The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

VOL. XXXIV (No. 7) JULY, 1920 NO. 770

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PRINCE PETER KROPOTKIN.

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THE SOCIOLOGICAL IDEAS OF PRINCE PETER KROPOTKIN.

BY M. JOURDAIN.

THE sociology of Prince Peter Kropotkin is essentially Russian since it has to a great extent been called into being by the peculiarity of the social-political life of that nation. Brückner calls the Russian Slav a born anarchist;[1] he is certainly a born communist. The Russian peasant has a firm hold upon the institution called the land commune or community ownership, which, although in 1906 allowed to be broken up, survived to a considerable extent, and the idealization of the commune appear in Kropotkin as in Cernyševskii and other Russian populists. What gives color to his sociological theory can be analyzed readily enough, Bakuninism (and other less powerful Russian influences), the influence of English thinkers such as Adam Smith, and in the last resort, the psychology of the Russian revolutionary and a kindly and temperamental personal optimism. Russia has been called the land of extremes, and Kropotkin is an illustration of this divergence—a man emotionally humane, who can mete out no punishment to the work-shy,[2] justifies and recommends the destruction of a tyrant as though he were a "viper." Yet Kropotkin is of the stuff that Shaftesbury and Shelley were made of.

[1] *Geschichte der russischen Literatur,* p. 1.

[2] "Kropotkin is himself a fresh illustration of the psychology of the Russian revolutionary. Humane as a man can be, a gentleman in the best and finest sense of the word, when he speaks of 'vipers' Kropotkin is concentrating in that expression the revolutionary mood of a lifetime. Thus does it come to pass that a man who by temperament and philosophic training is one of the kindliest of his day can justify the slaughter of a tyrant." Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia,* London, 1919, Vol. II, p. 386. This valuable study, recently translated into English (1919), is an authoritative and well-documented history of Russian thought by Professor Masaryk, first President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

Kropotkin, who was for so many years resident in England and whose books and contributions to the English press are widely read, is sometimes regarded by English readers as the originator of certain ideals which he shares with other Russian thinkers such as Lavrov, Černyševskii and Bakunin. He reflects and develops rather than originates. He is in sympathy with Černyševskii's socialism, which is based on the *mir* or commune, and he accepts the solution presented in *What Is Done* of the problem of marriage and divorce.[3] But the leading influence is, without doubt, that of Bakunin, and Kropotkin may be described as a genial Bakunin. A more temperate visionary than that turbulent dreamer who delighted in the idea of shattering the world to bits,[4] Kropotkin's leading idea is rather the remoulding of the world into a new and desirable order.

Kropotkin's views are distinguished from Marx's in the recognition of morality. He believes that the moral sense is, like the sense of taste, innate. "Morals, therefore, need neither sanction nor obligation—*une morale sans obligation ni sanction,* as Guyau puts it. . . . The natural inclinations of human beings serve to explain human action: every one treats others as he wishes to be treated by them."[5] It is on this foundation of "natural sympathy" that Kropotkin builds his communistic ideal. The sense of membership produces a spontaneous social order, and this order he terms *mutualism.* He contends that there has always been a harmony of interests between the individual and the community, but he admits the existence of men unable to grasp this mutuality, whose actions are anti-social. At the same time he contends that there have always been men able to recognize the principle, and therefore able to lead a perfectly social life. To Kropotkin society is "a great total, organized to produce the greatest possible result of well-being with the smallest expenditure of human strength."[6] It is "an aggregation of organisms trying to find out the best ways of combining the wants of the individual with those of cooperation for the wel-

[3] Masaryk, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 386.

[4] Bakunin inveighs against those who demand a precise plan of reconstruction and of the future. "It suffices if we can achieve no more than a hazy idea of the opposite to all that is loathsome in contemporary civilization. Our aim is to raze things down to the ground; our goal, pandestruction. It seems to us criminal that those who are already busied about the practical work of revolution should trouble their minds with the thoughts of this nebulous future, for such thoughts will merely prove a hindrance to the supreme cause of destruction." Quoted by Masaryk, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 453.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 383.

[6] *Revolutionary Studies*, p. 24.

fare of the species."[7] All social aggregates—both animal or human—are united by a consciousness of the oneness of each individual with each and with all, and this sense, not love, which is always personal, is the guiding principle of his acts.[8]

This sense of solidarity, which may appear in the form of instinct in animals, and the principle of federated cooperation have been, in Kropotkin's view, the chief influences in the formation of society, and he concludes that those who practised mutual aid, among animal and human societies, were better equipped for survival and for progress, while struggles within the species are unfavorable to survival and development. The periods when institutions have been based on mutual aid have made the greatest progress in the arts, industry and science.[9] To this factor of mutual aid Kropotkin's attention was drawn by a lecture of Professor Kessler in 1880, while he based his emphasis upon sympathetic solidarity upon Adam Smith's *Theory of the Moral Sentiments.* "Adam Smith's only failure was," he writes, "that he did not understand that this same feeling of sympathy, in its habitual stage, exists among animals as well as among men."[10] When Kropotkin was studying the relations between Darwinism and sociology he saw no reason to admit the struggle for the means of existence of every animal against all its congeners, and of every man against all other men, as a law of nature. To admit a pitiless inner war for life within each species, and to see in that war a condition of progress was to admit something which not only had not been proved but also lacked confirmation from direct observation.[11] In a lecture delivered a year before his death, Professor Kessler contended that besides the law of mutual struggle there exists the law of mutual aid which is far more important for the progressive evolution of the species, and Kropotkin, when he became acquainted with the lecture in 1883, began to collect materials for the further development of the idea which Professor Kessler did not live to develop.

Mutual aid, in human society, tends toward communism, and its organization must be the work of the mass, and a natural growth. It is, according to Kropotkin, with its freedom from centralized control, favorable for individual development, and an opportunity for "a full expansion of man's faculties, the superior development

[7] *Anarchist Communism, Its Basis and Principles,* p. 4.

[8] *Mutual Aid,* p. 300.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 296.

[10] *Anarchist Morality,* p. 11.

[11] *Mutual Aid,* p. ix.

of whatever is original in him, the greatest fruitfulness of intelligence, feeling and will."[12]

The existence of primitive communistic communities suggests to him that if the State were destroyed, communistic societies would spontaneously spring up from the ruins. The State is, therefore, a stumbling-block in the way of perfect liberty of the individual, "the blood-sucker,"[13] in fact, the arch-enemy. He sees in it nothing but "an institution developed in the history of human societies to hinder union among men, to obstruct the development of local initiative, to crush existing liberties and to prevent their restoration."[14] His anarchism is directed against the State, being essentially astatism and apolitism, and also against authority in every form, and he defines it as the "no-government theory of socialism." He has no use even for the democratic State, for Parliament cannot help the weak; nor are, he believes, electoral methods the way to find those who can represent the people. The root of the evil lies in the very principle of the State, and therefore the State is not to be reformed and modified but annihilated. Like many other Russian thinkers, Kropotkin believed in the Revolution as the appropriate engine for the destruction of his enemy, the State, and considered Revolution as the accelerated period in a process of natural evolution, as natural and necessary as the slower processes. It was, therefore, not an accident but an ideal and an inspiration, and the aim of the revolutionary must be to guide it in its channel so that it may yield the best results. Of the Revolution as an ideal he writes in the closing words of *Law and Authority* with all the fervor of the French revolutionaries of the late eighteenth century.

"In the next revolution we hope that this cry will go forth: Burn the guillotines; demolish the prisons; drive away the judges, policemen and informers—the impurest race upon the face of the earth; treat as a brother the man who has been led by passion to do ill to his fellow; above all, take from the ignoble products of middle-class idleness the possibility of displaying their vices in attractive colors, and be sure that but few crimes will mar our society, as the main supports of crime are idleness, law and authority; laws about property, laws about government, laws about penalties and misdemeanors; and authority, which takes upon itself to manufacture these laws and apply them. No more laws! No more judges! Liberty, equality and practical human sympathy are the only effec-

[12] *Anarchism, Its Philosophy and Ideal*, p. 20.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[14] *The State, Its Historic Role*, p. 39.

tual barriers we can oppose to the anti-social instincts of certain among us."

His Utopian revolution is very different from the reality in Russia. His revolution amounted almost to the peaceful dissolution of the State by agreement, as in the dreams of Shelley. Kropotkin's revolutionaries were to have a distinct aim, to choose the right moment for the crisis. Civil war was to be restricted and the number of victims was to be as small as possible.

It is characteristic of Kropotkin's temper that he desired no unnecessary blood-letting, but he recognized the right of individual acts of violence if undertaken in the last resort and as an act of self-defense. Tyrannicide is permissible according to him, because the terrorist asks us in advance to slay him should he become a tyrant. "Treat others as you would wish them to treat you in similar circumstances."[15] This argument, of course, would only be valid in the case of the destruction of a Lenin, not of a Romanoff.

As the *raison d'être* of the Revolution is to produce small self-governing agricultural communities, each cultivating its communal land, and fairly sharing the produce among its members, the objections to his communal Utopia, which are obvious, may be indicated. He assumes a race of men who will be moral from habit, and who need no compulsion to do the right thing. "Men are to be moralized only by placing them in a position which shall contribute to develop in them those habits which are social and to weaken those which are not so. A morality which is instinctive is the true morality." It is easy to draw up a scheme of a new society in which no member is anti-social. Kropotkin's method of dealing with the case of a work-shy member of a community is, as Professor Masaryk puts it, extremely amiable but somewhat childish.[16] Let us suppose, he says, that a group of men have combined to carry out an undertaking. One man proves disorderly and work-shy: what is to be done? Is the group to be dissolved, or is it to be given an overseer who will dictate punishments or keep a time-book of work done? Kropotkin solves the difficulty in the following way. The comrades will say to the comrade whose conduct is injuring the undertaking: "Good friend, we should like to go on working with you, but since you often fail to turn up and often neglect your work, we shall have to part company. Go and seek other comrades who will get on better with you."

Kropotkin's contributions to social science are, as we have seen,

[15] Masaryk, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 386.

[16] *Ibid.*

Bakuninist and concerned with theory. Of greater practical value is his discussion of the advantages which civilized societies could gain from a combination of industry with intensive agriculture, of brain with manual work. His ideal State is a society of *integrated labor*, where each individual is producer of both manual and intellectual work; where each able-bodied worker works both in the field and in the workshop.[17] The value of such a combination had already been emphasized and discussed under the names of "harmonized labor," "integral education" and so on. Specialization had been the direct outcome of the industrial revolution, and economists had proclaimed the necessity of dividing the world into national workshops, having each of them its speciality. So it had been for some time past; so it ought to remain. "It being proclaimed that the wealth of nations is increased by the amount of profits made by the few, and that the largest profits are made by means of specialization of labor, the question was not conceived to exist as to whether human beings would always submit to such a specialization; whether nations could be specialized like isolated workmen."[18]

At a definite stage of the industrial revolution, union between agricultural and industrial work could only be a remote desideratum. But the simplification of the technical processes in industry, partly due to the increasing division of labor, has brought such a synthesis nearer. Agriculture has also changed, and it is on the possibilities of the *petite culture* and the new methods of transmission of motive power in industry, that Kropotkin insists.[19] "It is precisely in the most densely populated parts of the world that agriculture has lately made such strides as hardly could have been guessed twenty years ago. As to the future, the possibilities of agriculture are such that in truth we cannot yet foretell what would be the limit of the population which could live from the produce of a given area."

[17] *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, p. 6. Where Černyševskii advocated social reforms in connection with the concrete conditions of the day, as for example when he deals with the decay of silk-weaving in Lyons, his suggestions were extremely modest; the weavers, he tells us, must have their workshops outside the town, must cultivate a plot of land in addition to working at their looms, etc.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[19] "It would be a great mistake to imagine that industry ought to return to the handwork stage in order to be combined with agriculture. Whenever a saving of human labor can be obtained by means of a machine, the machine is welcome and will be resorted to.

"Why should not the cottons, the woolen cloth, the silks, now woven by hand in the villages, be woven by machinery in the same villages, without ceasing to remain connected with work in the fields? There is no reason why the small motor should not be much more general in use than it is now, wherever there is no need to have a factory." *Op. cit.*, p. 220.

He sees as the present tendency of industry the aggregation of the greatest possible variety of industries in each country, side by side with agriculture, instead of over-specialization in industry. The industries must scatter themselves all over the world, and "the scattering of industries amidst all civilized nations will be followed by a further scattering of factories over the territories of each nation."[20] Under this new distribution, industrial nations would revert to a combination of agriculture with industry, and there would ensue, in Kropotkin's Utopia, an integration of labor on the part of the worker, who would divide his time working for some hours, for instance, at his loom and for others in his garden.

All this is very much in the spirit of Fourier, who maintains that "all labor may be pleasant; it is only overwork that is unpleasant, and that should be unnecessary," and that "change of occupation is good; no man ought to devote long consecutive hours to one piece of work." The hours of labor are to be reduced by the abolition of the idle class. "We must recognize that Franklin was right in saying that to work five hours a day would generally do for supplying each member of a civilized nation with the comfort now accessible for the few only, provided everybody took his due share in production....more than one half of the working day would then remain to every one for the pursuit of art, science or any hobby he might prefer....Moreover, a community organized on the principle of all being workers would be rich enough to conclude that every man and woman, after having reached a certain age—say forty or more—ought to be relieved of the moral obligation of taking a direct part in the performance of the necessary manual work."[21]

In Kropotkin's conception of society all common and necessary commodities would be available to every one without stint, laid on, as it were, like water is at present. As he points out, without a certain leaven of communism in the present, societies could not exist. "In spite of the narrowly egoistic turn given to men's minds by the commercial system, the tendency toward communism is constantly appearing....The bridges, for the use of which a toll was levied in old days, are now become public property and free to all; museums, free libraries, free schools, free meals for children; parks and gardens, open to all, streets paved and lighted, free to all, water supplied to every house without measure or stint—all

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 264.

such arrangements are founded on the principle 'Take what you need.' "[22]

Leaving the material side of Kropotkin's scheme, there is a divergence of opinion as to the human factor, the motive leading men to work. Supporters of the existing wage-system maintain that if the wage-system were abolished men would cease to do enough work to support the community in tolerable comfort. Kropotkin holds that practically every one will prefer work to idleness, because it is "overwork that is repulsive to nature, not work.... work, labor, is a physiological necessity, a necessity for spending accumulated bodily energy, a necessity which is life and health itself." Mr. Bertrand Russell, basing his view too exclusively upon the willingness to work of the *intelligenzia*,[23] also believes that "nine tenths of the necessary work of the world could ultimately be made sufficiently agreeable to be preferred before idleness even by men whose bare livelihood would be assured, whether they worked or not. There would, of course, be a certain proportion of the population who would prefer idleness. *Provided the proportion were small*, this need not matter."[24]

The contents of Kropotkin's books and pamphlets can be thus divided into the advocacy of (1) communistic anarchism, and (2) of intensive production; and while the former is the negation of the existing order, his views on production might well be carried out under a socialist or a capitalist régime. His views on production, remarkably concrete and convincing, have had, perhaps, more effect in England than his communistic anarchism, and it is obvious that Mr. Bertrand Russell is under his influence. In his *Roads to Freedom*, Mr. Russell, from the point of view of liberty, has "no doubt that the best system would be one not far removed from that advocated by Kropotkin, but rendered more practicable of the adoption of the main principles of guild socialism." The plan of the Utopia sketched by Mr. Russell in the last pages of his book is Kropotkin's,[25] with certain criticisms and reservations.

Of Kropotkin's attempt to influence Russia directly on his return there in June, 1917, little has been heard. An eyewitness saw

[22] *The Conquest of Bread*, p. 35.

[23] "I think it reasonable to assume that few would choose idleness in view of the fact that even now at least nine out of ten of those who have, say, £100 a year from investments prefer to increase their income by paid work." *Roads to Freedom*, London, 1918, p. 193.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[25] Cf. pp. 104-114, 193, 197.

his "venerable figure" on the railway platform at Tornea on the Swedish-Finnish frontier, talking to a group of soldiers, and "the word ran round the station, 'Kropotkin has come home.' More and more pressed round him to hear the reiterated declaration in his quavering voice: 'We must have peace, but, friends, unless it is peace with victory, our brothers will have died in vain.'" All along the line crowds collected at each station to see him, and cheered Russia and war and Kropotkin and liberty, while the bands beat out the Marseillaise. "At Viborg, three thousand soldiers paraded in the station, and the train was delayed until he had reviewed them to the thunders of the Marseillaise and the plaudits that drowned the drums. One of his family murmured to the writer: 'He insisted on returning—he thinks it his duty to his people, but I know that he is going to his death. He will never leave Petrograd alive.'"[26] He reached Petrograd at a time when Russia was attempting to put into practice the most advanced doctrines of European socialism. and descended into a whirlpool of pandestruction very different from the benevolent anarchism that he had advocated. A report of his death was spread, but a later account spoke of him at Kharkov, under surveillance, but not, fortunately, renewing his acquaintance with Russian prisons.

[26] *Country Life,* Jan. 11, 1919.

IN THE THROES OF RECONSTRUCTION.

BY RICHARD C. SCHIEDT.

THE great war has revealed the senile condition of many time-honored institutions; in the hour of trial they failed. The universal demand for reconstruction proves this contention. There can be no doubt that we are once more at a turning-point in human history, with new problems to confront us, but also with new means to solve these problems. We are passing through the birth-throes of a new era, pangs which occur only once in the space of a few thousand years when a new day of creation has dawned and a new "Let there be" is heard in the life of humanity.

This demand for reconstruction is nowhere of greater significance and of more far-reaching consequences than in the sphere of religion. For, as Benjamin Kidd satisfactorily proved years ago, the struggle which man has carried on throughout the whole period of his social development rests upon the motive power supplied by his religious beliefs. There is to-day a universal cry that the Church has failed in its mission. Religious unrest, uncertainty and honest doubt, absenteeism from church, indifference to religion and cooling of religious sentiment are rampant everywhere. The hope that the returning soldiers would bring with them a new zeal for the sanctuary has been completely shattered. Just the contrary has taken place. The men who saw life in the raw from every angle have become callous toward the dogmatism of the churches. They are looking for something which the churches at large have failed to supply—a reasonable religion. Their opposition is not to the Christianity of Jesus but to the theology of the churches.

However, as Benjamin Kidd in his *Social Evolution* argues at length, there can never be such a thing as a rational religion. "The essential element in all religious beliefs," he says, "must apparently be the *ultra*-rational sanction which they provide for social conduct." He declares a rational religion to be a logical impossibility represent-

ing from the nature of the case a contradiction in terms. But since modern science has so thoroughly revolutionized human society it has also influenced its conduct. Moreover, much that used to be looked upon as ultrarational must now be classified with the category of the rational, and in so far as the discoveries of modern science have removed into the realm of the rational much that was formerly religiously held to be ultrarational, they have aided religion and given us a reason for the faith that is in us. God is still speaking through his prophets proclaiming ever new truths and proving conclusively that divine revelations are not confined to one book. It is precisely this which men demand to-day from the Church, that it relegate doctrines which have become untenable in the light of modern science to the limbo of the mythical and embody in its teachings as divine revelations the well-established truths of modern science in order to harmonize life and faith. The nation-wide campaign now inaugurated by all the various denominations will not bring about this much-desired consummation as long as it is exclusively economic in design and method. It must be a movement from within and not from without, if it is to be a stimulus to spiritual growth.

Rauschenbusch in his remarkable book *Christianity and the Social Crisis* has conclusively shown that not the fragmentary records of the New Testament but the life of the earliest Christian communistic societies most accurately reflect the teachings and mission of Jesus. He came to establish the kingdom of God through the regeneration of human society. This must still be the chief work of the Christian Church. In order to do this successfully she must assimilate and sanctify all the positive dominant forces of a given age and generation. The Church has failed to do that in the past. She has fostered superstition instead; both Catholics and Protestants have persecuted the intellectual leaders who promulgated new world-views based on scientific discoveries, burning at the stake not only such men as John Huss, Michael Servetus and Giordano Bruno, but also hundreds of thousands of women and children accused of witchcraft. Andrew D. White's remarkable work on the *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology* presents a gruesome picture of well-nigh two thousand years of the Church's inhumanity to man, which has retarded human progress for more than ten centuries. If we read in present-day orthodox campaign literature that "the Church must inspire, organize and win the gigantic warfare against the sin of selfishness that corrodes our social order," we feel constrained to call attention to the colossal

crimes committed by the Church in the past, which to no small degree are the cause of that sin of selfishness. If the Church had devoted herself to the alleviation of human misery instead of multiplying the fine points of denominational differences and of orthodox standards, the sin of selfishness would not now corrode our social order to such an appalling degree as is claimed by the ecclesiastics. However, it is likewise true that the Church has rendered much splendid service to human society; she has ever kept aflame the torch of learning, and her self-sacrificing missionaries have at all times led the hordes of primitive tribes from savagery to civilization and thereby widened the sphere of human intercourse; but she has failed to assimilate and sanctify the new forces she awakened. The present crisis demand that she apply herself to this long-neglected task.

It is therefore necessary that we return for a while to the consideration of the original mission of Jesus. The first question that confronts us is: To what extent can the socio-religious forces represented by the Christ of the Gospels, especially by that of Luke, assume the spiritual leadership of the present time? The old question, so often repeated since David Friedrich Strauss, whether we can still be Christians, has not yet been satisfactorily answered. The Catholic Church has in this respect the advantage over the Protestant. She has no difficulty in answering this question. She may call herself Christian and yet not make herself the unconditional slave of the past, because she possesses in her infallible papacy a living and, therefore, a growing principle for the interpretation of the past. However much the Catholic Church maintains her historic continuity with the past, she can grow in the living flow of history and therefore change. She is more adaptable to any present condition, and, to a certain degree, also more free than dogmatic Protestantism which insists on being bound to the letter because "It is written."

But this Catholicism is at bottom metaphysical. Therefore its development and growth take place according to the conditions which determine its existence, i. e., it must become more and more hierarchical, it must more and more eliminate the will of humanity and subject itself to a will transcendentally assumed. Protestantism has a higher historical claim in having, as a religious renaissance, helped the churchly transcendentalism to find its way back to life. Herein lie the merits of the liberal Protestant theology which by its intense devotion to minute scientific study has tried to penetrate to the real sources of religion.

But the individualistic conception of history by which this theology was controlled, presents religion as a psychological phenomenon of the individual man. Even its most progressive representatives interpret religious phenomena in the light of the affections by which individuals influence one another, by virtue of their natural disposition, their spiritual endowment and needs. That is to say, this theology has no appreciation of the social factors which determine the religious development, nor of the retroaction which the religious factors exercise upon social life. Only the Christian Socialists and latterly Rauschenbusch and his coworkers have undertaken to attack the religious question from the social side. The victory which the Ritschlian school won over the liberal school was entirely due to the fact that they abandoned the atomistic point of view in theology and introduced a discussion of religious life from the broad social side with all its comprehensive historical combinations. But the Ritschlian school is still lingering in the bonds of metaphysics in its treatment of the Christ problem. The historical Christ, the human individual, is here supplanted by a religious *type*, a generic being, which is just as complicated as the Jesus of historical theology and for which in the actual documents every point of contact is missing. But if the decisive factor in the history of Christianity is not the unknown individual Christ who sometime and somewhere may have furnished the historical model for the Gospel stories, but rather the community-consciousness objectivated and personified in these sketches, then this consciousness must be interpreted and valued in the sociological sense. In other words, if according to Kant that antagonism in society which Marx calls the class-struggle has called forth every historical development, there must have been active at the origin of Christian society the same historical law of life. The religious morality, then, which primitive Christianity corporealized in the person of its Christus, represents the force by which the growing Christian society maintained itself and gained its victory over the hostile powers of paganism.

But social theology, like the Kantian historical method, has its roots in the idea of evolution. However, only in the idea the final goal has here an absolute, i. e., a regulative significance. Any empirical phenomenon, any ever so important period of history has only relative value as an evolutionary factor in the realization of the idea. Therefore it is not the material, historical content of the image of the Christ, but only the ideal form, i. e., the personification of a Christ, which may claim to be of socio-theological importance. It is not the "what" of Christian morality but the "how" that reveals

a law of history which furnishes an ideal guide to life. The forces which in the beginning of the Christian era ethicized and humanized the class-struggle, transforming a particularized national movement into a universal human movement personified in the Christ of the Gospels, have gained the victory in the struggle. They have decided the victory as was historically inevitable but also only historically possible. As a result, these forces have now become integrating component parts of human culture and spiritual development. They must and will reappear in every new phase of the evolutionary development of humanity's life.

There will never be any economic or social development on a large scale unless the kinetic forces of the class-struggle are ethicized and humanized, i. e., religiously realized. Every economic creation is determined by the evolutionary law of life. The eruptive forces which give the first impulse to a new social structure are met by antagonizing forces and thereby changed in their directions and influenced in their dimensions. They can only realize their influence upon the whole by unfolding and enlarging their originally indicated aims, and by transforming their particular social demands into universal ethical standards. They in turn carry the germinal principle for new differentiations. At the same time the unifying tendencies of human reason demand that these ethical standards are brought into harmony with their cosmic sources. That which we call the good must of inherent necessity be comprehended as a part of the entire world-life if it is to inspire man to Christian devotion and sacrifice. Only in this wise can a religious faith arise which is in full accord with the moral world-order, deriving from it the assurance of its realization. This *summum bonum* is, however, always—in spite of its cosmic origin—the humanly good; it will always bear both in its aims and in the means of its realization the aspect of a human image, of an ideal Son of Man; the ethical ideal becomes a religious ideal, a Christ.

From the socio-theological point of view the Christ image is therefore the most refined religious expression of all those social and ethical forces which have been active in a given age. In the changes which this Christ image has undergone in the course of time, both in its overtones and in its undertones, in the dimming of its pristine features and in its looming-up in new tints, we have the most faithful criterion of the transformations through which contemporary life has passed from the heights of its most spiritual ideals to the depths of its most material life-processes. This Christ image now bears the features of the Greek thinker, now those of

the Roman Cæsar, then again those of the feudal lord, of the master of the guilds, later those of the revolting peasant and of the free citizen. And these features are all genuine, all are thoroughly alive, although not always in accord with the notions of the scholastic theologians who insist that the individual features of every age must correspond to the original historical features of the Christ of the Gospels. To be sure, there is always a semblance to the historic lineament inasmuch as the most widely different and even antagonistic forces may have cooperated during the formative period of Christian society, each one of which may present a certain resemblance to the forces active in the present age.

The Christ image of to-day shows at first glance very conflicting aspects. It still bears somewhat the features of the ancient saint or of the heavenly king, but at the same time the features of the modern proletarian, of the labor-leader, thereby betraying the inherent contradictions so characteristic of our age. And yet they are all human types, the interpreters of an age in search after a new all-embracing expression of all that bears a human countenance. If the root of the Christian faith is lodged in the unifying impulses of the human reason which gathers all the characteristics of its own essence from the four corners of the world to form a complete image of a Son of Man, it becomes self-evident that the creative forces of this faith are to-day fully as active as they were when man in the budding age of the spiritual life reached beyond himself and beheld the human in the light of divine glorification.

But as an organism human society is subject to the laws of growth, and as it grows so also the creative forces of its faith will grow, and with them the Christ image. In it, our modern and still more the coming humanity will comprehend all the cosmic, social and ethical forces of life, transforming them into a religious human image, its Christ. How little did the age which first liberated man from the bonds of nationality, arousing the slave to a consciousness of his human dignity, know of the cosmos, of the infinite world! That age did not even know the earth, which it considered to be the world or at least its center. It knew no other ideal of life except that created in the visionary colors of the transcendental, the beyond, the ecclesiastic ultra-worldliness. Man could only purchase his Christ at the price of becoming dead to the world which he did not know. We have grown beyond that childish view. Man now gazes into an infinite world. Its inexhaustible forces are subject to his will, he reaches out into its most distant parts to find and gather his truths, and the flame of his soul's longings is kindled at the eternal

mystery of its incomprehensible and unfathomable vastness. And the world which man used to call the dead world is now becoming more and more alive in all its parts. There is not a particle of dust at our feet in which a soul does not slumber, which does not enclose an eternal story. There is nothing so large or so small in which the whole story of life does not reveal itself to us, imparting a knowledge of a peculiar love all its own and bound up with its life.

The results of all our investigations are only the answers which this infinite life out of its fulness vouchsafes to the inquiring human mind. Whatever measure of its beauty and sublimity is reflected in our own soul and stirs us to ever new creative activity is after all only a return of the life we received from it. And what did the average churchman know of man whose inner life and character was to him a book with seven seals? Now the seals are broken and man can follow he story of his own development through all the eons which have labored to make him what he is. Now he knows that he has in himself the life of eternities and that these eternities arise in him, as it were, out of their long slumber whenever an all-powerful longing overwhelms him, leading him out of the loneliness and narrowness of his ego into the heart of the eternal world, of eternal humanity, into the heart of the eternal God.

Before our eyes an evolution has taken place which is closely related to that which once upon a time created the Christ. In the Peasant Wars of the sixteenth century, for the first time, the an tagonism was felt which finally led to the new structures and phas of our own social life. In the proletariat of the cities the flames which had been kindled within feudal domains continued to burn slowly; they flashed forth brightly in a Utopian communism, overpowering the minds of men in the Anabaptist ecstasy, until its hopes seemed to be fulfilled in the French Revolution. The prophet of a new Christianity arose in St. Simon, the saint of communism, gath ering and organizing a new congregation. But, while his discip and contemporaries thought that he was the new Messiah, he final proved to be only a forerunner. Even this communism had to ove come its Utopias; it had to learn to think in actual economic t but it nevertheless became a social ferment. It leavens the un dough of modern society; a process of fermentation sets i fying and purifying the leaven and amalgamating it with t ments which at first were foreign to it. The radical social the Communist Manifesto became an economic theory, the aims of which assumed more and more the character of an ideal in reality. Its importance is only of a regulative and not of a co

stitutional nature. Its practical tendencies are now gradually broadening out, endeavoring to embrace the whole field of every-day life, taking account of the elements of reality and perforce adjusting itself to it. This process of assimilation between the germs of social fermentation and the historical institutions is, according to the laws of history, irresistible and incessant. It is twofold, appearing on the one hand as a process of subsidence, widening, at the same time, the communistic movement which originally overflowed its too narrow bed into a broad stream of the socialistic views of life; and on the other hand, as a constantly increasing penetration of the worn-out political views even of the most antagonistic by the ideas of socialism.

This socializing process ethicizes and humanizes, at the same time, the older Utopian communism through the spiritual agencies of the present life. And the more the evolutionary law of life binds together what seems to separate the minds of men and the programs of parties, the more certainly will also the religious factor make itself felt and demand its right in the social movement, and the more so, the more the religious life becomes conscious of its spiritual oneness with the social life. Consequently the Christ problem of humanity must be formulated anew and find its solution. Already the artists suggest new tints for a new Christ picture and the musicians tune their instruments to new Christian hymns. There is no modern poet of any consequence who is not touched by the ferment in our social life, and there is likewise none who is not in some way influenced by the Christ problem, overshadowing all other religio-social problems. The forces which once upon a time ethicized and humanized the class-struggle, which transformed a particular national movement into a universal human movement, have through the Christ of the Gospels become essential factors in human culture and intellectual evolution, stamping every new phase in the broad evolutionary process of humanity's growth with the mark of this religious universalism. But, just on that account, the Christ of old will reappear again in the new Christ who is evolving in the [illegible]h of modern society; nothing which has given humanity real [illegible]d power through the Christ is lost; in this sense he is the same [illegible]day, to-day and forever. In history as well as in nature the [illegible] of the conservation of energy holds good, allowing nothing to [illegible] which has ever been alive, exhibiting in the most striking new revelations transformations of former forces. Just as the Christ of the Gospels inaugurated, contrary to the century-old wisdom of the scribes, a new resurrection of the genius of the Prophets, so also will

the Christ of the newly evolving social order call the Christ of the past out of the tomb of obsolete dogmatism. We men of the transitional age must contribute our mite to this task of resurrection, so that nothing which once was really a vital element of humanity may be lost to our generation.

From the practical point of view the Catholic tradition of the origin of Christianity has the more valid historical claim over against the contentions of critical theology, but it is vitiated by the fact that it presents the events which took place on earth as transcendent, changing social phenomena into metaphysical noumena and a concrete historical development into an infallible divine-human, two-nature Church. In so far as critical theology emphasizes the actual historical foundations over against the traditional transcendental origin held by the Church, it is formally in the right, but it weakens its arguments trying to explain the rise of Christianity from an individual, instead of interpreting this or that individual or the number of invividuals who have been essential to the growth of the Church, in the light of the social factors which have given them direction and influence. Critical theology, by denying the absolute character of the traditional conception of Christianity, claims this prerogative for itself by identifying Christianity with the supposed individual Christian archetype.

However, since religion is not a force of memory or of imitation but an independent spiritual life we must concede that it is only a specific religious life which turns the scientific value of historico-religious research into a religious value. However much we may study the laws of history by studying the Christ of the past, we can never learn from it how to apply this law to the social life of the present time. The Christ who is to us to-day what the Christ of the Gospel was to his time can never be an historical Christ, a Christ of yesterday, he must be born anew out of the entire content of modern life, out of the moving forces of our social culture. He can only be a human image in which all the fomenting and fermenting, upward and forward striving tendencies of modern humanity find their glorified, spiritualized and humanized expression.

ALEXANDER IN BABYLON.

A TRAGEDY IN FIVE ACTS.

BY H. A.

PERSONAE:

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.
HEPHAESTION, Alexander's favorite and Poet.
NEARCHUS, Alexander's Admiral.
CRATERUS, Captain of Alexander's bodyguard.
PTOLEMY, a General.
PROMACHUS, a Soldier.
ONESICRITUS, a Cynic Philosopher.
CASSANDER, son of Antipater, the regent of Macedon.
IOLAUS, Alexander's Cupbearer and Cassander's brother.
ARISTANDER, a Greek Diviner.
KIDINNU, a Chaldæan Astrologer.
CALANUS, a Gymnosophist.
SISIMITHRES, a Magian.
ROXANA, a Medic princess, wife of Alexander.
STATIRA, daughter of Darius Codomannus.
RACHEL, a Jewish slave, servant to Roxana.
Orientals, Bacchanals, Greek Soldiers, Dancers, Singers, Servants, Persian Youths of Alexander's bodyguard.

ACT I.

SCENE: A Street in Babylon. On either hand are flat-topped houses with balconied windows, the parapets of the houses and the balconies gay with the carpets of Babylon. Beneath the balconies, lining the street, are the party-colored shops of Oriental merchants. In the background is a temple wall, bright with encaustic tiling—brilliant rosettes and mythic monsters; while beyond the wall rise the seven stages of a pyramidal temple, each stage of a different color, with a golden *zikkurat* shining at the top.

People are to be seen everywhere, shopkeepers, women at the balconies, crowding street and parapet—Babylonian Semites in gorgeously woven and fringed robes, hair and beard curled; Medes with baggy trousers, pointed shoes and gay vests; Persians in long tunics, with bright sashes and

conical turbans; men of the desert in brown camel's hair robes; Ethiopians in leopard skin, and Hindus in linen; Greeks in light tunics with chaplets of flowers on their heads or with helmet and cuirass, sword and spear. The street is filled with the murmur of the multitudinous gaiety of the world's greatest city.

Cymbals and tambours are heard, and into view there sweeps a rout of Bacchanals, youths and maidens, crowned with the vine, thyrsus wands in their hands; some with the skin of a fawn about them, some Satyr-like in goatskins. To their wild music they leap and cry in mad exaltation, chanting the dithyramb of the god:

BACCHANALS (*singing*): Evoë! Evoë! Evoë! Evoë!
Oh, the tyrannous flute and the ivy vine,
And the whirl of the dance and the madness of wine,
And thou art mine and I am thine—
Io Pæan! Dionyse!

Bacchus! Bacchus! Nysa's son,
Babe and man and god in one,
Harken to thy Bacchanals!

Bacchus! Bacchus! Leopard Lord,
Smite us with thy vinèd sword—
Let our blood with thine be poured!

Bacchus! Bacchus! Out of Ind
Thou dost sweep us like a wind,
Singing loud, thy Bacchanals!

Evoë! Evoë! Evoë! Evoë!
Oh, the flute of the god is a tyrant flute,
And none can stay and none be mute
While timbrel clash and sounding lute
Sing Pæan! Dionyse!

Flagons of wine are handed down from balcony and shop to the dancers, as they sweep onward, to the clamorous applause of the crowd, many of whom follow them. As the Bacchanals pass, from another direction Nearchus, the admiral, browned from the southern seas, and Cassander, dressed in the simplest Macedonian style, enter together. They look for a moment after the vanishing Bacchanals.

CASSANDER: By Heracles, Nearchus, am I blind?
Gone sight-bewitched? Are these our conquering Greeks?
At home I've seen their kind, weak-witted fools,
Alike unsteady o' the heel and head.

Out with their Thracian women. But soldiers—never!
Oh, for a fall of Macedonian snow
To clear my blood of this sense-blistering heat!
Show me a soldier.

NEARCHUS: I am but fresh from the sea
As you from Macedon, my good Cassander.
And my wits, too, be dazzled. Yet I think
That yonder comes your hero, scarred with wounds
Of twenty battles, and drunk as Silenus.

Enter Promachus, in full armor, but carrying a golden Oriental drinking-flagon in place of weapon. He moves along sturdily drunk. Beside him is Onesicritus, in gorgeous Oriental robe, much wine-stained.

CASSANDER: Promachus, as I live!

PROMACHUS: Who calls Promachus?

(To a wine merchant:)

Here, fill me up this flagon with red juice
Till I recharge the veins that India's suns
Have sucked and dry-sucked.

(He drinks.)

I'll thick my blood with red.

ONESICRITUS: And thicker thicken thine o'erthickened tongue
Until it match thine ever thicker head.

PROMACHUS: Who calls Promachus?

CASSANDER: It is I, Cassander,
New from Macedon: and right glad I am
To greet a comrade whose bright wounds do tell
Better than words the tale that all the world
Is loud with.

ONESICRITUS: The world, is 't? and what know you
Of the thing the Sophists call the world? Not you,
Nor I, nor he, the King, can know the world!
The world, indeed!

NEARCHUS: Nay, not so blank, Cassander,
'Tis but another kind of madman—pup
Of the dog Diogenes, who loved the sun

More than Alexander. Since the sire dog's dead,
The King hath brought this cur to sun himself
In the sun's own pot. 'Tis Onesicritus.

ONESICRITUS: Nearchus sweats, not Onesicritus.
Observe, Cassander.

CASSANDER: But what of the King?
Promachus, tell me of the King?

PROMACHUS: There is no King—
There is a god that rides out of the East—
By Bacchus, yes!—and his name is Alexander.

(He sings:)

"Bacchus, Bacchus! Out of Ind
"Thou dost sweep us like a wind...."

(Exit, drunkenly.)

ONESICRITUS: In Athens, know, Cassander, Cynics wear
The rags of freemen. Here Onesicritus,
The Cynic, wears the silks of Persian slaves.
Greece bore as king whom Asia bears as god—
Twy-born, like him that made Olympus drunk.
And e'en Cassander, come to Babylon,
Would bid farewell to stony Macedon—
Were his head no thicker than Promachus' head,
Whose heels I follow. Fare ye well.

(Follows Promachus.)

CASSANDER: What dogs—
These riddle-mongering philosophers!
I'd pluck their beards!

NEARCHUS: But Alexander loves them,
As he loves Chaldæans, Magi and the black
Gymnosophists he brings from Ganges' bank,
Naked of wisdom as of covering.

Enter Craterus with a company of soldiers, clearing the streets as they advance.

NEARCHUS: Ho, Craterus! Well met, comrade, well met!
And here's Cassander, thirsty for the news
As we for water when we crossed the desert.

CRATERUS: Aye, so we went, Nearchus—not so returned.
While you were skirting the Erythræan coasts
With sail and oar, we passed Gedrosia:
And seven days through broad Carmania
Journeyed like gods. In chariots bright with gold,
O'er flower-strewn paths were dancing mænads sang
To pipe and timbrel, on we came: our gear,
Flagon and goblet and Thericlean cup
For wine, wine, wine, outpoured in red libation!
The soldier's battered tools, targe, helm and spear,
Were flung aside; fair hands wove chaplets fair,
And like a king was every warrior crowned.
The King himself was liker to a god.
High on a shining car, by coursers drawn,
Each second only to Bucephalus.
He bore an ivied scepter in his hand,
And smiled his pleasure when Hephæstion,
His best-beloved, sang with immortal grace.
Oh, all the world bent willing head and knees
Before the majesty of Alexander! . . . .
So came the King from India; so comes here.

Blare of trumpets is heard from a distance. Enter Kidinnu and Aristander, who set up their divining-stalls before the temple wall, Kidinnu an astrologer's sand-box, in which he draws the houses of the heavens, Aristander, in purple, a tripod for incense.

CRATERUS (*in a loud voice*):
Way for the King! 'Tis Alexander comes!

The Soldiers clear the way, while the Orientals crowd behind them. Trumpets are heard again, and again the song of the Bacchanals.

BACCHANALS: Evoë! Evoë! Evoë! Evoë!
Oh, the tyrannous flute and the ivy vine,
And the whirl of the dance and the madness of wine,
And thou art mine and I am thine!
Io Pæan! Dionyse!

The rout of Bacchanals sweep by once more, singing and dancing. Following them comes Hephæstion, in a long party-colored tunic, garlanded with flowers and bearing an ivied thyrsus wand in his hand. He moves as with inspired grace.

HEPHAESTION (*as in adoration*):
Thou gracious Sun, who givest us the grape

To burst in wine red-ripe upon the tongue,
O give us ruddied life's divinest measure!
Till all the world shall be a brimming cup
Fulfilled with light, as daily thou fill'st up
Earth's mountain-wallèd bowl with sunny treasure!

Hephæstion turns from an attitude of adoration to the sun toward the direction from whence he came, as if transferring his praise from the ruler of the heavens to the earthly ruler who approaches. Women enter spreading Eastern carpets; trumpeters and soldiers, then Alexander, mounted upon Bucephalus.

HEPHAESTION: The Sun is king, the King is all my sun:
One lights the world which by the other 's won!

The Orientals prostrate themselves; the Greeks lift their plumed helmets on their spears, and flash shield and sword, while the trumpets sound once more. Alexander comes to the side of Hephæstion, whom he regards with a whimsically gracious smile, while the latter kisses the King's foot.

ALEXANDER: Nay, nay, Hephæstion mine, divinely mad
As every poet is! Were I to drink
Thy praise, as thou hast drunk the soul of Bacchus,
I, too, would be a madman—and a god!
But who more heedless than the coursing Sun
Of Alexander's course? Forefend us Heaven,
Lest sin of pride poison our pulsing glory!

HEPHAESTION: To-day, to-day, the Bacchus in my veins
Fills me with mantic fire! No more I see
The King—but Alexander, earth's divinity!

ALEXANDER (*smiling, as he turns to Nearchus and Cassander*):
Mine eyes are better visioned; I see men.
Nearchus, my stout admiral, is it thou,
Safe from the southern seas? And here, indeed,
Is one that's welcome, son of Antipater—
Tell me the news, Cassander. Do the winds
Blow as of yore in hilly Macedon?

CASSANDER: First, that the world hath heard of Macedon:
Gauls and Iberians, proud Tyrrhenian kings
Send from the distant West their richest gifts
To mix with Egypt's gold and India's gems

In tribute to the King—and to his men,
Those men of Macedonia who have made
Their name and his the noise of all the world.
Second, the quarrels of women. Olympias,
Thy royal mother, conspired with Cleopatra,
Rebel against my father and divide
Thy natal kingdom, whereof Olympias takes
Epirus, while to Cleopatra falls
All Macedon. 'Gainst these my father asks—
Since thou didst make him governor in thy right—
Full royal satisfaction, word and power.

ALEXANDER: By Philip's soul, Hephæstion, here indeed
Is a man whose king is but the lesser man!
No Bacchus in his veins, and in his speech
No soft demand!....Cassander, for thy second—
Since 'tis thy second most nearly touches me—
Olympias did give me nine months' rent
The year she bore me, and shall his mother's son
Deny to her what rent Epirus gives?
Which, by wise Zeus, she hath wisely chosen, too!
For Macedon would never be content
To suffer woman's rule—as witness thee
Thy woman-father, now by its women ousted.
And for thy first, temper thy chilly tongue
To Asia's warmer glow and softer speech.—
Nay, I forgive thee, man; thou art new come.—
Nearchus, tell me of the southern seas.

NEARCHUS: My Lord and King, in youth I sailed the seas
That roll between the pillars of the world
Out to the empty West—a waste of waves
Bounded by night and silence. Yet the spume
Of gray Atlantic was tonic to my blood,
And her ranging winds, singing amid the ropes,
Were sweeter in my ears than harps Æolian.
Oft on these southern seas, poisoned by day
With boiling reds and greens, and through the night
Gilded by fiery combs of gods that ride
Beaked monsters whose huge eyes shine nightly up
From watery dens—oft on these seas I longed
To catch in my beard the frosts and on my cheek

The chill keen blasts whet by the western Ocean.
From the island of Scillustis where is set
The pillar writ with curse on king who dare
Outventure Alexander, east we came—
Past dead and desert shores whose only folk
Are naked Ichthyophagi, more foul
Than the rank fish they smell of; southward yet
We circled by the Island of the Sun,
Where Siren Nereids dwell, and mariners
Who draw their boats to land are known no more.
There is the world's black end, for to the south
The shadows change at midday, and at night
Strange stars arise o'er wastes of stranger waters.
O my King, eastward and westward of the lands
Thy birth and sword have brought thee there is nought:
My keels have cut the waters of all seas
That circle the round world—which world is thine!

ALEXANDER: Then nought 's to win? The world is Alexander's?
My world? And is 't so small a thing? My world!

Meantime Cassander has slipped away to the stand of Aristander, who has been offering a sacrifice and is examining the omens.

CASSANDER: How read you for the King?

ARISTANDER: Black, black. All's empty.

Enter Ptolemy, Seleucus, Perdiccas and others. They approach Alexander deferentially.

ALEXANDER: Ah, here my generals, splendors of my world!—
Hail, soldiers mine, our toils at last are ended;
Nearchus sets their bound; the world is mine—
Nay, yours and mine. Here at its heart and throne
We celebrate our conquests, reap reward
For pains endured, and measure out the feud
Which Europe had of Asia when Paris stole
Fair Helen from Menelaus. May the sun
Shine bright to-morrow, for that sun shall see,
In the rich palaces of Babylon's old kings,
The daughter of Darius made the bride
Of Alexander; and Alexander's men,

Each in his rank, shall take them Persian brides,
The fairest and the noblest of the land.
So shall our rule be settled in the heart
Of the ancient East, so Helen's rape avenged.
Hephæstion, command yon dark Chaldæan,
If that he read the ruling of the stars
On my desire, I'd know his wise prognostic.

HEPHAESTION (*to Kidinnu, who has been casting a horoscope*):
Wise one, the soul of Bacchus, which the Sun,
Our glorious father, genders in the grape,
I drink, till I am filled with the Sun's own fire
And brightened with his radiant prophecy.
Thou drink'st the wisdom of the starry gods
That circle mænad-like o'er the broad floor
Of the nightly heävens. Outprophesy me now—
Sun against stars, Greek against Chaldee! Oh!
Ye spirits of bright glory, god meets god
When Alexander questions Destiny!

KIDINNU (*with salaams*):
May the Lord of Day, Bel-Shamash the most high,
Preserve the King and thee in the light of wisdom
Such as now is thine; and may Bel-Marduk bring,
And Ishtar, his great spouse, the Queen of Life,
Fulfilment of your days in Babylon!
I am Kidinnu, servant of the stars,
I keep their watches, and I chart
Their courses through the houses of the night,
Seeking to spell their riddles. When the King,
Divine among the Greeks, first saw the light,
The Destiny that rules from Throne and Pole
Of heaven had spun the circle of the zone
Girdling the Universe with glittering signs
Until the Dragon reigned; into whose house,
The selfsame hour wherein your King was born,
The star of Marduk came, serene and bright,
In right ascension to the zenith: there
He ruled in splendor, emperor of the skies,
Whilst answering in splendor, Ishtar came,
The burning goddess in her burning car,
To greet his mounting glory. Here I read

Fair omens for the nuptials that shall be
To-morrow when the daughter of a king,
Great in his day, this greater king shall wed.

HEPHAESTION (*to Alexander*):
Hail, King! Hail, King! Chaldæan stars and Greek
Alike proclaim thee master of the world!
Now Aphrodite bless thee! Here I crown
Imperial temples with a lover's wreath
Whose white and crimson flowers such fillet make
As grace love's victim with felicity!
Hail, King! Hail, God! Hail, Man, who's fall'n to Love!

Hephæstion places a wreath over the royal tiara that crowns Alexander's head.

ALEXANDER: My sweet Hephæstion!....Soldiers, till the dawn
Let Dionysus and the goddess reign—
Red wine and Persian women, under Love!

The song of the Bacchanals approaching is heard again. Alexander turns with a smile and a gesture of welcome. He goes out accompanied by his generals, the soldiers and other Greeks. The Bacchic rout follow, singing.

BACCHANALS: Evoë! Evoë! Evoë! Evoë!
Oh, the flute of the god is a tyrant flute,
And none can stay and none be mute
While timbrel clash and sounding lute
Sing Pæan! Dionyse!

As they sweep forth, Kidinnu leaps from his stall, trembling with eager hatred.

KIDINNU: Ha, ha, ha, ha!
Oh, Babylon has seen the like ere now,
Strange kings and proud come riding through her gates
Like deathless gods, who on the morrow pass
Outward as mummied clay! Ye blissful stars,
I thank ye for the night that darks your counsels,
And for the fate hid here—hid here—hid here!

[CURTAIN.]

ACT II.

SCENE: The Hanging Gardens, at night. On either side and in the background are carven and enameled pots and jars, overgrown with vines which run riot on the tiled floor of the garden, while from them spring palms and olives and other tropical trees and plants. Between and beyond the foliage is seen the low silhouette of the city, with here and there the glittering lights of distant altar fires on the temple pyramids. Above, the night sky is clear and brilliant, spangled with stars. Lanterns are hidden in the garden foliage, forming little islands of colored and screened light. To the right is a vine-covered wall, containing a gate opening to the palace interior. A stair, clinging to this wall, leads above.

A silvery sound of laughter is heard, and amid the trees and shrubbery Mænads appear, like wood-nymphs, darting from shade to shade and from light to light, now and again pausing to call to one another in mocking song. Music accompanies all.

MAENAD 1: Io Hymen Hymenæe io!

MAENAD 2: Io Hymen Hymenæe!

MAENAD 3: Follow, follow!

MAENAD 4: Follow, follow!

MAENAD 5: Where the god is, I would be
Lapt in his wild divinity!

MAENAD 6: Where the god is, love and light
In one glamorous flame unite!

MAENAD 7: Time is fleet, but joy is fleeter!
Life is sweet, but love is sweeter!

MAENAD 8: Io Hymen Hymenæe io!

MAENAD 9: Io Hymen Hymenæe!

MAENADS ALL: Follow, follow! Follow, follow!

The Mænads join hands and advance in a mad circling dance, a few with torches running within the circle, to and fro, round and round. As they dance, Hephæstion appears upon the stair; he is still wreathed and garlanded, like a sylvan god.

HEPHAESTION: Ah, here ye gather, wild ones! Daughters of joy!
And here ye bring your ivied minstrelsy!
O Dionysus, god of all most blest,

May these be thine forever, thine and mine—
Fleet music and the motion of white limbs!....
Ho, Mænads mine! Hephæstion is your god,
Whose blood is bright with Bacchus' holy fire!
Sing Pæan, Pæan, to the thyrsus rod!
Sing Pæan, Pæan, to a god's desire!

He comes down the stairway impetuously. The dancing Mænads scurry away in fright, with laughing and mocking cries; but almost immediately they form chorus-like amid the shrubbery, singing and applauding while one of their number engages in a nymphan dance, tantalizing and taunting, which Hephæstion follows rapt.

MAENAD SONG:

Forth he came from the mountain's womb—
Child of the welded wonders!
When Earth was bride and Heaven was groom
And the passion of life was the lightning's bloom
And the hills were big with the high god's thunders!

How the wilderness was glorifièd
When he burst the nether portals!
And the world was gay with lovers' pride
Where all were wooed and none were denied
And immortal lusts were begot in mortals!

Oh, the wine of life is a drunken wine,
And red are the lips that have drunken!
And the spirit of god is this spirit of mine
Who have nourished and suckled a babe divine
Till his flame in my soul is sunken!

As the song is finished the dancing Mænad pauses with arms outstretched as if challenging her pursuer.

HEPHAESTION:

The god, the god, the god is in thine eyes,
And all his wildness in thy streaming hair!
Oh, let thy touch Hephæstion baptize,
And draw him, draw him to thy bosom bare
To stain thy reddened lips with kisses red,
With kisses wreath thy blossom-wreathèd head!

He leaps forward, but the Mænad, with all her chorus, scatter through the shrubbery, laughing and calling.

MAENADS: Io Hymen Hymenæe io! Io Hymen Hymenæe!....
Follow, follow!.. Follow, follow!....

HEPHAESTION (*in exaltation*):
O blessed brotherhood of dancing stars
Weaving the riddles of our spangled days!
O swift celestial coursers whose bright cars
Like racers' torches through the heavens blaze!
Make me a sharer in your revelry,
Lift me unto your brotherhood of light!
My spirit, too, would find felicity
Nigh to the hornèd goddess of the night—
Mother of wingèd Love, eternal Queen
Who ruleth man and god, serene, serene!

As Hephæstion pauses, Statira enters, descending the stairs. She is magnificent in a jeweled robe, and is accompanied by waiting-women and slaves. To him she seems a glorious apparition.

HEPHAESTION: 'Tis Aphrodite's self!....Art thou not she
The white-limbed Love sprung from the foamy sea
When all the world brimmed o'er with ecstasy?

STATIRA: Who mocks me here? Is this my conqueror?
I am Statira, daughter of a king,
And Alexander's slave, by whose command
I stand here—in my father's palace, thrall.

HEPHAESTION: If thou be not immortal Aphrodite,
Thou art some goddess lovelier than Love!

STATIRA: I am Statira, daughter of the great
And dead Darius—mortal, as was he.

HEPHAESTION: Statira? Persia's daughter?

STATIRA: I am she.

HEPHAESTION: Ah, thou 'rt no less a goddess!—soon to be
Matched with a matchless god, King Alexander.
The soul of Alexander, not his flesh,
Thou seest in me—which soul doth prophesy,
When Greece again meets Persia in the field

And Love darts forth his arrows from thine eyes,
Victory shall crown the vanquished victor!

From a distance is heard the call of the Mænads. Alexander has entered unobserved from the doorway.

HEPHÆSTION: Hark!....
I hear a summons ne'er to be denied—
The music of my Mænads praising Love!
Farewell, farewell, O thou unconquered one—
I kiss thy hand, whose lips shall kiss the Sun!

STATIRA: Oh, prescient heart! If Alexander's form
Match not his soul, I am a queen undone!

ALEXANDER *(advancing with Iolaus in attendance)*:
Which form you see, O daughter of Darius.
I am the King. Hephæstion is my poet,
Twice-born in madness—mad first with poesy
And madder for the god within his veins:
What kings forgive, all others must forget.
To-day I stand the master of a world,
Not one, but two: half Asia and half Europe.
I'd make them one in heart as one in crown.
To-morrow in the hall of Persia's throne
My Macedonians take them Persian wives
From Persia's princely women. Statira, thou
Shalt be the bride of Alexander, be a queen
In thine own land, o'er thine own folk. And so
The wars our fathers waged shall find an end,
And Asia, one with Europe, be at peace.
What destiny the gods may bring, accept:
'Tis thine to be my queen, and thine it is
With Alexander to receive a world.

STATIRA: My lord, my father's conqueror, and mine,
When the great Darius—oh, the dead are great
In hearts that bear their portraits!—heard the word
Of what befell my mother in thy hands,
Statira, his dear queen, untouched, though captive—
He prayed to Auramazda, Persia's god,
That none save thou, were the day of fate befall'n,

Should hold the throne of Cyrus. Darius willed—
And 'tis a woman's part to bear the will of men,
Kings dead and living.

ALEXANDER: Thy father was a man
Too noble for the jealous gods. Do thou—
Who art his softer image—pray they deal
With us more kindly. Fare thee well—till to-morrow.

STATIRA: The words of the King, I hear; his will, obey....
But liefer to my heart is love than royalty!
(Exit, with attendants.)

ALEXANDER: Iolaus, go and to Roxana say
That Alexander waits her in the gardens.
(Exit Iolaus.)
Statira must be queen, as I am king;
But for the man who wears the royal mask
There's but one woman and one cherished love,
My sweet Roxana....
(Enter Roxana.)
Ah, 'tis she, 'tis she!

ROXANA: My lord, my love—thou bad'st me; I am come.

ALEXANDER: Roxana! Now Cypris bless thee, whose soft doves
Make nests of loveliness these eyes, these cheeks,
This brow, this mouth—formed for caresses!....So!....
And hast thou missed thy love, gone into India?

ROXANA: Oh, my King! How many, many nights I've lain
Watching the changing stars that kept with me
The vigil of the night! How many days
I've counted out the hours, and every hour
Seen sharper peril striking at thy form—
This royal head, this heart! And oh, my King,
'Twas then I looked into thy glorious eyes
And knew that none could conquer such as thou!
Mithras and Auramazd' guard thee—so I prayed....
And now my prayers are answered; thou art here.

ALEXANDER: E'en as I went—the very same in love,

ROXANA: The very same in love? In majesty
No more the same, but greater by a realm
No king before thee dreamed of....Is 't the same?

ALEXANDER: Dost thou recall, Roxana, the great rock—
As high and eerie as an eagle's nest—
Wherein thy father caged thee from my love?

ROXANA: Indeed, indeed—the dreary winter there,
In Sogdiana, waiting.

ALEXANDER: From the day
When first I saw thee dancing mid the maids
Of old Cyropolis my heart was filled
With bright Roxana's beauty. Then thy sire
Rapt thee away to his mountain citadel,
Thinking to cheat our love. Was it not so?

ROXANA: Oxyartes' line is noble; his heart is proud;
For me he feared thee.

ALEXANDER: And had cause to fear!
Oh, I remember well the word he sent—
"Seek ye winged soldiers, for no unfledged men
"Can snare the eagle from his crag"—forgetting
That winged Love outdares all perils and outsoars
The kingly bird of Zeus, aye, Zeus himself!

ROXANA: Thou mad'st him to remember. Oh, I see
Again thy Macedonians fluttering white
Their bannerets 'gainst the sky! What amazèd sound
Awoke mid Oxyartes' warriors!....But that 's passed—
All passed in happiness....My lord!

ALEXANDER: Thy love!
I am no lord, who am thy beauty's thrall.

ROXANA: My love!....Thou hast been gone long months in India:
These months have brought us—Anahita's gift,
The Mother Goddess, be to her the praise!—
Such a fair son as in my dreams I prayed for:
His eyes are thine eyes....Oh, and he hath, too,
Thy royal temper!

ALEXANDER: A son to thee and me!
And such a son! Roxana, my dear love!....
A poet of the Greeks there is, who saith,
"Fainer were I to enter battle thrice
"Than bear one child." Thou hast outheroed me,
And brought us twain a richer realm than India!

ROXANA: Which one day shall be his, shall 't not, my King?
When he hath grown to share his father's rule,
And be of all the princes of the world
The princeliest heir!

ALEXANDER: The world....There is a world.

ROXANA: And he shall be its king, one day?

ALEXANDER: Roxana!

ROXANA: What is 't, my lord?

ALEXANDER: The world thou speak'st of....
We kings are more than other men, and less:
More in our power to make or shatter nations,
Less in the right to rule our own desires:
Not e'en the offspring of a royal love
Is fated by the king—for he is not
A father but as other men are fathers,
Not free as they. Dost understand?

ROXANA: I hear.

ALEXANDER: To-morrow in the hall where stands the throne
Of Cyrus and Darius, I must wed
The Great King's princess. Statira is to be
Queen o'er her father's subjects, binding them
In loyalty to me. This is no will,
Roxana, this is no will—thou know'st it well—
Of Alexander's love. It is the fate
That kings must bow to when they make them kings.

ROXANA: My lord, I was most happy; I am now
Obedient.

ALEXANDER: Nay, nay, Roxana! Nay!
Forget not that I love thee. More than all
This world that I have conquered, thou art dear!

ROXANA: Oh, were kings but men, or wert thou no king,
I should have been most happy!

ALEXANDER: Happy be
In the part of Alexander that 's a man:
'Tis thine, 'tis thine!

ROXANA: Our son is crying for me,
For his mother.

ALEXANDER: Go, and bring him smiling joy.
I'll join thee, later.... Blest Roxana, mine!

As Roxana departs, Alexander turns thoughtfully back into the garden. Almost immediately he hears the sound of a singing voice, the singer approaching.

SONG: Thou gazest on the stars, my Star?
Oh, gladly would I be
Yon starry skies
With myriad eyes
To gaze on thee, on thee!

ALEXANDER: Hephæstion's voice.... Hephæstion.... Aye, aye.
The mother of Statira was the height
Of Asia's women: her daughter is her like
In queenly beauty. 'Tis not well, not well
That those who circle kings should come too near
The royal state in their ambitious dreams....
But yet I love Hephæstion.... Hephæstion!

HEPHAESTION (*entering distraught*):
Oh, beauteous women are pains unto mine eyes,
And love 's a burning fever in my veins!
I will be bled for 't! Deem thee not, deem not,
Thou tyrant Eros, that thou hast me vanquished!
I'll have no tyrants, be they kings or gods,
Over my soldier soul keep mastership!....
Ha, 'tis Alexander! Hail, comrade King!
Thou rul'st a world; I rule no lesser thing—
Hephæstion's rebel soul!

ALEXANDER: Aye, rule it, rule,
Hephæstion mine; and let thy scepter be
Of tempered steel, keen as thine edgèd sword—

Forgetting not that thou must also rule
The tongue that speaks thy soul. The wisely mad
Utter their oracles darkly. Do thou learn
From cryptic Pythia the speech of wisdom.

HEPHAESTION: Such bows as Scythian archers bend
Over their fleeting horses are her brows,
And her two eyes are citadels of light
More terrible than war! She is a Queen
Of Amazons, whose carnage is the rout
Of beating blood, whose conquest soldiers' hearts!....
"O Love, who lordest over gods and men,
"But dark our eyne to Beauty yet again
"Or give us strength to bear thy loveliness—
"Lest love, through awe of Love, lose power to bless!"....
Soul of Euripides, thou who didst know
The lover's needy soul, I pray thy prayer!
Oh, bring me waters of forgetfulness:
I've o'erdrunk of wine.

(Seats himself wearily.)

ALEXANDER: Dry wisdom is the best—
So Aristotle quoted some old sage:
The juice of the grape hath softened my poor poet.

HEPHAESTION (*drowsily*):
Thou art a god, King Alexander. I—
Thy frail Hephæstion—am but a man,
And somewhat of a lover. Yesterday—
Or was 't to-day?—I, too, was as a god
Inspired with glory. But thou hast drained me dry,
As th' Indian sun draws up the strength of men
Into his own increased divinity.

ALEXANDER: And am I, then, no man? Or is a king
A thing of gifts and gold unto his friends,
Taunted with his rule and trusted never?
A god, indeed! When the Mallian arrow struck
Me broadly to the bone, it was no ichor,
Such as immortal gods are wont to shed,
Besmeared my body—'twas a soldier's blood.

HEPHAESTION: Blood is thy wine: great Bacchus' gift is mine.
The god in thee is War; the god in me
Is Dionysus, whose drowsy son is come
With welcome sleep—soft Morpheus, I must sleep....

(Hephæstion falls asleep in the midst of the vines.)

ALEXANDER: Such are the friends of kings....None loved I more
Than mine Hephæstion. He sleeps; I watch,
And bear the charge of states that I must mould
Into one empire. This disordered world
Is mine alone to order, while my friends
Play lovers' games and sleep their ivied sleep.
There are no lands to conquer; I am the high
And solitary master of the world.
Oh, 'twas an easy thing, in my hot youth,
To throw the gauge of war to great Darius,
To match the might of Europe 'gainst his power
In a war of Asia's choosing. Easy 'twere
To follow on and on the flash of arms
And thrust with Philip's phalanx against the walls
Of men embattled. But the world is mine;
And youth is past; and now I must upbear
Like pillared Atlas all its mighty weight....
Sleep, my Hephæstion—for men can sleep
While friendless kings hold converse with the night,
Mapping the treacherous currents of their lives....
O ancient Babel, 'neath thy ancient stars,
Grant me the hoary wisdom of the East
To read dark Fate and govern Destiny!
Upon thine altars I have laid my youth
And all the glowing genius of the West
In bright piaculum: bring thou to me
Th' immortal crown of thy serenity!

[CURTAIN.]

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

THE COSMIC RESURRECTIONS.

BY LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN.

THE mythic resurrection is primarily that of the sun, conceived as rising in the east from the underworld as the place of the dead, with the ascension into the heaven immediately following. There is likewise a daily resurrection and ascension of the stars and constellations, and of the moon when visible; while the moon also has a monthly resurrection when it first becomes visible after its dark phase (our new moon), to which the ancients sometimes assigned three days. Moreover, the resurrection of the sun is sometimes transferred from its daily to its annual course, and assigned to the beginning of the year as generally fixed at one of the equinoxes or solstices; the solar death period sometimes being identified with the supposed three days' standing still of the sun at the solstice.

In Egypt, from a remote antiquity, the sun was conceived as renewed or resurrected every morning; the bennu (a heron, the phenix of the Greeks) being a symol of the rising sun as thus conceived (Budge, *Gods,* II, p. 96). In the *Book of the Dead* it is called the soul of Ra (XXIX, C, I) and of Osiris (XVII, 27), and the Osirified deceased says that he enters into the underworld like the hawk and comes forth like the bennu and the morning star (XIII, 2; CXXII, 6). In the *Litany of Ra,* the Osirified comes forth "like the sun" (IV, Sect. 1, 2), and "he is the mysterious bennu; he enters in peace into the empyrean, he leaves Nut (as the lower heaven) in peace" (*ibid.,* IV, Sect. 2, 8). Herodotus (II, 23) describes the phenix like an eagle, with wings golden and red, and he says that the Egyptians told him that it came from Arabia (i. e., the east), bringing the body of its father and burying it in the temple of the sun at Heliopolis (i. e., the new sun leaves the body of the old sun in the underworld—but there is nothing of this in the Egyptian texts, nor anything of the further statement in Herodotus that the phenix appears only once every 500 years). Pliny describes the Arabian

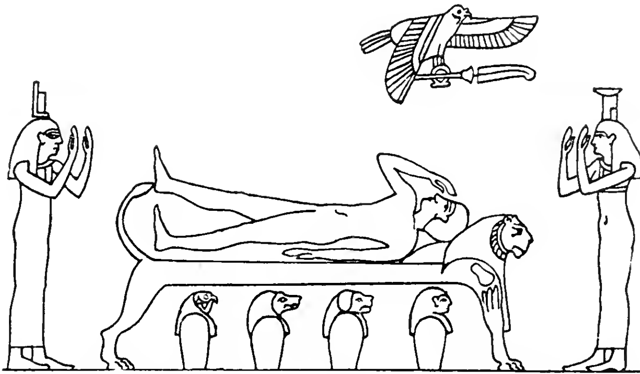
phenix as a most gorgeous bird, which was supposed to have received its name from the date-palm; the fable being that the bird died with the tree and revived of itself as the tree revived (*H. N.*, X, 2; XIII, 11). According to Tacitus, the old bird builds a nest to which it imparts "a generative power," so that after his death a new phenix rises from it and proceeds to Heliopolis with the body of his father (*Ann.*, VI, 28). Others say that the phenix, when 500 years old, builds a funeral pyre on which he dies and is incinerated; but being immediately resurrected, he carries the remains of his former body to Heliopolis (Pompon. Mela, III, 8; Stat., *Silv.*, II, 4, 36, etc.—various authorities assigning longer cycles than 500 years to the life of the bird). The phenix myth is frequently cited by the Christian Fathers as an example of the resurrection of the dead; the Septuagint of Ps. xcii. 12, "The righteous shall flourish like the phenix (Heb. and A. V., 'palm-tree')," sometimes being quoted in this connection.

THE SOLAR PHENIX

of a great cycle or eternity (Αἰών). From Fr. Münter, *Sinnbilder u. Kunstvorstellungen d. a. Christen*, Altona, 1825.)

In the Egyptian belief, the resurrection of Osiris was one of the oldest and most prominent elements, as we know from allusions to it in a multitude of texts and pictures. But as there is nothing in the way of a comprehensive native record of the mythical history of this man-god, we must depend largely upon Plutarch's work *On Isis and Osiris* (13-18), although this work belongs to the latest Egyptian period and was doubtless compiled from various traditions. According to Plutarch, Osiris was a king of Egypt who traveled over the world to civilize its peoples, leaving Isis to rule during his absence. Upon his return, he was induced by Typhon (Set) and other conspirators to lie in a chest that exactly fitted him (a mummy case); whereupon the lid was shut and nailed fast by the conspirators, who conveyed the chest to the Nile and thence to the sea, on the 17th of the month Athyr (the day of the full moon, according to Plutarch), when the sun was in Scorpio (the sign of the autumn

equinox 4000-2000 B.C.); and thus Osiris was slain in the 28th year of his reign, or as some said, when he was twenty-eight years old (in either case as suggested by the phases of the moon through $4 \times 7 = 28$ days, with the disappearance of that luminary in its last phase—our new moon—in all probability originally represented by the shutting of the god in the chest or coffin in which he dies—whereas the moon was fullest on the 17th of each month according to the calendar known to Plutarch). The chest containing the body was borne by the sea to Byblus in Syria (originally to the Egyptian "Papyrus Swamps," which the Greeks confused with the Syrian Byblus = Papyrus-place—see Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 124), where it became completely enclosed by a tamarisk (for the myth-



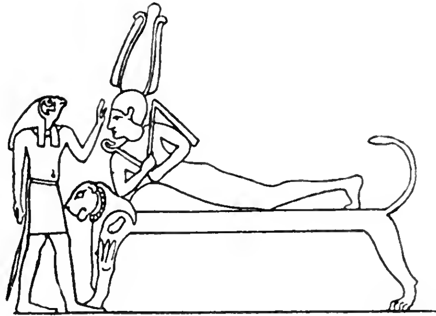
OSIRIS IN THE FIRST STAGE OF HIS RESURRECTION,

raising his hand, with Isis at his feet and Nephthys at his head, while the hawk of Horus brings the feather symbol of wind or breath. (From Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, II, p. 135.)

ical Persea) tree; and the king of that country had the tree-trunk made into a pillar for his palace (the tree-trunk representing the western of the four tree props of the universe in the Egyptian cosmology—whence Plutarch adds that the Queen of Byblus was Astarte = Venus, apparently here as the evening star). Isis found and took the chest and body back to Egypt, and went on a visit to her (solar) son Horus by (the lunar) Osiris, after concealing chest and body in a desert place (probably for the underworld, and at the time of the dark or new moon at the close of Athyr, according to Plutarch's calendar—which indicates that this part of the story originally belonged to a separate tradition). The resurrection of Osiris, representing the first appearance of the new

moon, in all probability followed here in the tradition to which the above account belonged. Plutarch, however, proceeds to relate that Typhon found the chest when hunting one night by the light of the moon, and tore the body into fourteen pieces, scattering them over the country (evidently referring to the phases of the waning moon); but Isis found and buried all but one of the pieces, which was lost in the Nile (as doubtless derived from a tradition in which the complete restoration of the moon-god from his scattered parts, with the exception of the lost one for the dark moon, is effected during the waxing period).

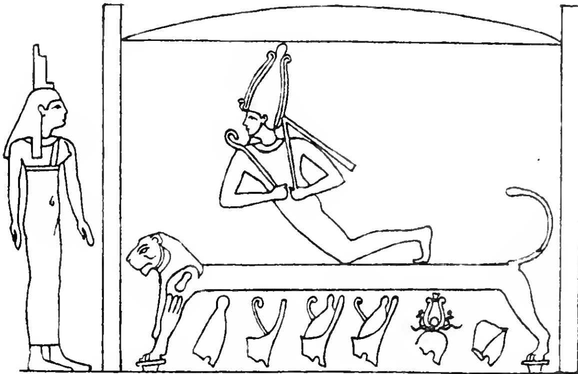
From the day of his death the soul of Osiris had been in the underworld, for Plutarch says: "After these things, Osiris returning from the other world appeared to his son Horus," and instructed him for his battles with Typhon. And Plutarch adds, probably



OSIRIS BEGINNING TO RAISE HIMSELF FROM HIS BIER, with hawk-headed Horus at his head. (From Budge, *op. cit.*, II, p. 136.)

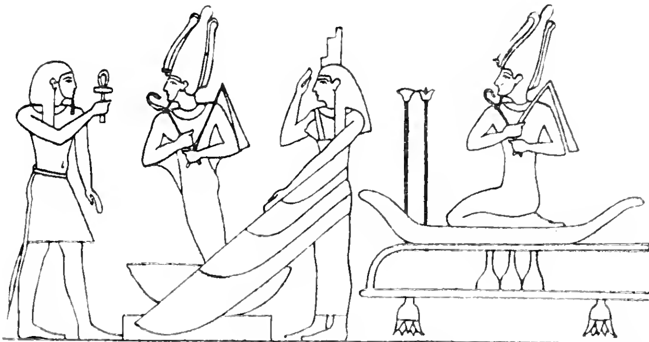
from another tradition, that "Isis is said to have accompanied Osiris after his death (and while still in the underworld), and in consequence thereof to have brought forth Harpocrates (= Horus the child), who came into the world before his time"—at about the time of the winter solstice (*ibid.*, 65); the proper time for his birth probably being about the time of the spring equinox, which refers his conception in the underworld to the summer solstice. Indeed there can be little doubt that the sojourn of Osiris in the underworld was assigned by some to the three days of that solstice. But according to one of the legends followed by Plutarch, the festival of the finding of Osiris was held on the 19th of Paschons (*ibid.*, 43)—doubtless originally at the time of the reappearance of the new moon after the spring equinox, six months and three days after the death of the god on the 17th of Athyr (both extremes included, in

accordance with an ancient method of reckoning). Again, Plutarch refers the festival of "the entrance of Osiris into the moon" and "the commemoration of spring" to the new moon of Phamenoth (43), which is the second month before Paschons; the legend here



OSIRIS RAISING HIMSELF FROM HIS BIER,
with Isis standing before him. (From Budge, *op. cit.*, II, p. 137.)

followed apparently belonging to a time when Phamenoth in the vague calendar had shifted so it included the spring equinox. We thus have convincing evidence that some of the Egyptians assigned



OSIRIS IN THE LAST STAGE OF HIS RESURRECTION
(on the left) and also after rising, seated in a boat (on the right). (From Budge, *op. cit.*, II, p. 138.)

the sojourn of the lunar Osiris in the underworld to the dark of the moon as reckoned of three days' duration, just as the lunar Tangaroa of the tattooed face in a Mangaian myth arose from the underworld "on the third day" after he was slain, "scarred and enfeebled as you

see him" in the waxing moon (Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, pp. 64-69). In some Egyptian texts, Osiris is said to be in the lunar disk from the 3d of the new moon to the 15th (Budge, *Osiris*, I, p. 21), this waxing period doubtless being conceived by some as the life of the moon-god who is slain at the beginning of the waning period and then torn into fourteen pieces; but Plutarch (*ibid.*, 38) says that the ceremony of shutting Osiris in the chest, or "the loss of Osiris," lasted for four days, beginning on the 17th of Athyr—at the full moon, and doubtless extending to the 20th, with both extremes included. It would seem, however, that the three days as assigned to the full moon of the solar month must have been originally the 14th, 15th and 16th, with the 17th for the resurrection rather than the death of the moon-god. Furthermore, in one Egyptian text we find "the entrance of Osiris into the holy barque" (that of the new moon) assigned to the 29th of Choiak (*Records of the Past*, VIII, p. 88), which date in the luni-solar calendar is forty-two days from Athyr 17th as the day of the full moon; and in all probability this period for the sojourn of Osiris in the underworld belonged to the Dog Star's reign of 40 or $6 \times 7 = 42$ days in midsummer. According to another Egyptian text, festivals connected with the resurrection of Osiris were held from the 12th to the 30th of Choiak (Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 128).

Isis was sometimes identified with Sept (= Sothis or Sirius, the Dog Star—Plut., *De Iside*, 22, 61; Diod., I, 27; Budge, *Gods*, II, pp 54, 249); and in connection with the resurrection of both the lunar Osiris and the solar Horus, she appears in some texts to have the character of Sept as the morning star of midsummer. In a hymn to Osiris, he is said to have been restored to life by Isis, who employed for the purpose certain magical words and ceremonies learned from Thoth, the moon-god (Budge, *Gods*, I, pp. 150, 362). On the Metternich stele there is a very ancient story of a mythical woman's son (doubtless the sun) who was revived by Isis after being stung to death by a scorpion, in connection with which revivification we find the exclamation, "The child liveth and the poison dieth; the sun liveth and the poison dieth"; and again, in the same text, it is the (solar) Horus who is stung to death by a scorpion, to be revived by "the words of power" spoken by Thoth himself (Budge, *ibid.*, II, pp. 207-211). Diodorus (I, 2) identifies Horus with the sun-god Apollo, and says that Isis discovered medicines that cured the sick and raised the dead; and that with these she restored her son Horus to life and made him immortal when she found his body in the water after he was slain by the Titans (this water being

primarily the underworld sea, but secondarily belonging to the Egyptian watery signs of the zodiac and the Nile inundation; while the scorpion belongs to the western horizon and the sign of Scorpio).

The Greeks identified Osiris with Dionysus (because both were travelers, according to Plutarch, *De Iside*, 13). Osiris is also the Judge of the Dead, and associated with the resurrection of mortals, as well as being a resurrected god; and Dionysus (Bab.-Ass., Dayan-nisi = Judge of men) has for one of his Greek epithets, Zagreus (= He that restores to life, from *zōgreō* = "to take alive" and "to restore to life"). According to the Orphic theogony, Zagreus, son of Zeus and Persephone, was cut to pieces and boiled in a cauldron by the Titans; but his heart (as the seat of the soul) was recovered and eaten by Semele, and Zagreus was consequently reborn of her as Dionysus (Pausan., VII, 37, 3). But according to Diodorus, it was commonly related that the pieces of Dionysus

HERMES PSYCHOPOMPOS RAISING A DEAD MAN.
(From C. W. King, *The Handbook of Engraved Gems*, p. 201.)

Zagreus were gathered by Demeter, who restored him to life (III, 62). In one Orphic hymn, the Titans tore Zagreus into seven pieces (Proclus, *In Tim.*, III, 184). The Greek Pelops was slain and cut up by Tantalus, who boiled the pieces in a cauldron and set them before the gods; but Demeter alone partook of this repast, and she ate only the shoulder of Pelops. He was shortly restored and revived by Hermes; the missing shoulder being replaced with one of ivory by Demeter or Rhea—whence all the Pelopidæ were believed to have had one ivory shoulder (Pindar, *Ol.*, I, 37; Hygin., *Fab.*, 83, etc.—the ivory shoulder probably representing the crescent moon). Orpheus, in his lunar character, was torn to pieces and scattered abroad by the women of Thrace, as instigated by Dionysus: but the Muses collected the pieces and buried them—according to the lost *Bassarides* of Æschylus as cited by Eratosthenes (*Catas.*, 24). But the later poets attribute the act of these women to their frenzy

in the Dionysiac orgies, and fable that the head of Orpheus was thrown upon the river Hebrus, down which it rolled to the sea, finally reaching the island of Lesbos, where it was buried. Orpheus nevertheless appears to have a solar character in connection with his lost Eurydice as a lunar figure, for he descended alive to Hades in search of her, and they were permitted to return on condition that he should not look back until they arrived in the upper world; but he did look back as they were about to pass the fatal bounds, whereupon Eurydice was taken again into the lower regions (Plato, *Sympos.*, p. 179, d; Diod., IV, 25; Hygin., *Fab.*, 164, etc.—as probably suggested by the fact that the new moon is invisible when first rising with the sun).

The Babylonian Dumu-zi (= True son) was the solar or soli-lunar husband of Ishtar (generally identified with the planet Venus). Native references to their mythic history thus far recovered are fragmentary and obscure, but they indicate that Dumu-zi was fabled to die every year and that Ishtar journeyed to the underworld, restored him to life and brought him back to the upper regions—his death and resurrection doubtless belonging to the summer solstice, as the midsummer month of the Babylonians received its name from him. According to the "Descent of Ishtar into Hades" (*Records of the Past*, I, p. 143) and the "Epic of Izdubar" as restored by Hamilton (*Ishtar and Izdubar*, Tablet VI), the goddess Ishtar descends to the underworld and revives the dead Dumu-zi by means of the water of life, and together they rise to the upper hemisphere, where Dumu-zi again dies, in the clouds, and is wildly lamented by Ishtar and her female devotees. In the epic, the solar hero Izdubar also descends to the underworld; passes through the garden of the gods, the waters of death and the waters of life, and finally returns to earth (Tablets VII and VIII). Dumu-zi became the Syrian Tammuz, whom the Greeks called Adonis (for Adon = Lord), in connection with whom Ishtar is represented by Astarte or Aphrodite-Venus. The festival of the death and resurrection of Tammuz-Adonis was held by the Syrians and the Greeks of Attica in the midsummer month, the Syrian Tammuz; while others of the Greeks made it a spring festival, their Adonia. It sometimes continued for three days, sometimes for seven, with elaborate rites, wailing for the death of the god (cf. Ezek. viii. 14) and rejoicing for his resurrection (on the whole subject see Frazer's *Golden Bough*, IV, "Adonis, Attis and Osiris"). A special seat of the worship of Adonis was Byblus in Syria, at the mouth of the river Adonis, which was fabled to run red with the blood of the slain Adonis, annually

at the summer solstice. According to Lucian (*De Dea Syra*, 6), an artificial head, made of papyrus, was annually floated from Egypt to Byblus; its arrival at the latter place announcing that Adonis was resurrected. It was held by some that Adonis, killed by a boar (for the winter), spent six months of each year in the underworld, and the other six months above (*Orphic Hymn* LV, 11)—as did Osiris in one of the Egyptian legends considered above, and Persephone according to the later accounts of her abduction by Hades or Pluto and subsequent recovery from the lower world by her mother Demeter.

The dying and resurrected god was known to the Phrygians as Attis or Attys, the beloved of Cybele, and his festival, which continued for three days, was very similar to that of Tammuz-Adonis. The death and resurrection of the solar Mithra was also commemorated by another similar festival, according to the pseudo-Firmicus (*De Errore*, 23). In the *Rigveda* we probably have a lunar figure in "the triply-mutilated S'yana," who among others was restored to life by the Aswins (CXVII, 24); and the lunar Hecate, with three bodies or three heads, was slain by the solar Heracles and revived by Phorcys (Homer, *Hymn in Cer.*, 25; Pausan., I, 43, 1). The Thracians had a god Zalmoxis, supposed by the Greeks to have been a slave to Pythagoras, and to have built a subterranean habitation in which he dwelt for three years, lamented as dead, but from which he reappeared in the fourth year (Herod., IV, 93). Here we doubtless have a misunderstanding of a myth of the dying and resurrected god; but a simulated resurrection appears to be found in the account of Simon, son of Gioras, in Josephus. After the final fall of Jerusalem this Simon hid in certain caverns under the city; from which he came forth in a white frock and a purple cloak, "to astonish and delude the Romans"; and they were astonished at first, but finally put him to death in Rome (*Bell. Jud.*, VII, 2, 1; 5, 6).

In the Egyptian belief the resurrection of mortals was like that of the sun, and the righteous dead were conceived to ascend with the sun into the celestial regions (see Budge, *Gods*, II, pp. 154, 173, etc.). The resurrection of Osiris was the great type of the resurrection of men, a favorite formula being: "He died not (i. e., was not annihilated in the underworld) and thou shalt die not" (*ibid.*, II, pp. 150, 157); and the righteous dead were Osirified, or mystically identified with Osiris, while the wicked were annihilated in the underworld. It was Osiris (As-ar) who was sometimes said to convey the magical words that cured the sick and

raised the dead; and his Babylonian counterpart Asari was also a god who cured sickness and effected resurrections, in which functions he was finally superseded by Marduk (see Sayce, *Rel. Anc. Eg. and Bab.*, pp. 105, 208, 329, 375). Again, the resurrection of mortals was effected by the magical "words of power" of Isis (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 362), which had restored the solar Horus to life (as we saw above); and the Argives worshiped Aphrodite (= Astarte-Ishtar) as the "Opener of graves" (Clement Alex., *Exhort.*, II). Odin, as "the Ghost-Sovereign," called the dead from the earth, and among his magical runes was one that could bring a hanged man back to life (*Elder Edda*, "Havamal," 159).

After Rama had captured the city of Lanka, he revived all his chieftains who had been slain in the combat, and recovered his wife Sita uninjured from the fire into which she had thrown herself (*Ramayana*, I, 1). In the *Vishnu Purana* (IV, 10), Krishna revives Parikshit, burnt to ashes with his mother before he was born; and he also revives the two sons of a learned Brahman as the boon most desired by the father. According to some, both Prometheus and the rock to which he was first chained were hurled into Tartarus by a thunderbolt of Zeus; but after a long time Prometheus returned to the earth and was chained to Mount Caucasus (Horace, *Carm.*, II, 18; Apollon. Rhod., II, 1247; Hygin., *Poet. Astr.*, II, 15). Aristeas of Proconessus rose from the dead and left his native land, where he reappeared seven years later, and again after 340 years (Herod., IV, 13-16; Tzetzes, *Chil.*, II, 724). According to Herodotus (II, 91), the people of Chemmis in Egypt affirmed that Perseus had frequently appeared to them, and that a huge sandal was sometimes found after his departure—"Perseus" doubtless being put for the Egyptian "Persais," a surname of Osiris (*Lamentations of Isis*, 14). Alcestis gave her life for that of her husband Admetus when the foreordained hour of his death had come, but Kora (Persephone), or according to others Heracles, brought her back from the underworld (Apollod., I, 9, 3; Ælian, *Var. Hist.*, XIV, 45; Ovid, *Ars Amat.*, III, 19); and some of the ancients endeavored to explain this celebrated resurrection by supposing that a physician named Heracles restored Alcestis when severely ill (Palæph., *De Incredib.*, 41; etc.). According to Plato, a certain Erus, son of Armenius, died in battle and was found perfectly sound when the other dead were gathered up corrupted on the tenth day; and he revived on the funeral pyre on the twelfth day, and told of the marvelous things he had seen in the other worlds—as set forth at length by Plato (*De Repub.*, X, 13-16).

According to Clement of Alexandria, this Erus (Er) was the Pamphylian Zoroaster (*Strom.*, V, 14), who appears to be the Pamphilus of Arnobius (*Adv. Gentes*, I, 52). Heraclides related a similar experience of a woman (Pliny, *H. N.*, VII, 52; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, II, 16—the latter adding that "many persons are recorded to have risen from their tombs, not only on the day of their burial, but also on the day following"). Raising the dead is said to have been one of the magical practices of Empedocles; the most notable case being that of a woman whose corpse he kept uncorrupted for thirty days before he revived her (*Diog. Laert.*, VIII, 2, 5). According to Lucian, a physician Antigonus declared he had a patient who rose from the dead on the twentieth day after his burial, and Cleodemus is quoted as saying that he saw a certain Hyperborean who among other wonders resuscitated the dead already beginning to putrify (*Philopseud.*, 12). Protesilaus was restored to life for three hours by the infernal gods, in answer to the prayer of his wife (Hygin., *Fab.*, 108); and Pliny has a chapter on "Persons who have come to life again after being laid out for burial" (*H. N.*, VII).

The serpents that hibernate in a state of torpidity in cold and temperate climates are often supposed to die and revive annually; their revivification sometimes being attributed to the magical power of a certain plant. Pliny cites Xanthus the Lydian for the statements that a young serpent was restored to life by the plant called Callis, and that one Tylon was resuscitated by a plant which had been observed to have the same effect on a serpent (cf. Dionys. Hal., *Antiq. Rom.*, I, 27, 1); and Pliny also says that Juba told of an Arabian who was resuscitated by a plant (*H. N.*, XXV, 14 and 5). The Bœotian Glaucus became immortal by eating a certain herb, and was changed into a marine deity when he leapt into the sea (Athen., *Deipnos.*, VII, 48). The Cretan Glaucus was restored to life by Polyidus by means of an herb; the story being that Polyidus shut in a tomb with the dead Glaucus, killed a serpent that approached the body, whereupon another serpent brought an herb with which it revived the first—the same herb being employed by Polyidus to revive Glaucus (Tzetzes, *Ad Lycoph.*, 811; Apollod., III, 10, 3). Substantially the same story is told of another Glaucus and Æsculapius, with the scene laid in the house of the former; and in one version it is added that Æsculapius thenceforth employed this herb for resurrecting men (Hygin., *Poet. Astr.*, II, 14). But according to others, while he was reviving Glaucus, Æsculapius was killed by Zeus with a thunderbolt—because the latter feared that

men might learn to escape death altogether (Apollod., III, 10, 4), or because Pluto had complained that Æsculapius by his many resurrections was too greatly diminishing the number of the dead (Diod., IV, 71), or because Æsculapius had accepted a bribe of gold for effecting the resurrection of Glaucus (Pindar, *Pyth.*, III, 102; Plato, *Legg.*, III, p. 408, etc.). Apollodorus tells us of several persons whom Æsculapius is said to have restored to life (*loc. cit.*), the most celebrated of these being Hippolytus, who had been killed when his horses upset his chariot; and according to Italian tradition, he continued to live in the grove of Aricia as a demi-god, under the name of Virbius = Twice a man (Hygin., *Fab.*, 47, 49; Ovid, *Met.*, XV, 490, etc.). According to some, Æsculapius had received from Athena the blood of the slain Gorgon, and employed that from the left side to destroy men, while with that from the right he raised the dead and healed the living (Apollod., III, 10, 3). Pausanias says he was famous over all lands because "he had all power to heal the sick and raised the dead" (II, 26, 4).

Philostratus says: "Here too is a miracle which Apollonius (of Tyana) worked. A girl had died just in the hour of her marriage, and the bridegroom was following her bier, lamenting as was natural, his marriage left unfulfilled; and the whole of Rome was mourning with him, for the maiden belonged to a consular family. Apollonius then, witnessing their grief, said: 'Put down the bier, for I will stay the tears that you are shedding for this maiden.' And withal he asked what was her name....merely touching her and whispering in secret some spell over her, immediately awoke the maiden from her seeming death; and she spoke out loud, and returned to her father's house, just as Alcestis did when she was brought back to life by Heracles. And the relatives of the maiden wanted to present him with the sum of 150,000 sesterces, but he said that he would freely present the money to the young woman by way of dowry. Now whether he detected some spark of life in her, which those who were nursing her (in her illness) had not noticed—for it is said that although it was raining at the time, a vapor went up from her face—or whether life was really extinct, and he restored it by the warmth of his touch, is a mysterious problem which neither myself nor those who were present could decide" (*Vit. Apollon.*, IV, 45).

Quite similar is the account of the raising of the daughter of Jairus by Jesus, the oldest extant version of which is presumably in Mark v. 21-24, 35-43. In the presence of a multitude, Jairus, "one of the rulers of the synagogue," besought Jesus to come and

lay hands on his little daughter, who was at the point of death, so she might be cured and live; and on the way to the house of Jairus Jesus cured the woman with the flux of blood (probably the wife of Jairus and the mother of the girl—as suggested in a previous article of this series, on "The Cosmic Hemorrhage"). Then some persons from the house arrive and tell Jairus that his daughter is already dead—"But Jesus immediately, having heard the word spoken, says to the ruler of the synagogue, Fear not; only believe. And he suffered no one to accompany him, except Peter and James and John the brother of James (as the three witnesses required by Jewish law; the same Apostles being found at the Transfiguration and the Agony in Gethsemane). And he comes to the house of the ruler of the synagogue, and he beholds a tumult, (people) weeping and wailing greatly. And having entered, he says to them, Why make ye a tumult and weep? The child is not dead, but sleeps (cf. the doubts about the death of the maiden revived by Apollonius: but perhaps suggested by the belief that the spirit hovered near the body for three days after death, which was not considered final till the close of that period—as we shall see further on). And they laugh at him. But he having put out all, takes with him the father of the child and the mother and those with him, and enters where the child was lying. And having taken the hand of the child, he says to her, Talitha, koumi: which is, being interpreted, Little maiden, to thee I say, arise (but properly the Aramaic or Syriac for 'Maiden, arise'—as in the Syriac Peshito and the *Diatessaron*), and immediately arose the little maiden and walked, for she was twelve years old. And they were amazed with great amazement." Luke has substantially the same account, adding that the girl was an only daughter to Jairus, and that "her spirit returned" when she arose (viii. 41, 42, 49-56); while in the abbreviated version of Matthew she is already dead when Jairus comes to Jesus, beseeching him to bring her to life again (ix. 18, 19, 23-26). It is not improbable that the (only) daughter of Jairus represents the Syro-Phœnician Astarte or Ashtoreth as identified with the planet Venus (the only female in the five-fold group), who is born as the morning star, dies when the sun rises, and comes to life again the following morning; while Jairus (Heb. *Jair* = Enlightener), a ruler of the synagogue (for the heaven or the universe), has the character of the sun-god as the light-giver and the father of the planets (see article on "The Cosmic Hemorrhage"). The Syriac or Aramaic "Talitha" (= maiden) of Mark's version probably becomes the Tabitha who is restored to life by Peter, according to Acts ix.

36-41, where the name is interpreted *Dorkas* (= antelope or gazelle). In Mark, Jesus takes the maiden's hand before he resuscitates her, while the same act is attributed to Peter after the resuscitation; but in both instances the command is "Talitha (or Tabitha), arise."

There is no type or suggestion for the raising of the daughter of Jairus among the several Old Testament resurrection stories. In 2 Kings iv. 8-37, Elisha lodges with "a great woman," a Shunammite (a type name for a beautiful woman—1 Kings i. 3, and the original text of Canticles vi. 13, where the extant text has "Shulamite"), who has an aged (solar) husband and is barren (for the earth-mother in winter); but she finally bears a son (primarily for the sun-god reborn at the spring equinox), in reward for her care of the prophet and his servant. The boy dies in early youth (at sunset, and still in the spring), and Elisha revives him by stretching himself twice upon the body, mouth to mouth, eyes to eyes and hands to hands; and in the second attempt the boy sneezes seven times and opens his eyes. In 2 Kings xiii. 21, a dead man is revived when he is cast into the tomb of Elisha and touches the latter's bones. In the *Midrash Tarchuma* we read (54, 4): "What God, the holy, the glorified, will do in the future (Messianic) kingdom, that has he already done before by the hands of the righteous in this (pre-Messianic) time: God will wake the dead, as he did before by Elijah, Elisha and Ezekiel...." There is no extant account of such a miracle by Ezekiel, but one may have been suggested by Ezek. xxxvii. 1-14, where the prophet has a vision of the resurrection of all the Israelites (in the Messianic kingdom), who are revived by the breath of the four winds after their dry bones are clothed with flesh. In 1 Kings xvii. 17-24, Elijah lodges with a poor widow of Zarephath and revives her dead son by stretching himself three times upon the body, "and the soul of the child came back into him, and he revived."

This story of Elijah is the Old Testament type of the raising of the only son of the widow of Nain by Jesus—according to Luke vii. 11-17, and there only. Jesus "went into a city called Nain, and went with him his many disciples and a great multitude. And as he drew near to the gate of the city, behold also, one who had died was being carried out, an only son to his mother, and she was a widow; and a considerable multitude from the city (was) with her. And seeing her the Lord was moved with compassion on her, and said to her, Weep not. And coming up, he touched the bier, and those bearing (it) stopped. And he said, Young man (Νεανίσκε), to thee I say, arise. And the dead sat up and began to speak, and

he (Jesus) gave him to his mother." The town of Nain was probably selected for this miracle because the Hebrew *nain* and the Greek *nean* (= *neos*) have radically the same meaning of "new," "young," "fresh" and "green (of vegetation)," while the Greek *nean*, *neanias* and *neaniskos* (as in Luke), signify "young man." In the mythical view the widowed earth-mother properly belongs to Nain only in the spring, when her solar only son is born (at the equinox) and resurrected (every morning); and Jesus is a duplicate solar figure, like Elijah and Elisha, and like Jehovah himself as the god who raises the dead through the instrumentality of these prophets. In John v. 21, it is said that "even as the Father raises the dead and quickens (them), thus also the Son quickens whom he will"; and this power of giving life to the dead, as well as healing the sick and infirm, was attributed to the most highly developed Essenes at the beginning of the Christian era (Ginsburg, *Essenes*, p. 13).

The story of the resurrection of Lazarus is found only in John xi. 1-46—"Now there was a certain sick man, Lazarus of Bethany, of the village of Mary and Martha her sister. And it was Mary who anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped his feet with her hair, whose brother Lazarus was sick. Therefore the sisters sent to him (Jesus), saying, Lord, lo, he whom thou lovest is sick. But Jesus having heard, said, This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God, that the son of God may be glorified by it. Now Jesus loved Martha and her sister and Lazarus. When therefore he heard that he (Lazarus) is sick, then indeed he remained in which place he was for two days (perhaps suggested by Hos. vi. 2: 'After two days he [Jehovah] will revive us: on the third day he will raise us up'). Then after this he says to his disciples,... Lazarus our friend has fallen asleep; but I go that I may awake him....Lazarus died....Having come therefore Jesus found him four days (doubtless counting both extremes; or 'three days,' as we would say) already having been in the tomb....Martha therefore when she heard that Jesus is coming, met him; but Mary in the house was sitting. Then said Martha to Jesus, Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died....Mary therefore when she came where Jesus was, seeing him fell at his feet, saying to him, Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. Jesus therefore when he saw her weeping, and the Jews who came with her weeping, he groaned in spirit, and troubled himself, and said, Where have ye laid him? They say to him, Lord, come and see. Jesus

wept.... Jesus therefore again groaning in himself comes to the tomb. Now it was a cave, and a stone was lying upon it. Jesus says, Take away the stone. To him says the sister of him who had died, Martha, Lord, already he stinks, for it is four days....They took away therefore the stone where the dead was laid. And Jesus lifted his eyes upward, and said, Father, I thank thee that thou heardest me....And these things having said, with a loud voice he cried, Lazarus, come forth. And came forth he who had been dead, bound feet and hands with grave-clothes, and his face with a handkerchief bound about. Says Jesus to them, Loose him and let him go."

JESUS RAISING LAZARUS.

(From F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, I, p. 155.)

As Strauss has shown (*New Life of Jesus*, 77), the primary suggestion for this story is doubtless found in the closing words of the parable or apologue of Lazarus the (leprous) beggar in Luke xvi. 19-31: "If Moses and the prophets they hear not, not even if one should rise from the dead will they be persuaded." The names Mary and Martha are from Luke x. 38-42, where the sisters are neither of Bethany nor connected with any Lazarus; and the Johannine Mary is further identified with the unnamed woman who anoints Jesus in the house of Simon the leper at Bethany (Mark xiv. 3; Matt. xxvi. 6—and see previous article on "The Cosmic Leprosy"). But the author of the Gospel of John (an Alexandrine Greek) in all probability recognized Lazarus (Gr. Lazaros for Heb. Eleazar) as a counterpart of the dying and resurrected Osiris (Asar, whence perhaps a Semitic El-Asar = God Osiris); while the sisters of Lazarus were given the characters of Isis and Nephthys, whose mourning for their brother Osiris has a prominent place in Egyptian mythology—where Isis is also the wife of the god. In some texts, Nephthys assists the widowed Isis in collecting the scattered pieces of Osiris and reconstituting his body, for in prehistoric times Nephthys was the fashioner of the body (Budge, *Gods*, II, pp. 255, 259). The name Nephthys (Nebt-het) signifies Lady of the house, while Martha signifies Lady; and Martha is the busy housekeeper in Luke x. 38-42, where the idle Mary (= Corpulent) has "the good part"—whence we appear to have Martha for Nephthys and Mary for Isis. In the

"Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys," each section opens with a call to the dead Osiris to come to his abode (in the upper heaven, or Annu), and in the same text and elsewhere, one of the names of Osiris is An, apparently answering to the Babylonian Anu, the name of the heaven-god—whence it is not improbable that Bethany (as if House of Anu) was recognized as a terrestrial counterpart of the abode (Annu) of An-Osiris. In all the earliest representations of the resurrection of Lazarus, he stands in the door of his tomb, swathed like an Egyptian mummy (Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, II, numerous plates; Lundy, *Monumental Christianity*, figs. 38, 128, 136, etc.). Like Osiris, he appears to be primarily of lunar character, with Jesus as the resurrector representing the sun-god, the Egyptian Ra, "who calls his gods to life" and "imparts the breath of life to the souls that are in their place" (*Litany of Ra*, I, 6, 7); whence it appears that the three (or "four") days during which Lazarus is dead properly belong to the dark moon. According to the ancient Persian belief the human soul remains near the body for three days after death, and then proceeds to Paradise or to the place of darkness (*Khordah-Avesta*, XXXVIII, 1-7; 19, 25, etc.), and in 2 Kings xx. 5, Jehovah says that Hezekiah shall go up into heaven "on the third day" after his death (cf. Hos. vi. 2). According to the later Jewish belief the soul lingers for three days near the dead body, ready to return into it if possible, and at the beginning of the fourth day it takes its departure because it sees that the countenance of the deceased is wholly unrecognizable (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.*, on John xi. 39); and thus, too, the soul of Jeremiah was fabled to have returned to his body when he was resuscitated "after three days" (*The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, 9). According to the group statement of Matt. xi. 5, Jesus raised the dead as well as healed the sick and infirm; and he gave the Apostles power to do the same (*ibid.* x. 8). Philip raised a dead man, according to Papias (in Euseb., *H. E.*, III, 39, 9); while John revived a man at Ephesus (*Eustath.*, V, 18, 4), and at Athens restored life both to a male criminal who had died from drinking poison and to a female slave killed by a demon (*Acts of John*). Raising the dead was also believed to have been a frequent act of the early Christians (Iren., *Adv. Haer.*, II, 31, 2; 32, 4, etc.).

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

RABBINIC CONCEPTIONS ABOUT DEATH.*

BY JULIUS J. PRICE.

ON the Jewish New Year's eve, according to Jewish tradition, the Almighty God is supposed to have two sets of books set before him[1] in which are to be written the names of those who are to meet with death during the coming year, and the names of those more fortunate who are to be blessed with life. It is an oft-repeated statement in the Talmud that one may meet death by one of nine hundred and three ways.[2] In Psalms[3] there is a phrase that reads "issues of death," and as the numerical value of the Hebrew word "issues" is nine hundred and three it was assumed by the sages that there were nine hundred and three means by which one might meet death. Croup was regarded by them as the hardest of all deaths enumerated, for as they state, "It is like the violent extraction of a piece of thorn from the wool of skins." As the easiest death is regarded the "Divine Kiss" (of which Moses and others are said to have died), "for it is like the draining out of a hair from milk."

The Talmud attributes the death of many young women to the following three causes. Firstly, it is assumed that the woman who dies at an early age has neglected strict circumspection during the period of separation. Secondly, that she did not take the proper care with regard to "the cake of the first of dough."[4] Thirdly, death

* Paper presented at the fifty-fifth meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, New York, December 29, 1919.

[1] R. H. 16b.

[2] Berachoth 8a. Comp. also Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals*, New York, 1890, Vol. I, p. 208. The Roman philosophers taught that death was a law of nature, not a punishment. The Church-fathers regarded it as a penal infliction introduced on account of the sin of Adam.

[3] Ps. lxviii. 21. R. H. 18b: "The death of the righteous is a calamity equal in magnitude to the burning of the house of our God" (the Temple).

[4] Num. xv. 20.

is attributed to a failure to light the Sabbath lamps on Friday evening.[5]

The heaviest of penalties is the fate of the one who desecrates the name of God.[6] The Rabbis have gone so far as to state that even repentance on the Day of Atonement and sufferings are only suspensive in warding off the penalty, which is death for such an offense. The pious orthodox Jew will even to-day under no circumstances pronounce the name of God in vain.

The Talmud states that one who insults or displeases a sage will be overtaken by death or destruction should the sage care to fix his eye upon him.[7]

The Talmud is most exact in the description of the angel of death conveying a man from this world to the world beyond. The exact phrasing is as follows:[8] It is said of the angel of death that he has eyes all over, and when a man is on the point of dissolution he takes his position above the man's head with his sword stretched out with a drop of gall suspended on it.[9] He is no sooner seen by the dying man than, seized with convulsions, he opens his mouth and a drop falls in. This is the immediate cause of death, his livid appearance and decomposition. The description tallies with the saying of Rabbi Chanena ben Cahana, that to prevent decomposition, turn the face downward. The Talmud also predicts certain good or bad omens for people dying in the following ways:[10] Weeping is a bad omen; the face downward, also a bad omen; upward, a good omen; face toward the bystanders, a good omen; toward the wall, a bad omen; a livid appearance is a good omen; a glowing and ruddy appearance, a good omen. To die on the Sabbath eve, "the entrance into rest," is a good omen; at the close of the Sabbath, a good omen; and on the eve of the Day of Atonement (before any benefit can be derived from the atoning virtue of the day), a bad omen; at its close, a good omen. To die from derangement of the digestive organs is a good omen, for the majority of righteous men (owing probably to their sedentary habits as students of the Law) die of that complaint. On the other hand, the sages of the Talmud taught that if a man failed to follow the precepts of the Law upon this earth and suddenly died and was not mourned over and was not buried, or if rain fell upon his bier

[5] Sabbath 31b. Comp. 1 Tim. ii. 15.

[6] Yoma 86a.

[7] Erubin 29a. Comp. Bartels, *Medizin der Naturvölker*, pp. 201-3.

[8] Avodah Zorah 20b.

[9] See Frazer's *Fear and Worship of the Dead.*

[10] Kethuboth 103b.

or if an animal dragged his body about, then his friends and relatives might be well aware that the sins committed upon this earth were forgiven and that he had entered the abode of bliss.[11]

Although the angel of death is able to overtake a man irrespective of his position, yet the Talmud assures us that a man who is engaged in the study of the Torah and the Talmud cannot be overtaken by this angel of death. Two examples might be quoted from the Talmud to exemplify the above statement. David had asked God to be informed as to his end and the measure of his days.[12] He was told that this was hidden from man by an unalterable decree. (Hezekiah formed an exception.) "Let me then know," he urged, "the day of my death."[13] "That will take place on a Sabbath day," was the divine answer. "May it not," he begged, "be postponed to the following day?" "No, the reign of Solomon will begin on that Sabbath, and thine must not overlap it for a moment of time." "Let me then die," he entreated, "a day before, 'For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand.'"[14] "No, one day spent by thee in the study of the Law is better than a thousand burnt sacrifices which thy son will offer upon the altar." So David, to foil the angel of death, spent every Sabbath day in unremitting study of the Law, and when at last the angel of death presented himself he was kept in check, as David never for one moment interrupted his study. The angel then made an unusual noise in a tree at the back of his chamber, and David still continuing his study mounted a ladder to ascertain the cause. One of the steps giving way, he stopped for a moment to set it right. The opportunity was seized, David expired. Or, to quote a second example, the Rabbis relate that there was a family at Jerusalem whose members died at the age of eighteen years.[15] Rabbi Yochanan ben Zachai conjectured that they were descendants from Eli, concerning whom it is said, "And all the increase of thine house shall die in the flower of their age," and he advised them as antidote to the curse to give themselves up to the study of the Law. They did so, and as a result, the Talmud tells us, their ages were prolonged.

The sages of the Talmud have enforced special rules of conduct which are to be observed in the presence of a dead body.[16] The contents of one of these laws is as follows: "Nothing should

[11] Sanhedrin 47a.

[12] Comp. Ps. xxxix. 4.

[13] Rosh Hashona 18b. Comp. also Bereshit R. xliv, § 2. Vayikra R. x.

[14] Ps. lxxxiv. 10.

[15] Sabbath 30a and b.

[16] Berachoth 3b.

be said in presence of a dead body but what has reference to it." On the other hand, "while the dead body is in the house the mourners are exempt from reciting the Shema,[17] from prayers, from wearing the phylacteries and from all commandments contained in the Law."[18] Dead bodies, although apparently lifeless, are in accordance with Rabbi Abuhu's theory aware of all that is said in their presence until the lid is put upon the coffin.[19] The sages have reported that even the dead are supposed to feel the sting of the worm[20] as the living do the prick of a needle, for it is said, "But his flesh upon him shall have pain."[21] There is a prayer recited for the dead even to-day, with the petition, "And preserve him from the beating of the grave from worms and insects." The reason for the enforced silence in the presence of the dead is to avert the following situation as cited by the Rabbis. It is sometimes customary that the superfluous words exchanged between a man and his wife on certain occasions are repeated to him on his death-bed, or spoken of between the times of his death and his burial.[22]

There are prescribed rules to be observed in Jewish burial ceremonies. These customs are the outcome of Rabbi Gamaliel's reforms[23] who, noticing costly funeral ceremonies and the consequent evil of the desecration of dead bodies by poor relatives, attempted to reduce funeral expenses. So he ordered that he himself should be buried in a linen shroud, and out of respect to him, all those who died after him were buried in a similar manner. Rabbi Papa, however, states that in his day bodies were generally buried in canvas valued at about a zouz.

On the death of a wise man (an official who ranks third to the President of the Sanhedrin)[24] the whole community must go into mourning, for, as the Talmud relates, "A failure to observe this custom will often cause the early death of the children of the community whose fathers have failed to observe this injunction." An-

[17] Deut. vi. 4-9.

[18] Berachoth 17b. Comp. also Maimonides, *Hilchoth Availoth,* Sec. 4, *Halacha* 7.

[19] Sabbath 152b. Comp. Plutarch, "Consol. ad uxor.," *Opera,* VIII, 411 (Reiske, 611).

[20] It is a common belief even nowadays that he who violates the graves will suffer terrible punishment. Comp. Prescott's *History of Ferdinand and Isabella,* Vol. I, p. xxix.

[21] Job xiv. 22.

[22] Chagigah 5b.

[23] Kethuboth 8b.

[24] Mo'ed Katon 25a.

other law cited by the Talmud compels one who meets a funeral procession to follow it, and a failure to do this is a reproach to our Maker, for, in the exact words of the Talmud, "whosoever mocketh the poor (in good work of which the dead are destitute) reproacheth the Maker."[25] While the Rabbis have taught that great respect ought to be paid to the dead, yet it is a precept of the Talmud that "a funeral procession should give way to a bridal procession."[26]

The Rabbis have taught that "death and life are in the hand of the tongue,"[27] indicating thereby that "one may kill with the tongue as well as with the hand." As a result the Rabbis state that "loving kindness is above charity, as unlike the latter it is exerted personally as well as by alms, for the benefit of the rich as well as the poor, the dead as well as the living."[28] The Rabbis have taught that the greatest care should be taken[29] in order to carry out the wishes of the dead, for according to the Talmud "it takes twelve months for a person to be entirely forgotten by his survivers."[30] During that time, "the dead man's soul is supposed to ascend and descend," and should the dead man's wish not be carried out, his soul would be unable to find its proper rest.[31]

The Talmud gives rather a peculiar explanation of the words "slept" and "dead."[32] Wherever the Bible uses the word "slept" of a person who has gone from this life, it means that he has left a son here who is worthy of carrying his name, while on the other hand, wherever the word "dead" is used it signifies that the descendants of the dead man were unworthy of using his name.[33]

The Talmud in relating the story of Ezekiel and the manner in which he restored the dried bones, states that the men whom Ezekiel raised, sang, praised God and died again.[34] It was even claimed by Rabbi Yehudah ben Bethaira that he was a descendant of these resurrected people who left him a pair of phylacteries.[35]

[25] Berachoth 18a. Comp. Prov. xvii. 5.

[26] Kethuboth 17a.

[27] Erechin 15b. Comp. Prov. xviii. 21.

[28] Succah 49b.

[29] Ta'anith 21z.

[30] Bernachoth 58b.

[31] R. Hertz, "Représentation collective de la mort," in *Année sociologique,* X, 1905-6, p. 48.

[32] 1 Kings xi. 21.

[33] Bava Bathra 116a.

[34] Sanhedrin 92b.

[35] *Ibid.*

It is customary for people when in sorrow to visit the cemeteries where they have some dear one buried. Rabbi Levi Bar Choma says[36] that the reason for this was that those who came to visit the graves of their departed ones were in the habit of asking their dead to intercede on their behalf before the throne of the almighty God, and in order to prove that the dead hear, the Talmud relates several stories to that effect.[37] By means of these stories it is proved that disembodied spirits converse with each other. For we read in Deut. xxiv. 5: "And the Lord said unto him (Moses), This is the land which I sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying—." The Talmud continues: "Saying what? The holy one, blessed be He, said unto Moses, Go after thy deceased and say to the patriarchs that the oath which I have sworn to them I have already fulfilled to their children."

On the other hand, the following story might well illustrate the above thought more explicitly.[38] A holy man was once annoyed by his wife for giving a denarius to a poor man on New Year's eve at a time of scarcity; and he went and spent the night in a cemetery. His attention was arrested by the voice of a spirit asking another to go on an excursion with her to the Veil (screening the holy of holies in the heavenly temple) in order to hear what calamities would be decreed against the world at that season of judgment. "I am buried in a mat," was the reply, "and I am ashamed to show myself in it. But go thou, sister, and tell me what thou hast heard." She did so and brought the information that the crops sown at the first rainy season would be destroyed by the hail. The holy man profited by it, and while all other crops were destroyed his were of the best quality. The next year, he again availed himself of the information imparted to the shabbily attired spirit and again secured an exceptionally good harvest. His wife wormed out the secret of his success and, in a quarrel with that spirit's mother, alluded derisively to that mat in which her daughter was buried. When the holy man presented himself on the next New Year's eve at the cemetery, the same conversation ensued: but the spirit answered, "Leave me alone, sister, for the living are fully informed of what passes between us."

Another Talmudic legend[39] tells us that Kaleb, before joining the commission sent by the great leader Moses to explore "the land

[36] Ta'anith 16a.

[37] Berachoth 18b.

[38] Comp. Gruneisen, *Der Ahnenkultus,* p. 166, so also Duhm, *Die bösen Geister im Alten Testament,* pp. 24-5.

[39] Sotah 34b.

of milk and honey," prayed at the graves of the patriarchs in Hebrew that God should keep him steadfast.

In another instance[40] we are told that when the Holy Temple was to be destroyed, Jeremiah went to the Jordan to conjure up Moses, also to the cave of Machpelah to arouse the patriarchs that they should intercede on behalf of their descendants with God. This story forms the basis of one of the best-known dirges in the service for the Ninth of Ab.

This custom of invoking the aid of the dead is also mentioned in later Rabbinic literature.[41] The sages report the practice of even holding penitential services in the cemeteries in times of danger. The reason for this practice might be twofold. One, to remind the people of their frailty and as a result to make them humble and worthy of God's grace; and secondly, to bring back forcibly to them the great virtues of their ancestors, more especially, the greatest of all religious devotions, the sacrifice of Isaac who will intercede in their behalf in Heaven. It was doubtless customary, as can be learned from various ancient sources, for individuals to pray at the graves of parents or grandparents before one undertook an important mission or when one was in serious troubles.

The Zohar,[42] the mystic work of the thirteenth century, well recommends the visit to the graves of the pious in all troublesome times and especially the holding of solemn services on the cemetery, with a procession led by some one holding a Sefer Torah, a custom which even the great Ezekiel Landau recommended.[43]

While it is customary that in all cases the appeal for assistance from the dead should be made to some departed relation, yet we find more often the custom of appealing to people who had the reputation of a saintly life or to some renowned rabbi or leader in Israel.[44]

This custom, however, of pilgrimages to the graves of saints is more in vogue among Oriental Jews. The most popular of these pilgrimages is the annual visit on the eighteenth of Iyar (Lag be Omer) to the supposed grave of Simon be Yohai near Tiberias, to which people flock not only from Palestine and adjacent countries but even from Arabia, Persia and Bohkara. Many are the local saints whose names only are known but who are nevertheless

[40] Echali, Pesikta Rabbathi, Sec. 24.

[41] Ta'anith 16a.

[42] Zohar Lev., pp. 70b and 71a.

[43] Noda be Yehudah, Orach Hayyim, 109.

[44] *Revue des études juives,* LI, 268, and LII, 80.

worshiped in Demanhur, Egypt, in Nazzan and Tetuan, Morocco, in Zolkiew, Galicia, and other places too numerous to mention. In the last-named city it was only known that the saint's name was Moses ben Shackna and that he died October 25, 1662.[45]

As such graves may also be regarded that of Ezekiel, south of Hillah, the ancient Sura, the tomb of Daniel near Mosul, not far from El Kush where the grave of Nahum is shown, and also the grave of the high priest Joshua ben Jehozadak near Bagdad. The Jews of Persia have as their special saint Serah, the daughter of Asher, the only female mentioned in Jacob's family when he went to Egypt (inasmuch as Jacob's daughter Dinah was doubtless not eligible), and visit her grave near Ispahan in all troubles.

The grave of Moses Isserls' teacher, Rabbi Shackna of Lublin, is perhaps one of the best historically known. On Rabbi Shackna's grave solemn penitential services were held to the cholera on Adar 29 which chanced to be Yom Kippur Katon, 1915. The grave of Shackna's pupil Moses Isserls in Cracow is not the goal of regular pilgrimage, but numerous individuals visit his grave and deposit their written requests inside the railing which surrounds the grave.

In direct imitation of the Mohammedans, the Oriental Jews have numerous graves of prophets and other well-known Biblical personages which are the goal of annual pilgrimages, just as the Arabs make their pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina or perhaps to the grave of some Marabout.

One finds that the custom of taking a vow to visit the graves was already an established custom in the eighth century. While Saerkes[46] is somewhat doubtful as to whether one ought to perform such duties, he does not oppose the practice of it, inasmuch as it had already become an accepted practice, and whatever, he writes, has become an accepted practice must not be nullified. A number of later Talmudic authorities are of a similar opinion. One therefore finds in accordance with an early medieval practice that the graves are visited[47] on the Ninth of Ab, which is the day on which both the first and second Temples were destroyed, on the eve of Rosh ha Shannah and the Day of Atonement. The reason for the visits on these days is that the Ninth of Ab is to inspire the visitor with sadness, while the visits on New Year's eve and the Day of Atonement are explained to be occasions on which the departed are asked

[45] Comp. Ha-Eshkol, Iv: 159.

[46] *Notes on Yoreh De'ah*, 217.

[47] Shulhan Aruk, Orach Hayyim, 599, 581, 605.

to intercede with the Almighty when mortal man is being weighed in the balance.

Professor Deutsch has pointed out on a former occasion a curious specimen of appealing to the departed in individual needs by one Samuel Haida of Prague (d. 1685). Haida was preparing an edition of an old book, the *Tanna debe Eliyahu*, which, owing to the negligence of the copyists, had a very corrupt text. Instead of looking for older manuscripts, Haida fasted, prayed to the Prophet Elijah whom he believed to be the author of this medieval work, and visited the graves of the righteous, so numerous in Prague, asking for their assistance. He sincerely believed that his prayer was answered and that the pious ancestors interceded for him with the prophet Elijah, who revealed to him in a dream the explanation of the difficult passage.

Another custom one finds in connection with the dead is that of what is known as a "prayer of forgiveness" addressed to persons whom the worshiper is believed to have wronged during his life. It is related that the famous *Land-Rabbiner* of Moravia, Mendel Krachmal, once advised a peddler who was terribly conscience-stricken believing to have caused the death of his assistant in a blizzard, to take three learned and pious Israelites with him to the grave of the supposed victim and beg and ask his forgiveness in their presence.[48] And even as late as the latter part of the eighteenth century the Rabbinate of Rawitsch in Posnania condemned a man who had spoken ill of a dead neighbor to apologize at the grave.[49]

Professor Deutsch has called attention to another phase of this subject, namely that the belief in the power of the dead to avert misfortune, and especially premature death, from the living, "is underlying the ceremony to dedicate a cemetery by killing a rooster (*kapparah*) over the first grave." This custom, writes Professor Deutsch, as far as he is aware, was first mentioned by the Cabbalist Aaron Berechiah da Modena, the uncle of the freethinker Leo Modena, in his *Na'abar Yabbok*, which, with many alterations, is still very popular as a prayer-book used at death-beds and cemeteries.[50] The custom was practised in 1856 by Rabbi Illoway at the dedication of a new cemetery in Syracuse, New York.[51]

[48] Zemach Zedek, N. 93.

[49] Cohen, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom,* p. 36.

[50] Edition Mantua, 1726, p. 47b.

[51] Comp. *Sinai,* II, 773; so also in Casale Monfesato, Feb., 1870.

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