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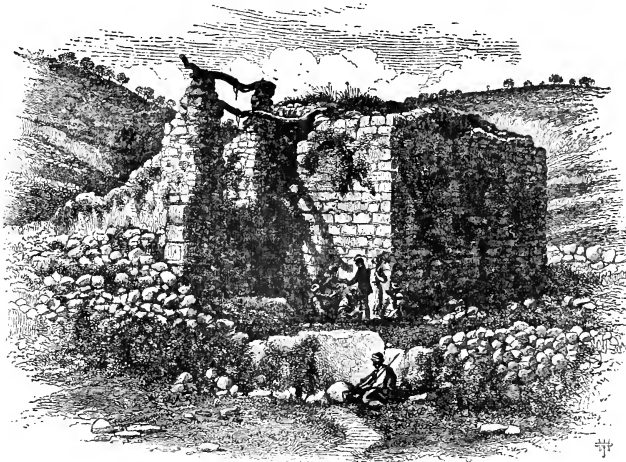
# The Open Court

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.



JOB'S WELL IN THE VICINITY OF JERUSALEM.

(See page 340.)

## The Open Court Publishing Company

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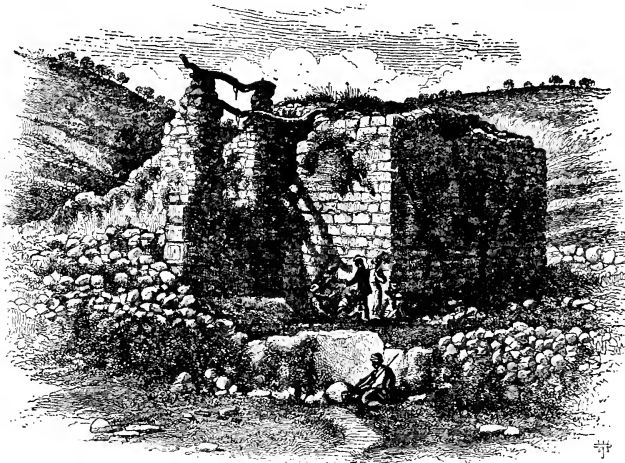
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GETHESEMANE AND THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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## THE AVESTA AND THE VEDA.

WAS PHILO'S LOGOS THE SOURCE OF VOHUMANAH?

BY LAWRENCE H. MILLS.

*A Light Question Upon Avesta, which May Introduce Our Theme.*<sup>1</sup>

ONE of the most ill-timed devices by which a group of parasites ever tried to wreck a subject was a suggestion of a decade past (for a moment also repeated by a man of reputation,—eating his own recent words). It was this, that the Avesta, even in its oldest parts, was no earlier than the Advent, and that one of its Amshas-pends was Philo's Logos. This is not the place to waste words on those who do not know that the purpose and "motive" of the Philonian Greek logos was radically the opposite to the "motive" of the origin of Vohumanah,<sup>2</sup> nor that the seven (literally six) cities of refuge mentioned in Philo Judæus had nothing to do with the seven spirits of Tobit, Ezekiel, and the Avesta, the *dynamis basilike* of Philo having been taken from the *Kurios* of the Septuagint, which the gifted Alexandrian in his (accidental) ignorance of Hebrew, supposed to translate *Elohim*.<sup>3</sup> But it happens that the clear facts which these hasty observers have so singularly overlooked in claiming Greek origin to *vohumanah*, possess in themselves exceeding interest (quite apart); and this comes out most fully in the obvious

<sup>1</sup> These points occurred in a public lecture delivered at the Indian Institute at Oxford some few years ago, and were made use of in instructional lectures lately. They also appeared in the course of an article in *East and West* in 1902, at the invitation of its distinguished editor. The items are here revised and enlarged.

<sup>2</sup> For the Greek logos was invented as an intermediary between God and all matter, an idea which presupposes an original antagonism between the two, utterly repugnant to Zoroastrianism.

<sup>3</sup> This latter slip, however, does not really affect the point.

answer which we have to give to a view now held, as I believe, by no expert of authority; for the one simple, but at the same time impressive, circumstance which proves, once for all,—and as one would say, without a returning question—that Philo could not have inspired the Gathas, is the forgotten point (or, perhaps, the as yet too little known one) that the Avesta, as all experts must acknowledge, is almost Veda. If the gifted Jew inspired the one, he could not well have missed the honor of being father to the other also.

*Veda and the Post-Vedic Indian.*

The incalculably rich and varied Indian literature opened to us, indeed, an incomparably interesting world of old-time civilization,—and that so closely subtle and compacted as to be at times almost *blasé*. We have delighted in the grand and richly colored Rik where gods, heroes and demons struggle in a maze of close particulars, so dim as to specific points, in fact, as to be in places almost a tangle, but all combined in a moving mesh-work out of which life's passions glint at every turn. We have enjoyed the calm Brahmanas with their placid puerilities, set here and there with the invaluable lines of early myth and deeper thought; and we have been often pleased with the melodious epic, till at last the "Friendly Counsel" with its inimitable fables has fairly won our hearts; and we have stood throughout in respect at what may well have been the earliest sources of speculative conjecture. But who ever dreamt that there was a Veda, in some respects equal to it all, and superior to much, far up in the misty north, a thousand miles from Ganga, and as old<sup>4</sup> perhaps as the oldest Rik?

Yet so it was, and it began to be suspected not so very long ago, for the tracing of the particulars still goes freely on. It is this which, strange to say, brings in the full evidence even of the Indian documents upon some of our own (Occidental) religious dogmas,—of which let the Philonians here take notice; not that there existed any closer historical connection between them and our religious views than that through the Avesta.<sup>5</sup> No one who can read, as we may say, can well deny the identity of many thoughts in Avesta and in our Exilic or post-Exilic sacred Semitic books, even if we did not have the Gathic demon Asmodeus in the Book of Tobit where

<sup>4</sup> At least as old as the Brahmanas.

<sup>5</sup> See an article by the present writer on "Zoroaster and the Bible" in the *Nineteenth Century Review* of Jan., 1894. Re-edited in *The Open Court* of July, 1909, as also in translation into Gujarati, Bombay, by D. N. Cōorlāwallā, an accomplished Parsi; also in 1909 by an Italian barrister into Italian, and lately into French by Mlle. C. Michellet, of Lyons, France.



he was opposed, as in the Avesta, by the "seven spirits," not forgetting also the mention of the Persian Avesta city<sup>6</sup> *Ragha Raγes, Rai*, all in a single piece, though not in a single chapter; but how much we are startled when we recollect that the Rig Veda itself is here related. It is indeed as we may say a far cry from the Ganges to Jerusalem, as even from the Indus by way of a Persian Babylon,—but longer stages have been "laid behind." Of course we have the additional item of attraction that the stories of these lores are the tales of our kinsmen,—and why not, of our very ancestors? May they not positively preserve the very myths of the ancient tree from which we actually descended? They certainly concern a bough of it.

Was Avesta then concocted in our A. D. One (sic) when the Persians' language had been Pahlavi for centuries? Did some ancient Chatterton of Teheran at the time of Christ, or just before it, weave such a cunning tale as even the Gathas tell us all unconsciously indeed, and as if in passing<sup>7</sup> and wholly without effort to convince us, and even without one single attempt to state any one so-called historic fact in the historical manner? If he did, he must have been at work for India as well. But the age for such miracles in letters had ceased, or never was, in Old Iran, with all like hidden influences, long before it ceased in late Jerusalem.

From this let us proceed a little further.

*The First Home of the Aryans and Their Migration; the Tribes Divide, Their Identities Persist.*

To trace out, then, our analogies more fully, let us take first of all the familiar name "Aryan," which, while used as an adjective completing the familiar name of the Great Indo-Germanic race in general, is also much applied to the present Indians and Iranians. The term occurs frequently enough in the Rik, but strange (or, yet again, not so strange) to say, it is only marked as the "generic" in the Avesta, but it appears as might be expected enormously wide spread, and over all Europe as well as in South and mid-Asia. See it even in the Celtic *Iran* and in the Irish *Erin*.<sup>8</sup> So I need not have

<sup>6</sup> Recall also the statement that it was "also in the cities of the Medes" where some Jewish tribes were deported.

<sup>7</sup> The only evidence which, in my opinion, is worth reading, is internal evidence. As I have said elsewhere, if any passage in the Gathas asserted that they were composed at any particular given period, I should treat such a statement as a mere curiosity. It is what the Gathas disclose in passing and with no intention to make a statement, which convinces us that they were contemporaneous with the actual events to which they allude.

<sup>8</sup> So it is supposed.

paused to allude, if only with a few syllables, to distances. For no one anywhere, as we may now well presume, supposes that the Indians, as we have now so long named them, were indigenous to India, or that what influence they may have exerted issued originally and altogether from the land of the Seven Rivers.<sup>9</sup> The present so-called Indians were invaders of course, coming down as a ruling mass into the lands now known by us as India from the north and the northwest, and by that same Khyber Pass which has seen the ingress of so many differing peoples at memorable epochs. We can easily trace their very movements southward and southeast. The old Rik of the Veda mentions the rivers on whose shores they dwelt at successive intervals as they slowly spread. The first Rishis sang of Indus with its tributaries, then the later ones at last of the Ganges. The men of the Brahmanas or commentaries had reached still more distant points in the same ever-persisting direction. But, what is still more decisive, we can also trace the sources of their movements, so to say, backwards to the North, till we find them as far up as Afghanistan, then leaving Vedic lore entirely, we actually discover their presence in feeble remnants among the Iranian tribes; that is to say, we have in Avesta, old and late, the presence of people who oppose the Iranian party, and who correspond, at least as to the chief name of their deity, with the Indians rather than with the Iranians, for they were termed D(a)eva-worshippers in reprobation. First they are seen in the Gathic Avesta as deadly foes of the Zoroastrians, then later as a beaten fragment left behind by their disappearing fellow-countrymen as a servile class. So, backward and northward, we trace the scattered throngs of tribes named Aryan, till we come upon what may have been a quasi-description of the primeval home itself (for all of them, as of all the other Aryans).

It would be, indeed, a point of peculiar, if not of solemn, interest if we could believe that we can fix the very spot which was once the early scene where the Indo-Germans acquired those dominant characteristics which distinguish them from the hardy Mongol and the brilliant Semite. But beyond all doubt we have really an attempt at least to allude to the "starting point" of all Aryan, Indo-Iranian migration. The account, as it has reached us, is contained only in a few sentences amidst much of a later type which could not fail to encrust itself upon it, helping however by its very presence to preserve the ancient hints.

We find this depiction in the celebrated first and second *far-gard*, or chapters, of the Vendidad (first in the order of printed

<sup>9</sup> Or "of the five"; *panj-āb* is the "five waters."

texts in some editions, but by no means first in the order of genuine priority—this of course). Here we have a sort of rough Genesis with a series of Edens, and with successive expulsions. It is one of the most striking fragments of early fable (enclosing history) which has been left to either Aryans or to Semites.

*The Exact Determining of Localities Is, of Course, Not Feasible.*

Where the old place precisely was we can, indeed, never know, but the Iranians of the two (the future Indians and Iranians) alone report it, curiously enough. No place called “Arya” is prominent in the Veda, though the word is frequent, but at the very outset of the Avesta document we have the “fatherland.” It was *Airyana V(a)ejah*, the races’ “start.” The *Aryan*<sup>10</sup> seems to have been the “tiller” first rallied to his work, and we have in the scant narratives one of the first records of an attempt to rise above the level of the otherwise universal savage life.

*The March of the Aryans.*

Wherever the land in fact really was, it cannot fail to impress us as the momentous scene of the first movement of the present dominant races of the world, to subdue predestined subjects.

*The Stirring Cause.*

It would seem to have been somewhere up in the frozen north, for the first resolution to move on came from the constraining force of weather; that is to say, from cold: “Ten months winter, two months summer, cold on the land, cold on the water, cold on the plants, cold on all, winter demon-made.” From this began that mighty march of the Aryans, if not of all the Indo-Germans, whose subjugating footstep presses everywhere as beneficent, let us hope, as it is irresistible. It received its first impulse from that universal and imperative cause of many similar advances—I need hardly name it—discontent. It was, however, no unreasonable nor sudden restlessness, nor was it brought on by a change which was rapid in its effects. Its cause was one of the most unbearable of those powers which afflict us, and also one of the most prohibitive, if not destructive, to the prospects of an early civilization. Climate, that sovereign power under which the “mode of motion”<sup>11</sup> appears to be modified or diverted (for it cannot be destroyed), was—as so often—the impelling force. Not perhaps for the first time;—that can

<sup>10</sup> I trace the word to the root *ar*, “to plough,” as in *aratrum*.

<sup>11</sup> Heat.

be hardly possible, but for a first time, in an energetic primeval line, it gave the push of fate, and stirred in the virile breasts of our forefathers or fore-kinsmen<sup>12</sup> their first fixed thought of tribal, not to say of national, prospective, pioneer adventure, as a unity. It was, indeed, no foolish curiosity which led them on, for these Aryans were as little fanciful, if we may judge from their practical points in literature, as also in polity, as any of the other main divisions of mankind. Their reasons were indeed less trivial than those which induce most similar decisions. They moved out, as we gather from the venerable tale, before the temperature as it chilled, one of the most convincing of all motives for a migration—receding step by step.

### *Whence Came This Climate's Fall?*

What sort of a fall in temperature was this particular one recorded? We know that in lands now ice-bound throughout the year, the bamboo once grew in torrid heat quite half-a-foot in thickness and rising to a dozen yards. So the elephant, as we know from fossil ivory, once stalked in the dense fens of *hot* Siberia. Can it be possible that these strange words of the book *Vendidad* actually report a similar change from a similar cause? And was that cause conceivably the original decline of caloric upon the earth's crust, or was it induced by a sun's periodicity,—colossal inference,—or by what? If it were the former, what an obtrusive item, or rather what a dominant occurrence, do we possess in this remote event of which we have so clear a trace,—a change from the cooling of a region upon the surface of the globe in the course of the original refrigeration, and within human times,—not in human history, of course, but in human myth, reflecting earlier tales, that grew from fact.

And why should this be so stoutly doubted,<sup>13</sup> as, doubt it, of course, we must? That its main idea was mere guess-work of the story-tellers lighting upon frost as a chance of theme, does not seem to be so likely. The simple seers of the villages would not so naturally have chosen such a fancy as cold for the conceived-of motive, or moment, in driving a whole people out. Some actual past event of the kind, in immemorial times, had evidently sunk deep in the hereditary traditions and memories of the infantile but sturdy generations.

And why, indeed, should a climatic crisis be regarded as so in-

<sup>12</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>13</sup> Not that any one has suggested such doubts, the idea is now first mooted.

credible?<sup>14</sup> For, as a civic mass, they would have left no home for merely a few bad seasons. Generation after generation in pre-historic times must have felt the gradual closing in of a polar world, and the forebears of these myth-weavers of Avesta may have been among their number.<sup>15</sup> Crop after crop must have become impossible, as we see them indeed now failing in our Middle Europe. The herbs, the fruits, the cereals, shrank and grew tasteless under the freezing chills; and the "tiller," *Aryan*, was obliged to turn southward seeking the summer zephyrs, coming down and ever further down from his more northern home. That region, which, from its moderation was once the only habitable territory for a man, actually once around the poles, became no longer possible, and the moving tribes marched ever southward as the seasons cooled, led on, and it may be "lured" on, by vegetation. At last they reached the land soon called as they were, Iran, in memory perhaps of their more ancient birthplace, a name which they have retained, and which has survived among us until now. The plains and vales of Iran stretched far and wide before their view, southeast of the Caspian, southwest of it, and south of it. A part of them found support enough, as we observe, in the nearly middle Aryan territories; and a part broke off in huge banks, or strolled away in driblets still further south, down through the Afghan passes ever south and southeast, till they reached the Five Waters, the Punjab, and became the Sindhus<sup>16</sup> or Hindus, the river-men, and with a singular destiny before them. But the old name still held; the Aryans were *aryans* still.

*The South-Going Aryans Lingered for a Time in the North, Almost as Iranians.*

For a long time the territories of the two kinsfolk touched, or almost touched.

The Gadharvas of the Veda, who recall the Avesta name *Ga(n)dar(e)va*, were with *Apsaras*, as far north as the vales of Kubha, or Kabul. Not far distant was the *Krumu* which was the *Kurum*, and the *Gomati* which was *Gumti* (*Gomal*), and the *Çutudri* which was the *Sutlej*, and even the half-mystic *Rasa* which was the

<sup>14</sup> So let me say, anticipating hesitation.

<sup>15</sup> See Dr. Warren's most valuable work upon *Paradise Found* (at the Pole).

<sup>16</sup> The Greek form of their present name, the Indians, rather than the Sindians (sic) came through the Avesta, or at least the Persian: Hindu is Iranian as against the Indian *Sindhu* (the same word with phonetic change). Hardly my own original view; yet see the *Century Dictionary of Names*, as if there were hesitation here.

*Rangha.* As the common native home is named in the Avesta, so their primeval history is disclosed, not told, in both the ancient documents. It is a history repeating its predecessors, as history seems ever destined to repeat itself, working forward with pathetic effort in its spiral, returning, but not always, to the self-same center in a vicious circle, on a beaten track. When they had reached the plains of Iran where we left them still undivided, the same deserts again stretched before them ever south, arid and hopeless as they are to-day. But not arid, as we may believe, from the salts of evaporated seas alone; parts of them were waste as well, no doubt, from other causes, and from the reverse of that which first impelled the Aryans to break up their early borders. The summer's drought became at one point, desolating, for it was not sufficiently relieved. Their first struggle was for water.

#### *The Azhi.*

Why did the rivers fall, and the rain hold off? Some power was at work against them in the distant upland from which the rivers rolled, or in the distant heavens from which the rain-streams poured. They thought this influence was personal and preternatural. What else could they think? Some accursed being in the sky was busy and active, toiling to accomplish their defeat. Sometimes they thought the clouds themselves were outside walls,<sup>17</sup> sometimes the limbs of some huge animal they feared, shut in the clouds as nutriment. The dread dragon-monster of their early tales and terrors gave the first outline to the eye of their imagination, as the boa constrictor of the south helped on the image there.

Some snake devil up above, both near and far, was winding his fell coils about the cloud-cow dripping to be milked. In the Veda he was called the *Vritra*, the "imprisoner," and so *Verethra* in Avesta. His other name was *Ahi* in the one lore book, and still more originally *Azhi* in the other. He is six-eyed and triple-headed in the one, six-eyed and triple-headed in the other. He has his title *Dasa*, "scorcher," in the Veda, and he is *Daha(ka)* (the same) in the Avesta.

His bellowing strikes terror in the one, we only hear his cursed petitions in the other. His object in the one is destruction simply, and in the other he would "empty the seven Karshvars<sup>18</sup> of the earth of men." *Apaosha*, the withering drought fiend, becomes his servant. The cloud-war becomes a god-war.

<sup>17</sup> See Bergoigne (?).

<sup>18</sup> Main divisions of the earth.

The same thing is taking place to-day. Drought is the murderer in large tracts of India; and in Iran it has, with other influences, in places literally swept the signs of human life away. So of old: blighted harvests brought on famine; dried-up rivers exhaled their poison, the virus of the reptile; the cattle drooped, the flocks grew small; the hardy camel pined; and the Indian and Iranian called on the same gods, and in hymns which have long been silent, for their help. Strange, and yet not so strange, to say, they used the very meters in those vanished hymns which are still sacred now;<sup>19</sup> and the same great deities took up the contest. The creator of all was *Ahura* in the Avesta, and *Asura* (the same) in Veda.<sup>20</sup> There was *Mithra* among the one set of tribes, and *Mitra* among the others. The old god *Athar*, whose form half perished from the Rik (though re-appearing later) was strong and resistless in the sister-creed, while *Agni* took his place in Indian chants.<sup>21</sup> But the very name of the chief combatant of *Azhi* is *Verethraghna*, the fiend-smiter in the Avesta, and *Vritrahan* (the same) in Veda. There was *Gau*, the kine, the prize of the warfare, in both. There was *Vayu*; and there was *Soma* who set on valor on the one side, and *Haoma* (the same) on the other, till we come upon the glorious abstracts which become later the Archangels of Avesta (the *Ameshaspentas*). We have *Rita* (the law) on the one side, and *Asha* (was it *arsha*? the same), the law, on the other; there was *Manyu* (spirit) on the one side, who was *Mainyu* (spirit) on the other;<sup>22</sup> there was *Vasumanas*, "who had the good mind" (in the Rik), and *Vohumanah*, "good mind," in Avesta. There was *Kshatra*, the kingly power, who was *Khshathra*, kingly power; there was *Aramati*, the devoted mind, who was *Ar(a)maiti*, the devoted mind; there was *Sarvatati*, healthful weal, who was *Haurvatat* (the same); and there was *Amritatva*, who was immortality, and *ameretatat*, the deathless long life, here and hereafter. Outside of these there was *Çraushti*, "willing hearing," and *Sraosha*, "heedful listening."

#### *The Demons.*

And the same demons too often fought against the saints on either side (indifferently). There was *Ahi-Manyu*, "dragon fury,"

<sup>19</sup> We judge so from the meters of the Gathas and of the Rik and from those in other and later songs which have been left to us.

<sup>20</sup> Or an *Asura*; *Varuna* is also constructively *Asura*. The Rishis themselves hardly know when to speak of an *Asura* as a separate person, or as designating the great class.

<sup>21</sup> He has been in his turn half-forgotten in Avesta.

<sup>22</sup> Not, however, an *Amesha*, more another name for *Ahura*.

on the one side, and *Angra (Azhi) Mainyu* on the other. There was the *Druh*, a harmful lie-god, and the *Druj*, she-devil, on the other. There was *Drogha* and *Draogha*; there were the *Yatus*, who were *Yatus*; there were *Rakshas*, demons on the one side, and *raksha-doers*<sup>23</sup> on the other; there was the *Danu* and the *Danu*. *The same human, or half-human helpers took up the cause. Yima*, in his heroic character is *Yama*. *Trita*, the mysterious "third one" in the Veda, is *Thrita* in Avesta; *Traitana* is *Thr(a)etaona*; *Kavya Uçana* was *Kavan (Kavi) Usan*. The features of the encounters are alike; the god-war became a "faith-war." *Trita* drinks the *soma* to stir his courage, while *Kavya Uçana* forges his iron bludgeon: so *Thrita* of the Avesta prepares the *Haoma*, and *Kavan (Kavi) Usan* is on his side. *Traitana* smites the *Dasa*<sup>24</sup> with his brass-pointed mace. His tribe name was *Aptya*,<sup>25</sup> and so in the Avesta it was *Thr(a)et(a)ona Athwya*<sup>26</sup> who smote the same dragon three-jawed and with thousand jointings,<sup>27</sup> and of mighty strength which *Angra Mainyu*, the torture-god-wrath,<sup>27</sup> made against the corporeal world. In India the old form faded and the Hercules of the South appeared: *Indra*, the Samson of the Veda, took up his bolts. He sometimes takes on the vanished title,<sup>28</sup> yet his own name, strange to say, is once uttered in the Avesta.<sup>29</sup>

*Man Side-by-side with Gods.*

Man not only took part, but helped on the gods with equal energy. *Keresaspa* (in Avesta) is almost an *Indra*, and so men help on throughout in Veda. *Sacrifice*, itself, as if half-deified, did much in the struggle too. So also in Avesta: "O *Ardevi Sura Anahita*,<sup>30</sup> with what offering shall I serve thee, that thou may'st run down, that the serpent slay thee not, damming up thy streams?" The *Yasna* answers, "with offering and libations"; these are the powers and the weapons which arm both defence and attack throughout.

The almighty force was fire, and in both communities it never

<sup>23</sup> *Rakhshaiti*, my suggestion in *SBE*, XXXI.

<sup>24</sup> See above.

<sup>25</sup> Water-clansmen.

<sup>26</sup> I would now suggest *Awthya* as of course, and a corresponding change in the analogous Vedic form, as in the texts.

<sup>27</sup> So I suggest an alternative.

<sup>28</sup> *Trita*.

<sup>29</sup> It was perhaps after all a re-growth from a twig beyond the mountains rather than indigenous.

<sup>30</sup> "Heroic one of spotless (waters)."



faltered,<sup>31</sup> as the battle raged. The grass was spread, the seat was made, (*barhis* in the Veda, *baresman*<sup>32</sup> in Avesta), the hymn was raised, the ear was gained, the sticks twirled furiously and the sparks appeared, the fire came, the god lit on his throne. His word went forth, the cloud-flame fell, the lightning struck, and the monster quailed; his folds were burst, and the showers loosed, with all the blessings which they brought or symbolized.

#### *The Same Heroic Deeds.*

Different heroes, both Indian and Iranian, bring on the same salvation by the same deeds, and sometimes they even take the self-same names.

The half-god *Keresaspa*, as above, does the same work as *Trita*, and for the matter of that, as implied, he does Indra's too. This was to be expected in the successive developments of myth, and it has analogies in every ancient record of the kind; gods and devils, demons and angels, borrow everywhere each other's deeds, as do heroes and their opposites, as if by merest chance (in all such lores).

#### *The Reason Why.*

Yet there remains always the reason why successive champions should meet successively the selfsame foe. The *Demon's work was nature's course*, and so ever fresh as it recurred. Decade after decade,—if not year after year,—the same serpentine power wrapt his encircling length about the rain-clouds, and brought the famine on. How could it be possible that similar deeds done by successive heroes could remain unsung? The identity of the results would stereotype ideas.

#### *The Gods of Peace.*

And when the war ceased for an interval, the same *gods of peace* ruled in the happier time. There was *Airyaman* of Avesta, "friend true to *Airya*," who was *Aryaman* of Veda, and *Nairyosangha*, "blest of man," who was *Naracansa*. There was *Bagha*, god of good-luck, who was *Bhaga* in the sister book; there was *Parendhi*, god of riches, who was *Puramdhi* in the Rik (though not personified), until we come upon a summing-up of favorites (favored for good reasons, if only for the moment); and they are

<sup>31</sup> Though its name shifted back and forth; see above.

<sup>32</sup> But if this form be original the etymology must be irregular. In all such cases the word should be rationally restored; no ancient document has been handed down intact. *Man* is mere suffix.

curiously enough counted up to the same figures (thirty-three) in both Veda and Avesta, in each division of the tribes.<sup>33</sup>

*And the same Human Princes of the Peace are in part common to both sides.*

*Vīcasvant* is *Yama's* father, and *Vivanghvant* (the same) is *Yima's*. *Yama* is a king of the blest, and so is *Yima Khsh(a)eta* (in Avesta). Some of those who were erstwhile warriors were later renowned in calmer days. So our *Thrita*, no longer spreading slaughter (see above), is now occupied in precisely the opposed direction; he is the first physician,<sup>34</sup> and so in the Atharvaveda<sup>35</sup> (he extinguishes disease). He even gives elsewhere to the gods the boon of slumber (XIX, 56, 1); in yet another place he gives long life to men; in yet another, any evil thing is to be brought to him to be appeased.<sup>36</sup> In another<sup>37</sup> he appears as poet.<sup>38</sup> *Kavan* (*Kavi*) *Usan* backed up the *Thrita* in his duel, as we saw,<sup>39</sup>—but he is also engaged in kindlier work, and reinstitutes great *Agni* as high-priest, leading the heavenly cows themselves to pasture.<sup>40</sup> Again it is another person, if *Vafra Naraza* be a person, who in Avesta takes up the task of *Kavan* (*Kavi*) *Usan* (in the later books) and anticipates air-navigation,<sup>41</sup> for he tries to fly to heaven.

Such are some few of the parallels. Well indeed are these Iranian texts called three parts Veda, so far at least as the tales they tell may tally. The word itself too, *Veda*, is near *Avesta*, which however may be *aVista*<sup>42</sup> with a prefixed *a*, *a-Veda* and *a-v(a)edha*<sup>43</sup> touch everywhere. While of the meters which I mentioned<sup>44</sup> one of the oldest, and not least beautiful, Vedic Trishtup, survives in some of the choicest of Avesta hymns. And these analogies tell irresistibly toward the argument for the earlier age of even the later Avesta where, for the Iranian side, the analogies for the most part abound.

<sup>33</sup> In the Atharva Veda we have it on Sanskrit side; and so, sure enough, in *Yasna* (I, 33); not perhaps that the same gods were actually meant at all times when the figures were used, but the number was once emphatically solemn, and the old impression lingered with the relic of a forgotten reckoning.

<sup>34</sup> Vend XX. See also XXII for other healing.

<sup>35</sup> VI, 113.

<sup>36</sup> Taittiriya Sanhita, Black Yayur, Veda, I, 8, 10, 2. <sup>37</sup> R. V. VIII, 47, 13.

<sup>38</sup> R. V. I, 105, 17.

<sup>39</sup> Or Rishi.

<sup>40</sup> See above.

<sup>41</sup> I can however find no exact parallel in the Veda. In a later book (*Bhagavita-gita* X, 37), he is the first of poets. He has four sons in the *Ma-habharata*, who sacrifice to the *Asuras*, as he does to Iranian *Ahura*.

<sup>42</sup> The same as *A-vitta*, *t* before *t* goes over to *s* (*st*).

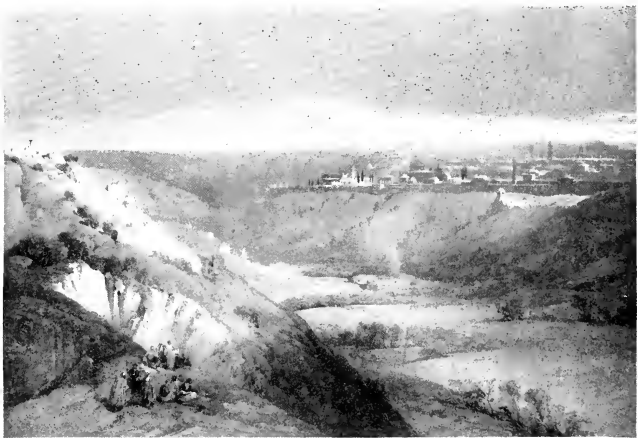
<sup>43</sup> *V(a)edha* occurs in the Avesta, but more in the kindred sense of "possession." According to all analogies an Iranian *V(a)edha* might, however, precisely equal *Veda*.

<sup>44</sup> See above.

## THE VICINITY OF JERUSALEM.

BY THE EDITOR.

AMONG the places of interest in Jerusalem and its immediate neighborhood we must mention first of all the upper and lower pools of Siloam situated on the southern slope of Ophel at the lower part of the Tyropœon Valley. These are two artificial ponds which



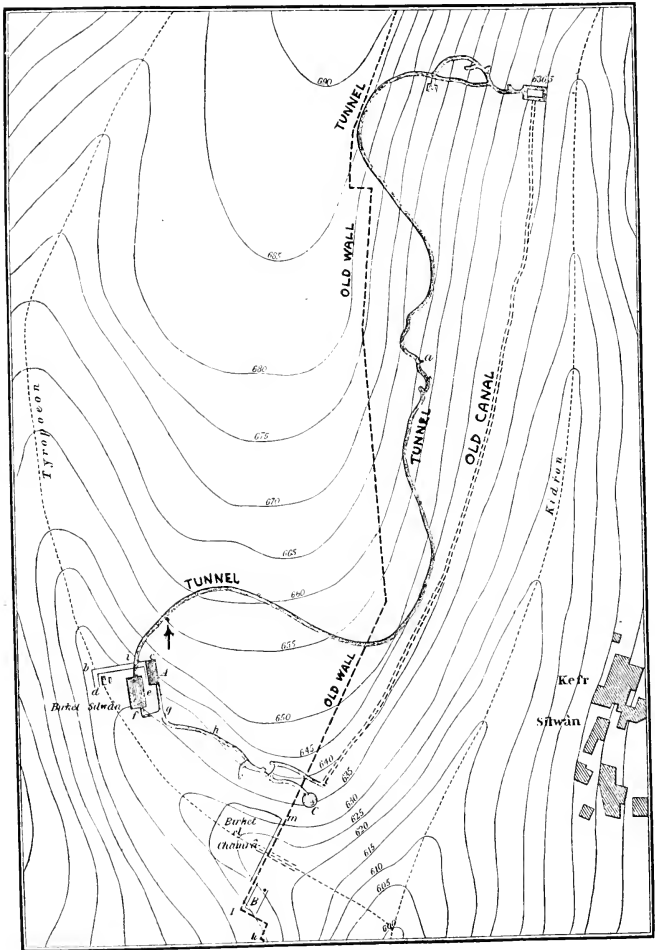
JERUSALEM VIEWED FROM THE NORTHERN RIDGE OF THE MOUNT  
OF OLIVES.

By David Roberts.

are fed by an ancient tunnel from the Virgin's Spring, formerly called Gihon. We must remember that here on Mount Ophel, now deserted and outside of the present city walls, we must seek the city of David, the ancient Mount Zion, and the Pool of Siloam which

in the time of the kings of Judah was the main water supply of the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

Excavations prove that various efforts were made to lead water



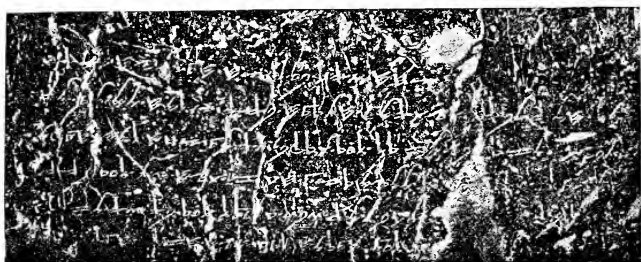
MAP OF THE SILOAM TUNNEL.

The figures of the contour lines are given in meters.

to the Tyropœon valley. Remnants of an old canal outside the old city wall have been discovered by the German architect Schick. It is obvious that this canal could easily fall under the control of a besieging army, and so we may assume that the tunnel was dug to obviate the danger. The workmen began from either end and met



SILOAM INSCRIPTION ; THE ORIGINAL STONE.



SILOAM INSCRIPTION ; A SQUEEZE FROM THE ORIGINAL.

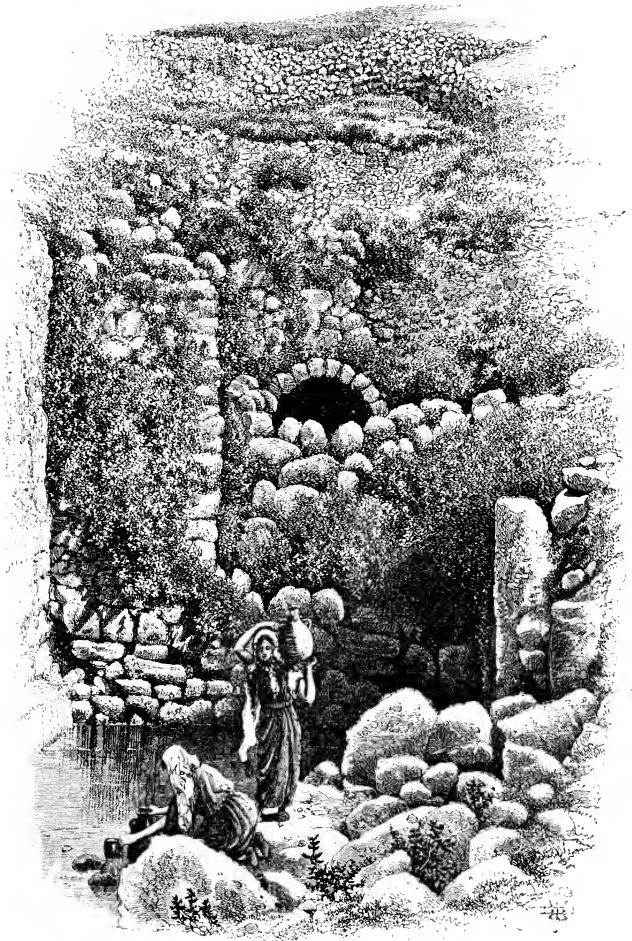
at *a* in our map, and the place of the famous inscription,<sup>1</sup> recording this event, is indicated by an arrow.

The tunnel empties (at *i*) in the upper Pool of Siloam. North-east of the upper Pool of Siloam there existed another basin, presumably the Pool Asuja<sup>2</sup> (mentioned in Nehemiah iii. 16) which

<sup>1</sup>This inscription in which the workmen celebrate the completion of the tunnel has been reproduced and translated in *The Open Court*, XVII, pp. 662-665.

<sup>2</sup>הַבְּרִיקָה הַמְּעֻשָׂה means "artificial pool" and is translated in the authorized version, "the pool that was made."

served for the collection of water, and was connected toward the west with a canal (*c b d*), and had an overflow toward the south (from *A* toward *g*). From *d* the water may have been distributed for irrigation purposes over the king's gardens here situated.



THE UPPER POOL OF SILOAM.

The upper pool of Siloam (*e*) and the Pool Asuja (A) were drained by a canal (marked by the letters *f g h*) which passed under the old city wall (*k l m*) and ended in a basin C. This may have been the King's Pool mentioned in Nehemiah ii. 14, but it is possible that the King's Pool was situated on the southern bluff of the Tyropæon Valley (near B)<sup>3</sup> or in the place of the Birket el-Chamrah.

Owing to an unfounded notion that the Pool of Siloam was the Pool of Bethesda (mentioned in John v. 2), the water here collected in the Tyropæon Valley was believed to be possessed of miraculous powers and many patients came to seek a cure for their ailments. In consequence baths were built here, the ruins of which are still visible.

The pools of Siloam were apparently of great importance to the ancient inhabitants of Jerusalem, for here was "the house of the mighty" (i. e. of the heroes of Israel), here was Zion, the city of David, and here was his sepulcher mentioned by Nehemiah (iii. 16) and still standing in the days of the Apostles (Acts ii. 29).

Siloam, or Hebrew *Shiloah*,<sup>4</sup> means "sent" or "dispatched," which is to be understood in the sense of "discharge" (viz., the discharge of water) or "aqueduct."

The waters of Siloam have always been regarded as something mysterious. Isaiah speaks of the waters of Siloam that "go softly" and compares them to "the waters of the river strong and many," but the meaning of the comparison is not clear.

Josephus speaks of its waters as sweet and abundant,<sup>5</sup> and Jesus sends a blind man down to wash his eyes in the Pool of Siloam<sup>6</sup> to be cured; he also refers to an accident which happened at Siloam in which eighteen persons were killed by the collapse of a tower.<sup>7</sup>

While upon the whole archeologists are now agreed to identify the upper and lower Pools of Siloam with the water basins supplied by the Spring of the Virgin (Gihon) some have assumed that the upper and lower Pools of Gihon ought to be sought in

<sup>3</sup> The dot near B indicates the site of the tree of Isaiah.

<sup>4</sup> שִׁלּוֹחַ, Is. viii. 6, and שִׁלּוֹחַ, Neh| iii. 15. In Greek it is called Σειλωάμ, Σιλωάμ and Σιλωά; Vulgate, *Siloc*.

<sup>5</sup> *Bell. Jud.*, V, 4, 1, § 140. Compare also *ibid.* 9, § 416.

<sup>6</sup> See John ix. 6-7. The idea that spittle was possessed of magic power is very old and common to many nations all over the world.

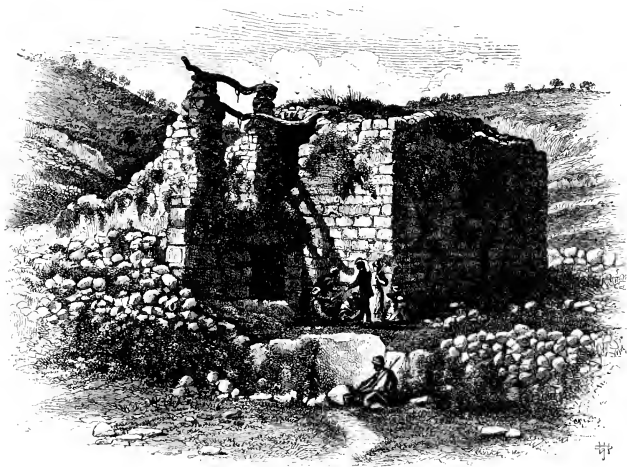
<sup>7</sup> Luke xiii. 4. It is possible that a tower of the city wall near Siloam was undermined by the water and its foundations gave way suddenly.

the Hinnon valley, in which case they would be the same as the Birket Mamilla and Birket es-Sultan.

One of the best and presumably the oldest wells of Jerusalem is the Bir Eijub, i. e., the Well of Job which is situated south of Jerusalem where the Kedron and Hinnon Valleys meet. The villagers of Siloam make it a business to carry water from the well, which is superior to the pools of Jerusalem, into town and charge anywhere from two to fifteen cents for what they can carry in their goat-skin bags.

\* \* \*

The immediate neighborhood of Jerusalem is covered with tombs, and many of them date back to the times of the kingdom



JOB'S WELL.

of Judah, but none of them can be positively said to be what tradition makes of it.

One of the graves, attributed to the mother of Jesus, has been covered with a shrine in honor of the Virgin Mary, built in the Middle Ages by Melisendis, a daughter of Fulko, the fourth king of Jerusalem.

There is also the tomb of James, the brother of Jesus, and close by we see the sepulcher of the prophet Zechariah. A few steps further north we find a monolith which tradition assigns to





SHRINE ABOVE THE TOMB OF THE VIRGIN IN THE KEDRON VALLEY.



429. Tombes des Juges. — Tomb of the Judges.

TOMBS OF THE JUDGES.

Absalom, the favorite but rebellious son of David. It is covered with a pointed roof surmounted by a flower and is one of the most ornamental tombs, but we may be sure that it does not date back to David's time.



ABSALOM'S TOMB.

Opposite the Pool of Siloam, on the slope of the Mount of Offense (a hill situated south of Olivet) lies a Mohammedan village of picturesque appearance, the houses of which are to a great extent old sepulchers where the dead have made room for

the living. The place is nowhere mentioned in the Bible or other ancient records, and as a village it appears to have originated not earlier than the Middle Ages.

The most magnificent burial places are the so-called tombs of the Judges, and the tombs of the Kings. A statement of Josephus makes it almost certain that the latter were made by Queen Helena of Adiabene for herself and for her son Izates with his large family.



THE VILLAGE OF SILOAM.

Adiabene was a small vassal state of Parthia on the upper Tigris, and its king, Monobazus, bequeathed the kingdom to his favorite son Izates who, together with his mother the queen, was converted to Judaism in the year 18 A. D. In his *Antiquities* (XX, 2-4) Josephus tells the story of their fate, how the queen for a time moved to Jerusalem and how both bestowed gifts upon the Jews during a famine.<sup>8</sup> They died about 48 A. D., King Izates first and soon afterwards his mother. He was succeeded by his brother, named like their father Monobazus, who had their bodies

<sup>8</sup> Mentioned in Acts xi. 28.

removed to Palestine and buried in the pyramids<sup>9</sup> which Queen Helena had erected. Says Josephus, "They were three in number and distant no more than three furlongs from the city of Jerusalem."



TOMBS OF THE KINGS.

Izates had twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters, which accounts for the large extent of these catacombs. The richness of

<sup>9</sup> Eusebius mentions these monuments in his Church History (II, 12).

ornamentation gave rise to the notion that they must have been the tombs of the kings of Judah.

Jerusalem is surrounded by ancient quarries, of which one in the northeast of the road to Damascus near the Moslem cemetery is called the Grotto of Jeremiah. We search in vain for a



A MAID OF OLIVET.

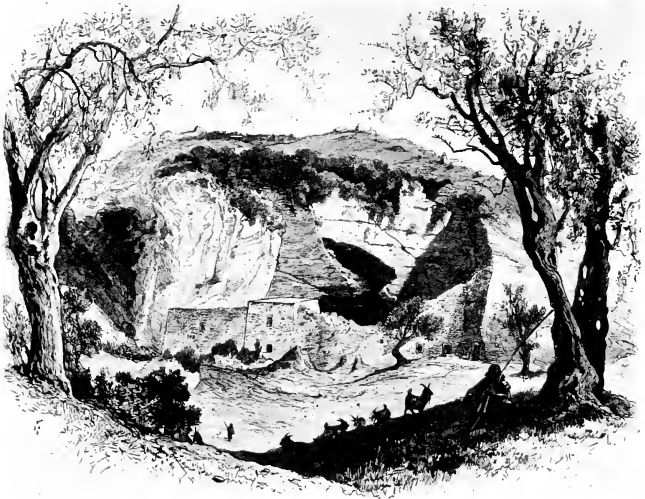
By C. W. Allers.

reason to connect the prophet's name with this spot, but, nevertheless, tradition asserts that here he wrote his Lamentations.

East of Jerusalem rises the Mount of Olives, also called Olivet, which is mentioned several times in the New Testament. At the foot of the hill lies a garden identified with Gethsemane.

where the traveler is shown a cave called the Grotto of Agony. This is said to be the place where Jesus prayed, "Father, not as I will, but as thou wilt," before he was made a prisoner by the servants of the High Priest and the Romans.

On the top of the mountain is the place where we are told that Jesus ascended into heaven. Here the Empress Helena founded a chapel which fell into ruins and was rebuilt by Modestus. When the Crusaders took Jerusalem the chapel had disappeared and they built another in its place in 1130, which stood there until the



GROTTO OF JEREMIAH.

sixteenth century. The present building, or rather group of buildings, was erected in 1834 and is connected with a mosque in charge of a dervish. The Christian chapel exhibits the native rock with a natural depression which tradition explains to have originated by the footprint of the ascending Christ, although it bears not the slightest resemblance to the shape of a human footprint. In localizing the place of the ascension of Jesus, tradition follows apocryphal sources and differs boldly from the canonical statement, for we read in the Gospel according to Luke (xxiv. 50-51):

"And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands

and blessed them. And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven."

Bethany is a little village and the name means "the house of the poor." It is the home of Lazarus, Mary and Martha, where

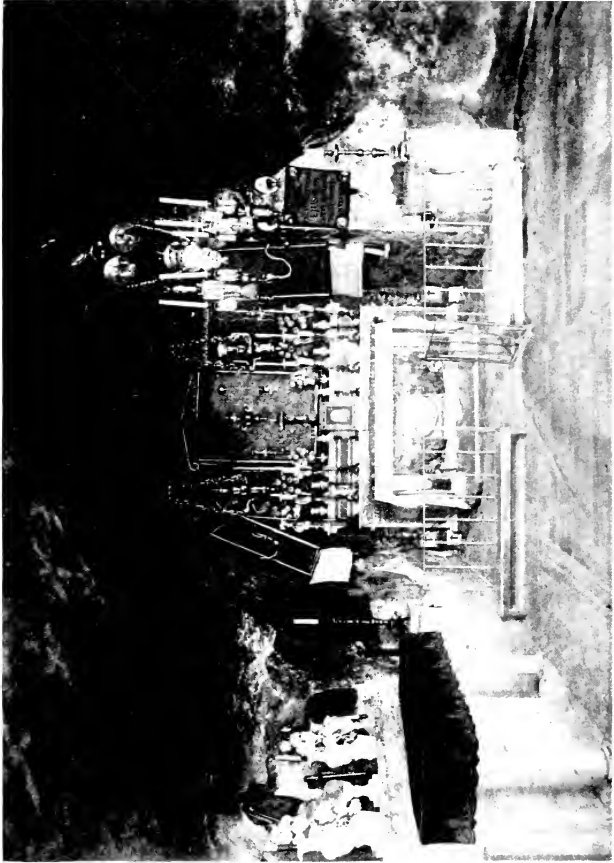


THE GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE.

Jesus stayed before he entered Jerusalem on the first Palm Sunday. For the house of Lazarus a ruined medieval castle, probably built by Queen Melisendis, is shown which stands on the top of the mountain; and there is also a tomb which has been selected to

represent the grave from which Lazarus, after having lain buried three days, rose to life again.

The Mount of Olives, however, played an important part in apocryphal literature especially in the traditions of the gnostics.



THE GROTTA OF AGONY.

According to the revelations told in the gnostic book *Pistis Sophia* Jesus tarried among his disciples on Olivet after his resurrection, and instructed them in the esoteric meaning of his doctrines.





THE CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION AND MOHAMMEDAN MOSQUE.



CHURCH AND MOSQUE ON THE SITE OF CHRIST'S ASCENSION.

Popular tradition proved stronger than even the canonical authority of the New Testament, and disregarding Luke's report, localized the place of Christ's ascension on this hallowed mountain. Eusebius (about 300 A. D.) mentions the multitudes of pilgrims who visited the spot, and Empress Helena erected here a basilica in commemoration of Christ's ascension. The spot is also held sacred by the Mohammedans who have built a mosque in the immediate vicinity of the Christian church.

Our frontispiece of the Mount of Olives shows the Garden of



BETHANY.

Gethsemane where three roads divide. One of them leads to Jericho, the other two to Bethany.

\* \* \*

Near Jericho on the Jordan we find the spot where Jesus was baptized by John the Baptist. The place is frequented by travelers many of whom are in the habit of filling their bottles with sacred water from the Jordan to use at home for baptism. C. W. Allers, the famous German artist, followed this custom and sketched the scene from life, but when he came home and found



THE JORDAN RIVER.



THE JORDAN PUMP.  
By C. W. Allers.

some of the bottles broken, and that the rest contained water no better than could be obtained at home, perhaps even somewhat muddier, he decided that if he had the same opportunity he would take his Jordan water from the pump in his own back yard, an idea which he illustrated with his native humor.<sup>10</sup>

\* \* \*

Another place of interest in this city has been acquired by the German empire, and this is the prison of St. Peter, from which



THE JORDAN WHERE CHRIST WAS BAPTIZED.

according to Acts xii. 7-9, the apostle was liberated by an angel. The dilapidated gateway presents a romantic appearance and is now decorated with the German imperial eagle.

\* \* \*

Before we take leave of Jerusalem we will mention the Jews' place of wailing, a small quadrangular area near the southern end of the western wall of the temple enclosure. According to a law of the Turkish government the Jews of Jerusalem are prohibited

<sup>10</sup> The German comments under the Allers sketches read as follows: "8 Buddel Jordanwasser werden wohl für die nächste Zeit genügen, um den Bedarf an Taufwasser in der Familie zu decken; in Wochen kommt man wohl wieder in diese Gegend."—"In den Orient gehe ich bald mal wieder; aber mit Jordanwasser schleppe ich mich nicht wieder ab; das hat man zu Hause ja viel bequemer."

visiting the temple area, the Haram, itself, but they are permitted on this steep wall to approach the place and hold conventions. Murray<sup>11</sup> describes the place as follows:

“There is here a small quadrangular paved area between low houses and the Haram. The approach to it leads through narrow, dirty and crooked lanes; but on a Friday afternoon the place is well deserving of a visit. Here a strange and touching spectacle is presented. The mighty stones of the Sanctuary wall rise up to the domes and cypresses without door or window, as though to shut

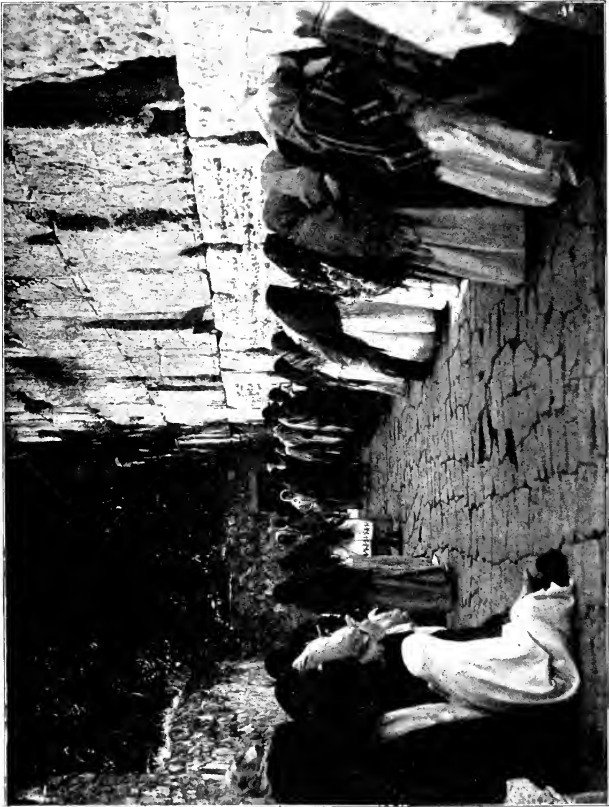


ST. PETER'S PRISON.

the worshipers off effectually from the sacred area over which they lament. Jews of all ages, both sexes, and from every quarter of the earth: Ashkenazim Pharisees from Russia, Poland, Roumania and Germany; Sephardim Hebrews from Spain; Mughâribeh Jews from Africa; Karaites; rabbis, aged men with flowing white locks, young dandies with long curls, little red-haired children, old women and maidens, all clad in their characteristic garments—raise their voices of wailing over the desolated and dishonored sanctuary, as

<sup>11</sup> *Handbook for Travelers in Syria and Jerusalem*, ed. by Mary Brodrick, Ph. D., p. 91.

they have done continuously every week, century after century. Many of them appear to go through the ceremony as a mere idle matter of form, but the genuine emotion of a few is pathetic and soul-moving in the extreme."



THE JEWS' PLACE OF WAILING.

Prof. Georg Ebers witnessed such a service of lamentation when he visited Jerusalem. He saw these mourning Jews kiss the holy stones and he heard the responsaries which they sang. The

cantor began the lamentation and the people responded in a refrain which constantly repeated itself, as follows:

The Cantor sang: "On account of the palace which lies waste," and the people responded: "We sit here lonely and weep."

In the same style they continued:

*Cantor*: "On account of the temple which lies waste,"

*People*: "We sit here lonely and weep."

*Cantor*: "On account of our majesty which is gone,"

*People*: "We sit here lonely and weep."

*Cantor*: "On account of its walls which were destroyed,"

*People*: "We sit here lonely and weep."

*Cantor*: "On account of our majesty which is gone."

*People*: "We sit here lonely and weep."

*Cantor*: "On account of the great men who are laid low,"

*People*: "We sit here lonely and weep."

*Cantor*: "On account of the precious stones which have been burned,"

*People*: "We sit here lonely and weep."

*Cantor*: "On account of the priests which have sinned,"

*People*: "We sit here lonely and weep."

The responsary changes into an invocation where the cantor begins, "May the kingdom of Zion reappear," and the people answer, "Comfort those who mourn over Jerusalem."

The psalm which is repeated here every Friday is the 79th, which, according to Wellhausen, was written by a Hebrew poet in the second century B. C. when Jerusalem was destroyed by the Syrians (196 B. C.). We quote from it verses 1-8:

"Heathens, O God, have pressed into Thine inheritance,  
Thy holy Temple have they defiled,  
They have laid Jerusalem in ruins.  
They have given the dead bodies of Thy Servants  
As food to the birds of the air,  
The flesh of Thy pious ones to the wild beasts of the field;  
They have poured out their blood like water,  
Round about Jerusalem, and there is none to bury them.  
We are become a scoff to our neighbors,  
The derision and scorn of those round about us.

"How long, O JHVH? wilt Thou be angry for ever?  
Shall Thy jealousy burn like fire?  
Pour Thine anger over heathen, who do not acknowledge Thee!  
Over kingdoms that do not invoke Thy Name!  
For they have consumed Jacob,  
And made desolate his dwelling.

Remember not against us the sins of our forefathers,  
May Thy compassion soon come to meet us,  
For deep is our misery."

Whereas the Jews at Jerusalem pray thus at the wailing place, an ancient Hebrew poet of the Babylonian Exile gave expression to his love of the Holy City in Psalm cxxxvii, 5-6 as follows:

"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.

"If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy."



## WHY THE ORIENTAL RELIGIONS SPREAD.\*

BY FRANZ CUMONT.

WHEN, during the fourth century, the weakened empire split asunder like an overburdened scale whose beam is broken, this political divorce only perpetuated a moral separation that had existed for a long time. The opposition between the Greco-Oriental and the Latin worlds manifests itself especially in religion and in the attitude taken by the central power toward it.

Occidental paganism was almost exclusively Latin under the empire. After the annexation of Spain, Gaul and Brittany the old Iberian, Celtic and other religions were unable to keep up the unequal struggle against the more advanced religion of the conquerors. The marvelous rapidity with which the literature of the civilizing Romans was accepted by the subject peoples has frequently been pointed out. Its influence was felt in the temples as well as in the forum; it transformed the prayers to the gods as well as the conversation between men. Besides, it was part of the political program of the Cæsars to make the adoption of the Roman divinities general, and the government imposed the rules of its sacerdotal law as well as the principles of its public and civil law upon its new subjects. The municipal laws prescribed the election of pontiffs and augurs in common with the judicial *duumvirs*. In Gaul druidism, with its oral traditions embodied in long poems, perished and disappeared less on account of the police measures directed against it than in consequence of its voluntary relinquishment by the Celts, as soon as they came under the ascendancy of Latin culture. In Spain it is difficult to find any traces of the aboriginal religions. Even in Africa, where the Punic religion was far more developed, it maintained itself only by assuming an entirely Roman appearance. Baal became Saturn and Eshmoun Æsculapius. It is doubtful if there was one temple in all the provinces of Italy and Gaul where,

\* Translated by A. M. Thielen.

at the time of the disappearance of idolatry, the ceremonies were celebrated according to native rites and in the local idiom. To this exclusive predominance of Latin is due the fact that it remained the only liturgic language of the Occidental Church, which here as in many other cases perpetuated a pre-existing condition and maintained a unity previously established. By imposing her speech upon the inhabitants of Ireland and Germany, Christian Rome simply continued the work of assimilation in the barbarian provinces subject to her influence that she had begun while pagan.<sup>1</sup>

In the Orient, however, the churches that are separate from the Greek orthodoxy use, even to-day, a variety of dialects calling to mind the great diversity of races formerly subject to Rome. In those times twenty varieties of speech translated the religious thought of the peoples joined under the domination of the Cæsars. At the beginning of our era Hellenism had not yet conquered the uplands of Anatolia,<sup>2</sup> nor central Syria, nor the divisions of Egypt. Annexation to the empire might retard and in certain regions weaken the power of expansion of Greek civilization, but it could not substitute Latin culture for it<sup>3</sup> except around the camps of the legions guarding the frontier and in a very few colonies. It especially benefitted the individuality of each region. The native religions retained all their prestige and independence. In their ancient sanctuaries that took rank with the richest and most famous of the world, a powerful clergy continued to practise ancestral devotions according to barbarian rites, and frequently in a barbarian tongue. The traditional liturgy, everywhere performed with scrupulous respect, remained Egyptian or Semitic, Phrygian or Persian, according to the locality.

Neither pontifical law nor augural science ever obtained credit outside of the Latin world. It is a characteristic fact that the worship of the deified emperors, the only official worship required of every one by the government as a proof of loyalty, should have originated of its own accord in Asia, received its inspiration from the purest monarchic traditions, and revived in form and spirit the veneration accorded to the Diadochi by their subjects.

Not only were the gods of Egypt and Asia never supplanted like those of Gaul or Spain, but they soon crossed the seas and gained worshipers in every Latin province. Isis and Serapis, Cybele and Attis, the Syrian Baals, Sabazius and Mithra were honored by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lejay, *Rev. d'hist. et litt. relig.*, XI, 1906, p. 370.

<sup>2</sup> Holl, *Volkssprache in Kleinasien*, 1908, pp. 250 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hahn, *Rom und Romanismus im griechisch-römischen Osten bis auf die Zeit Hadrians*. Leipsic, 1906.

brotherhoods of believers as far as the remotest limits of Germany. The Oriental reaction that we perceive from the beginning of our era, in studying the history of art, literature, and philosophy, manifested itself with incomparably greater power in the religious sphere. First, there was a slow infiltration of despised exotic religions, then, toward the end of the first century, the Orontes, the Nile and the Halys, to use the words of Juvenal, flowed into the Tiber, to the great indignation of the old Romans. Finally, a hundred years later, an influx of Egyptian, Semitic and Persian beliefs and conceptions took place that threatened to submerge all that the Greek and Roman genius had laboriously built up. What called forth and permitted this spiritual commotion, of which the triumph of Christianity was the outcome? Why was the influence of the Orient strongest in the religious field? These questions claim our attention. Like all great phenomena of history, this particular one was determined by a number of influences that concurred in producing it. In the mass of half-known particulars that brought it about, certain factors or leading causes, of which every one has in turn been considered the most important, may be distinguished.

If we yielded to the tendency of many excellent minds of to-day and regarded history as the resultant of economic and social forces, it would be easy to show their influence in that great religious movement. The industrial and commercial preponderance of the Orient was manifest, for there were situated the principal centers of production and export. The ever increasing traffic with the Levant induced merchants to establish themselves in Italy, in Gaul, in the Danubian countries, in Africa and in Spain; in some cities they formed real colonies. The Syrian emigrants were especially numerous. Compliant, quick and diligent, they went wherever they expected profit, and their colonies, scattered as far as the north of Gaul, were centers for the religious propaganda of paganism just as the Jewish communities of the Diaspora were for Christian preaching. Italy not only bought her grain from Egypt, she imported men also; she ordered slaves from Phrygia, Cappadocia, Syria and Alexandria to cultivate her depopulated fields and perform the domestic duties in her palaces. Who can tell what influence chambermaids from Antioch or Memphis gained over the minds of their mistresses? At the same time the necessities of war removed officers and men from the Euphrates to the Rhine or to the outskirts of the Sahara, and everywhere they remained faithful to the gods of their faraway country. The requirements of the government transferred functionaries and their clerks, the latter frequently of

servile birth, into the most distant provinces. Finally, the ease of communication, due to the good roads, increased the frequency and extent of travel.

Thus the exchange of products, men and ideas necessarily increased, and it might be maintained that theocracy was a necessary consequence of the mingling of the races, that the gods of the Orient followed the great commercial and social currents, and that their establishment in the Occident was a natural result of the movement that drew the excess population of the Asiatic cities and rural districts into the less thickly inhabited countries.

These reflections, which could be developed at some length, surely show the way in which the Oriental religions spread. It is certain that the merchants acted as missionaries in the seaports and places of commerce, the soldiers on the frontiers and in the capital, the slaves in the city homes,<sup>4</sup> in the rural districts and in public affairs. But while this acquaints us with the means and the agents of the diffusion of those religions, it tells us nothing of the reasons for their adoption by the Romans. We perceive the how, but not the why, of their sudden expansion. Especially imperfect is our understanding of the reasons for the difference between the Orient and the Occident pointed out above.

An example will make my meaning clear. A Celtic divinity, Epona,<sup>5</sup> was held in particular honor as the protectress of horses, as we all know. The Gallic horsemen worshiped her wherever they were cantoned; her monuments have been found scattered from Scotland to Transylvania. And yet, although this goddess enjoyed the same conditions as, for instance, Jupiter *Dolichenus* whom the cohorts of Commagene introduced into Europe, it does not appear that she ever received the homage of many strangers; it does not appear, above all, that druidism ever assumed the shape of "mysteries of Epona" into which Greeks and Romans would have asked to be initiated. It was too deficient in the intrinsic strength of the Oriental religions, to make proselytes.

Other historians and thinkers of to-day prefer to apply the laws of natural science to religious phenomena; and the theories about the variation of species find an unforeseen application here. It is maintained that the immigration of Orientals, of Syrians in particular, was considerable enough to provoke an alteration and rapid deterioration in the robust Italic and Celtic races. In addition, a social status contrary to nature, and a bad political regime effected

<sup>4</sup> Tacitus, *Annales*, XIV, 44.

<sup>5</sup> S. Reinach, "Epona," *Extr. Rev. archaeol.*, 1895.

the destruction of the strongest, the extermination of the best and the ascendancy of the worst elements of the population. This multitude, corrupted by deleterious cross-breeding and weakened by bad selection, became unable to oppose the invasion of the Asiatic chimeras and aberrations. A lowering of the intellectual level and the disappearance of the critical spirit accompanied the decline of morals and the weakening of character. In the evolution of beliefs the triumph of the Orient denoted a regression toward barbarism, a return to the remote origins of faith and to the worship of natural forces. This is a brief outline of some explanations recently proposed and received with some favor.<sup>6</sup>

It cannot be denied that souls and morals appear to have become coarser during the Roman decline. Society as a whole was deplorably lacking in imagination, intellect and taste. It seemed afflicted with a kind of cerebral anaemia and incurable sterility. The impaired reason accepted the coarsest superstitions, the most extreme asceticism and the most extravagant theurgy. It resembled an organism incapable of defending itself against contagion. All this is partly true; but the theories summarized proceed from an incorrect conception of things; in reality they are based on the illusion that Asia, under the empire, was inferior to Europe. While the triumph of the Oriental religions sometimes assumed the appearance of an awakening of savagery, these religions in reality represented a more advanced type in the evolution of religious forms than the ancient national devotions. They were less primitive, less simple, and, if I may use the expression, provided with more organs than the old Greco-Roman idolatry. We have indicated this on previous occasions, and hope to bring it out with perfect clearness in the course of these studies.

It is hardly necessary to state that a great religious conquest can be explained only on moral grounds. Whatever part must be ascribed to the instinct of imitation and the contagion of example, in the last analysis we are always face to face with a series of individual conversions. The mysterious affinity of minds is as much due to reflection as to the continued and almost unconscious influence of confused aspirations that produce faith. The obscure gestation of a new ideal is accomplished with pangs of anguish. Violent struggles must have disturbed the souls of the masses when they were torn away from their old ancestral religions, or more often from indifference, by those exacting gods who demanded a

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Stewart Chamberlain, *Die Grundlagen des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, 3d ed., Munich, 1901, pp. 296 f.

surrender of the entire person, a *devotion* in the etymological meaning of the word. The consecration to Isis of the hero of Apuleius was the result of a call, of an appeal, by the goddess who wanted the neophyte to enlist in her sacred militia.<sup>7</sup>

If it is true that every conversion involves a psychological crisis, a transformation of the intimate personality of the individual, this is especially true of the propagation of the Oriental religions. Born outside of the narrow limits of the Roman city, they grew up, frequently in hostility to it, and were international, consequently individual. The bond that formerly kept devotion centered upon the city or the tribe, upon the *gens* or the family, was broken. In place of the ancient social groups communities of initiates came into existence, who considered themselves brothers no matter where they came from.<sup>8</sup> A god, conceived of as being universal, received every mortal as his child. Whenever these religions had any relation to the state they were no longer called upon to support old municipal or social institutions, but to lend their strength to the authority of a sovereign regarded as the eternal lord of the whole world jointly with God himself. In the circles of the mystics, Asiatics mingled with Romans, and slaves with high functionaries. The adoption of the same faith made the poor freedman the equal, and sometimes the superior, of the decurion and the *clarissimus*. All submitted to the same rules and participated in the same festivities, in which the distinctions of an aristocratic society and the differences of blood and country were obliterated. The distinctions of race and nationality, of magistrate and father of a family, of patrician and plebeian, of citizen and foreigner, were abolished; all were but men, and in order to recruit members, those religions worked upon man and his character.

In order to gain the masses and the cream of Roman society (as they did for a whole century) the barbarian mysteries had to possess a powerful charm, they had to satisfy the deep wants of the human soul, and their strength had to be superior to that of the ancient Greco-Roman religion. To explain the reasons for their victory we must try to reveal the nature of this superiority—I mean their superiority in the struggle, without assuming innate superiority.

I believe that we can define it by stating that those religions gave greater satisfaction first, to the senses and passions, secondly, to the intelligence, finally, and above all, to the conscience.

<sup>7</sup> Apuleius, *Metam.*, XI, 14 f.

<sup>8</sup> Hepding, *Attis.*, pp. 178 f.; 187.

In the first place, they appealed more strongly to the senses. This was their most obvious feature, and it has been pointed out more often than any other. Perhaps there never was a religion so cold and prosaic as the Roman. Being subordinated to politics, it sought, above all, to secure the protection of the gods for the state and to avert the effects of their malevolence by the strict execution of appropriate practices. It entered into a contract with the celestial powers from which mutual obligations arose: sacrifices on one side, favors on the other. The pontiffs, who were also magistrates, regulated the religious practices with the exact precision of jurists;<sup>9</sup> as far as we know the prayers were all couched in formulas as dry and verbose as notarial instruments. The liturgy reminds one of the ancient civil law on account of the minuteness of its prescriptions. This religion looked suspiciously at the abandonment of the soul to the ecstasies of devotion. It repressed, by force if necessary, the exuberant manifestations of too ardent faith and everything that was not in keeping with the grave dignity befitting the relations of a *civis Romanus* with a god. The Jews had the same scrupulous respect as the Romans for a religious code and formulas of the past, "but in spite of their dry and minute practices, the legalism of the Pharisees stirred the heart more strongly than did Roman formalism."<sup>10</sup>

Lacking the recognized authority of official creeds, the Oriental religions had to appeal to the passions of the individual in order to make proselytes. They attracted men first by the disturbing seductiveness of their mysteries, where terror and hope were evoked in turns, and charmed them by the pomp of their festivities and the magnificence of their processions. Men were fascinated by the languishing songs and intoxicating melodies. Above all these religions taught men how to reach that blissful state in which the soul was freed from the tyranny of the body and of suffering, and lost itself in raptures. They led to ecstasy either by means of nervous tension resulting from continued maceration and fervent contemplation or by more material means like the stimulation of vertiginous dances and dizzy music, or even by the absorption of fermented liquors after a long abstinence,<sup>11</sup> as in the case of the priests of the Great Mother. In mysticism it is easy to slide from the sublime to the vile.

Even the gods, with whom the believers thought they were

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Richard Heinze, *Archiv für lat. Lexicographic*, XV, pp. 90 f

<sup>10</sup> Réville, *La religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, Paris, 1886, p. 144.

<sup>11</sup> Rohde, *Psyche*, 2d ed., pp. 315-319.

uniting themselves in their mystic outbursts, were more human and sometimes more sensual than those of the Occident. The latter had that quietude of soul in which the philosophic morality of the Greeks saw a privilege of the sage; in the serenity of Olympus they enjoyed perpetual youth; they were Immortals. The divinities of the Orient, on the contrary, suffered and died, but only to revive again.<sup>12</sup> Osiris, Attis and Adonis were mourned like mortals by wife or mistress, Isis, Cybele or Astarte. With them the mystics moaned for their deceased god and later, after he had revived, celebrated with exultation his birth to a new life. Or else they joined in the passion of Mithra, condemned to create the world in suffering. This common grief and joy were often expressed with savage violence, by bloody mutilations, long wails of despair, and extravagant acclamations. The manifestations of the extreme fanaticism of those barbarian races that had not been touched by Greek skepticism and the very ardor of their faith enthused the souls of the multitudes attracted by the exotic gods.

The Oriental religions stirred every chord of sensibility and satisfied the thirst for religious emotion that the austere Roman creed had been unable to quench. But at the same time they satisfied the intellect more fully, and this is my second point.

In very early times Greece—later imitated by Rome—became resolutely rationalistic: her greatest originality lies here. Her philosophy was purely laical; thought was unrestrained by any sacred tradition; it even pretended to pass judgment upon these traditions and condemned or approved of them. Being sometimes hostile, sometimes indifferent and sometimes conciliatory, it always remained independent of faith. But while Greece thus freed herself from the fetters of a superannuated mythology, and openly and boldly constructed those systems of metaphysics by means of which she claimed to solve the enigmas of the universe, her religion lost its vitality and dried up because it lacked the strengthening nourishment of reflection. It became a thing devoid of sense, whose *raison d'être* was no longer understood, it embodied dead ideas and an obsolete conception of the world. In Greece as well as at Rome it was reduced to a collection of unintelligible rites, scrupulously and mechanically reproduced without addition or omission because they had been practised by the ancestors of long ago, and of formulas hallowed by the *mos maiorum*, that were no longer understood or sincerely cherished. Never did a people of advanced culture have a more infantile religion.

<sup>12</sup> Firmicus Maternus, *De errore prof. relig.*, c. 8.



The Oriental civilizations on the contrary were sacerdotal in character. As in medieval Europe, the scholars of Asia and Egypt were clergymen. In the temples the nature of the gods and of man were not the only subjects of discussion; mathematics, astronomy, medicine, philology and history were also studied. The successors of Berosus, a priest from Babylonia, and Manetho, a priest from Heliopolis, were considered deeply versed in all intellectual disciplines as late as the time of Strabo.<sup>13</sup>

This state of affairs proved detrimental to the progress of science. Researches were conducted according to preconceived ideas and were perverted through strange prejudices. Astrology and magic were the monstrous fruit of a hybrid union. But all this certainly gave religion a power it had never possessed either in Greece or Rome.

All results of observation, all conquests of thought were used by an erudite clergy to attain the principle object of their activities, the solution of the problem of the destiny of man and matter, and of the relations of heaven and earth. An ever enlarging conception of the universe kept transforming the modes of belief. Faith presumed to enslave both physics and metaphysics. The credit of every discovery was given to the gods. Tot in Egypt and Bel in Chaldea were the revealers not only of theology and the ritual, but of all human knowledge.<sup>14</sup> The names of the Oriental Hipparchi and Euclids who solved the first problems of astronomy and geometry were unknown; but a confused and grotesque literature made use of the name and authority of Hermes Trismegistus. The doctrines of the planetary spheres and the opposition of the four elements were made to support systems of anthropology and of morality; the theorems of astronomy were used to establish an alleged method of divination; formulas of incantation, supposed to subject divine powers to the magician, were combined with chemical experiments and medical prescriptions.

This intimate union of erudition and faith continued in the Latin world. Theology became more and more a process of deification of the principles or agents discovered by science and a worship of time regarded as the first cause, the stars whose course determined the events of this world, the four elements whose innumerable combinations produced the natural phenomena, and especially the sun which preserved heat, fertility and life. The dogmas of the mysteries of Mithra were, to a certain extent, the religious ex-

<sup>13</sup> Strabo, XVI, I, § 6; V n. 51; XVII 21, § 46.

<sup>14</sup> Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, pp. 91 ff.

pression of Roman physics and astronomy. In all forms of pantheism the knowledge of nature appears to be inseparable from that of God.<sup>15</sup> Art itself complied more and more with the tendency to express erudite ideas by subtle symbolism, and it represented in allegorical figures the relations of divine powers and cosmic forces, like the sky, the earth, the ocean, the planets, the constellations and the winds. The sculptors engraved on stone everything man thought and taught. In a general way the belief prevailed that redemption and salvation depended on the revelation of certain truths, on a knowledge of the gods, of the world and of our person, and piety became a gnosis.<sup>16</sup>

But, you will say, since in the classic age philosophy also claimed to lead to morality through instruction and to acquaint man with the supreme good, why did it yield to Oriental religions that were in reality neither original nor innovating? Quite right, and if a powerful rationalist school, possessed of a good critical method, had led the minds, we may believe that it would have checked the invasion of the barbarian mysteries or at least limited their field of action. However, as has frequently been pointed out, even in ancient Greece the philosophic critics had very little hold on popular religion obstinately faithful to its inherited superstitious forms. But how many second century minds shared Lucian's skepticism in regard to the dogmatic systems! The various sects were fighting each other for ever so long without convincing one another of their alleged error. The satirist of Samosata enjoyed opposing their exclusive pretensions while he himself reclined on the "soft pillow of doubt." But only intelligent minds could delight in doubt or surrender to it; the masses wanted certainties. There was nothing to revive confidence in the power of a decrepit and threadbare science. No great discovery transformed the conception of the universe. Nature no longer betrayed her secrets, the earth remained unexplored and the past inscrutable. Every branch of knowledge was forgotten. The world cursed with sterility, could but repeat itself; it had the poignant appreciation of its own decay and impotence. Tired of fruitless researches, the mind surrendered to the necessity of believing. Since the intellect was unable to formulate a consistent rule of life faith alone could supply it, and the multitudes gravitated toward the temples, where the truths taught to man in earlier days by the Oriental gods were revealed. The stanch adherence of past generations to beliefs and rites of unlimited antiquity seemed to guarantee

<sup>15</sup> Cumont, *Mon. myst. Mithra*, I, p. 312.

<sup>16</sup> Iamblichus, *De myst.*, II, 11.

their truth and efficacy. This current was so strong that philosophy itself was swept toward mysticism and the neo-Platonist school became a theurgy.

The Oriental mysteries, then, could stir the soul by arousing admiration and terror, pity and enthusiasm in turn. They gave the intellect the illusion of learned depth and absolute certainty and finally—our third point—they satisfied conscience as well as passion and reason. Among the complex causes that guaranteed their domination, this was without doubt the most effective.

In every period of their history the Romans, unlike the Greeks in this respect, judged theories and institutions especially by their practical results. They always had a soldier's and business man's contempt for metaphysicians. It is a matter of frequent observation that the philosophy of the Latin world neglected metaphysical speculations and concentrated its attention on morals, just as later the Roman church left to the subtle Hellenes the interminable controversies over the essence of the divine logos and the double nature of Christ. Questions that could rouse and divide her were those having a direct application to life, like the doctrine of grace.

The old religion of the Romans had to respond to this demand of their genius. Its poverty was honest.<sup>17</sup> Its mythology did not possess the poetic charm of that of Greece, nor did its gods have the imperishable beauty of the Olympians, but they were more moral, or at least pretended to be. A large number were simply personified qualities, like chastity and piety. With the aid of the censors they imposed the practice of the national virtues, that is to say of the qualities useful to society, temperance, courage, chastity, obedience to parents and magistrates, reverence for the oath and the law, in fact, the practice of every form of patriotism. During the last century of the republic the pontiff Scaevola, one of the foremost men of his time, rejected as futile the divinities of fable and poetry, as superfluous or obnoxious those of the philosophers and the exegetists, and reserved all his favors for those of the statesmen, as the only ones fit for the people.<sup>18</sup> These were the ones protecting the old customs, traditions and frequently even the old privileges. But in the perpetual flux of things conservatism ever carries with it a germ of death. Just as the law failed to maintain the integrity of ancient principles, like the absolute power of the father of the family, principles that were no longer in keeping with the social realities, so religion witnessed the foundering of a system of ethics contrary

<sup>17</sup> Bailey, *Religion of Ancient Rome*, London, pp. 103 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Varro, *Antiq. rerum div.*, Aghad ed., pp. 145 ff.

to the moral code that had slowly been established. The idea of collective responsibility contained in a number of beliefs is one instance. If a vestal violated her vow of chastity the divinity sent a pest that ceased only on the day the culprit was punished. Sometimes the angry heavens granted victory to the army only on condition that a general or a soldier dedicate himself to the infernal gods as an expiatory victim. However, through the influence of the philosophers and the jurists the conviction slowly gained ground that each one was responsible for his own misdeeds and that it was not equitable to make a whole city suffer for the crime of an individual. People ceased to admit that the gods crushed the good as well as the wicked in one punishment. Often, also, the divine anger was thought to be as ridiculous in its manifestations as in its cause. The rural superstitions of the country districts of Latium continued to live in the pontifical code of the Roman people. If a lamb with two heads or a colt with five legs was born, solemn supplications were prescribed to avert the misfortunes foreboded by those terrifying prodigies.<sup>19</sup>

All these puerile and monstrous beliefs that burdened the religion of the Latins had thrown it into disrepute. Its morality no longer responded to the new conception of justice beginning to prevail. As a rule Rome remedied the poverty of her theology and ritual by taking what she needed from the Greeks. But here this resource failed her because the poetic, artistic and even intellectual religion of the Greeks was hardly moral. And the fables of a mythology jeered at by the philosophers, parodied on the stage and put to verse by libertine poets were anything but edifying.

Moreover—this was its second weakness—whatever morality it demanded of a pious man went unrewarded. People no longer believed that the gods continually intervened in the affairs of men to reveal hidden crimes and to punish triumphant vice, or that Jupiter would hurl his thunderbolt to crush the perjurer. At the time of the proscriptions and the civil wars under Nero or Commodus it was more than plain that power and possessions were for the strongest, the ablest or even the luckiest, and not for the wisest or the most pious. The idea of reward or punishment beyond the grave found little credit. The notions of future life were hazy, uncertain, doubtful and contradictory. Everybody knows Juvenal's famous lines: "That there are manes, a subterranean kingdom, a ferryman with a long pole, and black frogs in the whirlpools of the Styx; that so

<sup>19</sup> Lutherbacher, *Der Prodigien Glaube der Römer*, Burgdorf, 1904.

many thousand men could cross the waves in a single boat, to-day even children refuse to believe."<sup>20</sup>

After the fall of the republic indifference spread, the temples were abandoned and threatened to tumble into ruins, the clergy found it difficult to recruit members, the festivities, once so popular, fell into desuetude, and Varro, at the beginning of his *Antiquities*, expressed his fear lest "the gods might perish, not from the blows of foreign enemies, but from very neglect on the part of the citizens."<sup>21</sup> It is well known that Augustus, prompted by political rather than by religious reasons, attempted to revive the dying religion. His religious reforms stood in close relation to his moral legislation and the establishment of the imperial dignity. Their tendency was to bring the people back to the pious practice of ancient virtues but also to chain them to the new political order. The alliance of throne and altar in Europe dates from that time.

This attempted reform failed entirely. Making religion an auxiliary to moral policing is not a means of establishing its empire over souls. Formal reverence for the official gods is not incompatible with absolute and practical skepticism. The restoration attempted by Augustus is nevertheless very characteristic because it is so consistent with the Roman spirit which by temperament and tradition demanded that religion should support morality and the state.

The Asiatic religions fulfilled the requirements. The change of regime, although unwelcome, brought about a change of religion. The increasing tendency of Cæsarism toward absolute monarchy made it lean more and more upon the Oriental clergy. True to the traditions of the Achemenides and the Pharaohs, those priests preached doctrines tending to elevate the sovereign above humanity, and they supplied the emperors with dogmatic justification for their despotism.<sup>22</sup>

It is a noteworthy fact that the rulers who most loudly proclaimed their autocratic pretensions, like Domitian and Commodus, were also those that favored the foreign creeds most openly.

But this selfish support merely sanctioned a power already established. The propaganda of the Oriental religions was originally democratic and sometimes even revolutionary like the Isis worship. Step by step they advanced, always reaching higher social

<sup>20</sup> Juvenal, II, 149.

<sup>21</sup> Augustine, *Civit. dei*, VI, 2; Varro, *Antiq.*, Aghad ed., 141.

<sup>22</sup> Cumont, *Mon. myst. Mithra*, I, pp. 279 ff.

classes and appealing to popular conscience rather than to the zeal of functionaries.

As a matter of fact all these religions, except that of Mithra, seem at first sight to be far less austere than the Roman creed. We shall have occasion to note that they contained coarse and immodest fables and atrocious or vile rites. The Egyptian gods were expelled from Rome by Augustus and Tiberius on the charge of being immoral, but they were called immoral principally because they opposed a certain conception of the social order. They gave little attention to the public interest but attached considerable importance to the inner life and consequently to the value of the individual. Two new things, in particular, were brought to Italy by the Oriental priests: mysterious methods of purification, by which they claimed to wash away the impurities of the soul, and the assurance that a blessed immortality would be the reward of piety.<sup>23</sup>

These religions pretended to restore lost purity<sup>24</sup> to the soul either through the performance of ritual ceremonies or through mortification and penance. They had a series of ablutions and lustrations supposed to restore original innocence to the mystic. He had to wash himself in the sacred water according to certain prescribed forms. This was really a magic rite, because bodily purity acted sympathetically upon the soul, or else it was a real spiritual disinfection with the water driving out the evil spirits that had caused pollution. The votary, again, might drink or besprinkle himself with the blood of a slaughtered victim or of the priests themselves, in which case the prevailing idea was that the liquid circulating in the veins was a vivifying principle capable of imparting a new existence.<sup>25</sup> These and similar rites<sup>26</sup> used in the mysteries were supposed to regenerate the initiated person and to restore him to an immaculate and incorruptible life.<sup>27</sup>

Purgation of the soul was not effected solely by liturgic acts but also by self-denial and suffering.<sup>28</sup> The meaning of the term *expiatio* changed. Expiation, or atonement, was no longer accomplished by the exact performance of certain ceremonies pleasing to the gods and required by a sacred code like a penalty for damages, but by privation and personal suffering. Abstinence, which pre-

<sup>23</sup> The Greeks were familiar with mysteries.

<sup>24</sup> Farnell, *The Evolution of Religion*, 1905, pp. 88 ff.

<sup>25</sup> This will be treated at greater length in another article (Asia Minor).

<sup>26</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, p. 60.

<sup>27</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*, III, pp. 424 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Augustine, *Civ. dei*, X, 28.

vented the introduction of deadly elements into the system, and chastity, which preserved man from pollution and debility, became means of getting rid of the domination of the evil powers and of regaining heavenly favor.<sup>29</sup> Macerations, laborious pilgrimages, public confessions, sometimes flagellations and mutilations, in fact all forms of penance and mortification uplifted the fallen man and brought him nearer to the gods. In Phrygia a sinner would write his sin and the punishment he suffered upon a stela for every one to see and would return thanks to heaven that his prayer of repentance had been heard.<sup>30</sup> The Syrian, who had offended his goddess by eating her sacred fish, dressed in sordid rags, covered himself with a sack and sat in the public highway humbly to proclaim his misdeed in order to obtain forgiveness.<sup>31</sup> "Three times, in the depths of winter," says Juvenal, "the devotee of Isis will dive into the chilly waters of the Tiber, and shivering with cold, will drag herself around the temple upon her bleeding knees; if the goddess commands, she will go to the outskirts of Egypt to take water from the Nile and empty it within the sanctuary."<sup>32</sup> This shows the introduction into Europe of Oriental asceticism.

But there were impious acts and impure passions that contaminated and defiled the soul. Since this infection could be destroyed only by expiations prescribed by the gods, the extent of the sin and the character of the necessary penance had to be estimated. It was the priest's prerogative to judge the misdeeds and to impose the penalties. This circumstance gave the clergy a very different character from the one it had at Rome. The priest was no longer simply the guardian of sacred traditions, the intermediary between man or the state and the gods, but also a spiritual guide. He taught his flock the long series of obligations and restrictions for shielding their weakness from the attacks of evil spirits. He knew how to quiet remorse and scruples, and to restore the sinner to spiritual calm. Being well versed in sacred knowledge, he had the power of reconciling the gods. Frequent sacred repasts maintained a spirit of fellowship among the mystics of Cybele, Mithra or the Baals,<sup>33</sup> and a daily service unceasingly revived the faith of the Isis worshipers. In consequence, the clergy were entirely absorbed in their holy office and lived only for and by their temples. Unlike the

<sup>29</sup> Farnell, *The Evolution of Religion*, pp. 154 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Ramsay, *Cities*, I, pp. 134, 152

<sup>31</sup> Tertullian, *De Pacnit.*, c. 9.

<sup>32</sup> Juvenal, VI, 523 ff.; 537 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Cumont, *Mon. myst. Mithra*, I, p. 320.

sacerdotal colleges of Rome in which the secular and religious functions were not yet clearly differentiated,<sup>34</sup> they were not an administrative commission ruling the sacred affairs of the state under the supervision of the senate; they formed what might almost be called a caste of recluses distinguished from ordinary men by their insignia, garb, habits and food, and constituting an independent body with a hierarchy, formulary and even councils of their own.<sup>35</sup> They did not return to every-day duties as private citizens or to the direction of public affairs as magistrates as the ancient pontiffs had done after the solemn festival service.

We can readily understand that these beliefs and institutions were bound to establish the Oriental religions and their priests on a strong basis. Their influence must have been especially powerful at the time of the Cæsars. The laxity of morals at the beginning of our era has been exaggerated but it was real. Many unhealthy symptoms told of a profound moral anarchy weighing on a weakened and irresolute society. The farther we go toward the end of the empire, the more its energy seems to fail and the character of men to weaken. The number of strong healthy minds incapable of a lasting aberration and without need of guidance or comfort was growing ever smaller. We note the spread of that feeling of exhaustion and debility which follows the aberrations of passion, and the same weakness that led to crime impelled men to seek absolution in the formal practices of asceticism. They applied to the Oriental priests for spiritual remedies.

People flattered themselves that by performing the rites they would attain a condition of felicity after death. All barbarian mysteries pretended to reveal to their adherents the secret of blessed immortality. Participation in the occult ceremonies of the sect was a chief means of salvation.<sup>36</sup> The vague and disheartening beliefs of ancient paganism in regard to life after death were transformed into the firm hope of a well-defined form of happiness.<sup>37</sup>

This faith in a personal survival of the soul and even of the body was based upon a strong instinct of human nature, the instinct of self-preservation. Social and moral conditions in the empire during its decline gave it greater strength than it had ever

<sup>34</sup> This process, according to Spencer, is a characteristic of religious evolution.

<sup>35</sup> Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra*, 2d ed., 1902 p. 139.

<sup>36</sup> Wendland, "Σωτήρ," *Zeitschr. für neutestam. Wissensch.*, V, 1904, pp. 335 ff.

<sup>37</sup> These doctrines will be explained in other articles (Egypt and Persia).



possessed before.<sup>38</sup> The third century saw so much suffering, anguish and violence, so much unnecessary ruin and so many unpunished crimes, that the Roman world took refuge in the expectation of a better existence in which all the iniquity of this world would be retrieved. No earthly hope brightened life. The tyranny of a corrupt bureaucracy choked all disposition for political progress. Science stagnated and revealed no more unknown truths. Growing poverty discouraged the spirit of enterprise. The idea gained ground that humanity was afflicted with incurable decay, that nature was approaching her doom and that the end of the world was near.<sup>39</sup> We must remember all these causes of discouragement and despondency to understand the power of the idea, expressed so frequently, that the spirit animating man was forced by bitter necessity to imprison itself in matter and that it was delivered from its carnal captivity by death. In the heavy atmosphere of a period of oppression and impotence the dejected soul longed with incredible ardor to fly to the radiant abode of heaven.

To recapitulate, the Oriental religions acted upon the senses, the intellect and the conscience at the same time, and therefore gained a hold on the entire man. Compared with the ancient creeds, they appear to have offered greater beauty of ritual, greater truth of doctrine and a far superior morality. The imposing ceremonial of their festivities and the alternating pomp and sensuality, gloom and exaltation of their services appealed especially to the simple and the humble, while the progressive revelation of ancient wisdom, inherited from the old and distant Orient, captivated the cultured mind. The emotions excited by these religions and the consolations offered strongly attracted the women, who were the most fervent and generous followers and most passionate propagandists<sup>40</sup> of the religions of Isis and Cybele. Mithra was worshiped almost exclusively by men, whom he subjected to a rigid moral discipline. Thus souls were gained by the promise of spiritual purification and the prospect of eternal happiness.

The worship of the Roman gods was a civic duty, the worship of the foreign gods the expression of a personal belief. The latter were the objects of the thoughts, feelings and intimate aspirations of the individual, not merely of the traditional and, one might say, functional adoration of the citizen. The ancient municipal devotions were connected with a number of earthly interests that helped

<sup>38</sup> Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altkirchlichen Literatur*, 1903, p. 470.

<sup>39</sup> Lucretius, II, 1170 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Boissier, *Rel. rom.*, I, p. 359.

to support each other. They were one of various forms of family spirit and patriotism and guaranteed the prosperity of the community. The Oriental mysteries, directing the will toward an ideal goal and exalting the inner spirit, were less mindful of economic utility, but they could produce that vibration of the moral being that caused emotions, stronger than any rational faculty, to gush forth from the depths of the soul. Through a sudden illumination they furnished the intuition of a spiritual life whose intensity made all material happiness appear insipid and contemptible. This stirring appeal of supernatural life made the propaganda irresistible. The same ardent enthusiasm guaranteed at the same time the uncontested domination of neo-Platonism among the philosophers. Antiquity expired and a new era was born.

## NAZARETH, NAZOREAN AND JESUS.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

SINCE Prof. W. B. Smith in the article, "The Real Question of the Ancestry of Jesus" (*Open Court*, January, 1910) says: "Neither Josephus nor the Old Testament, nor the Talmud (for nearly a thousand years after Christ) knows anything about Nazareth," I would call his attention to the fact that Nazareth is mentioned in a Jewish elegy by Eleazar ha Kalir, 900 A. D.; a notice though, which goes back to an older Midrash. According to that notice there was a "station for priests in Nazareth"<sup>1</sup> who went to Jerusalem to do service in the temple.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore no such town as Dalmanutha (Mark viii. 10) occurs in either Josephus, the Old Testament or the Talmud, nor does Josephus or the Old Testament mention the Chorazin and Magdala of the New Testament. The silence about these towns could as well be adduced as proof of their non-existence as the silence adduced against Nazareth. A point in order here is that in the catalogue of cities in Galilee (Josh. xix) only the cities are mentioned and not the villages, as is expressly stated. Galilee had more communities than only those mentioned in that list by name. Josephus also says: "Cities and villages lie thick here, everywhere full of people." (*De Bell. Jud.*, III, 3, 2).

Further the form *Nazara* "is sustained" by such important manuscripts as  $\aleph$ , B and  $\Xi$  in Luke iv. 16 and Math iv. 13.

Further if the existence of Nazareth in the first century is denied, the question must be answered why the prevailing form in *eth* or *et* is used. Why did not the writer of the First Gospel, if he wrongly brought *Nazoraios* in connection with some fictitious town, rather infer that its name was *Nazora*? The ending *eth* must be accounted for. It is a Hebrew ending occurring in Galilean

<sup>1</sup> משמרת נצרת.

<sup>2</sup> Herzog and Plitt, *Encyclopedia*, 1903.

towns as Kinnereth (Deut. iii. 17) and Dabasheth (Josh. xix. 11). The ending *ath*, the original feminine ending of nouns, generally dulled in *ah* or toneless *eth*, is also found in names of Galilean towns, and some think that Nazareth was originally pronounced *Nazarath* (that form occurring in some manuscripts). Thus there are such towns as Dabrath and Anaharath and others of the same ending in the catalogue in Josh. xix. Very probably the purely Hebrew word *Nazareth* was already in the original Matthew, just as a very similar form of locality, *Arzareth*, is mentioned in the thoroughly Jewish writing of the first century, the fourth book of Ezra.

Then, too, early in the second century Nazareth was considered as the original dwelling place of the parents of Jesus and his early home. Justin Martyr (died 165) mentions Nazareth according to the account of Luke as the home of the parents of Jesus (*Dialog. c. Tryph.* LXXVIII). Is it possible that Justin, himself a native of Shechem, Samaria, would have mentioned this, if Nazareth was a fiction in his times? Again, if Professor Smith accepts Epiphanius, living in the second half of the fourth century, as authority on the *Nasaraioi* and *Nazaraioi* living in Cochaba and other towns mentioned by him in Coele Syria and vicinity, why can not Julius Africanus, living in the first half of the third century and like Epiphanius in Palestine, be accepted as an authority on Nazara (as he writes it) which he mentions together with the same Cochaba, mentioned by Epiphanius, as places where the relatives of Jesus had been living? The passage in question is quoted in full by Eusebius from Africanus (*Hist. Eccl.* I, 1).

Moreover, we must not confine ourselves to the First Gospel, but also see what Mark has to say about Nazareth. This Gospel (by many considered the oldest of the present Gospels), without saying anything about the derivation of *Nasaraioi* and fixing on Capernaum as the place where Jesus did most of his first work, nevertheless clearly distinguishes between this town and Nazareth. After having described in the preceding chapter the work of Jesus in Capernaum, Mark in vi. 1 says that Jesus "went out from there"<sup>3</sup> and came to his native country, just as he says in iii. 21, that "his folks<sup>4</sup> went *out* to lay hold of him, for they said he is out of his mind," and that his mother and brothers came (verse 31) and were standing outside and sent in to him, i. e., in a house in Capernaum. Mark likewise, when beginning with the career of Jesus, says distinctly, "And Jesus came from Nazareth etc." (i. 9).

<sup>3</sup> ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν.

<sup>4</sup> οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ.

The further fact that Nazareth was inhabited only by Jews until the reign of Constantine, as Epiphanius states, seems to be significant when considering that Jesus was thoroughly Jewish in his ideas. Though only a village, Nazareth may very well have had a synagogue, for according to the Rabbins in every place where there were ten people a house should be set aside for prayer.

May not also the words, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" (John i. 46) even though the Fourth Gospel is otherwise little credited as history, be of value in regard to our question? Was Nazareth perhaps even then at the date of the latest Gospel an insignificant town?

\* \* \*

Proceeding to the forms *Nazoraïos*, *Nazaraïos*, *Nazarenos* we may infer from them also the existence of a Nazareth in the first century.

The form *Nazarenos* in Mark must be taken into consideration in the passages quoted in my note.<sup>5</sup> As said there, they are probably formed from *Nazara* as Magdalene from *Magdala*.<sup>6</sup>

The further possibility remains, as I think I have shown in the same note, that even *Nazoraïos* is formed from *Nazara* by a change of the second *a* into *o* as frequently occurs in Hebrew.

Again, proper names, when taken into a foreign language often change considerably. They are altered so as to be easily pronounced in that tongue. The formation *Nazarethaios* was not required in Greek. Hebrews formed their *gentilicia* by adding an *i* to names of countries, cities etc., often cutting away whole syllables. Thus an inhabitant of *Thimnata* is a *Thimni* (Jud. xv. 6), and in the Talmud a follower of Jesus a *Nozri*, plural *Nozrim*.<sup>7</sup> The *a* here goes over into *o* as in the participial form of *nazar*, as we shall see later when discussing the Jesus-Nazar-yah theory of Dr. Smith.

The suspicion that there may have been a Nazareth after all is strengthened when considering the prophecy cited in Matt. ii. 23. This citation, as unwarranted as the previous one, "Out of Egypt have I called my son," referring not to Jesus but to the Israelitish people, most probably referred to Is. xi. 1, where the Messiah is called a *nezzer*,<sup>8</sup> a sprout. Had the Gospel writer referred to Jesus as being a Nazirite, a devotee, he would have found a Greek form for this idea ready made in the Septuagint. In Lam. iv. 7 the Hebrew *nasir*<sup>9</sup> is translated *Nazeiraios*,<sup>10</sup> and in Jud. xiii. 5 the form

<sup>5</sup> See *Open Court*, Dec. 1909, p. 766.

<sup>6</sup> *Ναζαρηθος, Μαγδαληνη.*      <sup>7</sup> *נוצרים, נוצרי.*

<sup>8</sup> *נצר*

<sup>9</sup> *נזיר*

<sup>10</sup> *Ναζειραιος.* Ed. by H. B. Swete. 1895.

*Nazair*<sup>11</sup> is used. The Septuagint knows the meaning of this term very well, for in other places it translates "Nazirites" by the Greek word *euxamenoî*, i. e., "devotees." But the Gospel writer in citing a prophecy does not say *Naziraios* or *Naziraios* but *Nazoraïos*. This must not be overlooked, for it may point to the fact that after all *Nazoraïos* may be connected with Nazareth.

It is further significant that the so-called "Christians" of John, a sect seemingly deifying John the Baptist and, though very syncretistic, standing in connection with the origins of Christianity, call themselves in their holy book, the *Ginza Nazorajc*.<sup>12</sup> We might expect a different form from a sect claiming connection with the Baptist, as the Baptist was surely more of a Nazirite than Jesus,



but very probably the name by which they call themselves dates from a time when both the followers of John and those of Jesus were indiscriminately called *Nazoraïoi*. The connections between the disciples of John and those of Jesus were very close as we know from the New Testament.

\* \* \*

I think we are not necessarily obliged to assume that the believers in Jesus were generally called *Nazoraïoi* in the times of Paul though it is so reported in Acts. This may be the case, but on the other hand the writer of Acts, one of the later writers of the New Testament, may have transferred this name from his times, when *Nazoraïoi* had become more generally applied to Christians by their

<sup>11</sup> *Nažeip*. The Alexandrian manuscript in that passage has *Nažipaïos* and verse 7, *Nažepaïos*.

<sup>12</sup> נַזֹּרַאִיָּא cited in Herzog and Plitt.

Jewish opponents, to the times of Paul in his history, just as the late writer of the Fourth Gospel makes Pilate put on the cross the inscription "Jesus Nazoraios, the King of the Jews," while the Synoptics have simply "The King of the Jews."

\* \* \*

The most difficult point in the question of the existence of Nazareth is the fact that if the Greek form *Nazareth* is a translation of the Hebrew, the Hebrew would have been written *Nasareth*<sup>13</sup> as the Septuagint throughout renders the Hebrew letter *Zade*<sup>14</sup> by the Greek letter *Sigma* (Σ) with the exception of three passages, Gen. xiii. 21 and Jer. xxxi. 4 and 34, where the Hebrew *Zoar*<sup>15</sup> is rendered by *Zogor*.<sup>16</sup> Dr. E. Nestle has shown (*Open Court*, March 1910, p. 191) that the other forms I referred to in my previous note were not correct readings according to the latest editions. On the other hand the Hebrew letter *Sain*<sup>17</sup> is always rendered in the Septuagint by the Greek letter *Zeta* (Ζ). Still there are also a few exceptions. In Gen. xxxvi. 12 and 15 the Hebrew *Eliphaz*<sup>18</sup> is rendered in Greek *Eliphaz*,<sup>19</sup> while in verses 11 and 16 of the same chapter the Hebrew *Kenas*<sup>20</sup> is rendered in Greek *Kenez*,<sup>21</sup> just as in the next chapter to the one in Genesis, where the Hebrew *Zoar* is rendered in Greek by *Zogor*, the same Hebrew form is rendered in Greek by *Sēgor*.<sup>22</sup> Dr. Nestle attributes the form *Zogor* to Aramaic influence, as the Aramaic *sair* (small) written with a *Sain* corresponds to the Hebrew *zair* written with a *Zade*. The two sibilants *Sain* and *Zade* are related sounds and we find Hebrew words of the same meaning sometimes written with *Zade* and sometimes with *Sain* in the Hebrew text. Thus the Hebrew words for "to cry out," "to rejoice," "gold" and "golden" all occur written both with *Sain* and *Zade*.<sup>23</sup> If this is the case may not *Nazareth* have originally also been pronounced or written in two ways? Perhaps also in this way Nazareth was arbitrarily brought in connection both with *nezor*, (sprout) and the verb *nasar*, from which the word *nasir* (devotee), also meaning "prince," is taken.

\* \* \*

Commentators have brought the form *Nazoraios* in connection with forms derived from the verb *nasar*<sup>24</sup> (to preserve); thus *nasur* [passive participle] for Jesus as one preserved from danger when a child, or *nezurim* for the first Christians as being "the preserved of

<sup>13</sup> נזרת

<sup>14</sup> צ

<sup>15</sup> צער

<sup>16</sup> Ζογορ

<sup>17</sup> ז

<sup>18</sup> אֵלִיפָאז

<sup>19</sup> Ἐλιφας.

<sup>20</sup> קֵנָז.

<sup>21</sup> Κενης.

<sup>22</sup> Σηγορ.

<sup>23</sup> צעהב and זרהב; עריצ and עלוז; צעק and זעק

<sup>24</sup> נצור.

Israel" according to Isaiah xlix. 6 etc. Such guesses are in my opinion precarious and so also the theory of Dr. Smith based thereon. According to him *Nazoraios* or *Nazaraios* is nothing but a Greek form for an assumed Hebrew form *Nazar-yah*, i. e., Guardian-yah (*yah*, abbreviation from Yahveh). To the author of the theory Jesus the Nazoraios is no historical personality, but a pure abstraction. The *Nazoraioi*, he thinks, called themselves so from God or Yahveh, who had the attribute Guardian, Protector. The theory hinges on the report of Epiphanius that there was a sect "existing before Christ and who knew not Christ" called *Nasaraioi*. I regret to have no copy of Epiphanius, but if I am right, this great heresy expert distinguishes between pre-Christian *Nasaraioi*, vegetarians and rejectors of the Pentateuch, and *Nazaraioi*, as the Jewish Christians and believers in Jesus were later called. Dr. Smith seems to assume that both are the same sect. Granted. If *Nazar-yah* is assumed to mean Guardian-yah, I would say that proper names ending in *yah* are extremely common in the Old Testament, but that they are all names of human persons expressing some act or relation of Yahveh to the person who bears such a name; they are never the names of God.

*Nazar-yah* or rather *Nezar-yah*, as we may see presently, would mean "one whom Yahveh guards," just as *Zephan-yah* and *Shemaryah* mean "one whom Yahveh protects and guards." The Guardian-yah of Dr. Smith might as well have been called Zephan-yah or Shemaryah.

Then, too, *Nazar-yah* is not a right formation. If a Hebrew word grows at the end and the accent moves forward, a full vowel changes into a half vowel, thus the full *a* in the beginning changes into short *e*; for instance, Zephanyah instead of *Zaphanyah*, Shemaryah instead of *Shamaryah*, Zecaryah instead of *Zacaryah*, etc., etc.<sup>25</sup>

If the attribute of Protector, Guardian, was to be given to God, the present participle form of *nazar*, i. e., *nozer*, would have had to be used, but the participle form of *shamar* would have done as well for the sect of Dr. Smith. In fact *shamar* is used as well as *nazar* for describing God as Protector in the Old Testament.

In order to support his theory of *Nazaryah* and that there never was a carpenter Jesus, but that the carpenter is nothing but the Guardian-yah, it is very convenient for the theory that there is a Hebrew word *nasar*,<sup>26</sup> which means "to saw." Although this verb is spelled differently than *nazar* it must fit in with the theory. It is

<sup>25</sup> וְנָזַרְתָּ יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה יִשְׁמָרְךָ יְהוָה יִצְּלֶנְךָ

<sup>26</sup> נָסַר.



lucky that *Nazoraïos* is spelled with a *z* or else we would have a *Nasaryah*, a Sawyeryah.

\* \* \*

Likewise the name "Jesus" is not to Dr. Smith the name of a human person but an attribute to God and means about the same as *nazar*, or as much as the Greek *Soter*, Saviour. But (1) Jesus was an extremely common name among the ancient Hebrews and the Jews of the first century, and (2) *Jesus* never means Saviour in spite of the pun in Matt. i. 21. *Jesus* (Hebrew *Jehoshua*, abbreviated *Jeshua*) means "one whose help is Yahveh," just as *Elishua* means "one whose help is God." The Hebrew word for Saviour is *Moshia*<sup>27</sup> and is used very often in the Old Testament as an attribute of God or Yahveh, just as the Greeks spoke of *Zeus Soter*. It is therefore also translated in the Septuagint by *Soter* or the participle *sozon*,<sup>28</sup> and the word *Soter* as an attribute of God occurs also in the very Hebraic first chapter of Luke (verse 47). *Moshia* would therefore have been the attribute the sect of Dr. Smith would have chosen for God and not a human proper name as common as "Gotthilf" in German.

After such daring assumptions in the theory of Jesus-Nazar-yah, I think it safer to fall back on the idea that there really was a carpenter Jesus after all, who was very probably also from Nazareth, especially since we cannot get around some very hard facts mentioned below.

\* \* \*

Professor Smith lays stress on the point that "the heresy of the *Nasaraïoi* was before Christ and knew not Christ." If this heresy consisted in a view similar to that held by the Jewish-Christian *Nasaraïoi* (this term is retained by early ecclesiastical writers for a portion of the Jewish Christians, the other being the Ebionites, after the term *Christianoï* had become more general for the Gentile Christians) who believed in a heavenly Christ, that had appeared in the human Jesus after he had already appeared in Adam and in the patriarchs, had in fact gone through different incarnations, there was not anything peculiarly astonishing in the pre-Christian *Nasaraïoi*, of Dr. Smith.

The Jewish-Christian *Nasaraïoi* accepted the Gospel of the Hebrews which contains no account of a miraculous birth of Jesus and makes the Holy Spirit the mother of Jesus. Perhaps those pre-Christian heretics "who knew not Christ" were such Gnostics, who believed in a heavenly Christ taking upon himself different incarna-

<sup>27</sup> מוֹשִׁיעַ.

<sup>28</sup> σωζων.

tions. But was not Paul such a pre-Christian Gnostic also, who transferred all his mystical ideas about the heavenly Christ to the person of Jesus, whose human character in his letters almost entirely disappears under the mythical speculations which he sets forth about him? Paul likewise knows nothing about a miraculous birth of Jesus; he speaks about "the last, the heavenly Adam," and as in the Gospel to the Hebrews the Holy Spirit expresses satisfaction at having found in Jesus a place for rest of her firstborn son (the Hebrew for Spirit being of feminine gender) so to Paul, Christ is essentially a "son of the Spirit," to use a peculiar Gnostic Semitic expression; yes Paul in his letters even identifies Christ with the Spirit (2 Cor. iii. 17) in the same way that a rabbinical speculation said that the Messiah was already mentioned at the time of creation since he was the Spirit of God hovering over the deep.

The more I study the ancient Jewish literature outside of the Bible, the more clearly I find the pre-Christian Christ standing out in it. But the mystical and gnostic views about him expressed in that literature were transferred by Paul, very often in exactly the same terms and phrases, and by other men like Apollos, who, to use the words of Epiphanius, "were before Christ and knew not Christ," upon the person of the historical Jesus. For I do not see how we can ever get around the fact, that in spite of all the mystical speculations of Paul upon the heavenly Christ and his work, he nevertheless speaks of the married brothers of the Lord, of his special disciples, of the last night of his life, of his death on the cross and of the visions, which many believers before Paul's conversion and Paul himself had of him after his death. Jesus was to Paul an historical reality, who in some way or another must have made such a powerful impression upon the first Christian circles that they felt justified in conveying upon his person all the attributes of the heavenly Christ existing in pre-Christian Jewish mysticism and gnosticism about this matter. These views may not have been uniform but rather chaotic, still it was for this reason of utmost importance that an historical person should furnish a point about which these views crystallized into something of a system. I think it safer to assume an historical Jesus than the pre-Christian Jesus of Professor Smith, a pure abstraction.

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Professor Smith has entirely misquoted 2 Cor. v. 16. Paul says: "Wherefore we henceforth know no man after the flesh. Even though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet we know him no more." Paul intends to say that as a follower of Christ he

from now on entirely leaves out of account in the Jew his Jewish origin, in the Greek his Greek origin, in the slave his bondage, etc. (compare Gal. iii. 28).

Further according to the context Paul compares the view which he had of Jesus as a mere man, a common Jew, before his conversion, with the view he now has of him as the bearer of the heavenly Christ. Paul intends to say nothing whatever of the non-existence of a human Jesus as Professor Smith infers. Some commentators have rather inferred from this passage that Paul had seen Jesus while still alive.

The question is not whether there was a pre-Christian Christ, but a human Jesus. A pre-Christian Christ there existed in the ideas of many a Jew before Jesus and so also in the mind of Paul, not only the idea of a common human Messiah, but of a heavenly mystical Christ. The extra-canonical Jewish literature proves this. Without these views there would not have been a bridge for Paul and others like Apollos from Judaism to Christianity. The question whether there was a human Jesus is I think not so problematic as some insist. For as I said before, I do not see how we can ever get around what Paul says about the brothers of Jesus, (whose names are even given in the Synoptics) etc. If in the religious history of mankind in other cases men have been looked upon as special divine incarnations or have themselves believed they were such, why in the origin of Christianity should this feature alone be wanting?

It is the safest way to see in the Jesus Christ of Christianity a mixture of the mythical heavenly Christ and the historical Jesus, just as we have in the *Nibelungenlied* a mixture of the mythical goddess Brunhilde and an historical queen Brunhilde; the mixture of a mythical Gunther and an historical Burgundian king Guntram; in *Krimhilde* a mixture of a mythical Krimhilde and an historical Hildico, the last wife of Attila who defeated the Burgundian kings, etc.

P. Hermann (*Deutsche Mythologie*) says: "The presupposition of the epic is the heroic legend and that of the latter mythology. The heroic legend consists of two elements: (1) an upper, heavenly; gods come down to men yet without becoming fully man; and (2) a lower, earthly; historical persons, especially those of the times of national struggles, are raised to superhuman beings. All heroes, whose history is not probable or provable, originally were gods." These words also apply to Jesus. The historical existence of Jesus appears as well proven and provable as that of many other historical persons of whom little is known; the *Christ* is mystical and mythical.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### IN RE "LETTERS TO HIS HOLINESS."

The Roman Catholic Church is a great institution which satisfies the religious needs of many millions of people. It can scarcely be denied that there are men who stand in need of exactly such a kind of ritual, of such doctrines, of such supervision of their consciences, and the editor of this periodical is far from the intention of assuming a hostile attitude toward this most remarkable faith which commends itself in many respects. But a cry for reform came to him from the very ranks of Roman Catholic priesthood so intense and fervid that it seemed wrong not to heed it. This Modernist who has written the *Letters to His Holiness, Pius X*, only wants to warn the Church and effect a reform that would bring this venerable institution abreast with the age. He wants especially to reach the priesthood and he sums up the purpose of his book in these words:

"What is the purpose of the Christian Church? This and this alone: to extend on earth the kingdom of righteousness; to preach the Christ-life; to witness to the unseen ideals of truth, goodness and love. The Church's kingdom is of this world inasmuch as it deals with men, their motives, aspirations, character, and moral activities. It is not of this world inasmuch as it should have no direct concern with temporalities and no perverse meddling with the things that are Cæsar's. To the extent that it conflicts with human progress, antagonizes the national spirit of this people or that, clothes itself with secularity; assumes an attitude of harshness, provocation or defiance, it turns aside from its one reason for being, excites those deplorable oppositions of which we hear so much, between religion and science, religion and civilization, religion and the state, and stands in the way of winning the world to the spirit of Christ.

"Elementary as this statement is, churches are prone to forget it. The Church is composed of men after all; and men in every age from apostolic times to our own, have brought into the sanctuary the spirit of pride, domination and severity. Look into every revolt from the Church, and at the bottom of it you will find an abuse, a forgetting of purely spiritual purposes, an arousing to exasperation of the conscience, patriotism, or self-respect of mankind.

"Now abuses are corrected by either reform or revolt. If the Church herself, moved by the protest of her earnest sons, removes the abuse, it is reform. If, heedless of warning, she neglects to remove it, the result, the deadly result, is revolt. No greater question confronts the Church than this: Will she acknowledge abuses and quietly correct them; or by stubbornly ignoring them, invite revolution or decay?"

In announcing the book many circulars were sent out, and these have been acknowledged by a good many orders and sometimes by the expression of unflattering opinions with regard to the author. The following humorous message, evidently intended for his benefit, was returned to us on such a circular sent to each of the priests in a medium sized town of Massachusetts:

"Protestants had cleared the Church good enough in 16th century. Join them. Direct your letters to Luther; his adress is so: Lucifer, Manager of the Hell, for his friend Luther. If Vatherland of cleared Church or Hell is too far, go to Utah; there is Church and Religion convenient for you and your adherents. D— f—." (The spelling of these words in the original manuscript varies from the customary usage.)

We assume that the writer is a foreigner, and judge that he must be an interesting character. We would be glad to have an opportunity to make his personal acquaintance.

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### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HAPPINESS. By *R. Waite Joslyn*. Elgin, Ill.: Normalist Pub. Co. Pp. 200.

This essay is described in a secondary title as "a consideration of normalism," and normalism as a principle is defined as "a philosophy of life that depends for its justification upon no particular creed or doctrine, upon no particular interpretation of the activities of nature, but upon knowledge of nature's unchanging laws, and has for its foundation the fact that in the life of each individual there is a normal way of conduct and being, and its realization in practice brings man his best and highest good. . . . Not closing its eyes to the mysteries of life and being, it yet holds that the conduct of life and the relations of man to man are of first importance. To live within the conditions of life as determined by those laws of life that rest eternal in the universe to the end that happiness and high developments may be attained, is the first aim of its faith."

It is clearly the intention of the author to provide a manual of ethics for the conduct of life according to the ideals of "normalism." The value of its lesson, however, is partly vitiated by too frequent use of poetical forms of common words, inverted position of phrases, and in parts by too generous sprinkling of commas, dashes, and italics, all of which tend to call attention to the writer's mode of expression to the serious disadvantage of the thought expressed.

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DAS CHRISTENTUM UND DIE MONISTISCHE RELIGION. Von *Max Werner*. Berlin: Curtius, 1908. Pp. 202.

The first half of this book is devoted to a critical discussion of Christianity beginning with the pre-Copernican world-conception, the Pentateuch, revelation and the influence of Zarathushtra. It then considers in detail various dogmatic questions: the Christ, the human Jesus, the Gospels, the birth, miracles and resurrection of Jesus, the Apostles' Creed and finally the Pope's encyclical against modernism. The spirit is earnest but rather destructive; since the Church has erred, for instance, in assuming that the sun moves around the earth, it of course ceases to be infallible and therefore can never guarantee that it will not err again. The argument no doubt is logical, but there is no recognition of the part Christianity still should play in modern

times under the sway of evolution. The book, however, is not wholly destructive in so far as it has a monistic religion to offer with which to supplant the old regime. This new religion, intended to fit a humanity whose world-conception is that of evolution, just as the Christianity of medievalism was adapted to the Middle Ages, is formulated in the second part with regard to the subjects God, the soul, death, humanity and the meaning of life. The author concludes with a summons to all emancipated souls to openly join the movement which tends towards the establishment of a monistic church.

PAG SAM JON ZANG. By *Sumpa Khan-Po Yeçe Pal Jor*. Edited by *Sarat Chandra Das*. Calcutta: Presidency Jail Press, 1908. Pp. 429, cxlviii. Price 3 rupees.

The editor has rendered Buddhism a great service in bringing to light this classical history of Buddhism. The service would have been greatly augmented if he had made the book accessible to the Western world by publishing an English translation instead of simply editing the Tibetan text of the original. The work is divided into two parts treating of the "History of the Rise, Progress and Downfall of Buddhism in India," and the "History of Tibet from Early Times to 1745 A. D." The author is the great national historiographer and chronologist of Tibet and lived from 1702-1775. A brief biography in English prefaces Part I in which we are told of the traditional saintliness of his character, his zeal for Buddhist propaganda and the favor he found in the sight of the great Mongol emperor of his day. Besides this sketch and the corresponding English introduction to Part II which gives briefly "The Origin of the Tibetans," and "The Early History of Tibet," the value of the book to English readers lies exclusively in the analytical table of contents provided for each Part, and a careful and complete explanatory index of the whole.

DAS WELTBILD VON DARWIN UND LAMARCK. Von *Ernst Haeckel*. Leipsic: Kröner, 1909. Pp. 39.

DARWIN ALS LEBENSELEMENT UNSERER MODERNEN KULTUR. Von *Rudolf Goldscheid*. Vienna: Heller, 1909. Pp. III.

Each of these brochures consists of a lecture given at the commemoration of the centennial of Darwin's birthday, Feb. 12, 1909: Professor Haeckel's at the Volkshaus in Jena, and Mr. Goldscheid's before the Sociological Society in Berlin. Both treat of the value of the change in the prevalent world-conception wrought by the promulgation of the doctrines of evolution, the former from a scientist's point of view, while the latter in perhaps more general terms closes with the wish that the Darwin centennial may celebrate the introduction into the schools of all civilized nations of the established theory of descent in its most modern form.

The series of "Letters to His Holiness," by A Modernist, begun in our last issue, is not to be continued in *The Open Court*, as was announced. The Letters have been published in the meantime in book form by the Open Court Publishing Co. (Pp. 300; cloth \$1. 25). They form a book of momentous import at this time and have a twofold purpose. On the one hand the author wants to make the Curia feel its enormous responsibility, and on the other hand to educate both priest and layman for the work of reconstruction within the Roman Catholic Church.

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