The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Editor: Dr. Paul Carus.

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

VOL. XXIII. (No. 8.)

AUGUST, 1909.

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Editor: Dr. Paul Carus

Associates: { E. C. HEGELER MARY CARUS

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LAYING THE FOUNDATION OF THE KREMLIN. By I. A. Djenyeffe

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

A DEDUCTIVE STUDY OF SEMITIC CULTURE.

BY PHILLIPS ENDECOTT OSGOOD.

THE Temple of Solomon stands nearer the Red Sea than it does to Babylon. Its position is significant. For a few brief moments between the lessening chaos of the nation's genesis and the increasing chaos of the dissolution, the Temple is the permanent, fixed background of the drama of Jewish life; just as the neverfailing temple façade of Mycenae provided the permanent scenery of the Greek theater, in whose fore-courts transpired all the action of tragedy and comedy.

A moment ago the Judges ruled, whose irregular succession runs back into the legendary morning-mist of Egypt and the Exodus:—
a few moments yet to come and the "waters of Babylon" sweep in, and with their tide carry away all but the dream-shadow of the glory of the race. Solomon may have no place in the history of Jewish theology, but his reign marks a decisive instant in the history of Jewish religion, for he gave this house to Yahveh. Henceforth the Ark of the Lord abides no more beneath transient curtains, but has a central, permanent abiding-place in the midst of an Israel which is no longer a group of scattered hill tribes, living the patriarchal, unfederated life of the past, but a compact kingdom. Peace had come for the moment. The worldly life of the Hebrew nation was just beginning. The religion of Yahveh was coming into its own. The Temple becomes the precipitant and center of cohesion in the life of the Hebrews.

I.

It is a trite, safe statement to make that the religion of the Jewish people contained the possibility of truth and further revelation be-

cause it carefully and painstakingly abstained from any bias toward anthropomorphic limitation. The limiting of artistic life involved in the rigorous command that there should be no "graven images" in "the likeness of anything in the heaven above, the earth beneath or the waters under the earth" carried other limitations as well. Architecture, simple decorative design, esthetic perception of any kind was thereby stultified. By the fetters thus imposed on them the hands of the artist were paralyzed into the hands of the artisan, whose work henceforth inevitably must be totally devoid of anything but the faintest trace of grace or distinction. There are few more absolutely crude and hideous human creations than the clumsily daubed pottery of Judea, the almost sole relics of its artistic(?) endeavors. "Jewish art" is as nearly a contradiction of terms as can be found. The artistic horizon of the ancient Hebrew was made up of conventional flowers, mythic beasts (whose habitat, being pure fancy, could not be kept organic by sobering contact with reality) and the baldest of architectural lines.

Of course, it is a comfort to know that the ideal of Jehovah, thus not tied down to the level of anthropomorphic representation, was thereby delivered and made ideally free. Perhaps in the first place the fiat of prohibition issued psychologically from a subsense that the Hebrew blood *could* not produce anything ideal enough to be admired or creative of respect and adoration, however infinite the permission and opportunity. Its birthright-genius was aniconic; a capability for passionate devotion to an abstract ideal.

TT.

Be all this as it may, however, human nature seems to have asserted itself, and attempted self-expression in concrete, if imperfect form was the ever-recurring heresy. It was the thing religion had most to fight.

Modern Bible study does not let us believe that the Yahvehideal was created full grown and perfect, and revealed to Abraham in his covenant or to Moses at the burning bush; to be no more improved upon forever and a day. Monotheism grew out of henotheism, henotheism out of polytheism. Yahveh was at first far from the all-powerful Lord of the whole world. He may soon have surpassed them, but he was blood-cousin to Chemosh and Baal. He belonged to the same polytheistic-henotheistic family. Abraham and his immediate descendants seem, even in the later, worked-over accounts, to have employed the same religious symbols and forms of worship as did the people of Canaan and Phænicia, and the era

of the Judges is the logical sequel to this time. Egypt, although it rebaptized the God of Israel, was not a sundering force in the form of his worship. As Abraham stories depict his erection of an altar wherever he made a residence, his "planting a grove" or pillar in Beersheba as a religious emblem; as Jacob's legend shows him twice setting up a great stone; so, subtracting the point of view of later, more Puritan writers, the pet heresy of Israel in all the following years of the Judges and both united and divided kingdoms appears to be simple reversion to type. The gods of Syria, of Canaan and of Phænicia were the obvious refuge for the child race of the Hebrews when Yahveh-worship transcended their capabilities, because there seems not to have been any great difference of quality in the worship of Baal and Yahveh until the spiritualization of the Deuteronomic code began to show.

In primitive races anthropomorphism is a forgiveable demand. Even to-day our most compelling conceptions of God, say what we may, must be in humanly finite terminology. The crime of worshiping other gods appears to have lain essentially in the treacherous desertion of that God who had made Israel his chosen people out of all the nations of the world; in the breaking of a covenanted troth with the supra-natural benefactor; in the not living up to the human side of the bargain; rather than in the about-face turn to the worship of a principle recognized as inherently evil. Even the later prophets and redactors, in their imaging the relation of the nation to Yahveh as a marriage relation, seem rather to lay stress in their frank metaphors on the desertion-element than upon the essential sinfulness of the new relation. It is the sin of breaking faith, rather than any sin of moral degeneration that is condemned.

The *elements* of the other worships abound in the worship of Yahveh himself. Ashera, pillars and other rude symbolisms permeate the earlier Hebrew faith. Yahveh has his seat in a burning bush, combining both sun and tree worship elements; the sacred bull appears in all sorts of new forms,—as cherub, even as the symbol of Yahveh himself; the serpent symbol trails deviously from the Garden of Eden through the wilderness into seraphic form and the Holy of Holies in the Temple, there to await Hezekiah's iconoclasm. In so far as Yahvism lifts itself above the spatial limitation of the symbol, that symbol is spiritualized and transcended. All the Semitic nations had passed from mere idolatry: Yahvism simply was the least limited by concrete symbolism to tangible finiteness. The gods of other peoples were hospitable and accepted newcomers to

¹ Genesis xxxv and xxxviii.

their pautheon, but Israel's Yahveh did not. Such new additions and infusions as did come in must do so as his attributes, not as separate entities. Breaking faith with Yahveh, as Yahvism grew spiritualized, meant, therefore, as I have said, a reversion to type. The sin of Solomon in worshiping at the "great stone" or high place of Gibeon,2 in his building mounds ("high places") for Chemosh, the god of generation, and for Hercules-Moloch, the god of fire; in his second-childhood worship of Venus Astarte³ is greater than the sin of those who in the lapses of the earlier Judges' period turned to Baalim and Ashtaroth⁴ simply because it implies a greater reversion. The ideal has grown a bit farther away from Chemosh, Moloch and Baal, in that the conception of the covenant is a little more drastic; but the breaking troth with him who "abideth faithful" is still the sin. It remains for prophetism to make the covenant a pure and spiritual concept; to free it from the taint and tinge of commercialism and bargaining; to make the worship of the nation realize the moral content of its heritage.

The Temple building, then, was nearer the Red Sea than to Babylon. At the time of Solomon the elements of all-Semitic religion shaped its essence more than did any exclusive tendency toward the later, true religion. Messias-faith was from the very nature of the case an anachronism and impossible. The Temple of Solomon very apparently embodies the common elements of the entire Semitic pantheon. Even its aniconic nature is not absolute, nor is it unique. The Ark of the Lord, the brazen pillars, the cherubin, sacred palmtrees and the like, all show traces of their symbolic origin. In Egypt, in Phœnicia, in Assyria, the first germs of henotheism were quickening, bringing into first being the extension of the previous idea that the symbols merely incarnate the super-symbolic deity into the idea that the various deities in their turn are but the various manifestations of one who comprehends them all. That Moses, in the desert solitude of Midian arrived somehow at henotheism in simple covenant terms seems indubitable, however much we doubt the objective reality of the burning bush theophany. Such speculation can well have originated under the influence of Egypt, where this trend of thought already had most impetus. Here the confederacy of local cults, while proclaiming a certain modicum of jealous and even hostile independence one from another, was gradually, under the fire of political centralization and philosophy, unifying and fusing. This

² I Kings iii. 4;

⁸ I Kings xv. 23.

⁴ Judges, ii. 10-19; iii. 6-7; v. 8; vi. 10, 25, 30; viii. 33; x. 6.

was done most of all by the discovery of points of similarity between the local godlets, who were thereupon pronounced to be merely different manifestations of the same deity. The time of David and Solomon represents very little advance over the earlier stage, so far as religion is concerned. The advance in secular importance was great, but the time was not yet again ripe for reflection, when only theology can grow.

This may seem far afield from the Temple of Solomon, but it seems imperative at the outset, since the data is so almost completely inferential, to mark out the underlying temperament and ideas which were its ultimate foundation. It is hard not to believe that in the Temple we find the symbols of the *carlier* stages of Yahveh-worship, kindred to the *contemporary* worship of neighboring gods, who have not developed so far as has the outstripping Yahvism towards that henotheism, which in its turn, as reflection comes to those whose deeper insight made them truly prophets of the truth, grows into pure monotheism. It was a selective, natural process by which the Jews developed the religion which was forerunner of the highest; not an inhuman, because solely transcendent, revelation of a faith complete.

But in it we still find the marks of earlier stages. Whether or no the symbolism of the elements of worship germaine to all the Southeast Mediterranean world was conscious is doubtful. Nevertheless it seems sure that apostacy from Yahveh and the worship of a cousin god is little more than the singling out of one of the family characteristics, filling again with meaning a symbol which has its more meaningless place in the orthodox temple, the reversion to the separate deification of an attribute, now merely one out of several modes of manifestation of that God who has more nearly reached monotheistic, assimilating supremacy. The Temple comes at a transitional stage, where the past and the future still are linked in visible symbols of present use. Henotheism is emerging from mere monolatry into monotheism:—the belief in one God is beginning hazily to contain a moral element. The ideal of a just God has its birth.

Thus the significance of the Temple is not to be found in a rigid difference in quality from the religion of other Semitic nationalities, but rather in the degree to which the worship of the polytheistic deities elsewhere has here fused into the worship of a single, inclusive being, whose existence denied that of otherwise and otherwhere concerned powers not at all.

III.

Little more can the Temple's significance be found in a cause particularly national.

There does not appear to have been any concerted, national demand for a central shrine, no matter how glorious. The first centralization of the worship at Jerusalem was the cause, not the effect, of a powerful priesthood. It became a vantage point for further stringency and organization, but was not created by priestly ascendency. The national predestination to a religious rôle in history is not yet a compelling force.

The establishment of the Ark at Zion had given royalty a tinge of divine right. The king was Yahveh's lieutenant, the establisher and protector of Yahveh's abode. The disorganization of David's old age, when rebellious family quarrels strained the unity of the nation, succeeded by the growing alienation of the north; -all this furthermore precluded concerted action by the people in such a demand. Moreover, if the people were not enough united to think of centralizing their worship, neither were they discontented enough with their local "high places" to dream of abandoning them. This free worship in the open air was orthodox and precious to the pastoral commonalty, in heart half-nomad still. The essence of Yahvism seemed to be the non-localization of its worship. The local pastorate of the priests of the shrines, not a hierarchy at Jerusalem, was the desired thing. There was no innate necessity for a central shrine. Local "high places" were more compatible with the open country life, as well as with the growing disorganization of the nation.

Renan⁵ claims that the Temple was nothing but the plaything of a vainglorious monarch, whose one idea in building it was the political aggrandizement of his dynasty, by making Yahvism thus theatrically appear dependant on the court. With his statement that it was not a national institution we may agree, but the imputation of mere vainglory may be needless. Solomon, however rapacious, capricious and tyrannical he may seem in the obviously unfriendly Bible accounts, need not have had at heart a selfish motive only. To label his motive "political" is not to brand it with the mark of Cain. It may have been the natural thing that his scheme of general and fitting stability and dignity for his government should include, as a matter of course, the building of an adequate house for the Ark. It need not have presupposed the negation of the validity of other

⁸ History of Israel, Vol. II, ad. loc.

shrines. The fact that it originates as a personal plan rather than as a national one does not prove it a selfish design. To make the conception of a fitting house within the confines of the capital for the symbol of Yahveh into a flaunting blazonry of regal mummery is unnecessary. The Temple may have been (as I think it was) a private court chapel in idea, and as such the most dignified seat of Yahveh's glory; but there are two possible interpretations of the fact. All that is required here, however, is to demonstrate the fact, that the Temple was not created by a concerted national demand.

This private court character of the Temple is little evidenced in the Biblical accounts.6 But I Kings cannot completely have been compiled until about four hundred years after the death of Solomon, and Chronicles is at least three centuries later vet. By that time the Temple had the flavor of unrememberable generations of placid acceptation. As years went by, and the weakness of the court, combined with the strength of the priests and prophets, made the Temple the central, unique stronghold of true orthodoxy, the Jews forgot the primitive conditions; and, accepting the innovation, as its innovative character was swallowed up by the growth of custom, began to champion the Temple as the credential of their faith. The erstwhile protested shrine, by the very evolution of compulsory centralization, became the only valid House of Yahveh. The "high places" and all their open-air worship were looked back upon by later times with shrinking abhorrence, so that we naturally find the accounts of those more primitive times obviously colored by inability to enter into their mental equation. We read, therefore, that Solomon loved the Lord, "only he sacrificed and burnt incense in high places." His subjects, too, might have been quite impeccable and orthodox ancestors if "only" they had not worshiped thus. The historian nevertheless finds enough charity to assign as the reason for this slipshod heresy the undeniable fact that "there was no house yet built unto the name of the Lord."8

If we can rid ourselves of the idea that the Temple was not yet nationally necessary we may appreciate the determined opposition of the simple fieldsmen, especially in the more nature-blessed and distant North with Ahijah the seer as their spokesman. Indeed, for the moment it must have looked like a retrograde step to house

⁶Yet no surprise is expressed when Absalom makes a vow to the Yahveh of Hebron; and Solomon's own regard for Gibeon, whatever palliation and excuse the author may assign in the lack of the Temple, is nevertheless despite the *Ark* in Jerusalem.

⁷ I Kings, iii. 3.

⁸ I Kings iii. 2.

Yahveh within walls,⁹ even though those walls were in the capital city and glorious with golden imagery. It was almost the same reversion to the limitations of type which in individuals constituted the outward garb of heresy. The essence of Yahvism demanded aniconic, natural worship. The remonstrance of those to whom court life meant little more than further arbitrary taxes, foresaw the future abolishment of even religious freedom in the present germ of the Temple, within whose courts orthodoxy most particularly would soon dwell.

IV.

Modern Bible consciousness is prone to place the level of this era's civilization much too high. The Temple, as must be iterated and reiterated, was nearer the Red Sea than to Babylon. It represents a relatively primitive period. Worldly profane importance was in its brief zenith, but the true rôle of Judaism was just beginning its growth into strength and individuality. Spiritualization lay ahead, gained by storm and stress, by disappointment of the secular aim, by prophetic work to do.

It is not in any way a belittling of Judaism's truth to find in what period of that truth's evolution we for the moment are, and perhaps to recognize that it was not yet quite so perfect as at first we thought.

This distinctly comparative stage gives two preliminary presuppositions as basis of more technical data. They are these, as above suggested:

- 1. Judaism embodies a religious genius as yet not unique. In spite of the superiority over neighboring faiths which comes to the worship of Yahveh from its dawning henotheistic monotheism, there are common elements still retained throughout, proclaiming blood-relationship with the rest of the Semitic world, however polytheistic it may be.
- 2. The Temple is not created by an essentially national demand, to whose unique genius it must rigorously conform. Solomon himself (or David) is the one by whose initiative the Temple was built. Although in later years it came to be the accepted central shrine of the people; at the time of its construction it was a court shrine, built to house the Ark.

The first premise permits analogy and inference to be drawn from those elements in other Semitic religions whose relies are ar-

⁹ The shrine at Shiloh had doors, and Micah had a house for his image, but this seems not to have separated them from the class of sacred hill-tops, etc.

cheologically sure, wherever in the Temple or in Judaism there are data with which organically to connect them; since Yahveh worship gives ground for such community of ideals and elementary symbolism. The second in its turn still further widens the field on which to draw, since Solomon's own desires were the impelling force, not national prejudice. It allows us to look for plans and architectural skill outside of Judaism, which could itself so ill supply them. By this is not meant that the Temple becomes non-Jewish, but that there is not as yet exclusiveness in its source.

While these two principles have been called presuppositions, nevertheless the argument to come must largely depend for its strength upon their reenforcement, as hypotheses capable of cumulative verification. The reasoning, I frankly admit, is more or less circular, but must necessarily so be.

PHOENICIA.

V.

There are two centers of civilization in the Mediterranean world in the earliest reaches of history,—Egypt and Assyria. Greece was not vet established as the third and apex angle of the old world culture-triangle. Egypt and Assyria (which includes in its generic type Chaldea and Syria) developed, as the outcome of their national individualities, distinctly national arts. They were the motive powers of the inner life-currents of all the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean. Not only the products of art as art, but her products as evidential manifestations of religion traveled backward and forward. But neither Egyptians, Chaldeans nor Assyrians had need or desire to hawk their own goods. Yet their products have been discovered, as far west as Spain (O. T. "Tarshish"), so middlemen there must have been. Whether it was predilection or the stimulus of geographical location that made the inhabitants of Phœnicia the traders and merchants of the era we cannot tell; yet either actually or through their colonists they had an almost complete monopoly of the carrying trade of Asia and Africa. Driven by events which we know only in their effects, as early as the twentieth century B. C. this people had established itself on the narrow strip of coast at the toot of the Lebanon range. They were thus half way between the Nile and the Euphrates, and within easy reach of both. By the time of David and Solomon they were an established state of many centuries standing. From Tyre and Sidon especially, but also from Jaffa, Acre, Gebal and Hanath, auxiliary cities of this one hundred and twenty miles of narrow coast, fleets of vessels sailed continually over all the basin of the Mediterranean. Cyprus was Phœnicia's colony; so probably was Crete. Even as far west as Carthage in North Africa and Tarshish in Spain the intrepid traders established "coaling stations" for further sailing. Forms and motives invented in Egypt and Mesopotamia were carried to foreign and then barbaric races, who in turn adopted them as bases for their own genetic culture. The shrewd merchants soon grew rich as heart's desire. Factories employing hundreds of artisans turned out figurines, pottery, metal paterae, dyed fabrics (especially of Tyrian purple) and jewelry by wholesale tonnage; all on Egyptian or Assyrian models. The native countries could or would not supply them conveniently, cheaply or fast enough for exportation and dissemination.

Judging, however, from Phænician monuments and relics as known to us to-day, it seems that these trader-manufacturers were sterile in art of their own. They lacked creative genius; were powerless to make new art. Their skill lay in the manual dexterity with which variously borrowed types and derived ideals were mingled. The mixture was Phænician, but the elements were Assyrian and Egyptian. In historic comment or in extant relics their skill is everywhere evident, but their genius was obviously mechanical, adaptive and distributive; not national or creative. 11

VI.

That Solomon continued a friendship and alliance which his father had established, we are assured by the Bible accounts and reassured by historic probability. Tyre was next-door neighbor to Jerusalem; Solomon was a man of peace; Phænicia was a friend to every one (with an eye wide open for business as the by-product of her friendship). Judah, too, was now a well-organized kingdom, small according to modern standards, but then reckoned moderately large. The Egyptian alliance had enough strengthened Israel's prestige to make it worthy of Hiram's deep respect.

Furthermore the similarity of the Phœnician language to the Hebrew shows in its almost merely dialectical variations a common bond, apparently of origin and blood.

But in the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament it is not difficult to see that the Phænicians exercised more influence

¹⁰ This is, of course, after the power of the Minoan kingdom had been annihilated.

¹¹ Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, Phoenicia and Cyprus for examples.

upon the Hebrews than the Hebrews did upon the Phœnicians. It is the Jews, not the Tyrians and Sidonians, who, for instance, borrow names, rites and images from the other, despite the vehement expostulation of the prophets. It is Tyre, not Jerusalem, that is represented as offensively potent. The current of influence flows into Judea out of Phœnicia, not the other way.

Tyre, recently separated from Sidon, was in the full zenith of her power in the time of Solomon. Egyptian domination was a thing of the past:—Assyrian still of the future. Since 1100 B. C. Tyre had led the way among Semitic countries in temple-building, basing its architecture mostly on that of its recent overlord; for Phenicia's style was forever chameleon, changing to Egyptian, Assyrian or Greek coloring as its master changed. By now its Bethelim¹³ overlaid the little island of Tyre, the great central shrine of Melkarth predominant among them. Within eye-shot of the shore on a clear day, Cyprus likewise shone with buildings sacred to Phænician gods.

Fusing historic probability with the Bible hint of aid in Solomon's construction, and also with the admitted inability of Jewish art to produce a temple so distinguished as probably this was, the conclusion seems to a high degree inevitable that its architectural form as well as artisan, skilled construction was supplied by Phœnician guidance and direction. I heartily believe that Hiram, king of Tyre, supplied the plans and specifications for the Temple at Jerusalem, as well as the wood and labor; as he, not Solomon, was competent to do. If they met with Jewish court approval as sufficiently dignified and magnificent, there could be meagre objection from a source which could not supply plans one-half as good.

This conclusion is further certified by the apparent resemblance of the type of architecture Phœnicia produced to the general impression we get from reading the accounts of the Temple at Jerusalem in the Old Testament itself.

VII.

Modern archeological discovery in Phœnicia, Cyprus and Crete is almost entirely confined to grave relics. These small paterae, vases, pieces of jewelry etc., are naturally the means of very little

¹² The Assyrian power began to reassert itself in the 9th century B. C. It was under Ashurnasirpal that the Euphrates was crossed and all northern Syria came under Assyrian domination (876 B. C.). Cf. Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, E. Schrader, 1, pp. 50 ff.

ים באלים = temples. Cf. Phænician inscription of the Piræus; Revue Archaeol., Jan. 1888, pp. 5-7.

information about architectural matters. They provide an ever-growing fund of material for the study of the religion and culture of the periods they embody, but the background setting of the life they indicate is still murky and obscure. The study of Phœnician architecture is predominantly analogy and inference; none the less legitimate perhaps, but nevertheless incapable of the tangible verification actual monuments elsewhere supply. "The very ruins have perished." The few buried fragments that have come to light date from a much later period, when Greek influence had begun to mould the supple skill of Phœnicia to its liking.¹⁴

The coast of Tyre and Sidon is the only field of pure Phœnician relies; and there the dearth is most nearly absolute. In Cyprus the additional element of Hellenism is apparent, but it is an unfused, separable quantum in the finished whole, just as Egyptian and Assyrian motives remain distinct, though side by side, in earlier mainland finds. In Crete the relics of Cnossos and its period are pre-Phœnician and of a different genius. In Mycenean and post-Mycenean relies the early Greek genius is paramount, yet there are those elements in its art which are inexplicable from within it unless we remember that Crete was once a Phœnician colony; perhaps without much patriotic feeling for its overlord, but submissive to its commercial, manufacturing dictates. Cretan discoveries go back to so early a date that common bonds with Asia and Egypt through Phœnician and pre-Phœnician intermediacy are the necessary hypotheses. This is particularly true in the relics of its most primitive religious form, of its betylae (sacred pillar-stores), its tree-worship etc., which are found in every country reached by the influence of this trader-nation. Of these symbols, this imagery of sacred stores, of mythic and sacred animals, of sacred trees, there is much to be said in connection with early Hebrew ideals, but to its later, proper place such study of these communistic elements must be deferred.

On a number of coins of the Roman provinces of Cyprus, Pergamum and Sardes, on a certain number of gems, rings etc., there are representations of a definite temple-type, whose specific embodiment as given is the Paphos temple of Astarte-Aphrodite. These coins are late (all A. D.) and unless the type they represent can be connected with much earlier examples they go for little. Also the laxity with which architectural types are treated on coins, combined with the limitations imposed by the meagre space at the engraver's disposal, gives wide room for diversity of interpretation. Clearly,

¹⁴ Except in Crete, where relics and ruins are largely earlier than Phœnician influence—as, e. g., in the Cnossos ruins.

however, we need not assume that the later, more elaborate types are evidence of more complicated buildings, but rather is the obvious explanation increase of skill.

The Temple of Astarte (Venus-Urania, Mylitta or Isis) at Paphos was the oldest and most honored holy place of ancient times. As the nature-goddess, the embodiment of the secondary principle in generation, the all-mother, her worshipers, though acknowledging her under diverse names, traveled from far and near to reach this her most famous shrine. Its origin is lost in fable-times. By the day of Homer and Homeric songs its supremacy is famous.¹⁵ According to Pausanius its prototype was in Assyria, i. e., in Babylon; Herodotus¹⁶ tells of a second possibility in Askalon, which latter seems more probable, since Assyrian influence on Phœnicia was much nearer Pausanius's day than to that of the Paphian temple's construction. Its date is likewise misty and based on legend. Eusebius in his Chronikon sets it contemporary with Pandion I, king of Athens, who was at least as early as 1900 B. C. All that can be ventured with any show of probability is that the earliest Phoenician colonists in Cyprus were the founders, in a time when racial lines were not vet beyond fluidity.

The site of old Paphos is at Kouklea, about ten miles from New Paphos. The oldest name for this is Golgi, ¹⁷ apparently a Phœnician word akin to the Hebrew Gilgal. ¹⁸ In the Ptolemaic period old Paphos was the site of the temple. Excavations in its neighborhood have brought to light antiquities of all periods from late Mycenean to Roman, but the age of the Temple must go back still further. In the Roman period New Paphos became the capital and the coins were issued thence; but it is the temple of *old* Paphos which is represented on them. The flavor of its great antiquity was the best advertisement New Paphos could put forth.

It is a reasonable presumption that when in 15 B. C. the earth-quake destroyed their city¹⁹ and Augustus came to the aid of the Paphians, that some restoration was effected at the temple, and that the shrine on his coins is the restored building. But it is at the

¹⁵ Odyssey, Bk. θ (VIII), l. 362, and Hymn in Venerem, l. 58.

¹⁶ Herodotus, Bk. I, Ch. 105: "I have inquired and find the Temple at Ascalon is the most ancient of all the temples of this goddess, for the one in Cyprus (Paphos) as the Cyprians themselves admit, was built in imitation of it." (Ascalon = 40 miles from Jerusalem. Cf. Judges, i. 18; xiv. 10; also cuneiform inscriptions of Sennacherib, 3d year.)

¹⁷ Pausanius, VIII, 5.

^{48 5353}

¹⁹ Cf. Dion Cassius, Bk. 23 and Obermüller, Die Insel Cypern, p. 150.

same time doubtful whether he would have made the restorations in any but the pattern of the temple as it had stood so many years before the mishap. Obviously too, if he had ventured to remodel the temple in any but the ancient type, whose ancientness was its chief recommendation to authenticity, he would have used the style of architecture practised by Rome itself, not the (to him) foreign

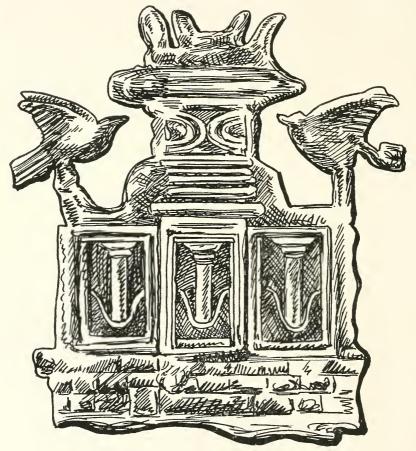


Fig. 1. GOLD BAS-RELIEF FROM MYCENAE. Schliemann's Mycenae, fig. 423.

native type of some other land. As we see it on his coins the temple is certainly neither Greek nor Roman but of a genius all its (Phœnician) own.

This type of temple is further authenticated as ancient by the golden models of a shrine found in the royal graves of Mycenae

(Fig. 1). They are apparently very early, at least as early as the twelfth century B. C. and approximate the Paphos representations so closely that it seems legitimate to conjecture that the Paphos shrine is their original, existing practically unchanged until the time of Augustus's renovation.

Therefore, whether the Roman coins we have represent the old or the new temple it makes little difference, since we are justified by its type in tracing back to Phænicia as its original source.

These coins are no two alike, but the variations are not fundamental and are easily explicable as due to variations of skill, or different schemes of diagrammatic depiction of the same type. The simplest, commonest form, perhaps, is that given below (Fig. 2). Here we merely have two pillars bound together by cross-pieces, a semicircular forecourt, through the simple porch the cone of the goddess surmounted by her sacred dove, and on either side of the uprights conic symbols akin to that within. Between this and later



Fig. 2. COIN OF PAPHOS.

Gerhard, pl. XLIII, 17. Perrot and Chipiez III, p. 270, fig. 262.

coins the degree of complexity varies much, but these here-given elements persist.

The highest uprights seem to be modified Egyptian pylons. Across the top is often draped what seems to be a garland of flowers, though it is barely conceivable that it is an awning. The flanking cones are omnipresent, being the advertisement of the femininity of the deity within. Later they are also often represented as candlesticks, with flames at the top; which may perfectly well have been their utilitarian adaptation in later times. Their significance as analogous to Jakin and Boaz I discuss later. There seems to be an open court beyond the porch, in whose midst stands the sacred image, symbol of the goddess. Tacitus remarks that this image was never wet by rain, although in the open air.

In an engraved mirror from Cyprus (Fig. 3) this structure is repeated. But here the flanking cones apparently are brought within the

court; their places outside being occupied by circular-topped uprights, which, nevertheless, are of the same feminine symbolism, being either the *omphaloi* of the goddess Astarte or the moon-disk of the Egyptianized Isis-Aphrodite. Later days may easily have transposed the flanking cones nearer the central object, leaving more definitely collateral emblems outside the fane.

In accordance with the usage of die-engravers of imperial times,* the type is probably a combination of façade and section. Its architectural treatment suggests that its upper parts, at least, were made of wood, which may explain the difficulty of establishing any rela-

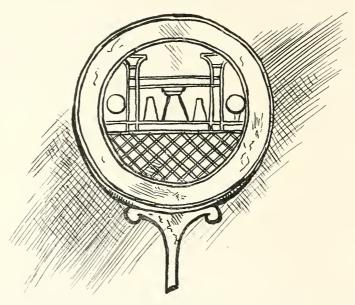


Fig. 3. ENGRAVED MIRROR FROM SALAMIS. THE TEMPLE OF PAPHOS.

A. P. di Cesnola. Salaminia, p. 59, fig. 56.

tion between the representations we have and actual remains. The still further articulation of this same thing is shown on the reverse of a silver coin of Vespasian (69-76 A. D.) (Fig. 4) whose later date and larger size allow greater accuracy of constructive drawing. The combination of façade and section is more clearly apparent; it suggests that the sacred cone stood in a rectangular court, whose pylon faces us, its Egyptian resemblance being clear. Here we have side wings shown, at the expense of the usual obelisks. The sectional character is best shown in these side wings. They suggest a colonnade of slender pillars of which we see two, surrounding the

courtyard; the windows at the extreme sides may possibly indicate circumferential rooms. Above the cone it would appear that an awning (running from front to back) or arrangement of garlands was hung. But the generality of representation at hand puts garlands across the tops of the pylon-uprights (cf. Fig. 2); if these are garlands they are most peculiarly and inefficiently placed, while



Fig. 4. SILVER COIN OF VESPASIAN (reverse). THE TEMPLE OF PAPHOS.

British Museum Cat., pl. XV.

an awning is most naturally to be expected for shade, if not for protection from the rain; especially since we know both Egypt and Assyria used awnings much, and Phœnicia's fabric-manufacture and dyeing was rich and skilful enough to be worthy such a place for its product.

In spite of the cross-beams, which are easily interpreted as



Fig. 5. THE BRITISH MUSEUM GEM.

British Museum Cat., Greek Coins of Cyprus, pl. XXV. Fürtwangler,

Ant. Gemm., pl. 64.

porch-lintel only, the construction behind must have been hypaethral (open to the sky). Even in the elaborate representation of the very latest coins and gems, when there is a metope-like construction shown above the cone, there is no sign at all of a roof above the central portion. The wings give the whole structure a superficial

resemblance to the primitive (and therefore Phœnician-influencing?) Cnossian fresco at Mycenae, which was also constructed mainly of wood.

In the British Museum Gem (Fig. 5) where an extra storey is added, the side wings have a further growth. The date may be later, but at least the gem shows that the three-storied chambers of Solomon's Temple can be combined with an open-court shrine. This open court is clearly indicated here by the awning above the cone.²⁰

But most clearly of all, a coin of Byblos (Fig. 6) showing the temple there, shows the open court arrangement. The porch-like building on the left can readily be subtracted as the accretion of a later age; but the portion on the right has no resemblance at all to architecture other than Phænician. The cone is not the sort of



Fig. 6. COIN OF BIBLOS. EMPEROR MACRINUS, 217-218 A. D. From Donaldson, Architectura Numismatica; also Perrot and Chipiez Hist. of Art in Phoenicia, Vol. I, fig. 19.

steeple the imperfect perspective ability of the die-cutter makes it look at first sight, but is in the center of the open space, around which a very obvious, though inebriate, peristyle is shown. The addition of rooms outside the peristylar court would be in perfect keeping with the possibilities of the type, although this shrine need not have had them.

The pseudo-Lucian,²¹ whose credulous account of the Syrian goddess contains a description of this temple or one in its close vicinity, mentions many details not given on the coin, but supplies us with nothing more believable than the story of the two pillars (Priapi) "standing in the porch"—believable, that is, if we take of

²⁰ This does not seem to be the moon-crescent of the goddess, for its ends are attached to the pylon-uprights at the sides. The sitting doves are symbols enough to show whose is the represented shrine.

²¹ De Dea Syria, (pseudo) Lucian.

the height he assigns a tithe at most. Probability reassures us of their presence. But when he labels the form of the temple he describes "as those of Ionia," that same probability laughs at his pedantic erudition; for the only Ionic forms that penetrated Phænicia were details, which late accretions (such as Ionizing capitals and metopefaçades) affected the generic nature of the architecture not at all. Its genius remained unchanged throughout all its history, yet that type itself was by its very nature in essence nothing but composite. In the formula by which the heterogeneous mixture was made homogeneous lay Phænicia's knack.

VIII.

So much for the general outlines provided by such pictured relics as can be connected with our argument. Now for the meagre deductions to be gained from the few actual ruin-fragments.

Most noticeable of all charcteristics to-day is the colossal size of the stones used in the walls. This may be seen in the excavations of the foundation plateau of the Jerusalem Temple, as well as on the sites of Paphos and other Cyprian temples. But this argues nothing of the construction of the actual shrines within the walls, whose detailed ornamentation and manipulation would demand finer stone construction. We have also seen above that the coins suggest a light structure, possibly of wood in parts.

The calcerious tufa of the Phœnician territories is not susceptible of delicate ornamentation; so other material had to be used to supplement the lack. Casings of wood or of metal are the obvious inference, though almost all signs of such have disappeared. In the curved volutes and leafy decorations of (later) Cypriote capitals we seem to recognize motives suggested to the ornamentalist by the malleable elasticity of bronze. Added to this indirect evidence, one or two small sections of bronze sheathing have been found,22 though again dating from a later period. From the Biblical accounts we also hear more infallibly of sheathing, where the overlaying metal and wood covered all the interior so that not a bit of stone-masonry was visible. So far as we can tell Phœnicia's architecture was based on Egyptian models. Certainly the "Tower of Babel" style of the Assyrian temples exerted no plastic force over Tyre and Sidon shrines. Egyptian forms, simplified for reasons of economy and ability, were decorated with largely Assyrian motifs; this was the method of hybridization. The result was severe in its ensemble.

²² Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoenicia*.

elegant in its detail. "Smooth walls very carefully built, friezes of carved and gilded wood, chargings of bronze, pictured symbolic animals and trees in vigorous polychromy and rich hangings fused in a unique and picturesque result."²³

So far as minute decorative details go, I shall leave them as data for the minutiae of the temple of Jerusalem itself.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

23 Cf. Renan, History of Israel, ad loc.

EPILOGUE TO "CHRISTIANITY AS THE PLE-ROMA."

IN ANSWER TO LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS.

BY THE EDITOR.

Now the question arises, "What will become of Christianity?" If the historical events of the past are to be taken as precedents, religions come and pass away according to definite conditions. They will have their beginning and their end, and Christianity may disappear just as the religions of antiquity died out. Christianity had its origin. It reached the heights of its dogmatic unfoldment, it passed through several phases, and at present the current views of its most essential doctrines are fast changing. We have lost the naïveté of our forefathers. Some dogmas have been considerably modified, others have been silently dropped and not a few have become purely symbolical. Upon the whole we may say that we no longer believe in the letter of the credo.

Are these facts to be considered as symptoms of decay which indicate the end of Christianity? We do not think so; all depends upon Christianity and its representatives. If Christianity possesses sufficient innate strength to assimilate the new truths of science, it will survive and emerge from the present crisis stronger than before; but if it rejects the new revelation it is doomed.

It has been customary to characterize scientific truth as secular and purely human, and contrast it with theological truth as divine, but this conception is based upon an error. The truth of science, if it is but genuine truth, is not made by man, it is superhuman. Scientific truths are not fashioned by scientists, they are discovered, and being the eternalities of existence, they represent the divine thoughts that sway the world. Science is a genuine revelation, and we may lock upon it, to use theological language, as the revelation of the Holy Spirit. There is a great truth in the saying that all

sins may be forgiven, but not the sin against the Holy Spirit. If a portion of mankind—a church or a sect, or individuals—harden themselves against the light of science, if they shut out progress, if they deny truth, they will necessarily stunt their individual and moral growth. Thereby their souls will be crippled, they will cut themselves off from the tree of life, and refuse guidance by God's truth. But the question before us is whether it is an essential feature of Christianity to shut out the light of science, to repudiate progress, and refuse to learn from the living revelation of God's eternal truths.

Christianity has adapted itself to new conditions again and again; it has grown thereby and gradually developed into the religion that it is to-day, and there is no reason to doubt that it will do so again. The Christianity of the future will be broader, deeper, and more in accord with scientific truth.

It is true enough that the confessions of faith made in former centuries are antiquated, or better, they must be regarded as historical documents; they were good for their time, but must make way for a more scientific comprehension. We grant the claim of those who cling to the old manner of thinking, that a scientific comprehension is no longer Christianity as it was originally understood, that it is something entirely new which in many respects destroys the childlike spirit of a literal belief; but did not the God of Christianity himself proclaim: "Lo, I make all things new"?

We who have passed from the old to the new sometimes become homesick for the old comfortable belief when man was so easily satisfied with the symbol, with the parable, with a poetical figure and pious sentiment. Even the remembrance of these days has remained dear to us. Goethe who had experienced this change of mind himself has repeatedly described this attitude in glowing terms. Faust, on hearing the Easter bells proclaiming the resurrection of Christ, thinks of the faith of his childhood, and he regrets that the message has no longer a meaning for him since his belief is gone. Yet the vision of the faith of his earlier days haunts him. He thinks of his unbounded trust in God's eternal love, of seeking communion with Him in solitude and of the unspeakable rapture of fervid prayer:

"Und ein Gebet war brünstiger Genuss."

If the belief in the dogma is gone, shall we at the same time discard that religious sentiment which has been so important a guide to mankind in former centuries? Is that rapturous devotion which thrills the individual and adjusts his relation to the cosmos really

a fantastic illusion, of which in the future we must rid ourselves? Christianity has been the sacred vessel in which the noble sentiments of religion have been treasured; and will not the contents be spilled if the cup is broken? Thus it seems unavoidable that the breakdown of dogmatism really forebodes the end of religion.

A prominent French scholar, Yves Guyot, has written a book which created a sensation, and its tenets have been adopted by innumerable freethinkers the world over. It is entitled "The Irreligion of the Future" and Guyot claims in it that in ages to come mankind will be without any religion, for science will destroy the strongholds of the old faith one after another until nothing is left and the formulae of natural law will rule supreme. His views seem quite plausible to those who have grown up in a country where people have only the choice between the irreconcilable contrast of ultramontanism on the one hand and the libres penseurs on the other. In France people who hold a middle ground are so rare that during the last half century they have played no prominent part in public life. In Protestant countries conditions are different. The large majorities do not favor either extreme but are in a state of transition, which will result in a new and higher conception. Protestantism has its weak points but it has guided mankind on the right path and prepares a faith which will no longer stand in contradiction to science.

Protestantism is not the end or final state of religion. It is a movement which from the start was not conscious of its final aims. While its leaders tried only to bring about a reform, they actually introduced a new principle and led religion into a new phase of its development. It was originally a mere negation of some features in the administration of the Roman Catholic Church, the very name indicates that it started as a protest to the old; but it is bound to take the consequences of the first step which is the recognition of scientific truth, of the liberty of conscience, of the duty of inquiry. This will lead to a new assertion, and its position will be upon a firmer and more enduring foundation.

Unless the very nature of mankind changes, the future of history will not be irreligious. On the contrary it will be more truly religious than ever. It will discard those superstitious elements which are so often regarded as the essential features of religion, but it will with greater emphasis insist on its essential truths. We are bound to reach the bottom rock where religion will have nothing to fear from the critique of science.

We venture to say that the new movement will spring from the

very orthodox ranks, which bye and bye will unhesitatingly recognize all the truth of science and reinterpret the old in the spirit of the new. They will retain all the good of their traditions without making the slightest concession to either hypocrisy or equivocation, and without sacrificing the uplift of genuine devotion. In a word the future of religion will be a reinterpretation of the old, and it is natural that all religions will convergingly tend toward the same goal.

The religion of the future will have to satisfy the essential needs of the human heart. We drift tempest-tossed on the ocean of life, and we need guidance and comfort and encouragement. In the face of the unrest which surrounds us, we want to have the assurance of a firm ground where our anchor can catch. We want to know our goal and the direction in which we have to steer. All this must be supplied by religion, and where our knowledge is insufficient, faith steps in.

Religion is inborn in every soul in the same way as gravity is an inalienable part of all matter. Every particle that exists is interlinked with the whole of the cosmos. It is swayed by it, it is attached to it, its momentum is determined by it in the exact proportion of its weight, of its position, and generally of its relation to the All.

The innate energy of every particle, every molecule, every atom, presses forth in one direction or another beyond its own limits as if it were yearning beyond itself. No piece of matter is an existence in itself, its nature and its movements are conditioned by the rest of the universe and it can find the fulfilment of its longing only outside its own being. In the same way every sentient soul yearns beyond itself and becomes easily conscious of the fact that it is only a part of an immeasurably great whole, of the All that stretches forth into unknown infinitudes, and that the significance of its life lies outside the sphere of its ego. This All-feeling of the individual, this panpathy is religion, and religion is a natural presence in every human breast.

Religion grows up in unconscious spontaneity and it asserts itself first in sentiment. It is so strong that it may be counted as the deepest passion of which man is capable. It is possessed of a motive power which excels all other passions, even love not excepted, and can, if misdirected, lead to deeds which otherwise would be impossible, such as sacrifice of what is dearest to the heart, even the bodily sacrifice of oneself or of one's own children on the altar of a deity who is believed to demand such offerings.

But religion is not merely feeling. Religion enters into every fibre of man's spiritual existence, and throughout the development of human actions it remains the factor which adjusts the relation of the individual to the All. It grows and matures with the growth and maturity of man. It weaves out of his experiences a world-conception in which it appoints him to his place, assigns his duties and furnishes direction for his conduct.

Religion teaches us that we are parts only of a great whole. We are not alone in the world. Not only is our bodily existence at every moment determined by its surroundings, but our souls also are interlinked with the fate of others, of creatures more or less like us, sentient beings who have developed by our side as formations parallel to us, in whose company we have become such as we are. Our own destiny extends to them, and makes them parts of this, our extended self. Neither are we the beginning nor the end of life. We come into being and disappear, while the whole, from which we have emerged, remains. From this state of things we learn to treat our fellows with consideration, yea, with respect, to look upon the past with reverence and upon the future with solicitude.

Our neighbor is our alter-ego. No one is a stranger to us; all are our brothers and we cannot maltreat them without hurting ourselves. The same truth which holds good for space, is applicable to time. We are a mere phase in the life of the whole. We have grown from the past and we owe to it our entire existence. In fact we are the past as it continues in the present. The past has furnished even the potentialities from which we develop our noblest aspirations, our very selves which are the additions made by us in building up the future, and in the future we continue. The future is the harvest which we expect. It is our own existence as we mold it, and all the duties we have in life are for the future. In the future lie the mansions which our souls build up to live therein when our bodies have fallen to dust.

The function of religion, however, goes deeper still. This entire world is the actualization of eternal types. It develops according to law and brings into existence those possibilities which in philosophy are called Platonic Ideas. Accordingly man is not a mere congeries of atoms, he is more than a corporeal conglomeration of matter, he is the actualization of the type of his personality; his essential and characteristic being consists in the ideas he thinks, in the aims he pursues, and in the significance which he possesses for the great movement of human life.

In every one of us there is something eternal that has made its

appearance in corporeal and visible shape, and no thinking man will identify himself with the dust of his body, but he will seek his real being in the significance of his spiritual nature.

Religion reminds us of the eternal background against which the fleeting phenomena of the material world take shape. This eternal is the essential part of life that transfigures the transient in which it is actualized.

Man is not born a philosopher, but he grows up from primitive conditions and is compelled to act and adjust his conduct even before he knows the world or himself, and so religion, which as we have seen animates his entire being and unconsciously dominates all his sentiments from the very bottom of his heart, comes to him in the shape of allegories and symbols. He first feels religion before he formulates it in doctrines, and the first doctrines are naturally mere formulations of the symbols wherein truth first dawns on him. But the higher man rises, the better he understands how to distinguish between symbol and truth, between letter and spirit, between the parable and its meaning. In the dogmatic state we were like children, being nursed with fairy tales and parables; but in the state of manhood we shall see face to face and shall have a clear and unequivocal comprehension of the truth.

That state of the future which we know must come, will certainly not be less religious than its former phases. It will be simply the fulfilment of the former which we then shall regard as mere preparations for it, as mere stations on the road to the goal—the new pleroma, the pleroma expected to-day.

* * *

We are aware that Christianity is not the only religion in the world, and its rivals from their standpoint have made honest endeavors to reach the truth in their own ways. In every part of the world man has used the light at his disposal. In consideration of this fact we can no longer look upon one religion as possessing the absolute truth, and upon all others as inventions of Satan. We know that all of them possess more or less of the truth and not one of them is perfect.

There is a stage in which we shall lose the desire to glorify our own religion at the expense of others, and we look upon the anxiety of the sectarian who magnifies the merit of his own sect and delights in defaming others, with a smile although he does it in maiorem Dei gloriam in the hope of thus pleasing the deity whom he serves. But there is a higher ideal than our own church affilia-

tion. It is the truth, and the God of truth is higher than our God, higher than our limited conception of the deity.

We learn more and more to give honor to the truth wherever it may be found, and under the influence of this sentiment a brotherly feeling has originated which gave birth to the Religious Parliament in 1893, in which even the most orthodox churches took part. It is an actual instance in which representatives of all the great faiths of the world came together in tolerance and kindness. Every one came to explain his own faith, not to disparage those of others; nor was there any intention to break down or to replace the old traditions by a new religion.

The new when it comes will have to develop from the old, and it will practically have to be the old in a new interpretation. We must build the future from the past, and we have to utilize the materials which we have on hand.

We deem it possible that several religions may continue side by side to the end of the world, and there would be no harm in a disparity in name, institutions and organization. These things are not the essential parts of religion. Perhaps it might be good for the world, if a rivalry would remain between different churches, different races, different nations. There can be no objection to a divergence of types; but after all whatever may be the names of these religions and denominations, their essential doctrines, the meaning of their ceremonies and above all their moral ideals will have to become the same throughout the world, for they represent the essentials of religion, and must accord with the eternal truths of cosmic existence.

The Church eternal of the future need not be one large centralized body, it need not be one power consolidated into one organization, it need not be governed from one central point, but it must be one in spirit, it must be one in love of truth, one in brotherhood, and one in the earnestness of moral endeavor.

I conclude these remarks on the nature of the religion of the future with the words which as secretary of the Religious Parliament Extension I pronounced at the decennial celebration of the World's Religious Parliament in 1903:

"Let us all join in the work of extending true religion. Let us greet not our brethren only, but those who in sincerity disagree with us, and let us thus prepare a home in our hearts for truth, love and charity, so that the kingdom of heaven, which is as near at hand as it was nineteen hundred years ago, may reside within us, and become more and more the reformatory power of our public and private life."

THE BIBLE IN THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL.

BY JOSEPH S. KORNFELD.

PROFESSOR Moulton says: "The Bible is the worst-printed book in the world." With equal, if not greater, justification can it be said that the Bible is the worst-taught book in the world. This is especially true of the Bible as taught in our Sunday-schools. Over the entrance of our Sunday-school might well be placed the words that adorned the façade of a certain carpenter-shop: All sorts of twisting and turning done in this place.

This criticism, of course, does not affect those whose first article of faith is *Credo quia absurdum est*. He who can believe anything because it is absurd will find nothing in the Bible that might not be taught just as it is. And though we may pity him for his blindness to the truth, we cannot charge him with deliberate distortion thereof. It is doubtful, however, whether in our age many would care to avail themselves of this exemption. The vast majority of thinking men and women would indignantly refuse to teach their children things they regarded absurd, even though contained in the Bible. That with our changed attitude toward the Bible we should expect a corresponding change in our system of Bible teaching, goes without saying. Yet such is hardly the case.

The method of tropical exegesis, though generally discredited, has not yet been displaced in our Bible-schools. Speaking of this method, Robertson Smith says: "The ancient fathers laid down the principle that everything in Scripture which, taken in its natural sense, appears unedifying, must be made edifying by some method of typical or figurative application." Substituting the word "unreasonable" for "unedifying," this statement will hold good of the modern teacher as well.

Our Bible teachers seem to fear lest by deviating from the course followed in the age of faith they grieve the holy spirit—and as a result they make the Bible tell tales which would harrow up the

souls of a more sensitive generation. But we have already passed the stage of being shocked. We are simply amused. Take, for instance, the story of the Tower of Babel. There was a time when no one doubted that what is recorded in Gen. xi. 1-9 actually took place. Then there was sufficient reason for teaching this story without any alteration. But since science has entirely discredited this account, the only justification for teaching it must lie in its ethical or religious value. Unfortunately, however, the writer of this story was not a prophet, and therefore did not foresee the time when his scientific discovery would not be fit for anything better than a Sunday-school lesson, and consequently he failed to put a moral into it. Thus it devolves upon the devout teacher to invent one. How dismally he failed is shown in the manuals of Scripture history used in our Sunday-school. Nor are we surprised at this failure.

The story of the Tower of Babel is a myth of the Promethean type. That the child should sympathize with the human victims of the tyrannical Deity is both natural and moral, though hardly religious. But in his desire to vindicate the ways of God to man, the teacher becomes a false plasterer and an ignorant physician, determined to "doctor up" this story ad majorem Dei gloriam. And all this because it is a part of the Bible! Now one may ask, what is its object in the Bible? Surely not to teach irreverence. Most positively not. Philosophy has been defined as mythology grown old and wise. Then conversely, mythology is philosophy not yet grown old and wise. The myth of the Tower of Babel was used as a philosophical explanation of the diversity of language and race, which must have presented a difficulty to one who had been taught to believe that mankind sprang from one common parent. That the Bible writer should have availed himself of this account of the division of the human race before he entered upon the history of one particular people may not say much for him as a philosopher, but it does show that he knew how to write history. Thus, the story of the Tower of Babel is far from being out of place in the Bible. But in the religious school, where the moral and religious upbuilding of the child is aimed at, its presence is hardly justifiable. Nor is this story unique. It is rather one of many, whose raison d'être in our text-books is difficult to discover.

The principal objection, however, is not so much to the matter taught as to the manner in which it is taught. We teach our children in our religious schools in a manner which would hardly be tolerated in our secular schools. What would we think of a teacher of mathematics who would teach his pupils fractions before they

had mastered the elementary principles of arithmetic? Should we not have at least equal regard for the child's mental capacity in the instruction of things valuable in proportion not as they are remembered, but assimilated? Yet without a doubt the radical defect in our Bible teaching lies in our total indifference to the power of the child's apperception. Thus, at the time when the sensuous feelings are predominant in the child and therefore especially in need of being directed—which might be successfully done by means of appropriate Bible lessons—he is taught things that concern the esthetic, intellectual, prudential or religious feelings. We thereby not merely burden the mind with things it cannot comprehend—a great mistake, indeed!—but we miss an opportunity to curb a desire which may render all subsequent teaching ineffective.

Stanley G. Hall says, "The Bible is man's great text-book in psychology." Whether that is true or not, is beside our present purpose. One thing, however, is certain, and that is that, if the Bible is to be a great text-book, it must be taught psychologically. Unless we coordinate the Biblical lessons with the mental perception of the child, they can be of little or no value in the development of the child's moral and spiritual nature. That in spite of centuries of experience in Bible teaching we have just barely begun to realize this fact is due, in a measure, to our hitherto inadequate conception of what the Bible is—but chiefly, to our utter neglect of the child.

The Bible in the Sunday-school has a distinctive function to perform, and that is, to supply information, not as an end, but for the inspiration it will give. It is to serve as a guide for moral conduct. As such, the Bible must be regarded as the story of the ascent of man. It is the record of Israel's education—the best ever vouchsafed to man—an education under divine direction. It is in very sooth a book of Revelation, revealing as it does the spiritual growth of a people in whom the ideas of conduct and the regulation of conduct attained their highest expression. That the Bible thus conceived should and would make a splendid guide for the child, if, as is claimed by the Recapitulation theory, the child lived over again the stages in the evolution of the species to which he belongs, is perfectly evident. If the child of to-day were but a miniature edition of the race, each paragraph and chapter of the latter having its counterpart in the life story of the former, then the Bible, being the autobiography of a people taught of God, could be most profitably imparted to the child, without any change or omission whatsoever. But just as physically the individual does not, consciously at least, pass through all the stages in the evolution

of the species to which he belongs, even so does he not recapitulate all the stages in the psychical development of the people whosehistory is to be his "training book" in morals and religion.

The child of to-day does not culturally begin where the people of Israel began; nor do all the experiences in his life coincide with those of a people who lived in an entirely different age and environment. For that reason much that the Bible contains, presupposing a mental status primitive even when compared to that of the untutored child of to-day, will be of no ethical value to the child whatsoever, while a great deal that might find sympathetic response will have to be rearranged to accord with his natural development. Unless, therefore, we first study the child in the successive stage of his development and then adapt our Bible teaching to his progressive needs, our method of instruction is not natural, even though we do eliminate from our teaching whatever is supernatural. Just as in art the "perfect fit" marks the highest achievement, even so in Bible teaching everything must be subordinated to the one consideration— Does the lesson fit into the life of the child? To quote Robertson Smith: "God never spoke a word to any soul that was not exactly fitted to the occasion and the man." And all great teachers have followed the example set for them in this respect by the Divine Educator. It was undoubtedly the one Jesus followed. It is very unlikely that his telling parables were spoken without any relation to some actual need. The parable of Dives and Lazarus was no doubt called forth by the arrogance of some rich men whom Jesus knew personally, and whose pride he wished to humble. Similarly the parable of the Talents was in all probability evoked by the sight of the army of idlers and loungers in the City of Jerusalem, whom he would stimulate to a more useful and serviceable life. Nor will any one imagine that the Proverbs were originally spoken in the order, or rather disorder, in which they are found in the Bible. It was ever out of the fullness of the heart that the mouth spoke. The vitality of the word depends on its being spoken at the psychological moment. Let our teachers first learn the psychological moment in the life of the child, and then speak the Word.

It might perhaps be well to illustrate, by means of examples, the simplicity and effectiveness of this method in our Bible-teaching. Take, for instance, the feeling of appetite. Even the physically normal child will often show an excessive craving for certain articles of food, notably sweets. That an undue indulgence in this respect may prove injurious to the child's physical well-being, is beyond question. Nor, if allowed to run riot, is it less certain to become

harmful to the child's morals. Hence, its restriction is imperative. What Bible verse will be more in season at this time than Prov. xxv. 27—so much like mother's own admonition—"It is not good to eat much honey." But the teacher need not stop at this point. He can enlarge upon the danger of gluttony in general, and caution the child in the words of Prov. xxiii. 20,

"Be not among wine-bibbers, Among gluttonous eaters of flesh."

To impress the child with the grave danger that lurkes in this apparently innocent desire, he can point to the two sons of Eli, whose lack of self-restraint disqualified them for the high office of leadership, *vide* 1 Samuel ii. 12-18. But it was Samuel, a man of the very opposite type—one who could say "No" to himself—who was to fill that high place and to stamp his personality upon Israel's history.

Now what have you accomplished? In a ten-minute talk you have taught the child two Bible verses, acquainted it with an important event in Israel's history and enshrined a true hero in his heart—one who, by virtue of his dedicated life is eminently fitted to be the child's first hero. But, above all, you have supplied him with a strong moral restraint upon his animal desires. And all this, because you have allowed the little child to lead you.

As another example of the practical applicability of the psychological method of Bible-teaching, let us consider one of the intellectual feelings in their primary range, viz., desire for wealth. There is a very short interval between the child's strong desire for "good things to eat" and his desire for "nice things to wear." The child realizes very soon the advantage of wealth, and betrays a longing for it which, if permitted to go unrestrained, may in after years cause him much pain and lead even to crime. This, then, is the psychological moment when "Thou shalt not covet" will perform its soul-saving function. This verse may be supplemented with Luke xii. 15, "Take heed and keep yourselves from all covetousness, for a man's life consisteth not in abundance of the things which he possesseth."

Now is the time when, the child being plastic and impressionable, his desire for material wealth can be transformed into a desire for spiritual wealth. To compass this end, the teacher should hold up for the child's contemplation some of the noblest, though materially the poorest, figures in the Bible, such as Moses preferring to share the lot of fugitive slaves to the gorgeous splendor of the Egyptian court; Jesus, so poor that he had no place where to lay his head; Amos,

merely an acorn-gatherer; and the rest of the world's poor, whose names are nevertheless inscribed in golden letters on the scroll of immortality. You have now fired the imagination of the child. He has begun to dream of some day having his name linked with the world's good and great. He casts no more longing glances at the beautiful clothes of his wealthy class-mate, for he new feels a strong desire for things more precious than silver and rather to be sought than gold—greatness and goodness. Nor does the lesson end at this point. Covetousness being the cause of theft and frequently murder, this is the time when two other Biblical imperatives, "Thou shalt not steal" and "Thou shalt not kill," can be most profitably brought home to the child. What the disastrous consequences of covetousness may be can be shown by picturing the downfall of Achan, who coveted and secretly kept a portion of the spoils of Jericho; and the doom of King Aliab, who coveted and by foul means secured the vineyard of Naboth.

Here again we have a number of Bible verses and an array of historical facts which the child will learn with ease and always remember, because there is an association between the things to be remembered and some particular sensation or some idea in the child. And as for their beneficent influence upon the future conduct of the child, who can overestimate their value? Who can doubt that, at the critical moment in the life of the coming man, when he will stand face to face with some great temptation, he will hear the solemn warning, "Thou shalt not covet," "Thou shalt not steal" and "Thou shalt not kill," and recall the fate of Achan, Ahab and all those who did not keep themselves from covetousness, and then manfully resist? Similarly, there is no impulse in the child that cannot be directed, no desire that cannot be chastened, no emotion that cannot be purified, by means of some Biblical verse or story, provided they be psychologically related.

It is unquestionable that if the Bible lessons were so arranged as to accord with the progressive unfolding of the physical, intellectual and religious feelings of the child, they would be indelibly engraved upon his mind and heart. Nor is there any doubt as to the attitude of advanced thinkers toward this method of Bible teaching. The Religious Education Association, comprising the leading educators and Bible teachers in the country, makes it one of its tasks to bring about in the Sunday-school an "adaptation of the material and method of instruction to the several stages of the mental, moral and spiritual growth of the individual." But how far even the most ardent advocates of this method are from consistently applying it,

is shown by the following statement of Prof. Stanley G. Hall. He says, "For young children the main stress should be laid on the Old Testament, and the most vigorous teaching of the New should be during the teens." And while it is true that in the very next sentence he cautions the teacher against a too rigid insistence on this order of instruction, his declaration in favor of teaching the Old Testament at one age and the New at another must be a source of regret to those who have regarded his views as of the highest authority. There are things in the Old Testament that completely transcend the understanding of the young child, while the New Testament abounds in lessons that will strongly appeal to the child in its more tender age. There is no reason why we should allow years to intervene between the teaching of the Old and the New, when each contains lessons that imply the same age and need. One fails to understand why Psalm xxiii (the Shepherd Psalm) should be taught the young child, while the Parable of the Sheepfold, John x. I ff., be reserved for the teens, in spite of its containing all the characteristics of a good story for children under ten years of age. Equally difficult is it to discover the reasonableness of teaching a young child the story of the faithless wife in Hosea, and keeping the story of the Prodigal Son (Luke xv. 11 ff.) for a more advanced age. Nor will a young child understand the command "Thou shalt not commit adultery" in Exodus any better than the same command in Matthew, simply because the former is from the Old Testament, while the latter is found in the New. The New Testament being essentially a Midrash, a homily on the Old, such a separation as is advocated by Professor Hall is psychologically inadmissible. There is only one order in which the Bible should be taught in the Sundayschool, be the teaching limited to the Old Testament or extended to the New, and that is the order of the child's physical, mental and moral development.

The strongest opposition to this method will naturally come of from Bible students. They will urge that, while the child thus taught may learn many Biblical lessons, it will never know the Bible as a whole. And it must be admitted that if a systematic and scholarly knowledge of the Bible were the object of Bible teaching in the Sunday school, then this criticism were unanswerable. But since primarily the aim of the Sunday-school is to build up character by means of the Bible, it is sufficient if the instruction be not fragmentary from the standpoint of its constructive value. Regret though we may to take these gems of truth out of their original setting, we are more than compensated by the thought of having found for them

an appropriate setting in the life of the child, and thereby given them a truly organic unity.

Whatever else, therefore, may be desired in the Bible-teaching in our Sunday-school, the one thing of supreme importance is that it be done psychologically with reference to the child. Then only will the Bible's true ethical worth be realized, and we shall feel assured, concerning the child, that "The Lord will give you bread (bread of life) in adversity, and water (water of salvation) in affliction, and thy teacher (the Word) shall not be hidden any more, but thine eyes shall see thy teacher, and thine ears hear a word behind thee, saying, This is the way; walk ye in it." (Is. xxx. 20-21.)

HOW TO TEACH THE BIBLE IN SCHOOLS.

BY THE EDITOR.

RABBI Joseph Kornfeld, an orthodox representative of the Mosaic faith, offers his suggestions in the current number, and he demands that the Bible, in order to be made of ethical value to children, should be taught psychologically. This is true enough, and we recommend his article for a careful perusal to the religious educators of all denominations, but we wish to add a few comments of our own, partly for the benefit of those who have broken away from religious association entirely and deem it best to cut out religion from their educational system and with it the Bible.

We do not countenance the demand that the Bible should be dispensed with in education. We believe that the teaching of the Bible is one of the most urgent needs not only in the Church but also in our schools. A knowledge of the Bible is necessary for religious instruction; and I say purposely for instruction, not for edification alone, for a knowledge of the Bible is absolutely indispensable for general culture, for a knowledge of history, anthropology, the development of human thought, and so in general for philosophy and finally also for art.

Art, it is true, does not belong exactly to the daily bread of our intellectual needs, but it is after all an indication of general culture, and a man ignorant of the Bible can no more judge correctly of general history, even profane history, than he can walk through any of the famous art galleries and understandingly view the many pictures there exhibited.

The fact we have to insist on is this, that the Bible is a record of one of the most important factors of the history of mankind and a knowledge of it is indispensable for any educated man, for any one who wishes to have a fair insight into the nature and character of the development of the race, of its thoughts and its aspirations.

I speak here for the general public, not for Christians or Jews

alone. Even to the profane historian a fair knowledge of the Bible is absolutely indispensable. The Bible has entered into the spirit of all our literatures, German, French, English, Russian, Italian, Spanish, etc., and the leading thoughts of the Bible have been factors in the history of all European nations. I claim most positively that no one can form an accurate opinion of European culture without having studied the Bible as a whole, and in most of its details. To exclude the Bible from our schools is a serious mistake which is excusable only through the sectarian attitude of our churches, and the opposition to teaching the Bible in schools should disappear with the disappearance of the sectarian spirit, which happily is clearly in evidence. I hope to see the day when the Bible will be taught in schools, not from any sectarian standpoint but scientifically.

The objection may be made that it is impossible to cut out sectarianism from Bible instruction, but I venture to disagree. Science in its very nature is unsectarian. Science teaches the truth, and the only difficulty would be to make the statements of facts with discretion so as not to offend sectarianism. The difficulty is obviously of a negative kind, not positive. Results of scientific inquiry should be stated in an inoffensive way, not in a tone of provocation, or in contrast to old-fashioned, antiquated, sectarian views, and this can be done. How much the sectarian spirit is dying out can be seen from the article of Rabbi Kornfeld who, though a leader in an orthodox religious congregation, insists on a scientific treatment of the Bible, and would do away with all the antiquated, sentimental and pious methods which, with the best intention of increasing the glory of God, distort both the text and the sense of Biblical stories. At the same time it is remarkable how impartially and how appreciatively Rabbi Kornfeld speaks of the New Testament and the teachings of Jesus.

But how should the Bible be taught scientifically?

First of all the Bible should be treated as a record and not as absolute truth. It is here indifferent whether we speak of it as a record of God's revelation or whether for unbelievers we call it a record of the religious development of the human race. When we apply the scientific interpretation of religion, such terms as revelation, inspiration, etc., become questions of mere definition. We may look upon all truth as revealed, in which sense we admit the term from the standpoint of the most radical thinker, that the Bible is the record of the history of religious revelation, which practically means the same as the development of religious thought and of religious truth.

Though the Bible is merely a fragment of the religious development of mankind, we must grant that it is that fragment which leads up to the laying of the foundation of our present civilization. Whether or not we believe in Christianity we must understand how it developed and through what stage it passed before it became what it was in the beginning of the Christian era, and the documents of this history are laid down in the Old and New Testaments.

When we understand what the Bible is (i. e., a collection of records or of historical documents) we shall treat it in the right way. The time is coming when the general results of text-critical and historical research will be accepted by Biblical scholars of all denominations and we shall be able to state with objective impartiality, at least in broad outlines, how, when, and why, the several books of the Old and the New Testament were written.

When we trace the successive advances made by the people of Israel we shall understand that the God-conception of the Semitic bondsmen in Egypt was comparatively low. Yahveh who ordered the children of Israel to take away with them the gold and silver vessels of the Egyptians was a tribal deity who wanted to enrich his people at the cost of others. Further the God of Jephthah, who sacrificed his daughter, was still a God of savages. The God of Samson who came over him like a magic spell belongs to mythological deities. None of these views can be regarded as the God of matured Christianity, or, let us add also, of present-day Judaism. We ought to know, however, that from such crude notions has sprung the noblest and most philosophical God-conception of to-day, and we can trace the historical connection. We know that the comprehension of children is not the comprehension of man, and so we must learn that older beliefs of mankind exhibit a lower conception of the deity than in more advanced times, and there is no harm in telling the truth, or setting forth the facts in Sunday schools. To conceal the truth through interpretations of the Bible which are scientifically untenable is a grievous mistake, and we are glad that Rabbi Kornfeld points it out.

Some time ago a very serious Christian clergyman of orthodox faith wrote a pamphlet in which he demanded an expurgated Bible. He pointed out the many improprieties and indecencies which are contained in the Bible, and no one can deny that in this he is right. Nevertheless his appeal was ignored. He was like a voice crying in the wilderness and for good reasons. The subject was very unwelcome to religious teachers because they know how to avoid the difficulties rising from this source by passing over those passages

which are symptoms of an antiquated morality. From the scientific standpoint we can understand that in olden times the sense for decency was different than it is at present, and accordingly, without being untrue to facts, we can dispose of passages of an equivocal nature by simply branding them as exhibiting a lower view of propriety. No harm is done by telling the truth, but if Bible readers afterwards discover these passages by themselves, they will naturally turn away from the Bible and condemn the use of it altogether.

For a long time in the development of religion the Bible was used as a text-book for edification. We ought to bear in mind that it was not originally written for that purpose. Not until the time when the canon received its final shape, did its redactors begin to introduce this factor which is much in evidence in their additions and comments. Afterwards it became and still continues to be the sole purpose for which the Bible was taught. I do not deny that innumerable passages in the Bible can fittingly serve this purpose. There are the Psalms and Proverbs of the Old Testament and many parables, and a great many passages in the Epistles which are very useful for purposes of edification. But upon the whole the Bible is, we must repeat, a record of religious documents. It is historical, and we must never leave its historical significance out of sight. We must understand the Bible, and all edificational lessons which can be drawn from it are and ought to be secondary. At any rate it is not advisable to distort the text or the stories or the meaning of any Biblical quotations for the purpose of edification.

We will add one further comment on the supernatural in the Bible. The religious books of all nations contain miracle stories; and this does not prove that miracles are true, but that at a certain stage of development the belief in miracles is common. The miraculous and mystical features of religious books are indications of the religious awe of the generation in which they were written. They belong to the atmosphere of that age and add a peculiar charm to its setting. There is no need of being offended at them. To omit the miracle or to eliminate the supernatural from the text of the Bible in teaching its contents would be as false as to rationalize fairytales. This method (the method of the rationalist) has been repeatedly applied, but it distorts the Bible just as much, if not more, than the method of adapting it to the ends of a pious edification.

Think of it, what would become of Greek myth if we would treat it in the same way? Should we let the labors of Heracles come within the range of plausibility and explain his deeds in a similar way as rationalists do when cutting out the supernatural element from the Bible?

When we relate miracles such as described in either the Old or New Testament we need as little request a child to believe them in all their details, as we expect him to believe that the fight of Zeus with the Titans actually took place or that Achilles was really the son of Thetis, the goddess of the sea. We simply tell the stories as they are recorded so that the scholar may know that this was the view of the people so many thousand years ago. The stories, even the miracle stories and fairy tales, retain their moral, artistic and otherwise educational value in the one way as much as in the other, and if they are deprived of the supernatural element, they become trite and prosaic.

How far we ought to explain the origin and the significance of the belief in the supernatural depends entirely on the age and maturity of the pupil whom the teacher addresses. At any rate I would not join that large portion of reformers who would cut out the Bible entirely from our education, for I do insist most vigorously on the necessity of teaching it.

I do not deem the Bible indispensable for the purpose of edification or for the development of religious feelings, but I believe that a knowledge of it is absolutely needed for our general culture, and for this purpose it is as indispensable as the knowledge of the outlines of the world's history, for the Bible contains the key to a comprehension of the development of the European races.

JUDAS THE "HIRED."

BY HON. WILLIS BREWER.

THE interesting article of Mr. Dudley Wright in the May number of *The Open Court* omits some views of Judas Iskariot which have suggested themselves to me, and I have not seen them advanced.

Paul is one of the first Christian writers in point of time, and the two epistles to the Corinthians are among his undisputed writings, and perhaps were written as early as A. D. 55. The author of Acts makes him a witness of the death of Stephen, and more than once has him tell of a curious vision when on his way to Damascus, which Paul was perhaps too modest to relate in his own writings (comp. Gal. i. 13-17; 1 Cor. xv. 8-9). He is also made to say that he was educated at Jerusalem. Now he alludes to "scriptures" several times, but all such allusions are to the Old Testament; hence Paul appears the oldest of the New Testament writers, and evidently nearer the contemporary of Jesus than any of the unknown authors of the Gospels.

Yet Paul has not heard of Judas. He asserts that Jesus appeared "to the twelve" (I Cor. xv. 5) after his death. If it be replied that neither does Paul allude to the manger at Beth-Lechem or to the revivication of Lazarus or to the prodigies at the resurrection, etc., etc., I answer that this is further evidence that there were no Gospels of that tenor in his time, or that he was more ignorant than others, for he never mentions any of the miracles and prodigies of which the Gospels tell us, as indeed his own marvelous exploit of raising of the dead (Acts xx. 9) he likewise leaves to be told by another.

Revelations (xxi. 14) also mentions the twelve Apostles of the Lamb, and Judas still appears to be one of the twelve foundations of the heavenly fortress.

The other epistles of the New Testament are equally silent as to the treachery of Judas.

If it were not for the positive authority of all the Gospels that Judas was one of the twelve it would be possible to hold him as a figurative personage of the Judean people, for it is these whom Stephen declares (Acts vii. 52) were "betrayers and murderers" of the Righteous One. Peter, for instance (Acts i. 16-20), is made to speak of Judas and his conduct as the fulfilment of a prophetic utterance of one of the Psalms. Again, A-Kel Dama seems the Kol Dama or "voice of blood" that cried against Kain (Gen. iv. 10), and the words suggest that the Judeans owed their dispersion and the curse of their country to their treatment of Jesus. Judas is of course the Greek form of the name Jehudah.

And the "fulfilment" theory of the treason is mentioned in all the Gospels, as we must expect. Matthew (xxvii. 9-10) refers the matter to the remark in Zechariah (xi. 12-13), not as put, Jeremiah, "And I said to them, if good in thy eyes, give me my Sechar," etc., and they gave him thirty pieces of silver; but Jehoah told him to cast the money to the Jozer in the house of Jehoah, which was done, and Jozer is rendered "potter." From the word Sechar we have the Greek form I-Skar-iot, and the Hebrew word means "hire" or "wages"; and the suggestion that it is the name of a town is of no value. This text is really the key to the story of poor Iskariot, or at least to that part of his name and to the financial part of his conduct. That he hanged himself, as Matthew says, seems suggested by the fate of Achi-Tophel the counsellor of David (2 Sam. xvii. 23), called the Giloni or "revealer," whose advice caused Abeshalom to pollute the harem of David; and it is possible that, while Tophel means "suppliant," "folly," the consonance of the word with Aophel or "inflate," "tumor," and with Nephel "to fall," gave rise to Peter's version of the fate of Judas. As none of the other Gospels speak of the fate of Judas it might be urged that Matthew and Acts enlarged the account of this from Mark (xiv. 21), where Jesus alludes to fulfilment, and which account is also expanded in Matthew (xxvi. 24-25) and altered in Luke (xxii. 22-23), which I take to be later writings.

In the Gospel of John (xiii. 18-19) "fulfilment" is referred to Psalms xli. 9. This is a reference appropriate to the sop, perhaps suggesting it, and this Gospel enlarges upon that incident (xiii. 21-30). Jesus points out Judas by handing him the sop, "and after the sop then entered Satan into him," as if he was appointed by Jesus to perform the act of fulfilment; and, though verse 2 is

athwart this, the spiritual character given Jesus in this Gospel, and his developing divinity a generation later than the synoptics, enables us to understand the difference of his authoritative conduct in the principal text, for "the Father had given all things into his hands." says John (xiii, 3), and Judas as Satan was only serving one whose hour had come (verse I), and who came forth from God and was going to God (verse 3). It was this increasing estimate of Jesus that, "knowing all the things that were coming upon him," causes his mere presence, at his arrest and recognition as told in this Gospel, to make Judas and the constabulary move backward and fall to the ground (John xviii. 4, 6), as against the simple "Rabbi" and kiss of Mark (xiv. 45), the "Hail Rabbi," kiss, and reply of Jesus in the later Matthew (xxvi. 40-50), and the still later approach to kiss and question of Jesus to Judas in Luke (xxii. 47-48); so that the dramatic scene progresses till Jesus becomes too lofty and Judas becomes too base for any familiarity or even recognition in John; for such is the course of a popular legend. So, too, the bargain of Judas to deliver Jesus to the authorities, set forth in the synoptics, is ignored in John, which treats Judas as fore-ordained to take part in the divine dramaturgy; a passive agent, chosen because he was a dæmon (John vi. 70), whereas the synoptics in their list of the twelve speak of his treachery as if this was a development, a fall from a higher state.

So, to sum up, we come from the express words of Paul, in the same generation of Jesus, that after his death he appeared to the twelve, to the end of the century when the Greek Gospel of John was written, and find that the doctrine of fulfilment has placed a dæmon at the side of Jesus, his "familiar man" (Aish Shelom, Ps. xli. 9), whom "he knew from the beginning would betray him" (John vi. 64), and whom he chose therefore to serve as his guide or usher to the Shades; ordered to "do what you do quickly (xiii. 27). This leaves a very wide margin between the assertion of the contemporary Paul and the transition along fulfilment lines to Hellenic and Egyptian mystics. Accounts so opposite cannot be reconciled.

It is well to understand, however, that no Judean is reported to have followed Jesus; all his little following, which was so small that they could gather in one room (Acts i. 13-15), were Galileans (ii. 7). Those who read Josephus are familiar with the fact that Galilee was in the time of Jesus the turbulent district, and no doubt they gave many riotous demonstrations when they came to the feasts at Jerushalem, for even their chief men were "unlearned and ignorant" (Acts iv. 13), hence the more opinionated and restless. Even

Jesus is averred to have scourged people in the temple itself; a fact which no doubt contributed largely to his execution. At his execution no one came to his help, or even spoke in his behalf, save Pilate the governor and his wife. Even his chosen Apostles, who had seen his prodigies and miracles, "all forsook him, and fled"—the saddest or the most significant words in all Christ-lore. The Galileans resented his death, and began at once to regard him as a martyr; hence Christianity was born, not in a manger, but in a sepulchre.

Now it is possible that Judas was a Judean; or that from his name of Judas or Judea-s, coupled with that of I-Sechar, or the "hired,"* the Gospel writers, thirty or forty years after the Crucifixion, suspected Judas of "hiring" himself to the Judeans to guide them to the hiding-place of Jesus; and this inference was confirmed by certain texts of Zechariah (xi. 12-13) where Sechar and thirty of silver are spoken of, and by the eater friend of the Psalm (xli. 9), which were used as the bases of the details as to him. It might be, also, that, after the death of Jesus, seeing his failure and discounting then his pretensions, as well as resenting the turbulence of the Galileans, Judas abandoned the new sect, thus incurring odium; for "many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him" (John vi. 66), is a sentence with allusions to betrayal and dæmon immediately before and after (verses 64, 70); and, though this was during the life of Jesus, we must remember that the Gospel of John was written long after. Yet it must be admitted that his apostasy and bad name had not been "received" (I Cor. xv. 3), that is, heard of, by Paul, as I also admit that all of Paul's resurrection faith must have been "hear-say" or he would not have persecuted the Church (verse 9).

Certainly the disciples, who forsook their Master in his hour of peril and fled, whose chief talker thrice denied him, were a sufficiently sorry lot to have produced a traitor; at least before they received the Holy Inflatus; but there seems to have been no need for a traitor. As Jesus "sat daily in the temple teaching" (Matt. xxvi. 55), there could have been no need for one to be hired to recognize him by a kiss or otherwise. Neither could the fear of the multitude have obliged the authorities to catch him at night by using a traitor, for he was executed in day-time with the boisterous and unanimous approbation of "all the people" (Matt. xxvii. 25), who knew Jesus well enough to prefer his death to that of the murderer and robber Bar-Abbas.

^{*} Already an evil name (Gen. xlix. 14-15; also xxx. 14-18).

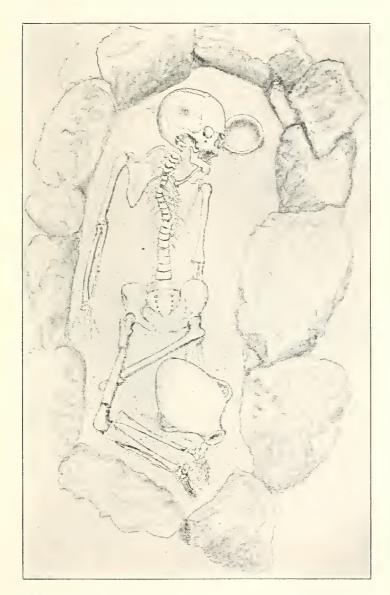
Wherefore, desiring to prove to the Jews that Jesus was their expected Me-Shiach, the "fulfilment" of the texts of their sacred books are carried into most of the incidents of the career of Jesus, and the miracles and prodigies of Elijah and Elisha are well-nigh those repeated by Jesus, while the trials of Jeremiah resemble those of Jesus. So, Judas the "hired" or I-Sechar, having an unfortunate name, is condemned by writers a generation later to "fulfil" the texts of Zechariah (xi. 12-15) and of the Psalm (xli. 9).

FOUNDATIONS LAID IN HUMAN SACRIFICE.

BY THE EDITOR.

PERHAPS the most persistent among religious superstitions from the beginning of mankind down into so-called civilized ages, has been the custom of offering human sacrifices and burying them in the foundation stones of important buildings, especially in the fortifications of cities. It is difficult to explain the underlying idea with certainty since in all cases of superstitious practices which date back to a remote antiquity we have no historical information as to the original theory of the custom. We only know that it continued and that in later days different ideas prevailed. It is probable that the victim was a sacrifice offered to the deity, but we have also reason to assume that it was intended to serve as a guardian spirit who would protect the city from all harm.

In all these barbarous customs we must consider that the idea of killing a man, an infant, a woman, was not so terrible to the savage, for to him man's soul is immortal. He had not the slightest doubt that every being that died or was slain survived, and could at will put on another transfigured body, closely resembling his own. We might call it the dream-body, which was the figure in which he appeared to the survivors in dreams. This was supposed to move about as freely as we ourselves, and visit places at the most remote distances with unheard-of swiftness, and was not bound by the usual laws of gravity, or the rules of time and space. person, whether infant or adult, that was sacrificed for some religious purpose was not supposed to be slain. He continued to live, and lived a kind of superior life, the life of a demi-god. He was transfigured into a spiritual presence that received divine honors. and so his condition was really envied. We may as well assume that originally the honor of being sacrificed was courted by many people. and the ghastly idea of the honor of such a death was absolutely present. But with the change of man's religious notions the prac-



HUMAN SACRIFICES UNDER THE FOUNDATION STONES OF GEZER.

(Reproduced from the quarterly statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1904, page 17.)

tice became more and more horrible and outrageous. People continued it because they considered it necessary. Their ancestors had done it to give stability to a building, and so the ceremony had to be done whatever might be the cost, and the further man grew away from his primitive barbarous ideas the more the victim shrank from it until finally he was forced to this unnatural death against his will.

Traces of burial alive have been found among all the nations of the earth without any exception, which indicates that the custom is as old as the art of architecture, and so under the most ancient buildings which date back to pre-Christian ages, we find some human skeleton embedded under the foundation stones. It seems that in the progress of civilization these horrible sacrifices were more and more discouraged because people may have felt instinctively that the custom was not right, and so the sacrifices which had been performed in ancient times were deemed to be sufficient even when fortifications were to be rebuilt. An exception was made, however, in case the city had been cursed in the name of the national deity. It was regarded as blasphemy to live in such a cursed city, for the man who dared to stay there disregarded the curse of his God. For instance, one of Job's friends, Eliphaz (Job xv. 28), counts it as one indication of a very reprobate man that he would live in such desolate cities. The curse pronounced on a conquered town which should remain destroyed forever, is recorded in Deut. xiii. 16, where we read: "It shall be an heap forever; it shall not be built again."

When Jericho was destroyed at the special command of God, all its inhabitants were slain, "both man and woman, young and old, and ox and sheep and ass," with the sole exception of Rahab, who had betrayed the city into the hands of the enemies of her countrymen. And Joshua adjured the people, saying:

"Cursed be the man before the Lord that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: he shall lay the foundation thereof in his firstborn and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it."

Jericho, however, was sure to be rebuilt sooner or later, for, being the key to Palestine, and commanding the entrance into the country from the desert routes, it was too important both for commercial and strategic purposes to be left in ruins; and the man who undertook the work was still superstitious and savage enough to heed Joshua's curse. We read in the first Book of Kings, with reference to the reign of Ahab (Chap. xvi. 34):

"In his days, Hiel the Bethelite built Jericho; he laid the foundation stones thereof in Abiram, his firstborn, and set up the gates

thereof in his youngest son, Segub, according to the word of the Lord which he spake by Joshua, the son of Nun."

It appears that the curse of Joshua on the city of Jericho had reference only to the fortifications of Jericho and not to the town itself, which is an oasis and an important station for caravans. (2 Sam. x. 3). The rebuilding of the city took place under Ahab, who governed from 876 to 853 B. C.

Some archeologists believe that the idea of burying alive is due to the notion that the forces of nature, be they gods, demons, or giants, and later in their stead, the Devil, were supposed to possess the privilege of collecting rent from mankind. The spirit of the soil was supposed to be the landlord, to whom payment was to be made by an offering of human life. Grimm says (Mythology, p. 109):

"Frequently it was regarded as necessary to entomb within the foundation of a building living creatures and even men, an act which was regarded as a sacrifice to the soil which had to endure the weight of the structure. By this cruel custom people hoped to attain permanence and stability for great buildings."

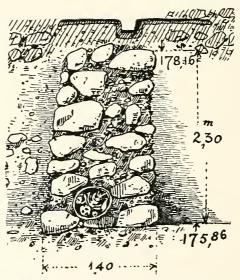
There are innumerable stories which preserve records of this barbaric custom, and there can be no doubt that many of them are historical and that the practice continued until comparatively recent time. We read in Thiele (Dänische L'olkssagen, I, 3) that the walls of Copenhagen always sank down again and again, although they were constantly rebuilt, until the people took an innocent little girl, placed her on a chair before a table, gave her toys and sweets, and while she merrily played, twelve masons covered the vault and finished the wall, which since that time remained stable.

Scutari is said to have been built in a similar way. A ghost appeared while the fortress was in the process of building, and demanded that the wife of one of the three kings who should bring the food to the masons on the next day should be entombed in the foundation. Being a young mother, she was permitted to nurse her baby, and a hole was left for that purpose which was closed as soon as the child was weaned.

We read in F. Nork's Sitten und Gebräuche (Das Kloster, Vol. XII) that when in 1813 the ice broke the dam of the river Elbe and the engineers had great trouble in repairing it, an old man addressed the dike-inspector, saying: "You will never repair the dike unless you bury in it an innocent little child," and Grimm adduced even a more modern instance (Sagen, p. 1095) which dates from the year 1843. "When the new bridge in Halle was built," Grimm

tells us, "the people talked of a child which should be buried in its foundations."

So long did these superstitions continue after the cruel rite had been abandoned; and they were held, not only in spite of the higher morality which Christianity taught, but even in the name of Christianity. In Tommaseo's *Canti Populari* an instance is quoted of the voice of an archangel from heaven bidding the builders of a wall entomb the wife of the architect in its foundation. The practice is here regarded as Christian and it is apparent that there are instances in which Christian authorities were sufficiently ignorant to sanction it, for even the erection of churches was supposed to re-

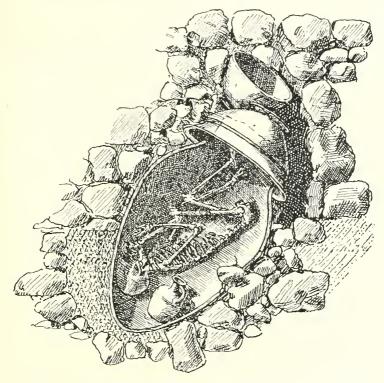


A TYPICAL TOMB IN THE INFANT CEMETERY OF MEGIDDO, PRE-SUMABLY AN OFFERING OF A FIRSTBORN.

quire the same cruel sacrifice; and there were cases in which, according to the special sanctity of the place, it was deemed necessary to bury a priest, because children and women were not regarded as sufficient. In Günther's Sagenbuch des deutschen Volkes (Vol. I, pp. 33 ff.) we read that the Strassburg cathedral required the sacrifice of two human lives, and that two brothers lie buried in its foundations.

The excavations in Palestine have brought to light such sacrifices in the foundation stones of ancient walls, and we here reproduce a drawing after Schumaker in his description of Tell el-Mutesellim. It is the site of the Biblical Megiddo where the fatal battle

with King Nechoh was fought in 609 B. C. in which King Josiah fell. In the foundations of a wall lying 2.30 meters under ground was found above the lowest layer of stones a jar 1.90 meters long and .40 in diameter, which was partly crushed by the second layer of stones. It contains the skeleton of a child and three clay vessels, presumably offerings made to the spirit of the victim, as it was customary even in the Middle Ages whenever persons were buried



HUMAN SACRIFICES BURIED IN THE FOUNDATION STONES OF A
WALL OF THE ANCIENT MEGIDDO IN PALESTINE.

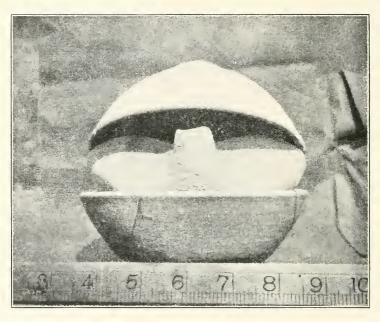
(After Schumaker's Tell el-Mutesellim, Vol. I, p. 25.)

alive, to give them rations of water and bread which were placed in their tomb. The top of the wall was covered by a carefully made layer containing a canal to draw off the water lest the foundation stones be washed away. In the same place at Megiddo a whole cemetery of infants has been discovered, and it is not impossible that we have here the horrible instance of the offering of the first-born, which is alluded to in Exod. xxii. 29: "Thou shalt not delay

to offer the first of thy ripe fruits, and of thy liquors: the firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give me."

The request of the firstborn as belonging to God is presupposed in Ex. xi. 4 ff., where Yahveh takes the firstborn of the Egyptians, and also in the story of Abraham's sacrifice, where the offering of Isaac, his firstborn, is not completed, but a ram is substituted (Gen. xxii).

In the progress of civilization, the horrible practice of human sacrifices was more and more abandoned, and substitutes were made,



DISH AND LAMP COVERED BY A LID FOUND IN GEZER UNDER THE FOUNDATION STONE OF A HOUSE AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR HUMAN SACRIFICES.

(Reproduced from the quarterly statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1903, page 205.)

first with animals and later with symbols. The excavators of the city of Gezer in Palestine have found human figures made of silver which are obviously a substitute for real human beings. They were embedded in the foundation stones in the same place where in more ancient times human skeletons were buried under the walls, in corner stones and under the gates. Not infrequently we find dishes and lamps which are placed in a curious way inside one another,

or side by side. We reproduce here one of these lamps encased in a dish.

Mr. Charles Hallock in his interesting book *Peerless Alaska*, speaks of the sacrifices which have been made even in our days among the Indians in these, our northern possessions. He says:

"Slaves are often killed at 'house-warmings,' one being placed under each of the corner uprights when the frame was raised, the ceremony being sometimes attended with the greatest cruelty. With a house of irregular foundation lines the sacrifice of life was great."

Even in Europe the custom of burying victims in the foundations of important buildings continued long after Christianity had been introduced. Not a few of the most important buildings, especially eastles and fortifications, frequently prove to have remnants of unhappy victims under their corner stones. For instance the tradition is pretty well established that the foundations of the Kremlin, the imperial dwelling at Moscow, were laid in human sacrifices. Our frontispiece represents the barbarous act of starting the building of this great eastle, and we see how the laborers have taken hold of a beautiful woman who is dragged to her tomb against her will. In the background stands the priest who is to bless the victim and to give her the comfort of the sacraments.

Gustave Freytag in his novel *The Lost Manuscript* mentions the old custom of burying offerings in the foundation stones of new structures (page 162). The hero of the novel, Professor Werner, searches for a lost copy of Tacitus and hopes to find it in the foundation walls, where they were marked by a slab of peculiar form and color. On the removal of this slab he discovers the bones of a dog, which goes far to prove that the building was very old, for it was an evidence that the man who built it still deemed it necessary to have a living being entombed there as a substitute for the ancient human sacrifice of primitive times.

GOETHE ON AMERICA.

BY THE EDITOR.

OETHE'S references to America are very few, and among his poems there is only one which indicates that he ever took an interest in the destiny of the new world. The immediate occasion of these lines was a journey of Karl Bernhard, duke of Saxe-Weimar, the second son of the poet's patron and friend, the reigning grand-duke Karl August. This prince, born May 30, 1792, had been dreaming of a visit to the new world since his early boyhood, and at last in his thirty-second year his father gave him permission to cross the Atlantic. In April, 1825, Karl Bernhard left Ghent for the United States, and after a year's stay came back in June 1826. The diaries of the prince's travels were submitted to Goethe who commented on them favorably, and they appeared in print in 1828.*

The impressions which the prince had received in the new world justified all his most optimistic expectations. The active life, the spirit of enterprise, the boldness in building, the rapid increase of trade and commerce, the regulation of rivers, the expanse of the country with its untold opportunities, and above all the free and manly ways which the inhabitants exhibited in their daily life. Every honest worker felt himself the equal of every one else, and was treated as such; it was a country of universal brotherhood without class distinction. The prince was well received in society and also in military circles, and being a soldier who had fought in several battles (Jena and Wagram, etc.) he was honored with the boom of cannon. So enthusiastic was the prince over his experiences in the new world that he seriously considered the plan of settling there and making it his permanent home, but the old world had after all too great attractions for him, and having returned he took up his abode again in the chateau of his ancestors in Weimar.

Like Goethe the prince was a member of the Masonic lodge

^{*}Compare on the subject the correspondence of the Grand Duke Karl August with Goethe, Vol. II, page 284; and also Goethe's Correspondence with Zelter, Vol. IV, page 228.

Amalia of Weimar, and on his return the brethren greeted him at a lodge meeting with the recitation of a poem, specially made for the occasion by Goethe and afterwards printed in 1833 in Goethe's Posthumous Works.

Goethe's poem on America was made at the same time and under the influence which the perusal of the Prince's diary made on him. The ideas there expressed are also found in a poem of de Laprade, entitled Les Démollisseurs, in which America is characterized as a country unhampered by the past. De Laprade says: "There the people do not drag about the inconvenient burden of superannuated regrets." He speaks of their paths as free from prejudice and declares that "never a tomb, nor an old wall has to be torn down." Goethe further met with the statement that geologists had not discovered basalt rocks in the mountains of the new continent, and this strange error was interwoven into his notion of the nature of the people. Basalt being a rock of volcanic eruption he thought that the element of social upheavals, of the club law, and their historical resemblance was absent. At any rate he deemed the lack of medieval traditions, the lingering remembrance of the age of robbers. of knights, and haunted castles as especially fortunate, and under these impressions he wrote his poem which we translate as follows:

"America, a better fate
Of thee than of Europe's expected.
No ruined castles of ancient date
Nor basalts in thee are detected.
The past won't harass thee; there rages
In this, thy busy active life
Remembrance not of bygone ages,
Nor futile antiquated strife.
The present utilize with care,
And if thy children write poetry books,
May, by good fortune, they beware
Of tales of robbers, knights and spooks.

(Translation by P. C.)

This poem appears in Goethe's handwriting as the enclosure of a letter of June 21, 1827, addressed to his musical friend, the composer Zelter, to whom the poet intended to forward it in order to have it set to music. It was first printed in the *Musen-Almanach*, 1831, page 42; and also in Goethe's Correspondence with Zelter, IV, 341.

In Goethe's Collected Works it appears in XXII, entitled Xenions and Kindred Poems" and bears the title of "The United States."

MISCELLANEOUS.

WAS JESUS AN ARYAN?

Prof. Paul Haupt informs us that in the *Neue Revue* for October, 1908, an article appeared by A.Wirth, entitled "War Christus ein Arier?"—the same subject as the article of Professor Haupt in the April *Open Court*. Professor Harnack comments on it in a subsequent number of the same periodical saying, "Had Jesus not been a Jew, his Jewish antagonists would certainly not have ignored the fact. Whether, however, he was an Aryan in the sense that Treitschke, Rietschl, Leibniz, etc., are 'Slavs,' that is, whether there were several drops of Aryan blood in him, is no longer to be determined and in my opinion without interest."

It is a strange coincidence that this same topic has been broached almost simultaneously on both sides of the Atlantic. Though Professor Wirth's article appeared before Professor Haupt's, we may state that Professor Haupt has utilized his article several times as a lecture, first in August 1908, and it had been announced for the American Oriental Society, which convened in April 1908.

In our opinion, there can be no question but Jesus was a Galilean by birth. The story of his birth in Bethlehem is conceded by higher critics to be a later invention. The Galileans were fanatical Jews according to their religion, but they were a mixed race, and we will grant to Professor Haupt that Galilee has been peopled by immigrants of Aryan descent. Granting the argument we are, however, not prepared to say that Jesus was an Aryan. First we know that the Aryan immigrants were not pure Aryan but, like the Persians and even more than they, were considerably mixed with Semitic blood, for their ancestors had been living among Semites for centuries; and in addition we know that many Syrian and Phœnicians, and remnants of the aboriginal population were living in Galilee. All we can say is that Jesus was a Galilean, and the Galileans were a people of mixed blood.

A SONG OF ACADEMIC LIBERTY.

BY IDA AHLBORN WEEKS.

Arise, who bend o'er song and story,
Who search for truth in her retreat;
What profits all your learned glory
If freedom suffer a defeat?

Arise and listen! Down the ages
The shackles on the thinker ring;
And what ye read on placid pages
Was once condemned by priest and king.

O ye who guard the sacred portals
With vigilance of heart and brain,
Through which the troop of the immortals
Comes ever with their glistering train—
O thinker, teacher, seer, bestowing
Such guardian service, shall ye be
The slaves of tyrants, all unknowing
The highest gifts are from the free?

Shall ye not see a Hamlet's passion
Portrayed upon the tragic stage?
Must truth be right to you in fashion
When it is duly stamped with age?
Shall ye not dare condemn the writer
Who writes from vanity and greed?
And dare to be the public smiter
Of men who mount by evil deed?

Of old did Galileo mutter
As he recanted, "Yet it moves"?—
Ye, too, below your breath must utter
What blinded custom disapproves.
O ye, for truth who groan in travail,
Shall ye be driven to obey
The barren slaves who basely cavil
At life and life's imperious way?

For you no sword that cleaves asunder,
And not for you the piercing ball;
But Eloquence has still her thunder,—
The people are the open hall.
The law that underlies our nation
Is still to tyranny a foe;
And to your help comes all creation
When once ye are in freedom's throe.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

Spinoza's Short Treatise on God, Man and Human Welfare. Translated from the Dutch by Lydia Gillingham Robinson. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1909. Pp. 178. Price, Cloth \$1.25 net.

The "Short Treatise" as it is commonly called, is the key to Spinoza's masterpiece, The Ethics, and provides an admirable introduction to the study of his philosophy. Like all sketches, it gives the point of view from which the greater work developed and prepares in a simple and informal manner

for an understanding of the method and terms employed in the more important themes, worked out by Spinoza in a somewhat ponderous mathematical style in his greatest work, *The Ethics*, published after his early death, as a legacy to the world.

The Short Treatise bears much the same relation to The Ethics, that Kant's Prolegomena does to his Critique of Pure Reason, and in like manner its importance has long been overlooked. The present translation is the first English version of the Short Treatise, although one French and two German translations have been made from the published Dutch version. The Latin original has entirely disappeared from view, but authentic Dutch manuscripts were discovered in the latter half of the 19th century and published. It is from the Van Vloton and Land edition of the Dutch manuscripts that the present translation has been made, with frequent reference to the German of Professor C. Schaarschmidt.

The translator says in her preface to the work, that no attempt has been made to produce a clearer or more readable English by any improvement in the loose and often indefinite style of the original, it being preferred to let Spinoza's words speak for themselves. This allows the reader to make his own interpretation, which is always a satisfaction, even though it may not always be "an adequate idea."

It is almost three hundred years since Spinoza was driven from the Synagogue with a frightful curse, because his commanding intellect compelled him to renounce a creed which had become impossible to him. His imperious desire was for a religion free from dogmatism and superstition yet satisfying the heart with an ever-present God.

Disowned by his family, repudiated by Jews and Christians alike, "the heretic Jew of the Hague" lived a solitary life, described by his first biographer, as a lonely figure absorbed in scientific pursuits, yet not indisposed to kindly talk with his humbler neighbors. He had among his correspondents, some of the greatest scholars of his day, who admired and even reverenced him, and as stated in the preface to the Dutch manuscripts, it was for these friends that *The Short Treatise* was originally written, "for the benefit of those of his disciples who wished to apply themselves to the practice of ethics and true philosophy."

Apart from his importance as a philosopher, Spinoza holds a distinctly human interest for the general reader who always demands a satisfying answer to the practical question, "What did Spinoza's philosophy do for himself?" "Did it help him to live, to be happy, to be useful?" then, "What has it done for the world?" and finally, "What will it do for me?" It is in the answers to these questions that any philosophy, religion or ethics must stand or fall.

As has been justly said by one of our greatest living philosophers, "true philosophy is not for the learned exclusively; philosophy is for the people and from the people." Spinoza's philosophy was no barren system, no wordy architecture beginning with nothing and ending nowhere. His own heroic life attested to the value of his religion. He taught his students to take the universe as it was and not to spend mental energy in prying into supposed secrets of origin. He rejected the theory that there was a creator apart from creation. There was no creation out of nothing nor any omen of decay in the eternal order. It was his infinite longing to see all men blessed with the in-

ward peace which comes with understanding the simplicity of our relation to God.

Already there are signs that the world is coming into an adequate understanding of his luminous idea of God as the All-Being. In fact, monism is the logical outcome of his theory and it holds the field to-day. Though the evolution of human understanding is slow, it appears safe to predict the triumph of that world-theory.—C. E. C.

Studies in Mystical Religion. By Rufus M. Jones. New York: Macmillan, 1909. Pp. xxxviii, 518. Price, \$3.50 net.

It is quite fitting that we should look for a history of mysticism from one of the educational centers of that group of people who are to-day its legitimate heirs by lineal descent and kinship of thought. The author of this book is a member of the faculty of Haverford College, an institution founded and still operating under the direction of the Society of Friends, better known to the world at large as Quakers.

This sect even when ridiculed for its adherence to unpopular customs, has always held the respect of the community at large because of the high standard of ethics inculcated by its teachings and exemplified in the lives of its members. Its educational institutions have kept abreast of the times and depart from the customs of conventional schools of similar scope only in those particulars which are thought to be a menace to the upbuilding of character. It is probably true that as a sect the Quakers are dying out, but in this instance, extinction of their individuality as a sect will by no means indicate that their influence has not been vastly felt. On the contrary, it is because the most important of the ideals, social, ethical and religious, for which Ouakerism stood unflinchingly when the world scoffed, are now realized and one by one have come to be adopted by society as a whole, that it may consider that it has practically served its mission to the world. Almost the only dividing line that remains is that of temperament, and this will probably cease to be sufficient cause for a dividing line in the not distant future through the natural course of evolution. It is now possible for the membership of the Friends to endeavor to live by the "Light within," and act according to the dictates of the "Spirit" in affiliation with other religious bodies; this fact makes it no longer necessary to establish any considerable propaganda since their aspirations do not, as formerly, differ from those common to many fellowships.

While maintaining a rigid attitude on matters of principle the customs which set them conspicuously apart from their fellows are disappearing. Even the older generation cling to the distinctive garb only as a traditional matter of habit and preference and the younger ones have long since ceased to be bound by it, having come to realize (slowly it is true) that the world's march of progress has made it unnecessary to proclaim disapproval of foolishly extravagant dress by such methods. That there is still a younger generation is due rather to an affection for the traditions of their sect than any feeling of criticism of or aloofness from the opinions and customs of other people.

It is most natural that students among the Friends should be vitally interested in the course of the history of mystical thought as no one should

be better fitted to give such an account appreciatively. Professor Jones considers this only an introductory work of a series and promises to treat in future volumes the later development of mysticism, also reserving Jacob Boehme for a special volume. We hope opportunity will also be found for inserting Angelus Silesius who is by no means the least interesting of the German mystics. The author defines mysticism as "the type of religion which puts the emphasis on immediate awareness of relation with God, on direct and intimate consciousness of the Divine Presence. It is religion in its most acute, intense, and living stage."

Though recognizing that religion of this mystical type is not confined to Christianity, he does not discuss it in any other manifestation except so far as its roots lie in classical literature. He treats of the mystical element in primitive Christianity and the Church Fathers and gives a special chapter each, among others, to Dionysius the Areopagite, Duns Scotus, the Waldenses, St. Francis, Eckhart, the Friends of God, the Family of Love, the Seekers and the Ranters.

The Common-sense Bible Teacher. A Medium for Conducting a Bible Class on Evolutionary Principles. St. Paul: C. L. Abbott. \$2.50 per year. Single copy, 25 cents.

This periodical follows a very laudable purpose, and in its first issues bids fair to perform a valuable service in the line of reforming the methods of Bible study. Each number presents a book of the New Testament translated colloquially in total disregard of the traditional renderings and formal phrases, as any other book of informal narrative might be translated, bringing out the wit and humor of the original as never before attempted. The aim of the translation is to make the same impression on the reader of to-day as was made by the original on its first readers. While bearing out these characteristics it endeavors to incorporate many of the points which higher criticism has elucidated and begins by arranging the books in their chronological order, starting with Galatians. In his effort to make the natural and informal impression on modern readers which he feels the original made when first written, the translator has recourse to colloquialisms and even slang to a perhaps questionable degree. If the work were intended to have a lasting educational effect and not an ephemeral one, it might have been advisable to have retained a more classical English in places. It would also seem as if nothing were gained by such radical changes as to give Jesus the name Joshua because the Aramaic term is identical with the name of Moses's successor. Still this is consistent with the translator's policy throughout which is not only to hesitate to vary from the familiar expressions where occasion requires, but even to give the unusual effect wherever possible in preference. Each book in the new rendering is preceded by historical notes showing its proper relation to other books and to events. These notes are carefully gleaned from the most reliable of critical sources. In the lesson about the epistles to the Thessalonians which forms the second number of the periodical, an incident of Acts is thus related in the evolutionary version:

"As we were going to the praying place there chanced to meet us a slave girl who made much money for her owners by telling fortunes, for she had a Pythian spirit within her. She kept following behind Paul and the rest of us and yelling: 'These men are slaves of the Supreme God and are telling you how to be saved.' She continued to do this for a number of days until Paul, becoming tired of it, turned around and said to the spirit: 'I command you in the name of Joshua the Anointed One to come out of her!' And it came out immediately."

Then follows the rationalistic explanation of this familiar miracle:

"The explanation of the miracle is simple. The girl was a ventriloquist. She had learned what Paul claimed to be, 'a servant of the Supreme God, telling men how to be saved,' and she accordingly follows him, repeating these words in her ventriloquist tones, supposed to be the voice of a spirit, expecting by this apparantly supernatural indorsement of his mission to obtain money for her masters. Rebuked, she subsided, and all but the girl herself supposed that the spirit had left her. She may have resumed the practice of her art after the departure of the missionaries; but if not, it was because she chose not to do so."

We cannot but regret the sensational manner in which this valuable undertaking is put before the public, notably in its advertisements on the inside front cover. It is in spite of this feature and not because of it that it appeals to thoughtful readers.

The Gespel in the Gospels. By William Porcher Du Bose. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1908. Pp. 289. Price, \$1.50 net.

The title of the present volume, as declared in the preface, is intended to indicate that, while it aims to be an exposition of the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ, it does not purpose to be a whole or final exposition of that Gospel. It looks forward definitely to a further and fuller expression of it. We have here to do with the Gospel, not in its developed utterance as that of the New Testament or of the Church, but only so far as it is contained in our canonical Gospels or can by ourselves be deduced from them. The author's own position is that, while the Gospel as an act or fact is complete in Jesus Christ Himself, the rationale of its operation in human salvation is best interpreted and stated by St. Paul. His true objective point has therefore been the completer construction of the Gospel according to St. Paul, to be treated in a volume to follow the present one. The Gospel of the Earthly Life or The Common Humanity; the Gospel of the Work or The Resurrection, and The Gospel of the Person or the Incarnation, are each treated in turn.

Bushido the Soul of Japan. By *Inazo Nitobé*. Tokyo: Teibi Publishing Company, 1908. Pp. 177.

This is the fifteenth edition of Bushido. The term bushido consists of three words which literally translated are as follows: bu = military, shi = knight, and do (corresponding to the Chinese tao) = way. The best translation, accordingly, would be "chivalry." It is the term of the code of honor of feudal Japan, and denotes the moral ideals of the Japanese warrior and gentleman. It is the spirit that animated the Japanese army and contributed so much to Japanese victories. The author, Dr. Nitobé, has written the book to explain this kind of religion, its foundations as well as its tenets, to those foreigners who are not familiar with Japanese traditions. The book has been

a great success, and it stands to reason that even the fifteenth edition which we have now before us, will not be the last one.

REFLETS D'HISTOIRE. Par Paul Gaultier. Paris: Hachette, 1909. 16 plates. Pp. 283. Price, 3 fr. 50.

In his preface M. Gaultier maintains that aside from the pleasure it affords us, art is an enchanted mirror which throws back like so many reflections the various aspects of departed ages, preserving not only the image but also some part of that which was their life. Thus the object of the book is to study in many phases the relations between art and history. After an introductory chapter on "Art and History," he proceeds to follow the development and changes in the Louvre and palace of Versailles, illustrating from historical sources the different stages they have passed through; and then he treats particularly of the nature-feeling in the fine arts, the art of stage scenery, and the goldsmith's art in its relation to wealth.

Buddhist and Christian Gospels. Now First Compared from the Originals. By Albert J. Edmunds, M. A. Edited by Prof. M. Anesaki, Ph. D. 4th Edition. Volume I. Philadelphia: Innes & Sons, 1908. Pp. 323. Complete in two volumes. Price, \$4.00 net.

Albert J. Edmunds is a scholar of very retired habits. He is little known among Orientalists because in his sequestered home he may be said to lead a hermit's life. By birth an Englishman, and in his religious affiliations a Friend, he came to the United States in his youth and devoted almost all his energies to the study of religion. He had been a Pali scholar in Europe and a disciple of James Rendel Harris, one of the greatest scholars who has come from the same denomination. Mr. Edmunds, however, is not only a thorough Pali scholar. He is also well versed in the Greek New Testament. He is one of the few men who know all the important passages of the sacred texts of both Buddhists and Christians by heart in the original, and so it is natural that he has devoted much thought to their similarities. A slight tendency to mysticism brings him in touch with the notions of the Psychical Research Society, and this disposition of his mind has been strengthened by supernormal experiences of his own. All in all he is not a man of the common type but original in every respect, and original certainly not in a bad sense. His learnedness is extraordinary, and though his book has been severely criticized for being too prone to find far-fetched similarities, we see in the present volume a work of unusual merit. He is predestined for this work by his traditions and the peculiar cast of his mind, and if it may be granted that former critics of his work are to some extent justified, we can not help thinking that they have frequently misunderstood his meaning, and have only become acquainted with what appears on the surface. Mr. Edmunds has done his work not only with his intellect but also with his heart and this gives him a deep insight into the connections and parallels of the two religions, the results of his labors being justified by a knowledge of the root from which both Christianity and Buddhism have sprung. At any rate, we do not hesitate to say that the book is indispensable for any one who makes a study of comparative religion. It lies before us in its fourth edition, but the fourth edition is practically a new work. This present edition, as well as the third, has been

edited by Masaharu Anesaki, a Japanese scholar, who is professor of the science of religion at the Imperial University of Tokyo. The third edition contains the Chinese Text of the parallels referred to by Mr. Edmunds, which was supplied by Mr. Anesaki, but since the English text was also set and printed in Japan, it was so full of misprints that a new edition had become necessary for Western readers, and the first volume of this is the book now before us. The third edition has by no means become redundant for any one who wants to be in possession of the complete material. The price of this parchment bound edition is \$1.50, which makes it easily accessible; and it will be found desirable for students to keep it side by side with the new and enlarged fourth edition, which, though sufficient for popular reading, does not contain the notes on Chinese texts for which the third edition is particularly valuable. There are several interesting new points to which Mr. Edmunds calls attention, but it would lead us too far to enumerate them all. We wish only to call attention to one highly interesting fact, which is that Mr. Edmunds proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that Buddhist scriptures have been referred to in the New Testament, simply under the name of "scripture." John vii, 38 and xii. 34 quote some passages as scriptures neither of which are found in the Old Testament, while Buddhist scriptures contain literally the same sentences. Mr. Edmunds does not claim that they were quoted direct from Buddhist literature. They may have found their way into the New Testament indirectly by having been incorporated into some apocryphal writings, but it is very unlikely that they did not ultimately come from India.

The Board of Public Education of Philadelphia is most fortunate in possessing a valuable pedagogical library. It was founded in 1883 when it seemed expedient that the board should possess and maintain a collection of books representative of the standard literature in pedagogy and closely allied subjects as well as the newest and best editions of the more important reference books. This library was to be for the use of the members of the Board of Public Education and the teachers of the high and elementary public schools of the city. Although limited in size, the library soon became known as a model pedagogical library, and its literature has been selected with the greatest care from the beginning. The dominant idea in its growth has been the value of the book to the educator and not the increase in the size of the library. In every city school system it is of the utmost importance that the public school teachers should have free access to a pedagogical library. They should understand that good teaching is conditioned by the professional spirit of the teacher and that this professional spirit is stimulated by the establishment and maintenance of a working library of professional literature, in which the progressive teacher should find the best literature upon current educational topics. The Philadelphia Board of Public Education is to be congratulated on the high grade of public spirit it has shown in the maintenance of such a library. Its attitude is well summed up by Mr. Brumbaugh, the superintendent of public schools, when he says, "An agency which tends to improve and aid the teacher body of the city as does the Pedagogical Library is worthy of the continued sympathy and financial support of the Board of Public Education." This remark is the conclusion of Mr. Brumbaugh's preface to a printed catalogue of the Pedagogical Library, which has just been compiled

by its librarian in order to increase the efficiency of the library. Every care has been taken to have the catalogue as helpful as possible, and it includes analytical entries for the more important collections. The size of this carefully selected model library may be imperfectly judged by the fact that the catalogue consists of 525 double-columned octavo pages.

A new Buddhist periodical appears under the name *The Buddhist Review*, and the copy before us is No. 3 of the first volume. It is very interesting and will be appreciated even outside of circles especially interested in Buddhism. Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids opens the book with an article on "Psalms of the First Buddhists," the first instalment of which is "Psalms of the Sisters," quoting largely from translations of ancient Buddhist hymns. Mr. D. C. Parker calls attention to the Buddhist tendency in Wagner. Mr. Albert J. Edmunds replies to critics of his book *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*; Prof. Rhys Davids makes a pithy statement concerning the Buddhist Nirvana conception as not being annihilation. There are several other interesting articles of which we will only mention the editor's strictures on the *Children's Encyclopedia*, a British publication, which in speaking of Buddhism, contains a mere caricature of it, against which he deems it necessary to protest.

Prof. Charles R. Lanman has published in the *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Volume XLIV, No. 24, June 1909, an article on the "Pali Book Titles and Their Brief Designations," which comprises not only those Pali books which have been published, but also all the manuscripts so far as they are known. It is a useful compendium for Pali scholars, and all those who make a special study of Buddhism.

A. Christina Albers has published a small collection of some of her poems in a simple and attractive form, under the title "Stray Thoughts in Rhyme." These verses betray the mystical tendencies of the writer and her attachment to and affection for India and its people. Some of the titles are Life, Impermanency, Reincarnation, The Daughter of India, India's Children, A Hindu Home, Siddartha's Farewell, Sacrifice.

The translation of Goethe's poem "Effects at a Distance" which appeared in the March number of *The Open Court*, page 175, was made by, and should have been credited to, Commander U. S. N. William Gibson. With some editorial changes it has been republished from his *Poems of Goethe*, published by Henry Holt & Company, 1886.

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