over the course of the stars;⁷¹ or else he was shown with the two Dioscuri at his side, heroes who enjoyed life and suffered death in turn, according to the Greek myth, and who had become the symbols of the two celestial hemispheres. Religious uranography placed the residence of the supreme divinity in the most elevated region of the world, fixing its abode in the zone most distant from the earth, above the planets and the fixed stars. This fact was intended to be expressed by the term Most-High ("Υψιστος) applied to the Syrian Baals as well as to Jehovah.⁷² According to this cosmic religion, the Most High resided in the immense orb that contained the spheres of all the stars and embraced the entire universe which was subject to his domination. The Latins translated the name of this "Hypsistos" by *Jupiter summus exsuperantissimus*⁷³ to indicate his pre-eminence over all divine beings.

As a matter of fact, his power was infinite. The primary postulate of the Chaldean astrology was that all phenomena and events of this world were necessarily determined by sidereal influence. The changes of nature, as well as the dispositions of men, were controlled according to fate, by the divine energies that resided in the heavens. In other words, the gods were almighty; they were the masters of destiny that governed the universe absolutely. The notion of their omnipotence resulted from the development of the ancient autocracy with which the Baals were credited. As we have stated, they were conceived after the image of an Asiatic monarch, and the religious terminology was evidently intended to display the humility of their priests toward them. In Syria we find nothing analogous to what existed in Egypt, where the priest thought he could compel the gods to act, and even dared to threaten them.⁷⁴ The distance separating the human and the divine always was much greater with the Semitic tribes, and all that astrology did was to emphasize the distance more strongly by giving it a doctrinal foundation and a scientific appearance. In the Latin world the Asiatic religions propa-

⁷⁰ Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 103.

⁷¹ Babelon, *Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie*, 1890, pp. clix; 178 f.

⁷² According to the Alexandrian Judaism these were all qualities of Jehovah.

⁷³ "Jupiter summus exsuperantissimus," *Archiv f. Religionsw.*, IX, 1906, pp. 326 f.

⁷⁴ Ps.-Iamblichus, *De mysteriis*, VI, 7.

gated the conception of the absolute and illimitable sovereignty of God over the earth. Apuleius calls the Syrian goddess *omnipotens et omniparens*, "mistress and mother of all things."⁷⁵

The observation of the starry skies, moreover, had led the Chaldeans to the notion of a divine eternity. The constancy of the sidereal revolutions inspired the conclusion as to their perpetuity. The stars follow their ever uncompleted courses unceasingly; as soon as the end of their journey is reached, they resume without stopping the road already covered, and the cycles of years in which their movements take place, extend from the indefinite past into the indefinite future.⁷⁶ Thus a clergy of astronomers necessarily conceived Baal, "Lord of the heavens," as the "Master of eternity" or "He whose name is praised through all eternity"⁷⁷—titles which constantly recur in Semitic inscriptions. The divine stars did not die, like Osiris or Attis; whenever they seemed to weaken, they were born to a new life and always remained invincible (*invicti*).

Together with the mysteries of the Syrian Baals, this theological notion penetrated into Occidental paganism.⁷⁸ Whenever an inscription to a *deus aeternus* is found in the Latin provinces it refers to a Syrian sidereal god, and it is a remarkable fact that this epithet did not enter the ritual before the second century, at the time the worship of the god Heaven (*Caelus*)⁷⁹ was propagated. That the philosophers had long before placed the first cause beyond the limits of time was of no consequence, for their theories had not penetrated into the popular consciousness nor modified the traditional formulæ of the liturgies. To the people the divinities were beings more beautiful, more vigorous, and more powerful than man, but born like him, and exempt only from old age and death, the immortals of old Homer. The Syrian priests diffused the idea of a god without beginning and without end through the Roman world, and thus contributed, along lines parallel with the Jewish proselytism, to lend the authority of dogma to what had previously been only a metaphysical theory.

The Baals were universal as well as eternal, and their power became limitless in regard to space as it had been in regard to time. These two principles were correlative. The title of "*mar 'olam*" which the Baals bore occasionally may be translated by "Lord of

⁷⁵ Apuleius, *Metam.*, VIII, 25.

⁷⁶ Diodorus, II, 30.

⁷⁷ De Vogüé, *Inscr. sémit.*, pp. 53 f.

⁷⁸ CIL, VI, 406 = 20758.

⁷⁹ *Rev. archéol.*, 1888, I, pp. 184 f.

the universe," or by "Lord of eternity," and efforts certainly have been made to claim the twofold quality for them.⁸⁰ Peopled with divine constellations and traversed by planets assimilated to the inhabitants of Olympus, the heavens determined the destinies of the entire human race by their movements, and the whole earth was subject to the changes produced by their revolutions.⁸¹ Consequently, the old *Ba'al šamīn* was necessarily transformed into a universal power. Of course, even under the Cæsars there existed in Syria traces of a period when the local god was the fetich of a clan and could be worshiped by the members of that clan only, a period when strangers were admitted to his altars only after a ceremony of initiation, as brothers, or at least as guests and clients.⁸² But from the period when our knowledge of the history of the great divinities of Heliopolis or Hierapolis begins, these divinities were regarded as common to all Syrians, and crowds of pilgrims came from distant countries to obtain grace in the holy cities. As protectors of the entire human race the Baals gained proselytes in the Occident, and their temples witnessed gatherings of devotees of every race and nationality. In this respect the Baals were distinctly different from Jehovah.

The essence of paganism implies that the nature of a divinity broadens as the number of its votaries increases. Everybody credits it with some new quality, and its character becomes more complex. As it gains in power it also has a tendency to dominate its companion gods and to concentrate their functions in itself. To escape this threatening absorption, these gods must be of a very sharply defined personality and of a very original character. The vague Semitic deities, however, were devoid of a well defined individuality. We fail to find among them a well organized society of immortals, like that of the Greek Olympus where each divinity had its own features and its own particular life full of adventures and experiences; and each followed its special calling to the exclusion of all the others. One was a physician, another a poet, a third a shepherd, hunter or blacksmith. The Greek inscriptions found in Syria are, in this regard, eloquently concise.⁸³ Usually they have the name of Zeus accompanied by some simple epithet: *κύριος* (Lord), *ἀνίκητος* (invincible), *μέγιστος* (greatest). All these Baals

⁸⁰ Cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, I, 258; II, 297.

⁸¹ CIL, III, 1090 = Dessau, *Inscr.*, 2998.

⁸² Robertson Smith, *loc. cit.*, pp. 75 f.

⁸³ Renan, *Apôtres*, p. 297.

seem to have been brothers. They were personalities of indeterminate outline and interchangeable powers and were readily confused.

At the time the Romans came into contact with Syria, it had already passed through a period of syncretism similar to the one we can study with greater precision in the Latin world. The ancient exclusiveness and the national particularism had been overcome. The Baals of the great sanctuaries had enriched themselves with the virtues⁸⁴ of their neighbors; then, always following the same process, they had taken certain features from foreign divinities brought over by the Greek conquerors. In that manner their characters had become indefinable, they performed incompatible functions and possessed irreconcilable attributes. An inscription found in Brittany⁸⁵ assimilates the Syrian goddess to Peace, Virtue, Ceres, Cybele, and even to the sign of the Virgin.

In conformity with the law governing the development of paganism, the Semitic gods tended to become pantheistic because they comprehended all nature and were identified with it. The various deities were nothing but different aspects under which the supreme and infinite being manifested itself. Although Syria remained deeply and even coarsely idolatrous in practice, in theory it approached monotheism or, better perhaps, henotheism. By an absurd but curious etymology the name Hadad has been explained as "one, one" (*'ad 'ad*).⁸⁶

Everywhere the narrow and divided polytheism showed a confused tendency to elevate itself into a superior synthesis, but in Syria astrology lent the firmness of intelligent conviction to notions that were vague elsewhere. The Chaldean cosmology, that deified all elements but ascribed a predominant influence to the stars, ruled the entire Syrian syncretism. It considered the world as a great organism kept intact by an intimate solidarity, and whose parts continually influenced each other.

The ancient Semites believed therefore that the divinity could be regarded as embodied in the waters, in the fire of the lightning, in stones or plants. But the most powerful gods were the constellations and the planets that governed the course of time and of all things.

The sun was supreme because it led the starry choir, because it was the king and guide of all the other luminaries and therefore the

⁸⁴ *Rev. de Philologie*, 1902, p. 9.

⁸⁵ CIL, VII, 759.

⁸⁶ Macrobius, *Sat.*, I, 23, § 17.

master of the whole world.⁸⁷ The astronomical doctrines of the "Chaldeans" taught that this incandescent globe alternately attracted and repelled the other sidereal bodies, and from this principle the Oriental theologians had concluded that it must determine the entire life of the universe, inasmuch as it regulated the movements of the heavens. As the "intelligent light" it was especially the creator of human reason, and just as it repelled and attracted the planets in turn, it was believed to send out souls, at the time of birth, into the bodies they animated and to cause them to return to its bosom after death by means of a series of emissions and absorptions.

Later on, when the seat of the Most-High was placed beyond the limits of the universe, the radiant star that gives us light became the visible image of the supreme power, the source of all life and all intelligence, the intermediary between an inaccessible god and mankind, and the one object of special homage from the multitude.⁸⁸

Solar pantheism, which grew up among the Syrians of the Hellenistic period, as a result of the influence of Chaldean astrology, imposed itself upon the whole Roman world under the empire. Our very rapid sketch of the constitution of that theological system shows incidentally the last form assumed by the pagan idea of god. In this matter Syria was Rome's teacher and predecessor. The last formula reached by the religion of the pagan Semites and in consequence by that of the Romans, was a divinity unique, almighty, eternal, universal and ineffable, that revealed itself throughout nature, but whose most splendid and most energetic manifestation was the sun. To arrive at the Christian monotheism⁸⁹ only one final tie had to be broken, that is to say, this supreme being residing in a distant heaven had to be removed beyond the world. So we see once more in this instance, how the propagation of the Oriental cults levelled the roads for Christianity and heralded its triumph. Although astrology was always fought by the Church, it had nevertheless prepared the minds for the dogmas the Church was to proclaim.

⁸⁷ Cicero, *Somnium Scip.*, c. 4.

⁸⁸ Cf. Cumont, "La théologie solaire du paganisme romain," in *Mémoires des savants étrangers*, XII, Pt. 2, pp. 447 f.

⁸⁹ Cf. Synesius, II, 10 f.; IV, 120 f.

THE CHAMBERS OF THE SOUTH—JOB, IX, 9.

BY THEODORE COOPER.

“Look unto the Heavens and see.”

WHEN Job, on a cold starry night, from his ash heap on the shores of a sea, cried

“Which alone stretcheth out the heavens
And treadeth upon the waves of the sea,
Which maketh the Bear, Orion and the Pleiades,
And the Chambers of the South,”

his hand swept over the sea and through well-known constellations, and rested at two dark spots in the south just above the horizon, where “He hath described a boundary upon the face of the waters”; true chambers of mystery, which sailors have named “the Holes in the Sky.”

This is the impression conveyed to the mind of one who for over half a century has been a star gazer on land and sea, under both northern and southern skies.

The most beautiful and impressive portion of the heavens is centered about the south celestial pole. It contains the continuation and brightest part of the Milky Way, the Magellan clouds which are great patches of the Milky Way gone astray, the Southern Cross, the Holes in the Sky and a quarter of all the stars of first magnitude in the heavens.

These “Holes in the Sky” and the adjacent Southern Cross are 25° to 30° from the celestial pole and on the same meridian as the handle of the Great Dipper. Under favorable conditions at points south of north latitude 25° , the Southern Cross and the Dipper can be seen in the heavens at the same time. These “Holes in the Sky” are great islands in the Milky Way absolutely free from stars. By contrast to the brightness of the surrounding Milky Way

and the neighboring stars of first and second magnitude, they appear to the naked eye almost black. Their darkness and sharply defined edges give the impression of holes broken through the blue and starry firmament to an outer region of utter darkness. The name given them by the early sailors is a perfectly expressive one. There is nothing like them elsewhere in the heavens. They are not inconspicuous, their apparent sizes being about 80 to 20 times the size of the moon. They impress the thoughtful observer with awe and a deep realization of the immensity of space and the infinite.

Sir John Herschel describes the large spot under the name of the "Coal Sack" (savors more of the era of steam than of sailing ships), as follows:

"In the midst of this bright mass [the Milky Way] surrounded



THE "HOLES IN THE SKY" ABOVE THE SOUTHERN HORIZON.

by it on all sides, and occupying about half its breadth, occurs a singular dark pear-shaped vacancy, so conspicuous and remarkable as to attract the notice of the most superficial gazer, and to have acquired among the early southern navigators the uncouth but expressive appellation of the Coal Sack....Its blackness is simply due to the effect of contrast with the brilliant ground with which it is on all sides surrounded."

They can only be seen in northern latitudes, where they must be close to the horizon, under favorable local, seasonal and atmospheric conditions. A free horizon or one unobstructed by natural objects, trees, hills or mountains, and an absence of mist, haze or the refraction of heated air currents would be needed. The few hours they would be above the horizon must also occur at night.

A sea horizon and a cold winter night would be favorable conditions. Job and his friends apparently had these conditions:

“Out of the Chamber of the South cometh the storm,
And cold out of the North.” R. V.

By this time, but one of the Holes in the Sky is visible; the other has perhaps passed below the horizon or been obscured by the approaching storm.

In the above quotation the word *mezarim*, which has been replaced (not translated) by the word “North,” Professor Schiaparelli, the Italian astronomer, translates as “the winnowing pans,” and suggests that since these pans were similar in shape to our dippers, the same groups of stars that we know as the Dippers and the Chinese as the Ladles,¹ may have been intended. The above quotation could then be paraphrased:

“Out of the Hole in the Sky cometh the storm
And cold out of the Dippers.”

In considering the probability of the Holes in the Sky being conspicuous objects on or above the horizon in the days of Job, the following general statement must be made:

1. The free horizon of any locality is a level plane tangent to the earth's surface and comprises a view of one-half of the celestial sphere. At any latitude, as N. 40° , we can see to the north, stars 40° below the north pole and to the south, stars 40° above the south pole (under favorable atmospheric conditions).

2. The direction of the earth's axis as referred to the fixed stars is a changeable one, varying about 47° in a cycle of about 20,000 years.

About 4000 years ago, the north and south celestial poles, or points about which the stars appeared to rotate, were some 22° from their present positions. Due to this “precession” of the earth's axis, stars and constellations in the southern heavens, which are not visible now were then visible in northern latitudes.

The Holes of the Sky, which are now 25 to 30° from the present south celestial pole, being partially above the horizon at N. Lat. 28° , and fully above at N. Lat. 24, would in ancient times have been

¹ The Chinese character *teu*, commonly translated “bushel,” sometimes “peck,” also “ladle,” looks like a cross with two dots in the upper left-hand corner, and with a somewhat slanting cross-beam. The lower part is intended to represent the handle of a grain measure. Possibly the two dots are meant to indicate the grain. It is an essential part of the meaning of “bushel” that it possesses a handle, for it was also used for winnowing. The Chinese *teu* holds ten pints.—Ed.

22 degrees higher above the horizon at the same latitudes; or could possibly be seen at latitudes 22° further north.

These holes, under favorable conditions, could have been seen as far north as

N. Lat. 35° in 500 B. C.

N. Lat. 38° in 1000 B. C.

N. Lat. 40° in 1500 B. C.

N. Lat. 47° in 2500 to 4000 B. C.

the last being about the extreme northern point at which they could ever have been seen. These estimates are for an unobstructed horizon at the sea level.

The sky line, generally called the horizon, is always higher, even in countries considered as level, than the sea-horizon. For inland regions which are hilly or mountainous, the sky line may be 10 or more degrees above the sea-horizon. A range of hills 500 feet high at a distance of one mile will cut off 6 degrees; and at a distance of half a mile, 12 degrees from the true horizon.

For an observer standing on the shore of any body of water to see that "boundary described upon the face of the waters," the distance across the water must be far enough to sink the hills or mountains on the opposite shore below the horizon. This would require 32 miles for hills 500 feet high, and for hills 1000 feet high 36 miles. The only seas connected with "Bible lands" of sufficient size, considering the characters of the shores, to permit a free horizon are the Mediterranean, Red Sea and Persian Gulf, all seas "closed with doors."

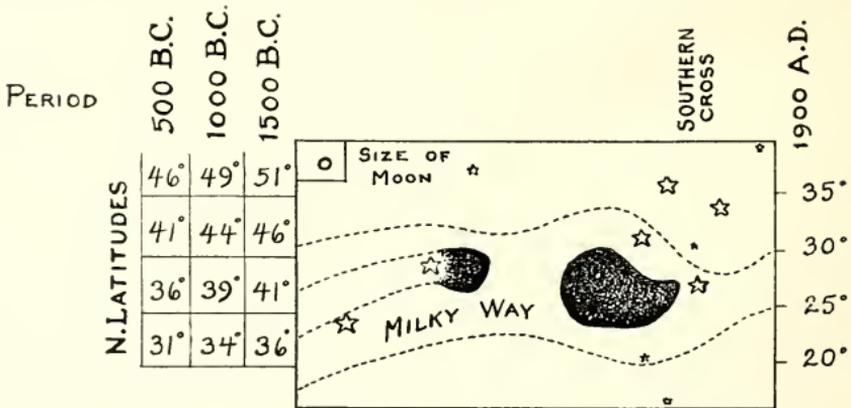
Considering the mountainous character of the countries of Greece and Asia Minor, it is doubtful if in ancient historic times the "Holes in the Sky" could be seen, except from the coast of Southern Greece and adjacent islands, from points on the Red Sea and Persian Gulf and from certain inland districts south of N. Lat. 30 to 33° .

The northern part of the Red Sea—Mount Sinai Peninsula or the Land of Midian, where one tradition says Moses, previous to the Exodus, found this poem, would be a suitable locality for its birth place. From here, Job and his friends by travel and intercourse with traders passing back and forth, could gather that intimate knowledge of the natural history of Egypt, Ethiopia and Arabia, which they either possessed or were endowed with by the author of the poem. They also could see from here, down the Red Sea, the Chambers of the South, just above the horizon on a cold starry night.

That Biblical commentators and astronomers have never found any reasonable explanation for the Chambers of the South and have overlooked what the writer thinks a natural and appropriate explanation, can only be due to the supposition that they never have seen these holes in the sky. Their impressive appearance is not shown on celestial charts.

The absence of any recognition of these mysterious spots in the mythology and literature of the Greeks, Egyptians and Israelites may be due to the same lack of knowledge.

Since commentators differ widely as to the location and period of this poem, the accompanying sketch of the region of the heavens about the Southern Cross and Holes in the Sky has been prepared to enable any reader to determine for himself the possibility of their



THE "HOLES IN THE SKY" AT THEIR HIGHEST ELEVATION.

being seen at any desired location and time. In the corner is placed the moon on the same visual scale. At the sides are scales giving the relative north latitude for several periods from the present to 1500 B. C.

The reader, by placing a card or paper horizontally across the sketch can see how these holes would appear at the sea level, for any date and latitude.

By putting a pin through the card vertically below the center of the sketch at the point of zero level on any selected scale and then rotating the sketch or card, the appearance of these spots, rising or setting, and the number of hours they will be above the horizon can be demonstrated.

TABI-UTUL-BEL, THE PIOUS SUFFERER.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Book of Job has always been of unusual interest to Bible readers. It is a philosophical poem which treats the problem of suffering. The introduction, apparently a later addition, depicts God as holding regular meetings of the angels through whom he governs the world. And here Satan the accuser also appears, railing at Job the pious man, and claiming that his faith would be found wanting if he ceased to enjoy prosperity. Satan is then permitted to bring misfortune upon Job. Goethe imitates this scene in his Prologue to Faust, and here also Mephistopheles receives permission to lead Faust astray.

In all his ordeals Job wavers but remains faithful to God, and at the end he is vindicated by having his health and former prosperity restored to him.

All critics, among them the most orthodox, agree that the poem is not a Hebrew composition. The Jews received it from Edom, and Job is described as an Edomite nobleman. The name Job (*Iyob*) is a foreign word of unknown meaning, and so are the names of his three friends who discuss his misfortunes. The general background of the poem is that of Edom, and the city of Uz is also presumably localized in the same country. We are safe then in assuming that whatever its original home may have been, the Jews received the poem from their neighbors on the southeast.

Since the spade has recovered so many historical treasures from the buried cities of Mesopotamia, a poem has been found in the library of Asurbanipal which bears a strong resemblance to the Biblical Book of Job. Part of it was first published in 1875¹ and was translated by Sayce in 1887. Pinches improved upon the work of Sayce and looked upon the hero as a prototype of the Messiah. In the meantime other Assyriologists worked at it successively and

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. IV, 1875.

translated various other fragments. For a long time these were considered as independent penitential psalms or lamentations. Finally Zimmern and Winckler have translated the most important portions of it in their new edition of Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 1903, pages 385-387.

Of late Mr. H. L. F. Gillespie, of Chicago, has called our attention to the fact that Prof. Morris Jastrow has published an English version of the complete poem in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXV, pages 157-176, under the title "A Babylonian Parallel to the Story of Job." In this article Professor Jastrow discusses the several historical and textual problems both of the book of Job, and the Lamentation of Tabi-utul-Bel, a pious king and the victim of great suffering. We here insert the Babylonian poem, mainly after Professor Jastrow's translation, though in some variations Zimmern is followed instead. The references at the right are to passages in Job which are interesting for comparison. They have been selected by Mr. Gillespie, and in some cases the parallel is very close.

I will praise the lord of wisdom,
 protection
 [The staff of thy divinity?] I seize hold of.
 [Mine eyes he closed, bolting them as with] a lock,
 [Mine ears he stopped] like those of a deaf person;
 A king—I have been changed into a slave. (xxx. 26)
 A madman—my companions became estranged from me.
 In the midst (?) of the assembly, they spurned me.... (xix. 19)
 At the mention (?) of my piety.... terror.
 By day—deep sighs, at night—weeping;
 The month—cries, the year—distress.
 I experience, O my mistress, mournful days, distressful months,
 years of misery. (vii. 3)

* * *

I had reached and passed the allotted time of life;
 Whithersoever I turned—evil upon evil. (xxx. 27 ff)
 Misery had increased, happiness had disappeared,
 I cried to my god, but he granted me not his countenance;
 I prayed to my goddess, but she did not raise her head. (xxiii. 8, 9)
 The seer-priest could not determine the future by an inspection,
 The sacrificial-priest did not by an offering justify my suit,
 The oracle-priest I appealed to, but he revealed nothing,

The exorciser-priest did not by his rites release me from the ban.

(xiii. 4; xvi. 2)

The like of this had never been seen;

Whithersoever I turned, trouble was in pursuit. (iii. 26)

As though I had not always set aside the portion for my god,

(xxix. 2-5)

And had not invoked my goddess at my meals,

Had not bowed down my face, and brought my tribute;

As one in whose mouth supplication and prayer were not constant,

Who had passed over the day of his god, had forgotten the new-
moon festival,

Had spurned them, neglected their images,

Not taught his people fear and reverence, (iv. 3)

Not invoked his god, but eaten of his food,

Neglected his goddess, not offering her drink,

As though one who had always honored his lord could forget him!

Like unto one who has lightly uttered the sacred name of his god—
thus I appeared.

Whereas I was always steadfast in supplication and prayer;

Prayer was my practice, sacrifice my law, (i. 5, last clause)

The day of worship of the gods was the joy of my heart,

The day of devotion to the goddess more to me than riches;

The prayer of a king,—that was my joy;

And hymns of praise—in them was my delight.

I taught my country to commemorate the name of God, (iv. 3)

To honor the name of the goddess I accustomed my people.

The fear of the king I made like unto that of God,

And in reverence for the palace I instructed the people.

For, indeed, I thought that such things were pleasing to God.

What, however, seems good in itself, to God is displeasing,

What in itself is held in contempt finds favor with God;

Who is there that can grasp the will of the gods in heaven?

The mysterious plan of God—who can fathom it? (xviii. 20)

How can mere mortals learn the way of God?

He who is alive at evening is dead the next morning; (iv. 20)

Suddenly he is cast into grief, in haste he is stricken down;

In one moment he is singing and playing,

In a twinkling he wails like a mourner.

As day and night the spirit [of mankind] changes;

Now they are hungry and are like a corpse,

Again they are filled, and feel equal to God;

If things go well, they prate of mounting to heaven,

If they are in distress, they speak of descending into Irkalla.
 An evil demon has taken hold of me (?); (i. 12)
 From yellowish, the sickness became white, (xxx. 30)
 It threw me to the ground and stretched me on my back,
 It bent my high stature like a poplar;
 Like a strong tree I was uprooted, like a lofty tree thrown down.
 (xviii. 16)
 As one whose food is putrid I grew old. (xxx. 27)
 The malady dragged on its course.
 Though without food, hunger diminished (?);
my blood [became sluggish (?)]
 With nourishment cut off (?).
 Though my armor was burnished, the bow [strung], (xxix. 29)
 Tied to the couch with the outlet closed, I was stretched out. (xii. 14b)
 My dwelling had become a prison;
 In the bonds of my flesh my members were powerless,
 In fetters of my own, my feet were entangled,
 My discomfiture was painful, the downfall severe.
 A strap of many twists held me fast,
 A sharply-pointed spear pierced me, (vi. 4a)
 My persecutor tracked me all the day,
 Nor in the night time did my pursuer let me draw a breath, (vii. 4)
 Through wrenching my joints were torn asunder (xvi. 9)
 My limbs were shattered and rendered helpless;
 In my stall I passed the night like an ox,
 I was saturated like a sheep in my excrements;
 My diseased joints the exorciser tore apart (?)
 And my omens the seer-priest set aside,
 The prophet-priest could not interpret the character of my disease,
 And the limit of my malady the seer-priest could not determine.
 (xiii. 4)
 No god came to my aid, taking me by the hand,
 No goddess had compassion for me, walking by my side.
 The grave was open, my burial prepared; (xvii. 1)
 Though I was not yet dead, the lamentation for me was over;
 The people of my land had already said "alas" over me.
 (vii. 6; ix. 25-26)
 My adversary heard it and his face shone; (xxx. 1-10)
 As the joyful tidings were announced to him, his heart rejoiced,
 Supposing that it was the day for my whole family,
 When among the shades, their deity would be honored (?)

The weight of his hand I was no longer able to endure. . . .
 (Tabi-utul-Bel dwelling in Nippur,
 He spake, "How long yet!" deeply sighing,
 The strong ruler, decked with the turban.)
 My sins he caused the wind to carry away,
 [Mine eyes which had been bolted he opened;]
 Mine ears had been closed and bolted as a deaf person's—
 He took away their deafness, he restored my hearing;
 The net (?) which had shut (me) in, he released from round about me,
 He healed, and my breast resounded like a flute,
 The fetters which enclosed (me) like a lock he unlocked.
 The one weakened by hunger he made strong like a powerful, well-
 knitted sprout.

He brought me food, he provided drink.
 The neck that had been bent downwards and worn
 He raised erect like a cedar;
 He made my form like one perfect in strength.
 Like one rescued from an evil spirit, my lips (?) cry out,
 He poured out their wealth, he embellished their property.
 My knees that were caught like a mountain bird,
 My entire body he restored; (xlii. 10)
 He wiped out the anger, he freed from his wrath (?),
 The depressed form he cheered up.
 (To the shores of Naru, the place of the judgment of humanity
 they crossed over,
 The forehead brand was removed, the slave mark taken away.)

* * *

He who sins against E-sagila, through me let him see,
 In the jaw of the lion about to conquer me Marduk placed a bit;
 Marduk seized the one ready to overwhelm me, and completely en-
 circled me with his bulwark. (xi. 13-17)

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE CORNPLANTER MEDAL AND WILLIAM P. LETCHWORTH.

BY FREDERICK STARR.

The Cornplanter Medal for Iroquois Research is to be awarded to four classes of workers,—historians, ethnologists, artists, philanthropists. The first award was made to a critical student of history, the second and third to an ethnologist and an archeologist; the fourth strike of the medal has been given this year to a philanthropist of world fame, whose long life has been devoted to benevolent and charitable work, and whose interest and sympathy have gone beyond the limits of race and the narrower ties of blood.



WILLIAM PRYOR LETCHWORTH.

William Pryor Letchworth was born at Brownsville, Jefferson County, New York, on May 26, 1823. He came of a family of Friends, some members of which achieved notable positions as preachers and writers in their faith. In his boyhood his parents removed to Auburn, where seven years of his life were spent. At the age of about twenty-two years he went to New York City to engage in commercial pursuits, but in 1848 removed to Buffalo where he devoted himself to the manufacture of hardware, saddlery and malleable iron. While there in business his health became somewhat impaired, and in 1859 he

bought a property at Portage for a country seat. This property, since famous as "Glen Iris," was located at the upper falls of the Genesee, one of the most lovely spots for scenery in the state of New York. At first merely a summer home, "Glen Iris" became more and more occupied by its owner until finally it was his permanent residence, even though his business remained at Buffalo. Mr. Letchworth possessed excellent business ability, which is shown not only by his building up a considerable fortune in his manufacturing enterprises, but also by the wisdom and success with which he has handled various important concerns entrusted to him. Thus in 1871 he was elected President of the Buffalo Fine Arts Association, an institution of worthy aims, but at that time in desperate financial straits. Under his management it was put upon its feet and brought to the flourishing condition which has made it an important influence in its community. In 1873 Mr. Letchworth retired from active business with the intention to devote the remainder of his life to philanthropy.

In that year he was appointed a member of the New York State Board of Charities. It is not too much to say that it is chiefly due to his membership that that Board has an enviable and commanding position among such organizations in the United States. His arduous and unresting services were given without remuneration, and even in his official travel he was ever accustomed to pay his own expenses. In 1878 he was elected President of the Board, which office he held for ten years. After a continuous connection with the Board for a period of twenty-four years he finally insisted upon retirement on account of his increasing age. At the end of twenty years' service on the Board, the University of the State of New York bestowed the degree of LL. D. upon Mr. Letchworth "in recognition of his distinguished services to the State of New York as a member and President of the State Board of Charities, and as an author of most valuable contributions to the literature pertaining to the defective classes." Upon his resignation from the Board his fellow members passed extraordinary resolutions expressive of their appreciation of the man and his work. While Mr. Letchworth's work in philanthropy was general, his special interests were the problems of juvenile unfortunates and the insane. In his investigations of actual conditions he traveled throughout the state repeatedly, inspecting its charitable institutions. The condition of children in orphan asylums and reformatories was revolutionized by his efforts. In seeking the best methods of caring for and treating unfortunates he traveled widely through Europe, studying the systems of different countries with care. He was a member of many societies and organizations and was in constant personal contact and correspondence with other workers in the field. Three important works written by him are classic and standard in philanthropic literature. These are his great *State Report on Juvenile Reformation and Orphan Asylums* (1873), *The Insane in Foreign Countries* (1880), and *The Care and Treatment of Epileptics* (1898).

Mr. Letchworth's original purchase at Portage was comparatively small, but he subsequently added to it until "Glen Iris" included the land on both sides of the Genesee River for a distance of three miles, including the site of the upper, middle, and lower falls. His residence was within sight and hearing of the middle fall. At the upper fall the river is crossed by a lofty railroad bridge, and from the trains one catches glimpses of the beautiful scenery below. Between the middle and lower falls the river cuts a fine gorge with high banks on either side through solid rock. No scenery in the state except Niagara is better known; few places have been more visited; of none have the

beauties and attractions been more often sung. Nowhere in the state has there been a lovely country home more famous for its hospitality. Grounds and home alike have been thrown open to guests and public with a liberality and freedom rarely equalled. And now Mr. Letchworth has donated this fair domain, this valuable property, this wonderful scenic beauty to the state of New York as a playground and resort for all the people. The property, a thousand acres in extent and costing half a million dollars was transferred December 31, 1906, and was accepted by the state in trust forever. It has been fitly named "Letchworth Park," and will keep its donor's name fresh in public memory long after he is gone. Rarely has a man done so much for the people in any one direction as Mr. Letchworth has in two. Such men are not easily forgotten.

But why should Mr. Letchworth be the recipient of the Cornplanter Medal? For years he has been interested in the history and condition of the Iroquois,—especially the Senecas. When the old Council House of Canadea was in danger of destruction, he had the old timbers carefully removed and the edifice exactly reconstructed upon his property just back of the "Glen Iris" residence. The occasion was a notable one. The master of ceremonies was a Cornplanter, grandson of the Chief Cornplanter, whose profile appears on our medal. Mr. Letchworth's great uncle, Rev. John Letchworth, more than once came in contact with the famous chief during his missionary wanderings. The Council was interesting, not only as the last Indian Council in the Genesee Valley and in its being held in the historic building, but also as bringing about a renewal of relations between long estranged representatives of the Mohawk and Seneca tribes. When the gravestone of Mary Jemison, "the old white woman of the Genesee," was in danger of demolition, Mr. Letchworth had it removed to "Glen Iris" and reset,—a new monument with appropriate inscription being erected at the same time. It is needless here to recall the interesting and romantic story of Mary Jemison and her connection with the Iroquois. All that has passed into well-known history. Upon the grounds of "Glen Iris" and transferred with the rest of the property to the state is a small museum building for interesting objects connected with Indian and pioneer history. A descriptive pamphlet of this museum has been written by Mr. Henry R. Howland of Buffalo. It shows the care that Mr. Letchworth has taken to secure and preserve valuable materials that would otherwise be lost. For these three acts and for many lesser kindnesses Mr. Letchworth has deserved and gained the love and esteem of the Iroquois Indians and of their friends. Those have bestowed upon him the Indian name *Hai-wa-ye-is-tah*, "the man who always does the right thing"; these award the Cornplanter Medal in recognition of his interest in and service to the Iroquois.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

MEN VERSUS THE MAN. A Correspondence Between *Robert Rives La Monte* and *H. L. Mencken*. New York: Holt, 1910.

This book is a record of an actual correspondence which took place between two men, both of whom were interested in the general subject of the organization of society, but since they were separated by a space of 300 miles were unable to give the subject a more intimate discussion. As the title indicates, the controversy is the old quarrel between individualism and communism. Mr. La Monte is a socialist, a faithful disciple of Marx, though

by no means considering him infallible. Mr. Mencken is to some extent an individualist of the Nietzsche school "whose ideal is a splendid oligarchy of Beyond Men ruling over a hopelessly submerged rabble." To persons alive on social topics the book will prove of great interest as showing in what different ways accepted facts and theories appear and appeal to two intelligent and eager inquirers.

PHILOSOPHISCHE REDEN UND VORTRÄGE. Von *Carl Stumpf*. Leipzig: Barth, 1910. Pp. 261, Price 5 m.

This volume consists of a number of miscellaneous lectures delivered on various occasions at widely different times by Professor Stumpf, the prominent Berlin psychologist. With the exception of the first, *Die Lust am Trauerspiel* ("Delight in Tragedy") all have appeared in periodicals or in pamphlet form, and they are collected here in the hope that one will help in the interpretation of another. *Leib und Seele*, "Body and Soul," was the opening address of the International Congress of Psychology at Munich in 1896. *Der Entwicklungsgedanke in der gegenwärtigen Philosophie* ("The Evolution Idea in Modern Philosophy") was a Founder's Day address at the Kaiser Wilhelms-Akademie of Berlin. Other lectures are on Child-Psychology, Ethical Skepticism and the Beginnings of Music.

THE NEW SCHAFF-HERZOG ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE. Edited by *Samuel Macauley Jackson, D.D.*, and others. Vol. VI. Price \$60.00 per set of 12 volumes. \$5.00 per volume.

The present volume, which completes one-half of this valuable work, covers the alphabet from "Innocents" (Feast of the Holy Innocents) to "Ludger." The importance of the place it occupies in the whole series may be easily seen when we consider that within this scope lie Inquisition, Isaac, Israel, Jerome, Jesuits, Jews, John, Justification, Law, and of course chiefly "Jesus." This is treated from the standpoint of orthodox Biblical criticism. A life of Jesus has not been attempted, but we have instead a minute examination of the evidences of Christianity laying special emphasis on the resurrection of Jesus as the touchstone of Christian faith.

EXAMINATION OF PROFESSOR WILLIAM JAMES'S PSYCHOLOGY. By *Ikbal Kishen Shargha*. Allahabad: Ram Narain Lal, 1909. Pp. 118. Price, 1 rupee.

A professor of philosophy in far-away India in this book examines some of Professor James's psychological views "especially those which to the present writer seem unsound." He quotes largely from Professor James in order to set certain inconsistencies in a clear light. He believes that readers should be warned against taking everything in the *Text Book* on trust, and therefore believes his criticism has a mission in England and America as well as in India. He devotes special chapters to Brain and Consciousness, Externality of Sensation, The Self as Known and as Knower, Conception, Emotion, and Will.

JOHN, THE UNAFRAID. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910. Pp. 128.

John, the Unafraid, is a little volume of parables and wise sayings by an unnamed author who is said to be "a man known from one end of the country

to another." It is a story of good deeds of a man who went about "his father's business," preaching a gospel, the whole plan of which may be found in the word kindness. He taught "unselfishness to be the cornerstone of truth and the character of the rock of our salvation; that fear is our greatest curse, and opportunity to serve our greatest blessing."

The first chapter describes a prophecy that "a new planet would become visible, similar to, but much larger than the sun, and that in just forty-two months it would strike and destroy the earth and every living thing thereon. At first some doubted, but it was soon believed by all the people who dwelt upon the earth." The result of this prophecy was to spread terror and confusion all over the land. The people gave up their work; some devoted themselves to praying, others to lamentations, and others to cursing. Here was John the Unafraid's opportunity. The parable is prettily told in quaint language, with here and there a very tender and beautiful saying that might well be taken to heart with great profit by every reader.

Prof. F. W. Williams, of Yale University, has written a brief sketch of the relations between the United States and China, reviewing in a most condensed form of 35 pages the policy pursued by our country toward China. It appears as one of a number of addresses delivered at Clark University and collected in a volume bearing the title *China and the Far East*. Upon the whole it is an account most creditable to the New World although our home policy toward Chinese immigrants cannot be said to be commendable, and has in a most glaring way broken the treaties we made with China. But the fact remains that if the United States since Cushing's advent in China in 1844 had not insisted on the integrity of the Chinese empire, the European powers might have torn it to pieces on repeated occasions and divided it into provinces. Professor Williams brings out very clearly how important in establishing the "cooperative policy" of the powers toward China was the part played by Anson Burlingame, the first envoy to represent the United States in China after the new diplomatic conditions which went into effect in 1860. As a result of the friendly impression he produced upon the Chinese authorities, he was asked, upon his resignation after six years, to become the head of a Chinese embassy to all the Treaty powers and in this capacity rendered important service to the country for whom he acted, and for the interest of general peace and friendly relations.

Mr. George Arthur Plimpton, of New York, possesses a most valuable collection of arithmetical books, published before 1601; and Prof. David Eugene Smith, of the Teachers' College, Columbia University, has undertaken the task of presenting the title pages and interesting passages from this collection in an *edition de luxe*, which was published in 1908, under the title *Rara Arithmetica*, by Ginn & Company, Boston and London. In order to make this most interesting book accessible to book lovers and students of the history of mathematics, a new and cheaper edition has been published which is still very elegant and will be a welcome addition to any library. The frontispiece is a reproduction of a manuscript of Boethius, of 1294 A. D. Plate 5 reproduces a page from the manuscript of an edition of Euclid of the same year. In addition the book contains innumerable plates and diagrams, every one of them fascinating for some reason or other.

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THE DECREES OF MEMPHIS AND CANOPUS "The Rosetta Stone," Vols. I and II. "The Decree of Canopus," Vol. III. With plates. 1904. \$1.25 per volume. Three volumes, \$3.75 net.

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