

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.
Assistant Editor: T. J. McCORMACK.

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

VOL. XVII. (NO. 4)

APRIL, 1903.

NO. 563

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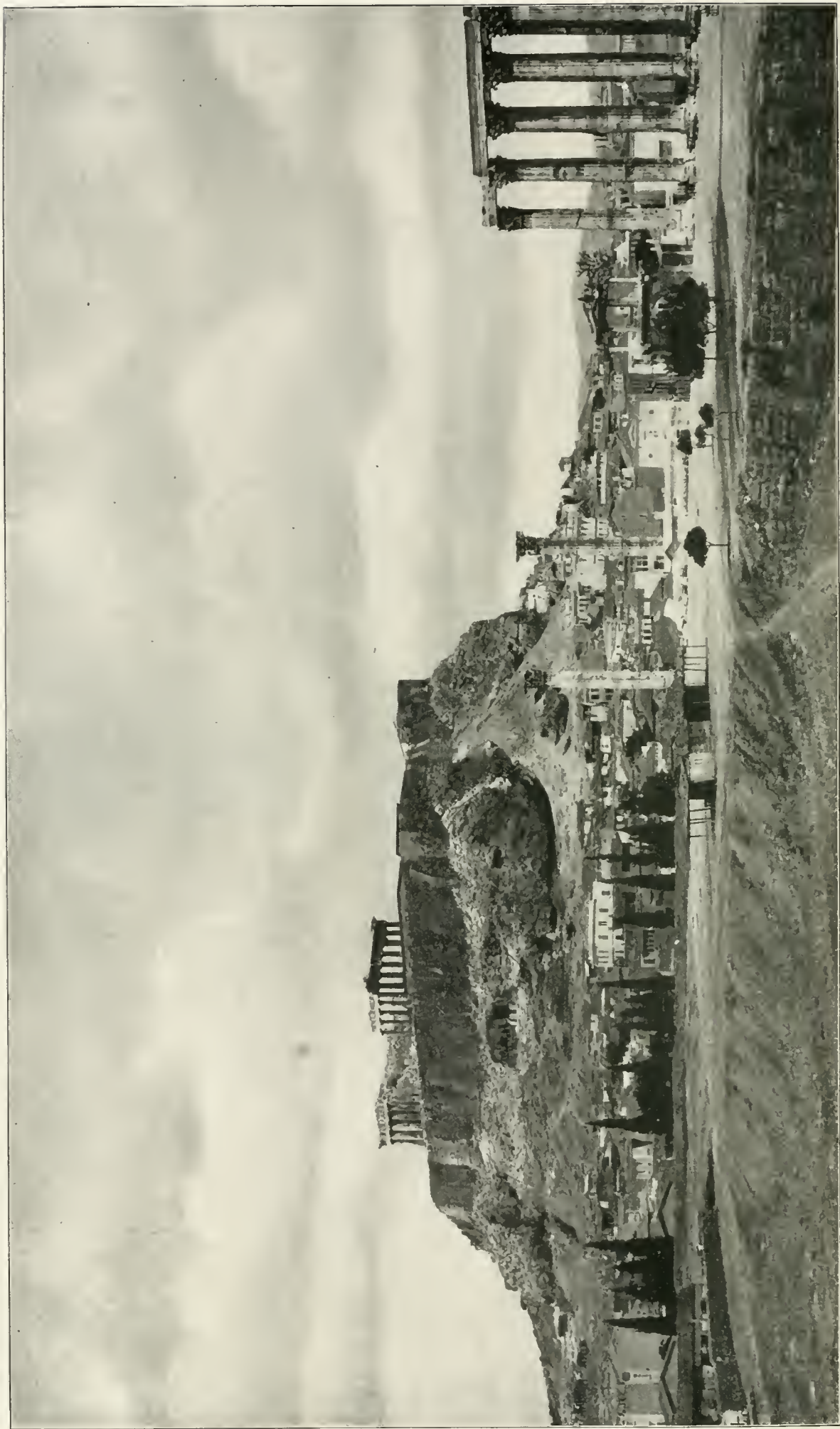
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THE ACROPOLIS FROM THE SOUTHEAST.

Frontispice to The Open Court.

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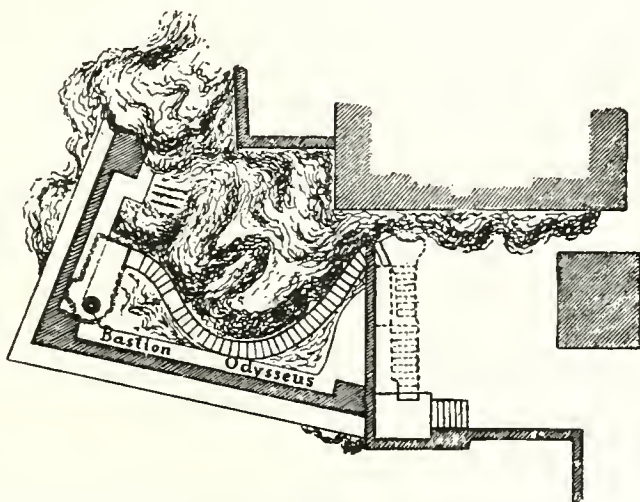
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THE ACROPOLIS.¹

BY THE EDITOR.

THE stronghold of Athens, or as the Athenians called it, the Acropolis, i. e., "the town on the mountain top," is an historical spot of most extraordinary significance. It is the site of the first settlement which was made in prehistoric times by the Pelasgian inhabitants of Attica. The steep hill could be easily defended, and a spring of good water (called Clepsydra) issued from its western slope, which (presumably at a very ancient date) had been made accessible from the plateau by a staircase hewn in the rock.

Apparently the Acropolis was very well fortified from the earliest days, and the enemy had to force three walls before its inhabitants would surrender. The base of the Acropolis was surrounded by the Pelargicon which is referred to as Enneapylon, i. e., as having nine gates. The second line of defence was the natural declivity of the rock which, however, had to be strengthened in several places by artificial means. It was fortified with special care in historical

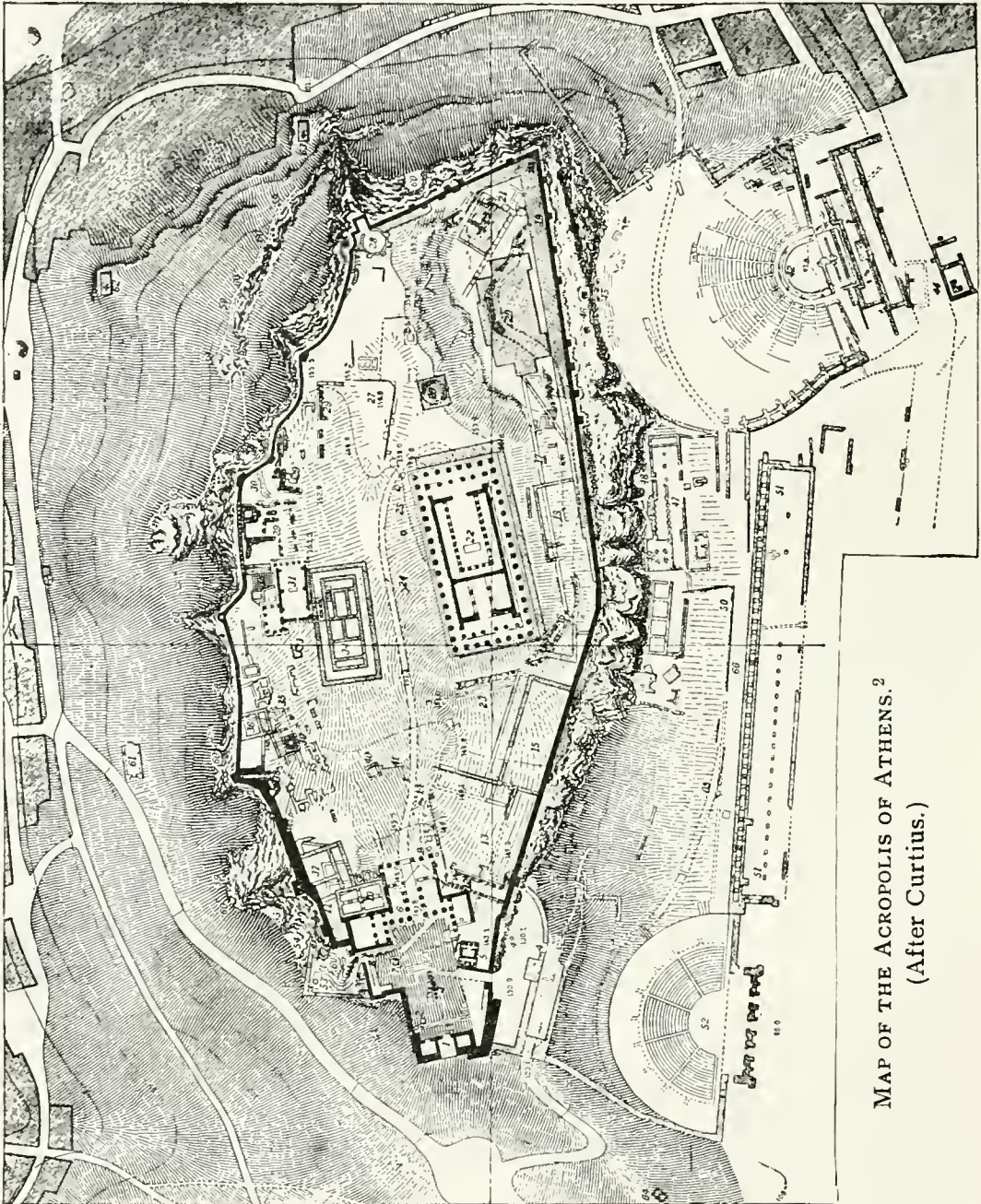


THE WINDING STAIRCASE IN THE BASTION OF
ODYSSEUS LEADING DOWN TO THE FORTI-
FIED SPRING CLEPSYDRA.²

¹ The numbers in brackets refer to the map of the Acropolis.

² The Bastion built by Odysseus Androustos during the war of independence has recently been removed.

times by Cimon; hence this wall is called after him "the Cimonian wall." The western slope shows remnants of the foundation



MAP OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS.²
(After Curtius.)

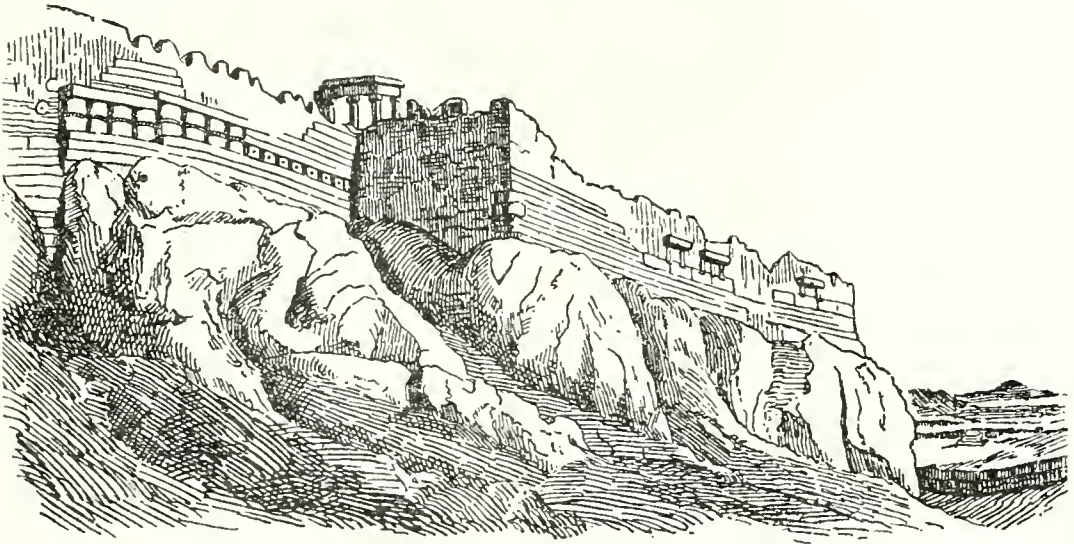
of Cyclopi¹an walls so called [3]. The highest part of the plateau

¹ Remnants of large Pelasgian works were frequently credited to the Cyclops.

² LEGEND OF THE MAP OF THE ACROPOLIS. 1. Gate with square towers, built by Christian emperors. 2. Ancient altar, recently excavated. 3. Fragments of a prehistoric wall, recently excavated. 4. Modern entrance. 4a. Niche in the rock (sacred to Ge Kouroutrophos). 5. Fane of Athene Nike, as Goddess of Victory. 6. Propylæa, the main entrance, built by Phidias under Pericles. 7. Monument of Agrippa. 8. Passage to the well. 9. Fane of Athene Hygieia. 10. Cistern. 11. Water conduit. 12, 12, 12. Pelasgian walls. 13. Brauroneion. 14. Steps in the rock. 15. Armory. 16. Staircase in the Pelasgian wall. 17. Buttress of the Pelasgian wall. 18. An ancient building. 19. Votive monument of Attalos. 20. Modern museum. 21. Small museum, built

was again secured by a wall, the stones of which indicate a Pelasgian¹ origin [12].

This inner courtyard contained the habitations [35] of the prehistoric residents, especially the Basileion, or royal palace [29] of their chief, the King of Attica, an emergency well [39], and a meeting-place [32].



THE CIMONIAN WALL ON THE NORTHERN DECLIVITY OF THE ACROPOLIS.

Exterior view. Capitals of the columns of the Hecatompedon and other fragments are visible in several places. (Compare the illustration on page 204.)

The Acropolis is the nucleus of Athens; it was, even as late as the Persian Wars, the last refuge of the citizens, and formed the religious center of public worship. Here stood the shrines of

upon remnants of the Pelasgian wall. 22. Parthenon. 23. Broad steps leading to the western terrace of the Parthenon. 24. Statue of Ge Karpophoros (the Fruit-bearing Earth). 25. Cisterns. 26. Temple of Roma. 27. A terrace, forming the highest place of the Acropolis. 28. A modern structure. 29. Remnants of the Pelasgian palace. 30. An ancient staircase. 31. Erechtheion. 32. Pelasgian terrace. 33. Rock-formation. 34. Hecatompedon. 35. Foundation-stones of Pelasgian habitations. 36. A square building without any significance. 37. A hall, and within, a cistern. 38. Staircase at the Agraulion. 39. An ancient well. 40. Statue of Athene Promachos. 41. Postament. 42. Theater of Dionysos. 43. The orchestra of the theater. 44. Two temples of Dionysos, the smaller one is the older sanctuary and was the nucleus from which the theater with its stage-performances developed. 45. Monument of Thrasyllus, an agonistic victor; erected in the Hellenistic era simultaneously with the Nikias monument (latter part of the fourth century B. C.). 46. Columns with tripods, erected in honor of Dionysos. 47. Asclepieion, sacred to the god of Healing. 48. Grotto with spring. 49. Well. 50. Wall of terrace. 51, 51. Hall of Eumenes. 52. Music hall (Odeion). 53. The spring Clepsydra. 54. Grotto of Apollon. 55. Grotto of Pan. 56. Exit of a subterraneous passage which started from a place forty meters west of the Erechtheion and led into a rent in the rock [57] downward through a tunnel to the spot almost opposite the chapel of the Seraphim [61]. 57. A rent in the rock with staircase, presumably an ancient emergency passage. 58. Inscription of Peripatos. 59, 59, 59. Votive niches in the rock. 60, 60, 60. Caves in the northern and western slope of the rock. 61. Chapel of the Seraphim. 62. Chapel of St. Simeon. 63. Chapel of St. George. 64. Remnants of the Pelargicon in the southwest. 65. Remnants of the Pelargicon facing the ancient armory. 66. Ancient road.

¹ The oldest inhabitants of Greece are called the Pelasgians. i. e., the ancient ones, and they are frequently regarded as a special race in contrast to the Ionians, the Dorians, and other Greek tribes. The name Pelargicon may be a corruption of Pelasgicon.

the aborigines, the Erechtheion¹ [31], supposedly founded by Attica's mythical King, Erechtheus, and dedicated to Athene Polias, i. e., the patron of the city. Here rose the Parthenon [22], i. e., the virgin's temple, dedicated to Pallas Athene Parthenos, the virgin goddess. The latter, built in the days of Pericles, served as the state treasury of the Athenian confederacy, for many temples were then used as banking institutions. We know through Herodotos



THE CARYATIDS OF THE ERECHTHEION.²

that deposits were made in temples, and Delphi was probably the largest international bank of the age.

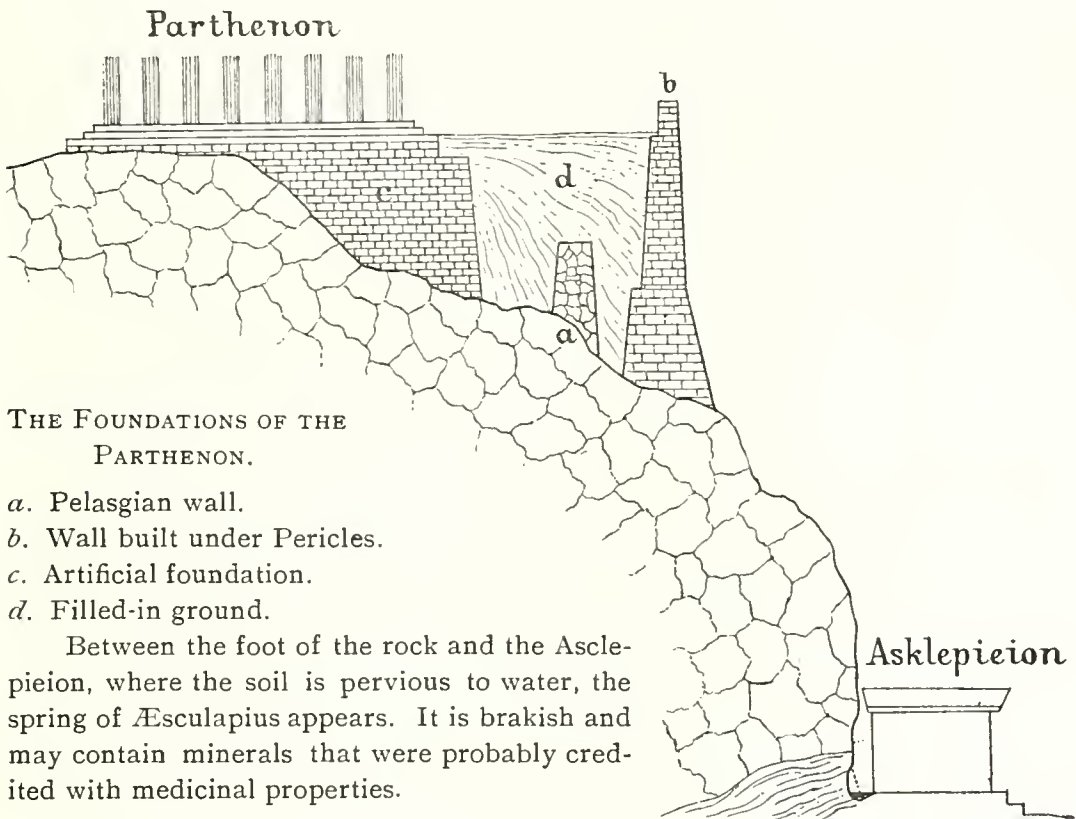
On the southern slope of the Acropolis are the great theater

¹In the transliteration of Greek names we prefer to adhere as closely as possible to their original forms. Thus, we say *Erechtheion*, not *Erechtheum*. The transcription of the Greek *k* to *c* has become so inveterate that we prefer to leave it whenever usage has sanctioned it.

²This beautiful balcony is called the Hall of Cora (i. e., the Virgin), viz., Proserpina, the daughter of Demeter. A step on the west side led down to a court, once walled round, in which was the Pandroseion, a shrine sacred to Pandrosos, i. e., the All-bedewer, a daughter of Cecrops and first priestess of Athene. Here stood also the sacred olive-tree of Athene and an altar of Zeus Herkeios.

sacred to Dionysos [42] and the music hall or Odeion [52]. Between them lies the Asclepieion [47], the physician's hall, sacred to the god of medicine and the art of healing.

Round this venerable rock grew up the city of Athens, the home of liberty and republican institutions, the seat of learning and a center of civilisation. Heroic deeds of patriotism at Marathon and Salamis laid the cornerstone of Athens's independence, and prosperity followed in the wake of trade and commerce. A noble ideal of statesmanship was actualised in Pericles. Art and oratory flourished. Wealth brought corruption, but philosophy offered correctives in the moral injunctions of Socrates and the

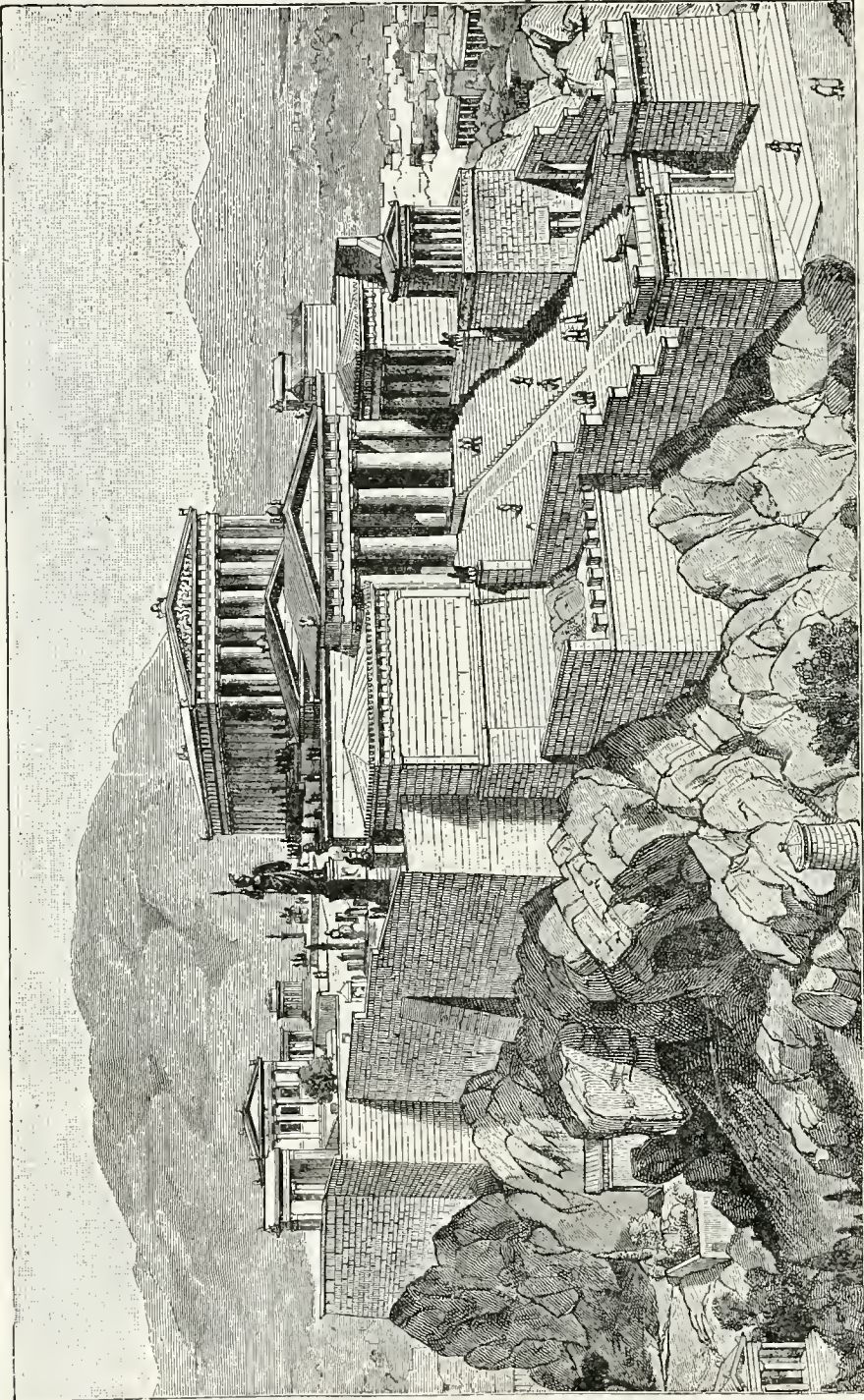


various schools that flourished after him. Here Apollonius of Tyana preached against the barbarism of bloody sacrifices and also of the circus with its brutal gladiatorial fights, admonishing the citizens to practice mercy, referring them to the altar of Eleos¹ on the Kerameikos, the potter's field, with the injunctions of which the cruel customs of the age were incompatible. Here finally Paul preached the Gospel of the Crucified, and he too, speaking of the Athenians as deeply religious, endeavored to connect the new religion with the old traditions of the city, claiming that he

¹ *Eleos* means "mercy."

had come to reveal to them the true God whom they unwittingly adored at the altar of the Unknown God.

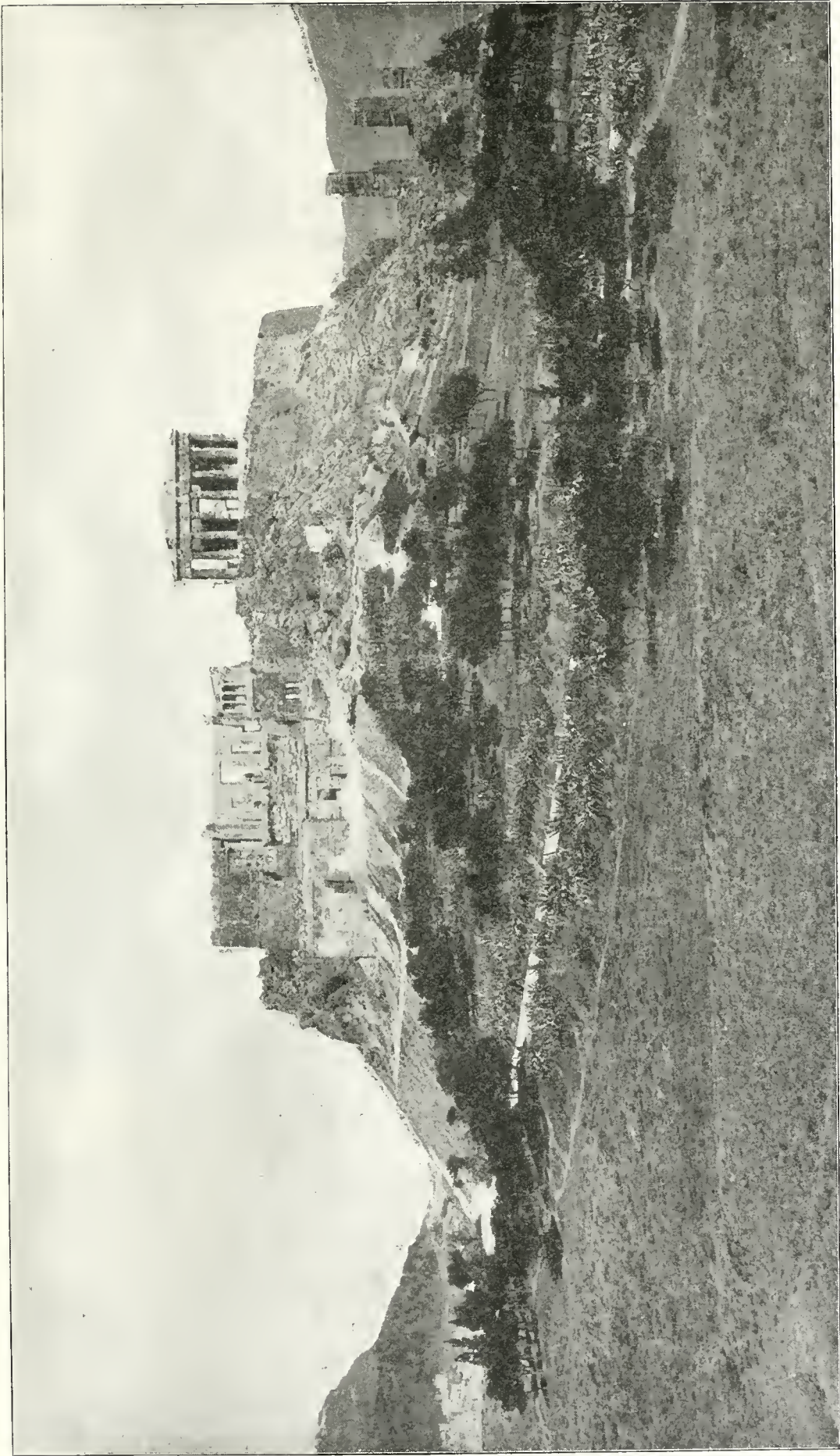
We propose now to walk over the ground and briefly describe the topography of the Acropolis.



THE ACROPOLIS RESTORED.

[The square towers at the foot of the staircase ought to have been omitted from this sketch.]

One side only of the Acropolis allows of easy access: it is its narrow western slope, at the foot of which lies a narrow gate [1] guarded by two ugly mediæval-looking square towers. It was



THE ACROPOLIS FROM THE AREOPAGOS.

built by East Roman emperors in the times when the last vestiges of paganism were suppressed and the authorities deemed it wise to stop the annual festivals, the Panathenæa, by military interference.

In our days the visitor enters through a small gate [4] north of the Odeion [52]. He passes through a small courtyard with a niche [4*a*] sacred to the all-nourishing goddess Demeter, Ge Kourotrophos, i. e., the Earth Feeder of her children,¹ and reaches the place where formerly the grand monumental staircases, described by Pausanias, led up to the main entrance called Propylæa [6].



THE TEMPLE OF NIKE APTERYX.²

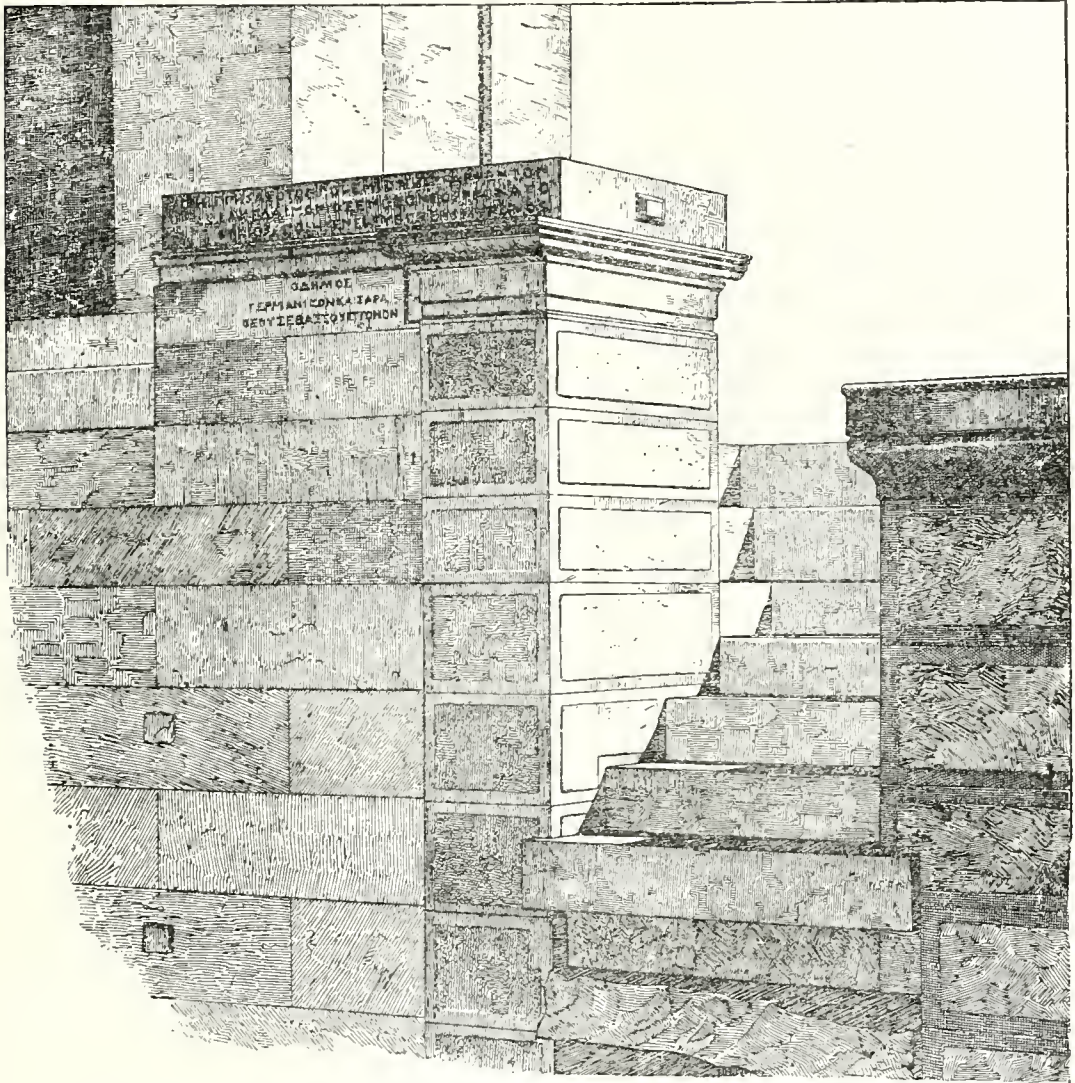
We notice here an ancient altar [2], and the Agrippa monument [7] erected by the grateful Athenians between 12 and 17 A. D. in honor of Agrippa for his love of Attic culture. Directly south of the Agrippeion a marble staircase leads up on the right hand to the little temple of Athene Nike, the unwinged goddess of victory [5], and here we find on the left-hand wall of the staircase an inscription commemorating the visit of Germanicus (the great and

¹This is on the authority of Curtius; Lolling believes the grotto was sacred to Ægeus.

²This temple was built for Athene as Nike Apteryx (i. e., the Wingless Victory) to indicate that here the goddess would take her abiding home.

noble grandson of Augustus) who visited Athens in reverent respect for its historical traditions.

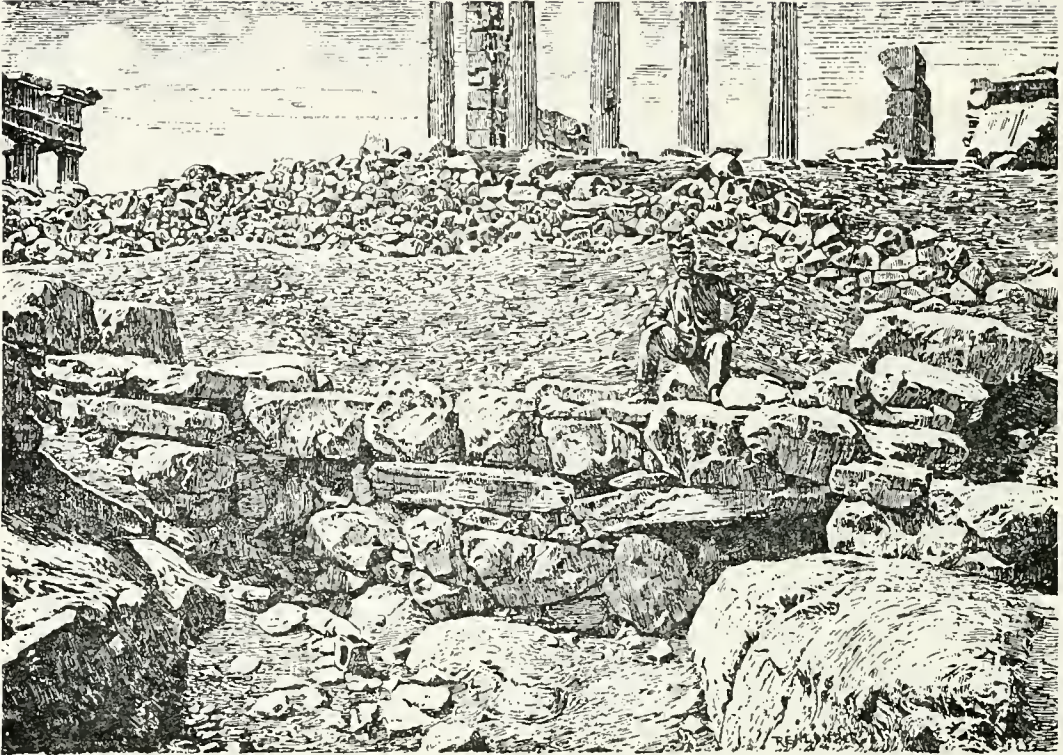
North of the Agrippeion we discover the gate which leads down over the memorable rude staircase to the well Clepsydra [53]. The water gathers in a hole which is situated in a chamber cut out of the rock. A niche [60] close by may have served as a votive shrine.



INSCRIPTION IN HONOR OF GERMANICUS ON THE STAIRCASE OPPOSITE THE
AGRIPPA MONUMENT.

The well is protected against enemies by a strong wall, and we may assume that even the primitive inhabitants employed all their skill in the fortification of this important spot.

Recent excavations have brought to light primitive stones that lay underneath the grand staircase, and we cannot doubt that they belong to the very oldest fortifications of the Acropolis. They be-



REMNANTS OF THE ANCIENT PELASGIAN DWELLINGS EAST OF THE ERECHTHEION.¹



PELASGIAN WALLS OF THE ANCIENT PALACE NORTHEAST OF THE PARTHENON.²

¹No. 35 of our map.

²This illustrates No. 29 of our map.

long to the same period in which the strongholds of Mycenæ and Tiryns (excavated by Schliemann) were built and served to defend the ascent to the ancient city, of which the foundations of the royal palace [29] and of the habitations of the people [35] are still extant. The structure of these walls is polygonal, consisting of blocks of one to one and a half meters in diameter.

Having entered through the Propylæa, we have to the right a small fane sacred to Athene Hygieia, i. e., the health-giver [9]. Here stood her bronze statue and also the bronze statue of a boy holding a holy water font. On the left lies a spacious cistern [10]



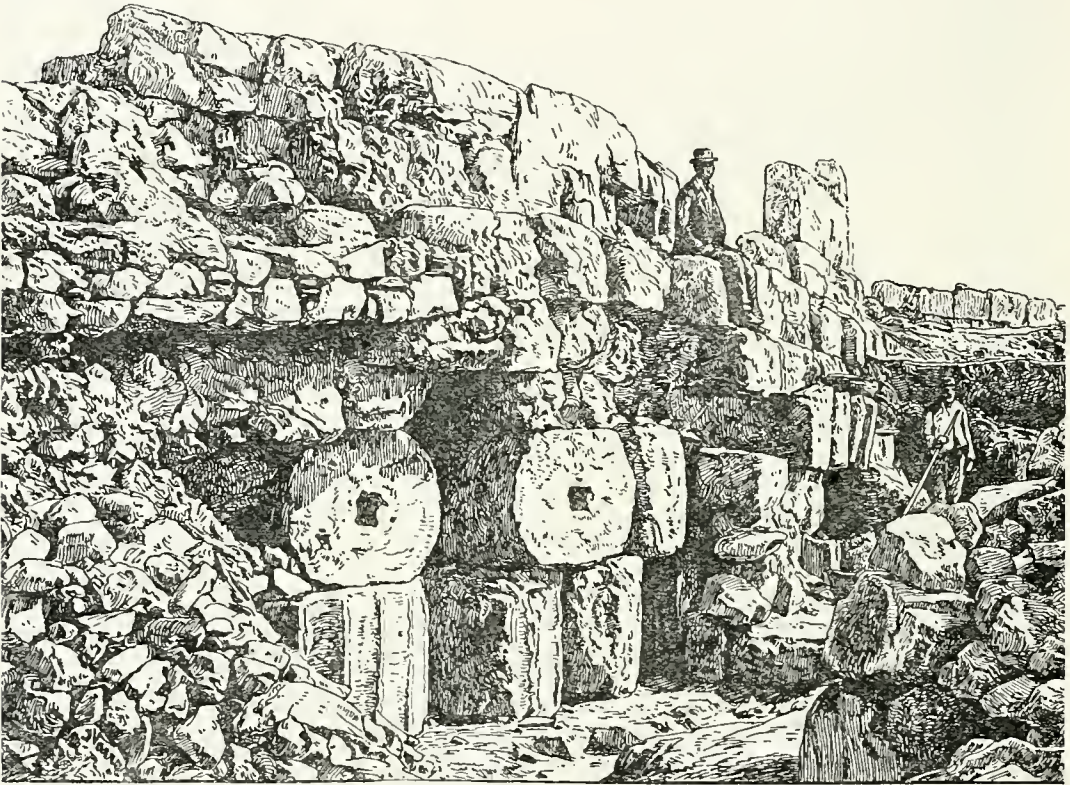
THE PROPYLÆA FROM THE WEST.

and a little farther north a water conduit [11]. Passing along the Cimonian wall of the northern slope, we walk over the ancient foundation stones of the primitive and prehistoric city. On a projecting ledge, where we can still find the remnants of an ancient staircase [38], we stand on the site of the Agraulion, sacred to the memory of Agraulos, the daughter of the mythical King Cekrops, who was here changed by Hermes to a stone, because she attempted to prevent Erichthonios, the earth-born harvest deity, to visit his sweetheart Herse, sister of Agraulos.

Another legend relates that during a war Agraulos threw her-

self down from the Acropolis, because an oracle had declared that the Athenians would conquer if some one would sacrifice himself for his country. The Athenians in gratitude dedicated to her a precinct on the Acropolis called the Agraulion, in which the young Athenians, on receiving their first suit of armour, took an oath that they would always defend their country to the last.

On the southern slope of the Acropolis lay the Brauroneion, a precinct sacred to Artemis of Brauron, one of the rural districts of Attica, where the cult of Dionysos and Artemis was held in special reverence.



THE CIMONIAN WALL.

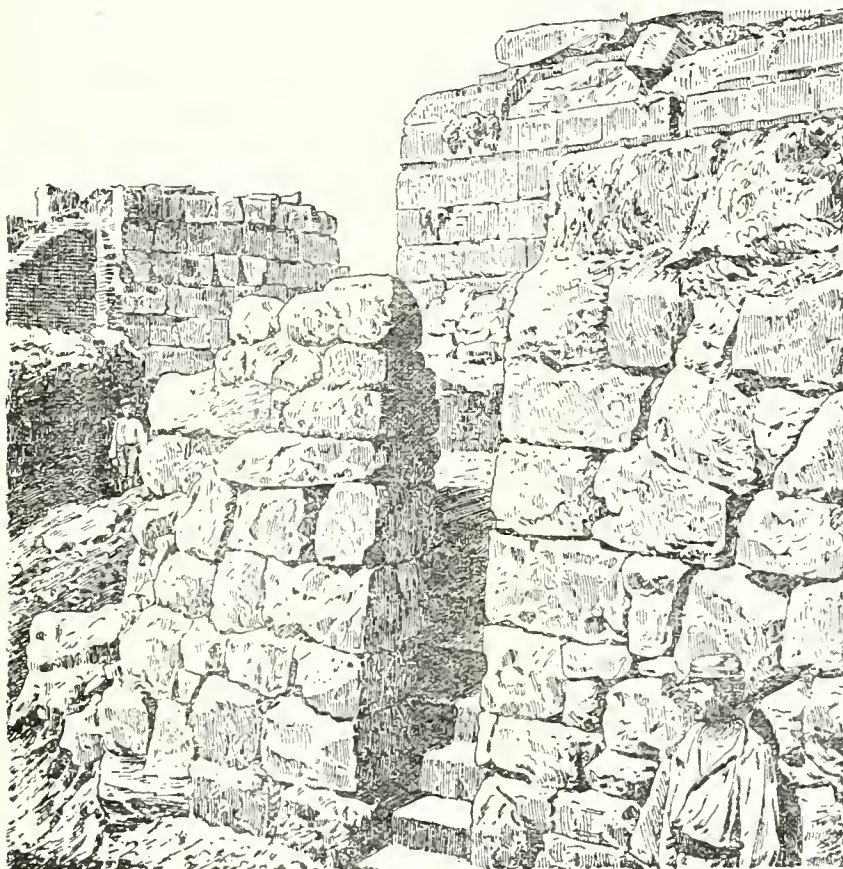
Interior view. Fragments of the mighty columns of the Hecatompedon form the foundation.

In Brauron Orestes and Iphigenia are related as having left the Taurian statue of Artemis, and the girls of Attica, dressed in crocus-colored garments, celebrated the Brauronian festivals every five years. Aside from the usual propitiatory rites, one striking feature of the Brauronian festival consisted in the imitation of bears playfully enacted by the girls, a custom which Suidas explains as follows :

“In the Attic town of Phanidæ a bear was kept, which was so tame that it was allowed to go about quite freely, and received its food from and among men. One day a girl ventured to play with it, and, on treating the animal rather harshly,

it turned round and tore her to pieces. Her brothers, enraged at this, went out and killed the bear. The Athenians thereupon were visited by a plague; and when they consulted the oracle, the answer was given that they would rid themselves of the evil which had befallen them if they would compel some of their citizens to make their daughters propitiate Artemis by a rite called ἀρκτέειν ("to play the bear") for the crime committed against the animal sacred to the goddess. The command was more than obeyed; for the Athenians decreed that from thenceforth all women, before they could marry, should have once taken part in this festival, and have been consecrated to the goddess."¹

The bear was probably the totem of the prehistoric Brauronians.



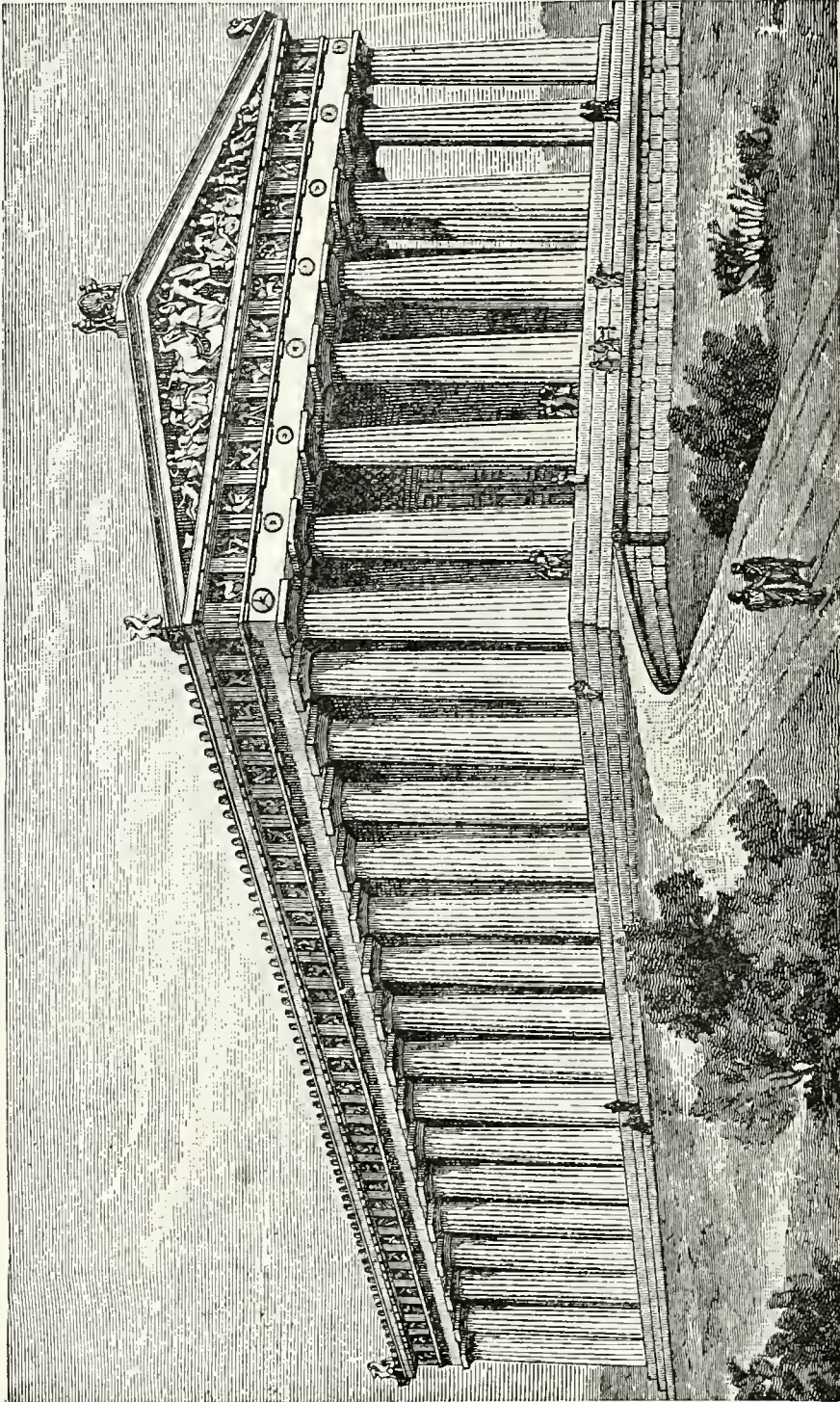
ANCIENT STAIRCASE INTERCONNECTING THE SEVERAL WALLS ON
THE TOP OF THE ACROPOLIS.

Farther east on the southern slope lies the armory or Chalkotheke [15], the existence of which is mentioned in the age of Pericles.

In the neighborhood of the armory the Pelasgian walls continue [12]. They are cut in one part by a well-preserved ancient stairway [16], which seems to have connected the higher portion of the plateau with its lower surroundings.

¹From *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*, *sub voce*.

The path to the Parthenon leads over a few steps [14]. We pass the statue of Ge Karpophoros, i. e., the Fruit-Bearer Earth [24] and a cistern [25], and reach the eastern entrance of the tem-



THE PARTHENON, RESTORED. (After F. Thiersch)

ple [22]. In front lies the Roma temple [26], probably built under the rule of Emperor Augustus.

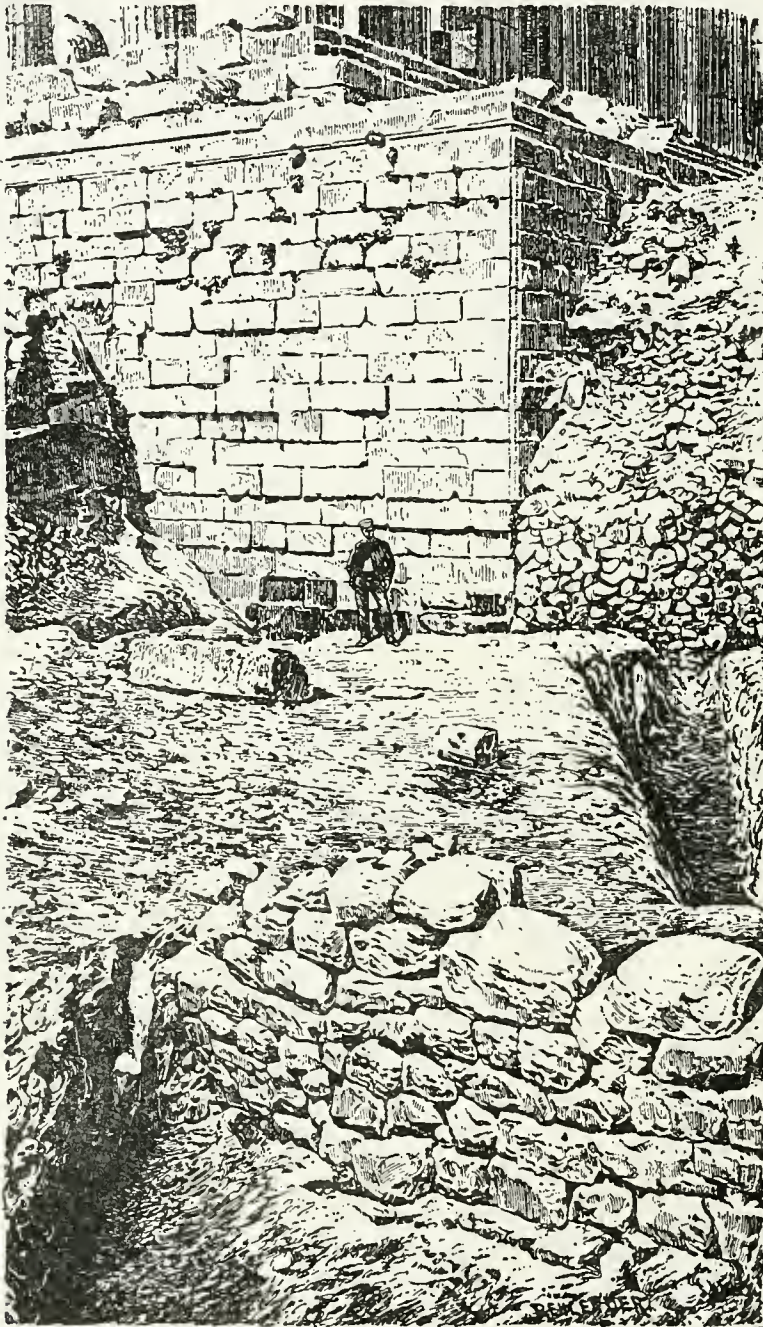
In the south-east corner of the Acropolis the government of Greece has erected two modern museums [20 and 21], and between



THE PARTHENON IN ITS PRESENT STATE.

them we find on the Cimonian wall the votive gift of Attalus, King of Pergamum (241-197 B. C.), on a spot from which the visitor has a good view of the Dionysos theater [42] below.

North of the Parthenon we behold the noble structure of the

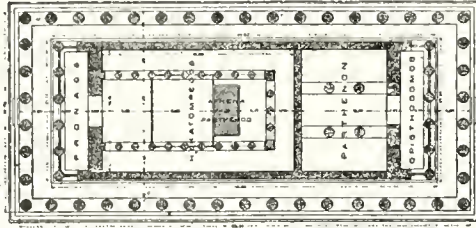


THE ARTIFICIAL FOUNDATION OF THE PARTHENON LAID BARE.
FURTHER DOWN THE PELASGIAN WALL.

Erechtheion [31], and the foundations of the old Hecatompedon, a temple erected in the time of Peisistratos, called "the hundred-footed" on account of the many columns on which its roof rested.

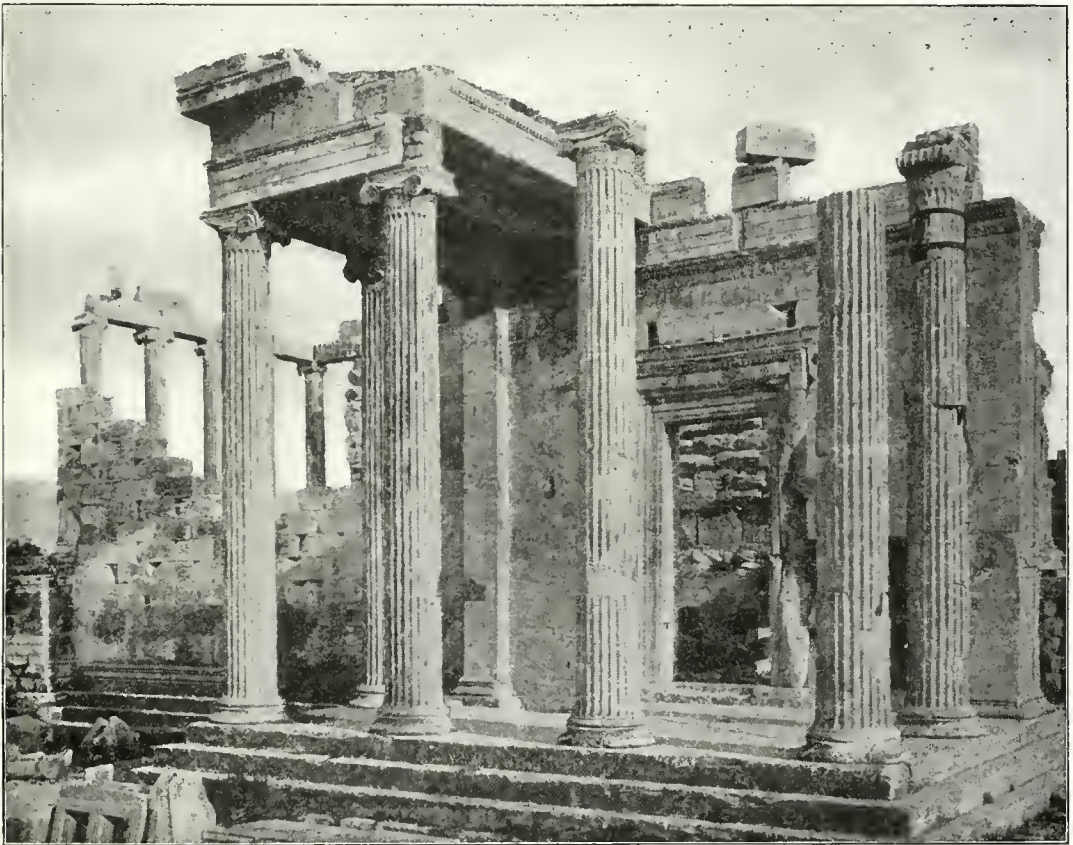
It is probable that the Hecatompedon superseded an older

temple of less magnificence, and we know that here the temple treasures were guarded and the Panathenaea, the greatest Athenian festivals, were celebrated by the Erechthids, the priests of the Erechtheion, under Peisistratos and his successors. It was de-



GROUND-PLAN OF THE PARTHENON.

stroyed in the Persian wars, and in the age of Pericles the Parthenon and the Erechtheion were erected in its stead.



EASTERN PORTICO OF THE ERECHTHEION.¹

The myth of Erichthonios (also called Erechtheus)² is obviously Pelasgian and indicates the peaceful institution of the wor-

¹ The eastern room of the Erechtheion contained the ancient statue of Athene Polias, the town-protector, before which stood a lamp that was always kept burning. The western division of the building which was the Erechtheion proper, had one altar devoted to Poseidon and Erechtheus, another to Hephæstus and a third one to Butes, the ancestor of the priestly family (the Butadæ).

² Later mythologists distinguish Erechtheus from Erichthonios, regarding the latter as the serpent-shaped god, and making of the former his grandson, and a king of Athens.

ship of the Ionian goddess Pallas Athene by the Erichtid family, the hereditary priests of the Acropolis. The birth of Erichthonios was celebrated in Athens with great rejoicing and formed a favorite subject of Athenian art.

"Erichthonios was the son of Earth by Hephaestus and was reared by Athena. Like that of Cecrops, half of his form was that of a snake,—a sign that he was one of the aborigines. Athene put the child in a chest, which she gave to the daughters of Cecrops—Agraulos, Herse, and Pandrosos—to take care of, forbidding them at the same time to open it (Hygin. *Poet. Astr.* ii. 13). The first two disobeyed, and in terror at the serpent-shaped child (or, according to another version, the snake that surrounded the child), they went mad and threw themselves from the rocks of



VIEW OF THE ACROPOLIS FROM THE OLYMPIEION.

the Acropolis. Another account made the serpent kill them. Erechtheus drove out Amphictyon, and got possession of the kingdom. He then established the worship of Athene, and built to her, as goddess of the city (*Πολιάς*), a temple, named after him the Erechtheum. Here he was afterwards himself worshipped with Athene and Poseidon. He was also the founder of the Panathenaic festival. He was said to have invented the four-wheeled chariot, and to have been taken up to heaven for this by Zeus, and set in the sky as the constellation of the Charioteer."¹

In Athens paganism held out longest, and while in other parts of the empire the temples were destroyed or desecrated and the

¹From *Harper's Dictionary*.

statues of the gods smashed to pieces, the sanctuaries on the Acropolis remained undisturbed. The celebration of the festivals was at last forbidden, and when the ancient gods had faded away from the memory of the Athenians the Parthenon was transformed into a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

When the Turks conquered the East Roman Empire, the Parthenon became a Mohammedan mosque, but remained in good preservation,—practically the only pagan temple that by good chance had escaped destruction in the period of transition. It remained in good preservation till 1687 when the Venetians tried to wrest the city from the Turks. A bomb thrown into the Parthenon exploded the powder magazine that had been stored in one of its vaults, and utterly destroyed the central portion of the building.

Worse havoc than the war between Turk and Christian was wrought on the glorious temple by the greed and carelessness of modern connoisseurs who appreciated the money value of antique art. The front and the rear of the temple with their beautiful friezes were still standing when Lord Elgin conceived the idea of selling these invaluable art treasures to the English government; but he had them handled so roughly by ignorant workmen that they suffered greatly in the transportation. A great part was lost at sea and the remainder found at last, after some bickering over the price, an asylum in the British Museum. There they are counted, even in their present dilapidated condition, among the most memorable treasures of that greatest of all collections of antiquities in the world.

THE CONDEMNATION OF CHRIST.

BY ADOLPHE DANZIGER.

THE nature of the relations between the founder of Christianity and the class of Jewish teachers known in history as Pharisees, has been a subject of reverent study to the writer for several years. It appears to him that some opinions, widely current, on the character of the class in question, and especially its connection with the iniquitous trial and execution of Christ, are neither authorised by the Gospel narratives, nor the facts as recorded in Jewish history. These opinions are that the Jewish people of the time, as a body, were responsible for the crucifixion, and that the Pharisees among the Jews were the special enemies of Christ. Thus as among the old Romans "Punic faith" was synonymous with treachery, so in the modern Christian world "Pharisaic" has come to mean a hypocritic claim to righteousness. That such a character is not really applicable to the whole body of men known through Jewish history as Pharisees, may be judged from the description of them from both Christian and Jewish history, which I shall endeavor to give, with strict adherence to the sources of information at my command.

During the last centuries of the existence of the Jewish people in Palestine as a nation, two principal schools or sects divided its religious teachers. Under the Asmonean Kings, or perhaps earlier, a portion of the Rabbis, or authorised teachers of the Law, adopted the theory that the Canonical Scriptures were the only rule of faith. The common belief from the oldest times was that the body of doctrine handed down orally was equally a part of Divine Revelation with the written word.¹ The new school of Sadducees, or Godly Ones (from *Zodac* = righteous), rejected absolutely this belief and taught that the Scriptures alone contained all that was to be believed by Jews. Thus they rejected even the belief in a future

¹ Babli *Abodah Zara*, 58; *Yebamoth*, 46; *Megillah*, 19.

life, because it is not expressly mentioned in the Pentateuch. While thus retrenching the articles of religious belief, the Sadducean teachers made the practice of the law in matters of daily life much strict for the people. The observance of the Sabbath and similar obligations they made more minute and onerous than formerly. They increased the penalties for breaches of points of the law, especially among the poorer classes. The teaching of the common people they regarded as of little importance, provided external observances of the law were rigidly enforced. They cared little for proselytism, and exaggerated the value of Jewish race, and especially of connection with the Holy Land, in determining the worth of individuals. They attached themselves to the kings of the Asmonean race, and afterwards to their successors, and their Roman Masters as a matter of policy, notwithstanding their bigoted nationalism in religious matters. At their instigation John Hyrkan persecuted the Rabbis who adhered to the old beliefs in tradition. Ishmael Phabi, a Sadducee, purchased from the Roman Governor Gratus the office of High Priest as an inheritance. His successors, to the number of eight, all Sadducees, used the office for the purpose of gain, in a hitherto unheard-of fashion. They established bazaars on Mount Olivet for the sale of the tithes, which were seized by their proctors, and enhanced their revenues by the sale of doves and cattle, for use as sacrificial offerings and fines. By their influence in the Sanhedrin, they multiplied the number of breaches of the Law to be atoned for by fines of such animals, and, by their wealth as merchants, they monopolised the supply and raised the price of the same to exorbitant amounts. Shortly before the siege of Jerusalem by Titus the extortion of the Sadducean High Priests rose to such a pitch that Simeon, the President of the Sanhedrin, a Pharisee, had a decree passed reducing the price of doves for offerings from a gold Denar to the fourth of a silver one. Finally, three years before the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jewish population rose in revolt, destroyed the bazaars of Anas, the same High Priest who had brought about the execution of James and other Christians. The mob slew Anas himself and cast his body to the dogs. Such were the Sadducees in theory and in practice, as we find them in Jewish history.

To the larger body of Rabbis or teachers, who retained their belief in the traditional, as well as the written law, the name of Pharisees belongs. It signifies "separate" and is of somewhat uncertain origin. From historical personages bearing the same

¹ Babli Kiddushin, 66.

name, there is reason to think it a term implying a less close connection with the Holy Land itself, than was claimed by the Sadducees. Many of the most eminent Rabbis, of the Pharisees, were either Jews who had come from foreign lands, or actual converts. Hillel, the greatest name in rabbinical history, was born in Babylonia. Shemaiah and Abtalion, his teachers, were of non-Hebrew descent.¹ The name would thus seem to indicate that the dominant Sadducees regarded the Pharisees as strangers in the land and so not entitled to equal rank in the Jewish people with themselves, the pure Palestinians by birth and long descent.²

The Jewish nation, at the time of Christ, was thus divided in a religious point of view into Sadducees and Pharisees. Those two classes embraced the whole nation, or at least all its teachers of religion. A third class which is mentioned in history, the Essenes or Healers, was not distinguished from the others by doctrines, but by more austere practices of life. They were analogous to the religious orders in the Catholic Church, rather than to a distinct denomination. The Jews were divided doctrinally into Pharisees and Sadducees; much as Christian Europe is divided into Catholics and Protestants. The first maintained the doctrines of tradition and scripture as the rule of belief and practice. The latter only acknowledged the Pentateuch, as interpreted by themselves. The distinction has been perpetuated under different names down to our own day. The orthodox Rabbis to-day recognise the Pharisee Doctors of the time of Christ as religious guides. The rabbinical literature owes its origin to a Pharisee Rabbi, Juda the Prince. The Sadducees, as a distinct body, melted out of existence many centuries ago, like the Arians in Christian history. As the latter have had successors in various sects opposed to doctrines held by the Catholics, so in Judaism sects have continued the tradition of the Sadducees by rejecting different points of the Orthodox traditional Jewish Law, in theory or practice.

The facts stated may put the strictures on the Pharisees recorded in the Gospel in a new light. The name was confined to Rabbis exclusively; thus the Pharisees spoken of by Christ may be regarded as the orthodox clergy of Jewish religion. It may be well to add that in the religious organisation of Israel the priests, properly so called, were only employed in offering sacrifice and the

¹ B. Gittin 57 gives their descent from the Assyrian King Sanherib.

² We incline to the idea that Parush or Parushim = Pbarisees is identical with Partheans or Persians and refers particularly to the Jews who came from Babylonia,—hence strangers or aliens nationally, analogous to the native American and the naturalised American.

service of the temple. They were neither teachers nor interpreters of the Law. The Rabbis or Masters of the Law handed down its interpretations from generation to generation. They decided its applications and judged offences against it. They taught the people in the synagogues and the disciples or clerical students in their schools. A Rabbi conferred the degree of Rabbi by the imposition of hands on such of his disciples as had shown competent knowledge of the law.¹ In after-times the right of conferring this ordination was reserved to the President of the Sanhedrin, but in all cases knowledge of the Law was required for it. No such test was required for the priest's office, though an ignorant priest was not held in reverence.²

Thus, in the Jewish system two distinct classes represent what is called the clergy in Christian communities. The Rabbi presided in the synagogue, the synod, and the ecclesiastical courts. The Priest was supreme in the service of the Temple alone.

Knowing that the Pharisees were, then, the teachers of orthodox Jewish religion, it is easy to understand that the reproaches addressed to them in the Gospels are directed rather against their imperfect fulfilment of the duty imposed on them by their station, than their absolute moral inferiority to others among the nation. Zealous preachers, when denouncing evil amongst their co-religionists, frequently use a similar line of reproof. The Saducees are but slightly mentioned in the New Testament, because the field of labor of Christ lay not among them, the courtiers and wealthy members of the Sanhedrin, but among the Pharisees, the teachers of the people at large. On the point of doctrine, his testimony is emphatic in favor of the Pharisee Rabbis.

“The Scribes and Pharisees have sat on the chair of Moses. All then whatever they shall say to you, observe and do, but according to their works do not, for they say and do not.”³

Compare this with the words addressed to the Sadducean teachers, who did not believe in the resurrection of the dead, when they brought their creed to him.

“But Jesus answered, and said unto them, Do you not then err, not understanding the Scriptures nor the power of God? . . . He is not the God of the dead, but of the living. You do therefore greatly err.”⁴

The conclusion seems inevitable, that Christ regarded the Pharisaic doctrines as the true interpretation of the Law of Moses.

¹ Babli Sanhedrin 13.

² Mishnah Gittin, 5, 8.

³ Matthew xxiii, 2.

⁴ Mark xii. 24, 27. Compare Babli Sanhedrin.

That Law He came not to destroy, but to fulfil. Then the Pharisees of his time must have been teachers of truth, whatever their practice.

The manner in which the Jews used theological terms differs so widely from modern usage that it needs special attention. The difference between two bodies of men, one of whom believed in the resurrection, while the other denied it, would be called to-day sectarian. The name of the sect, as Sadducee or Pharisee, would certainly be applied to all who adhered to either doctrine, be they laymen or religious teachers. Jewish usage, however, gave the distinctive name to the teachers exclusively. It was much as Catholics to-day apply the distinctive names drawn from different theological schools to their clergy exclusively. Men speak of Thomist or Molinist priests or theologians; they never speak of a whole population as Thomist or Molinist. Thus, among the Jews, those who adhered to the Pharisaic doctrines, that is the mass of the people, were never styled Pharisees. The strictures addressed to the Pharisees then were applied only to the Rabbis or preachers of the Pharisaic doctrines. The contrast between practice and preaching in preachers is a theme which finds endless development throughout the human race. In the case of the Pharisees, mentioned in the New Testament, this distinction should not be forgotten.

Among the Jews themselves, both before and after the time of Christ, we find many illustrations of the contrast between precept and practice in a part of the Pharisees, though the class itself was regarded as the teachers of orthodox Judaism. King Alexander Jannai, though himself a patron of the Sadducee faction, in his dying advice to his wife gave the charge:

“You need not fear the Pharisees (i. e., the mass of them), they will not return the evil I have done them to you nor your children. You need not fear the Sadducees, for they are my partisans. But fear those dyed Pharisees who do the deeds of Zimri, and ask the reward of Phineas.¹

The Talmud enumerates seven classes among the Pharisees,² five of which are condemned as hypocrites of various kinds. It does not mean that the majority belonged to those five classes, but that the ways of error in practice are many, while the way of truth is one. It is much as when Bossuet enumerates the endless sects

¹ Babli Sotah, 22. Numbers xli. 11, Zimri committed unspeakable crimes in public and was slain by Pinehas, the grandson of Aaron, the High Priest. These skin-deep Pharisees are the hypocrites of the New Testament. The Hebrew term is צהוים (*Tzeruim*), “died in the wool.”

² Jerusalemi Berachoth, 9, 5; *ibid.*, Sotah, 5, 5.

of Protestantism in contrast to the unity of belief among Catholics, he does not imply any numerical superiority of Protestants in the Christian world.

With regard to the body of Jews who followed the teachings of the Pharisee Rabbis, and even many, if not the majority, of those Rabbis themselves, it seems certain that from among them Christ drew his disciples and followers. There is no evidence that they were drawn from the ranks of the Sadducees, certainly. When Paul of Tarsus describes his own former creed, he describes himself emphatically as a Pharisee of the strictest kind, in terms that show he held Pharisaism to be the purest form of orthodoxy in the Law of Moses.

Another point of difference in the use of language between the Jews of Christ's time and modern Christians is the meaning of the terms Priest and Priesthood. In modern parlance, priesthood and clergy are synonymous. In the Jewish Law, the distinction was very broadly marked between the priests and the teaching clergy or preachers. A base born scholar—Talmid Haham—is better than an ignorant priest—Cohan Am ha—Aretz—is an ancient rabbinical axiom. The priesthood, so called, was hereditary in the family of Aaron. Its duties were almost entirely sacrificial and ceremonial. The Law itself was taught, and its purity guarded by another body, the Rabbis or Masters. The Rabbis were chiefly Pharisees, while the High Priest and his family were Sadducees from the time of Ishmael Phabi to the death of Annas II. before the fall of the Temple. The Sanhedrin, which was both the authorised teaching body and the Supreme Court of the Jewish Law, was presided over by the Nasi or Prince, who, under the Law, was the highest power in religious affairs. High Priests, like Simon the Just (330 B. C.) and Ishmael ben Elisha (first century A. C.), had seats in the Sanhedrin, but not in virtue of their office, but of their learning. Neither king nor priest were members of the Sanhedrin under the Law. They might appear as public Prosecutors, but they were not Judges. The High Priests, who had obtained their office by the favor of the Roman Governors, however, arrogated to themselves something like supreme power in religious matters at the time of Christ. The Sanhedrin, though presided over by a Pharisee in doctrine, was packed with the adherents of the High Priest, and the interference, when asked, of the Roman Governors, enabled them to control that body almost at will. This usurpation of powers, not lawfully attached to the office of High Priest, has aided in confusing the ideas of moderns on the distinction between

the rabbinical and the priestly classes among the Jewish ministers of religion.

The Pharisees then of the New Testament meant the orthodox Rabbis who taught the Law of Moses to the people. It was amongst their adherents that the mission of Christ was almost exclusively laid. The Sadducees appear in it not more than once or twice, and then they came with spies sent from the High Priest who sought to entrap him into a political declaration against Roman power. He preached in the synagogues, which were controlled by the Pharisee Rabbis, not by the priests of the Temple. He was invited to the houses of the principal Rabbis; they warned him of plots against his life and in other ways testified a friendly spirit, very different from that ascribed to the Sadducee Chief Priests. At times they emphatically approved his precepts, as when he answered the Sadducees. At others, their silence may fairly be taken for assent on the part of the majority of his hearers.

In truth, the teachings of Jesus were not opposed to the true spirit of the Jewish religion, as taught by the most distinguished Rabbis. He did not seek to take away all ceremonial, but to reform its abuses. Hillel the Babylonian and his successors all followed a similar course, with the approval of their contemporaries. To love God, to be humble and just to others, was the rule of life laid down by the disciples of Hillel. His axiom, "Do not to another what, if done to thee, thou wouldst hate, this is the law, and the rest is but comment," was widely current among the orthodox Rabbis, both before and after Christ. Akibah, the leader of the revolt against Rome under Hadrian, taught:

" 'Love thy neighbor as thyself,' is the fundamental law of the Mosaic dispensation."

Ben Azzai, his friend and pupil, said: " 'Man was created to the likeness of God,' is a greater text than 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.' "

By this he meant that the tie of brotherhood, derived from the Fatherhood of God, is stronger than any purely human bond. Such, indeed, is the similarity between the moral teachings of Christ and those of the orthodox Rabbis from Hillel to the present time, that when a learned and believing Jew reads—without prejudice—the maxims and teachings of Jesus in the Gospels, he feels, so to say, at home. He meets there nothing strange or heterogeneous; on the contrary, he finds much that is literally analogous and homogeneous to that which from childhood he has been taught to revere as sacred. Every Jew brought up strictly orthodox, that is, with

Pharisaic tendencies and according to the spirit of rabbinical Judaism, feels this. To him there is nothing in the utterances of Jesus of Nazareth that might possibly offend his religious feelings or principles. If these utterances were gathered in separate form and presented to such a Jew, he, not being aware of their origin, would regard them as a most beautiful contribution to rabbinic literature as embodied in the Talmud or Midrash.¹ Not only was the moral teaching of Christ in harmony with orthodox Jewish principles, but his acts also were in conformity with the ceremonial of the law as practised by the most learned Rabbis. He ate the Passover lamb in the prescribed time and form; he broke the bread and repeated the blessing; he took the cup of wine which, having blessed, he gave to his disciples; lastly, he recited the offertory almost exactly as the orthodox among the Jews do every year at the present time. He did not break the law of the Sabbath, he only told how it should properly be observed. He did not say that the act of his disciples in plucking ears of corn was not an infringement of the legal ordinance, but he excused it on the ground of necessity and justified his disciples by the example of David and the priests in the Temple. That his critics made no reply would show they accepted his reason as satisfactory to them. Indeed, similar dispensations from legal observance were recognised as lawful by the Rabbis. The famous answer, "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath," accords with the rule laid down in the Talmud, by the school of Shemaiah and Abtalion (63 B. C.). "The Sabbath may be broken to save life, as the Law is the guide of life not of death."²

The healing of the man with a withered hand on the Sabbath day is another instance of an act apparently opposed to the letter of the Law, but warranted nevertheless by rabbinical usage. The orthodox Rabbis taught that work of any kind was not merely permissible but commanded on the Sabbath if required to save human life. They extended this principle to cases where life was in jeopardy through sickness. They called one who hesitated to do work in such cases, a blood-spiller,—*Shofech Dam*. Others added by way of enforcing the weight of this obligation: "If the Sabbath ordinance may lawfully be broken for the service of the Temple, much more may it when human life is in danger." Two eminent Rabbis, Ben Menasia and Jonathan ben Joseph add: "The Sabbath is given to you, but you are not given to the Sabbath." The

¹ See Chrolson's "Das letzte Abendmahl Christi und der Tag seines Todes."

² Babli Yoma, 35.

analogy between these maxims of Pharisee teaching and those of Christ himself are noteworthy.

On the question of divorce the absolute prohibition laid down by Christ was certainly contrary to the practice of the Rabbis of Hillel's school. Yet Rabbi Yochanan says, "None shall divorce the wife of his youth [i. e., his first wife], unless she be guilty of grievous sin," and it was a rabbinical saying that "the Altar of the Lord weeps when such divorce is granted."

The tendency of the Pharisaic legislation, from Hillel at least, was entirely towards lessening the minute observances which had gradually become a part of Jewish religious life. The objection made then by Pharisees to the disciples of Christ eating with unwashed hands needs explanation. The washing of hands before eating Sacred Food, or that which had been offered to the Temple, was an old religious practice for all Jews. The priests alone were held bound to practise it before eating any food over which the "blessing" was said. In the time of Hillel, however, this observance was made of obligation for all the people. There was much animosity at the time between the Temple priests and the Rabbis, and it is possible that the object of this rabbinical law was to assert an equality between the people and the priests. It may thus have had a party character that incurred the reproof of Christ. The Talmud tells of a celebrated Rabbi, Eliezer ben Hanoch, who was put under excommunication by the Sanhedrin for persistent neglect or defiance of this law.

The foregoing examples show that there was no reason for animosity against the person of Christ among the Rabbis or teachers of orthodox Judaism. His teaching was in harmony with that of the best of their own class; he broke no part of the Law. That he was loved by the people at large cannot be questioned, and that his denunciations of the hypocrisy and crimes of many among the class of Rabbis had raised up enemies against him is also evident. Still it was not the rabbinical or Pharisee element that was responsible for his death. That supreme iniquity rests with Caiphas and his partisans, the High Priest of the Jewish Temple, by Roman favor, bought with bribes, and the head and patron of the Sadducees in doctrine. The President of the Sanhedrin, Gamaliel, was by strict law the head of the religious teachers, and also of the Judges of the people. He, the chief Rabbi, the grandson of Hillel and a Pharisee of the strictest kind, gave his views on the work of Christ after his death in a session of the Sanhedrin recorded in the Acts v. 38-39. The question was debated of the persecution of the fol-

lowers of Christ. Gamaliel rose and told the assembled members: "And now I say unto you, refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this council or this work be of men, it will be overthrown; but if it is of God, ye will not be able to overthrow them, lest haply ye be found even to be fighting against God." This utterance of the chief of the Pharisees shows the spirit which must have actuated the class at large in relation to the mission of Christ immediately after his execution. It seems hardly consistent with the general hostility before that event.

The relations between the early Christians and their fellow-Jews who remained under rabbinical guidance is worth recalling in this connection. According to Sulpicius Severus the majority of the Christians of Palestine still observed the Jewish ceremonial of the Law, while professing belief in Christ as the Messiah. A large number of the orthodox Rabbis found little to offend their conscience in the latter tenet. The Christian converts attended the synagogues, wrote scrolls of the Law, read it in public, practised circumcision and ate and drank in the mode prescribed for Jews. A famous Rabbi, Eliezer ben Hyrkanos, brother-in-law of the President of the Sanhedrin, was on very friendly terms with James and when asked authoritatively to pronounce whether a "Certain One" (Jesus) would share in heaven, he declined to answer. Even long after this time, Rabbi Juda the Prince received Christians at his table, and asked one to recite the Jewish blessing after eating. Indeed, all through the first century and a half after the death of Christ the mass of orthodox Jews regarded the followers of Christ as a part of their nation and not an outside or excommunicated body. From this it may, we think, be fairly inferred that there was little bitter feeling among the Jewish people to the person of Christ when he was seized by the emissaries of Caiphas. The Gospels tell how the High Priest and his colleagues arrested Jesus by night, "because they feared the people," and the triumphant popular reception given to him on his entry to Jerusalem is further evidence of the admiring regard of the body of the Jewish people for him. That people then was not his executioner nor the cause of his execution.

Neither was the Mosaic Law, nor its lawful ministers. In the whole career of Christ he did no act that called for punishment according to the rabbinical code. The laws of the Pharisees were singularly mild in the infliction of punishments, especially the death penalty. The crimes for which it might be inflicted were very few. Murder, incest, idolatry, and blasphemy were capital

offences, but extenuating circumstances were admitted by rabbinical practice to such an extent that the death penalty was hardly ever inflicted on a Jew by their courts. A maxim of the most celebrated Rabbis was, "A court which dooms to death more than once in seventy years is a court of blood shedders."¹ The sentence was only to be given in the day time, and not on the day when the trial began. Two sessions, on separate days, were required by rabbinical procedure in all capital cases. Even when a criminal was condemned to die, and led to execution, he had the legal right to a new trial if he claimed that he had any new point to allege in his own favor. This privilege he might exercise five times before death could be legally inflicted. While a criminal was being led to execution, the rabbinical law prescribed that a bailiff should remain at the door of the court room to receive any testimony that might, even then, be offered in favor of the culprit. A crier went before him and called on any one who knew anything in his favor to carry it at once to the bailiff. If any such evidence was offered, the execution could not be carried out till a new trial had been held. Moreover, the crucifixion of men was strictly prohibited by the Mosaic Law. It cannot be said certainly that such a law was responsible for the iniquitous condemnation carried out in absolute defiance of its provisions.

It should be added that the charge of blasphemy, worked up by Annas and Caiphas from the fact that Christ called himself the Son of God, could not be maintained in any rabbinical Court. Blasphemy was certainly a capital offence, but the Law declared expressly, "Death shall be inflicted on those only who couple the Ineffable Name of God with a curse." To apply the term "Son of God" to an individual was certainly not such blasphemy. Indeed, it is common in the mouths of religious Jews. In the prayers used daily by orthodox Jews the words "Our Father who art in Heaven" are employed. The people of Israel are frequently described as Sons of God in the Scriptures itself. To call the use of the same term by Christ blasphemy was an absurdity to every intelligent Jew. Moreover, it is even doubtful whether Christ's assertion of Divine Sonship was made directly. Two of the Gospels describe him as replying answering the question, "Art thou the son of God?" by simply, "So thou sayest." This was a common form for declining to give a formally direct answer, for any good cause. A person charged in Court who knew that a direct answer to a prosecutor's question might be twisted unfairly, would use this

¹Comp. Mishnah Maccoth, I., 10.

form of reply. An anecdote recorded in the Midrash Rabba (Koheleth, Chapter VII., 7-11) may illustrate the meaning of this form of reply.

The people of Sephoris were so attached to Rabbi Juda the Prince, that they made a vow to kill the man who should first announce his death. The Prince died, and Bar Kappra, a disciple of his, undertook to make known the fatal news. He came into the street with covered head and rent garment and cried aloud:

“The angels have taken the records of the Law (figuratively the learning of the deceased), and borne them away.”

When the people heard, they cried out:

“Woe is us, the Prince is dead,” and they surrounded Bar Kappra to kill him. But Bar Kappra was quick of wit and he said to them, “It is you have said it, not I,”—*Aton kamrithun ana le kamina.*

Whether the reply of Christ to the High Priest was framed in similar fashion or not, his answer could not be regarded as blasphemy by any religious Jew.

That, in fact, the charge was a flimsy pretext to obtain a sham Jewish condemnation, is shown by the form in which the High Priest put it to Pilate. According to Luke, he charged Christ with “stirring up the people,” i. e., sedition, not blasphemy, and it was only when driven to extremity by the sharp questioning of the Roman Governor that he suggested the Mosaic Law as calling for Christ’s execution. “We have a law, and according to it he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God.” He had previously tried to cover up the weakness of his own cause by an appeal to his own position. “If he were not a criminal, we would not have brought him to you.” Finally, when neither Roman jurisprudence nor Mosaic law could find any fault in the illustrious prisoner, his death warrant was extorted from the reluctant Roman Governor by the violence of a hired mob and a base appeal to the Governor’s personal interests, “If thou release this man, thou art not the friend of Cæsar,” while a crowd, alleged to be aflame with fanatic zeal for Jewish nationality and religion, yelled in chorus, “Crucify him, the king of the Jews. We have no king but Cæsar.”

On whom then rests the responsibility of the judicial murder of Christ? We answer unhesitatingly: On the High Priest and his faction, Sadducees in belief, the venal sycophants of the foreign rulers of Palestine in policy. The name of High Priest carries to most minds, as it did to Pilate’s, the idea of Chief of the Jewish religion. Caiphas was not such by the Mosaic Law. Apart from

the fact that his office had been obtained by bribery, from the predecessor of Pilate, the High Priest had no lawful power either to teach the Law or to judge offences against it. Those functions belonged to the Sanhedrin, the assembly of great Doctors, and its Vice-President was the lawful Supreme Judge. Strange as it is, the High Priests of the family of Caiphas were not even believers in the Law in an orthodox sense, they were Sadducees, who believed not even in a future life. The origin of this combination of heterodoxy in belief with the priestly office dates from the first Asmonean king, John Hyrkan. He was a priest by race, and, when in power, added the office of High Priest to his political functions. It is not unlikely that the Sadducean rejection of the traditional law had more a political than a theological origin. The new priest-king was jealous of the power of the teachers or Rabbis who gave the law and judged the people. He persecuted the orthodox Rabbis bitterly. It was natural that a theory, which rejected the whole traditional law of Judæa, should find favor with an ambitious and unscrupulous ruler, who combined, in himself, kingly and priestly rank, by family descent. Certain it is, that Hyrkan and his successors made Sadduceeism the creed of the Court, and of the priests of the Temple. It continued to be so until both the king and High Priest ceased to exist. The President of the Sanhedrin then became the undisputed religious head of the people.

The High Priests who filled the office, from Ishmael Phabi to Annas the Second, were not only heterodox in faith and devoid of legitimate title, but they were eminently greedy, and oppressive to the people. They bribed the Roman Governors to uphold them in usurping control of the Sanhedrin or national Assembly of the Jewish community. The legitimate Presidents of that body, after Hillel, were practically powerless. The large body of Pharisee Rabbis, known as Sopherim or Scribes, who found profitable employment in transcribing legal records, were subservient to the High Priests in practice. By the people, these Scribes were held something between Pharisees and Sadducees. A recent writer has described a number of the English Catholics under Henry VIII. as "Church Papists." The Scribes in Judæa, under the High Priests, were a somewhat similar class. As the High Priests could not aspire to political sway under the Roman rule, they used their power in the Sanhedrin to enrich themselves by levying heavy fines for breaches of the Law on the people. Their Bazaars on Mount Olivet, connected with the Temple itself by a bridge, were stocked with merchandise which found sale among the numerous pilgrims.

It is most probable that the money changers, driven from the Temple by Jesus, were servants or employes of these merchant High Priests.

The animosity of these unworthy successors of Aaron to Christ had, then, not so much a theological as a mercenary origin. They feared that the excitement produced by his teaching would excite Roman jealousy and result in the destruction of their own profitable dignities. This must be clear to all readers of the New Testament from its direct statements. They desired above all things to prevent any popular commotion, which might interfere with their gains, while, as Sadducees, they also despised and disliked any awakening of the religious spirit of the people which might bring their own practices into popular odium. There were no scruples as to the means by which the desired ends were to be attained. When the report of the raising of Lazarus to life, was spread, it was a blow to the Sadducean theory, and Caiphas the High Priest decided that "one man should die for the people." To murder a man, however innocent, was in his eyes perfectly justifiable, if it secured his own power against risk. His Sadducean adherents and their subservient Pharisee Rabbis approved the vile counsel and proceeded to carry it into execution.

To accomplish the death of Jesus, legally, the High Priest had two agencies, one, his influence with the Roman Governor by his own wealth and position, the other, his power in the Jewish tribunal of Sanhedrin. The Romans left their Jewish subjects a good deal to their own laws, and Caiphas had succeeded in getting Pilate to regard him as the recognised head of the Jewish people. "Am I a Jew? Thy people and the High Priest have given thee over to me," was his reply to Christ during his trial. But the range of powers, left to the Jewish tribunals, did not extend to capital punishments. Hence the plan, adopted by Caiphas, was to seize the person of Jesus suddenly, bring him before a meeting of members of his own faction as a Court, charge him with some offence which would appear capital under Jewish law, and then apply to the Governor to have the sentence carried out, as a necessity for preserving the public tranquillity. The High Priest had already tried, unsuccessfully, to get up a charge of sedition against Christ by sending emissaries to ask his decision on the question of paying tribute to the foreign rulers. He now took another course.

By his office, Caiphas had control of the large body of servants attached to the Temple service, and he had no difficulty in getting a company of Roman soldiers to aid in seizing the person of Christ.

That effected, a semblance of trial and condemnation under the Mosaic Law was needed to accomplish his ends. What followed was not merely not a trial according to that Law, but a direct violation of all its rules. Christ was not brought to the judgment hall of the Sanhedrin, but to the private house of Annas the father-in-law of Caiphas. He was not tried by the lawful judge but by the High Priest whose only function in Mosaic procedure might have been that of accuser. He was not tried by day, nor was the second session strictly required by law for trying any capital charge held. No charge was made as required. The High Priest, after unsuccessfully bringing hirelings to lay accusations of seditious conduct against the prisoner, finally declares, the words used in answer to a question of his own to be blasphemy, and his accomplices proclaim that it was so and further worthy of death. It has already been shown how contrary this was to the Mosaic Law on the subject, but it was enough to serve as a pretext for an outburst of mock religious zeal in the Sadducean High Priest. It is noticeable that Caiphas did not charge Christ with claiming to be the Messiah. The fact was that almost alone among the Jewish people the Sadducees rejected all belief in a Messiah. Caiphas attached the name of blasphemy to the utterance of Christ in defiance alike of reason and justice and then he brought him before Pilate with the brand of condemnation by the Jewish Law upon his name.

In the Roman *prætorium* the hypocritical accuser brings another charge. He accuses Christ of sedition, of stirring up the Galileans, who were noted as a specially independent population. He urges on Pilate that the word of a High Priest should be warrant enough for a Roman Governor to send a mere Jew to execution. "If he were not an evil doer I would not have brought him to thee." His argument had little effect on the cold judgment of the Roman official. He asks for definite charges, and declares he finds none. The Jewish Law and the Roman alike proclaimed the innocence of Jesus of Nazareth.

But Caiphas was not to be balked of his victim by law. The mob of his dependents raised a tumult and filled the hall of the Roman *prætorium* with angry cries. There seems no warrant for supposing that the crowd who filled the air with cries of "Crucify him, crucify him," were the same Jews who a few days before had called, "Hosanna to the son of David." There is every reason to believe that they were the band of servitors of the Temple, who had only dared to lay hands on Jesus by night through fear of the people, and who had insulted and buffeted him through the hours

of waiting in the hall of Annas. Their cry, "We have no king but Cæsar," was surely not an expression of Jewish popular feeling, nor of the Rabbis who hoped for redemption from Heathen sovereignty. Neither was the brutal yell, "Crucify him." Crucifixion was not only abhorrent to all orthodox Jews, but was, as already stated, strictly prohibited as an abomination before God. The population of Jerusalem was not all Jewish, and those cries sound like the voices of a bought rabble of foreign origin. It was as easy for the wealthy Chief Priest to buy such voices as it had been to secure the services of the Roman cohort that seized Christ in the Garden of Olives.

The clamor, however, prevailed over the scruples of Pilate. He gave the innocent victim to the will of his persecutors, the Sadducee priests and they led him away to die on the cross. Of the enormity of the wickedness done then there is no question amongst right thinking men, but I would ask Christians in fair human justice not to lay the guilt where it does not belong. It rests not with the Mosaic Law, nor with the body of the Jewish people who had so eagerly crowded around Christ on his entry to Jerusalem, nor with the Pharisees, who readily approved his teachings, and taught in the same spirit afterwards. It rests on the men who had bought for money from strangers the sacred office of priests under the Mosaic law, who degraded that office by their crimes, and who too had openly rejected its leading doctrines.

If these remarks shall clear up to fair minds some difficulties in understanding the true character of the proceedings against Christ, and shall dispose them to a juster estimate of the Jewish people and the Mosaic Law, it seems an object well worth the labor spent in their preparation.

JOHN WESLEY POWELL.

V. THE INVESTIGATOR.

BY G. K. GILBERT.

THE last chapter leaves Major Powell at the mouth of the Rio Virgen in the autumn of 1869. The remainder of his life is to be reckoned in results, and the order of events is less important, but it is fitting to complement the preceding narrative in a few paragraphs before attempting to outline his scientific researches.

Although the adventurous voyage of the Colorado solved a geographic problem and added a volume of knowledge to the common stock, its results were far from exhaustive, for among its discoveries were a host of new and attractive problems to be attacked. Each river that came to the Colorado issued from a canyon of its own and invited exploration. Each climbing of a canyon wall gave a glimpse of a sculptured and tinted plateau land such as traveller had never described.

In no other part of the earth had there been revealed to the geologist a great desert so bare of vegetation and soil as to expose the naked rock, and at the same time so dissected by a ramifying system of trenches as to reveal its deep-lying anatomy. The idea of expanding the line of exploration into a belt of exploration was immediately conceived and this soon grew into a plan for the survey of the broad area of the Colorado Plateaus. It was first determined to repeat the voyage of the river in a more deliberate way, bringing supplies by land to various points demonstrated by the exploration to be accessible from the shore, making many excursions from the river, and complementing the river work by independent exploration on land. Up to this point Powell had depended on personal resources and those of private institutions, but his plans now outgrew these slender means and he appealed to the

General Government for aid. He was granted a first appropriation of twelve thousand dollars.

The line of the river was retraversed by boat in 1871 and 1872; and a survey of adjacent country was carried forward, with gradually expanding scope and organisation, until the reconstitution of western surveys in 1879.

Powell's personal work was in geology and ethnology. In 1873 he accepted a temporary commission from the Indian Bureau, because his duties as commissioner would require him to visit many tribes in Utah, Nevada, California, and Idaho, and thus enable him to extend his acquaintance with Indian languages, mythologies, and social institutions. In 1874 and 1875 he made a special study of the eastern Uinta Mountains and adjacent portions of the Green River basin. In later years the field work of the Survey was largely delegated to his colleagues, and his own attention was given to the publication of results and to new undertakings.

The most important new undertaking referred to the public lands. His many journeys in the states and territories of the Great Plains and beyond, gave him exceptional opportunity to observe the manner of development of the new country, and he was profoundly impressed with the vicious results of ill-adjusted land laws. Our laws, framed for the well-watered East, are not adapted to the needs of the arid West. In a dry country the soil yields crops only when artificially watered, and the ownership of the scant water of the streams should go with the ownership of the best farming land to which it can be conveyed by canals; but the common law gives the use of the stream to the adjacent land, whether it is suitable for farming or not. The arid land that cannot be watered is useful chiefly for grazing, but its herbage is so scant that a single stock raiser requires a large tract—much larger than our laws allow an individual to homestead or purchase. So there is no private title to the grazing lands, and there is no incentive to the improvement of their natural resources. The laws under which title is given to mineral lands assume that ores lie in regular sheets, dipping down into the earth, and as few ores are so disposed titles are uncertain and the mining industry is burdened with excessive litigation. Powell's attempt to procure the enactment of better laws has proved, up to the present time, the least successful of all his undertakings, but it is still possible that through the slow action of public opinion his endeavors may bear fruit.

In 1877 his corps prepared an economic map of Utah, showing

the distribution of irrigable timber and grazing lands, and this was published in conjunction with a volume by Powell in which he discussed the Western land problem so far as irrigation and pasturage are concerned. The book is entitled *The Lands of the Arid Region*. Subsequently Congress authorised the appointment of a "Public Lands Commission" to investigate the whole subject of the land laws, and Powell, being made a member of it, devoted much time in 1879 and 1880 to its work. Its report, in four thick volumes, is a monument to its industry, but the reforms it advocated have only in small part been made.

The survey developed as a sequel to the exploration of the Colorado canyons came eventually to be called the Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region. From similar small beginnings Dr. F. V. Hayden, likewise an explorer and geologist, developed the Survey of the Territories, and Captain George M. Wheeler, an engineer officer of the regular army, developed the Survey West of the 100th Meridian. All these were sustained by Congressional appropriations, their lines of investigation were largely the same, and they were rivals. The evils resulting from rivalry were many and were fully recognised, but for many years no reduction was made in the number of organisations because Congress could not agree which one to select for preservation. It was finally proposed to abolish all three and create instead a Geological Survey whose chief should be appointed by the President of the United States, and of this proposition Powell was the most active advocate. It was adopted by Congress in March, 1879, and the direction of the new-born United States Geological Survey was given to Mr. Clarence King, a geologist who had already won distinction as chief of the Fortieth Parallel Survey.

Zoölogic and ethnologic researches, which had been conducted by the Surveys just abolished, were not included among the functions of the new organisation, but Congress made a special provision for ethnologic work by establishing a Bureau of Ethnology. Major Powell was made the Director of this Bureau and he was thus enabled to continue one of the most important lines of investigation of the survey he had been willing to have abolished.

The direction of the Geological Survey was held by Mr. King less than two years; he resigned in March, 1881. President Garfield immediately named Major Powell as his successor, sending the nomination to the Senate. It is the custom of that body to refer each nomination to an appropriate committee and take action only after the committee has made its report; but when the nom-

inee is a senator his confirmation is considered immediately without asking the advice of a committee. It is one of the open secrets of the executive session of the Senate that Major Powell's nomination was paid the exceptional compliment of immediate consideration and confirmation.

He directed the work of both bureaus until 1894. During this period the appropriations for the work of the Geological Survey were greatly increased, and its functions were from time to time enlarged, especially by the addition of investigations and surveys connected with the utilisation of the waters of the arid region for irrigation. In 1888 the Survey was instructed to classify the lands of the public domain, and especially to set apart as agricultural those which might be redeemed by irrigation. The provisions of the law were such that the Secretary of the Interior felt compelled to withdraw all public lands from sale pending their classification by the Geological Survey. This withdrawal aroused a storm of indignation, leading to the repeal of the new law and the reduction also of the appropriations for other work of the Survey. The disaster indicated diminished confidence on the part of Congress in the Director of the Survey, and led him to resign his office as soon as he could be sure of the appointment of a properly qualified successor. He retired gladly, as impaired health had for several years made heavy executive responsibilities an onerous burden, and he afterward watched with great pleasure the successful administration of his successor, Mr. Walcott.

Immediately after his resignation he submitted to a third operation on his wounded arm, which had given him much trouble, and thereafter sedulously husbanded his physical resources, devoting the remainder of his life to the elaboration and publication of a system of philosophy to which he had already given much thought. He retained the directorship of the Bureau of Ethnology, but delegated the chief labor of administration to another. This work was carried on despite a complication of bodily ailments, and his health steadily declined until his death, which occurred on the 23d of September, 1902.

The study of nature falls logically into three categories: observation, classification, and explanation. One great part consists in the observation and description of phenomena, another in their classification and generalisation, the putting of like phenomena together and the substitution of summary statements for the enumeration of details. A third part furnishes the explanation of groups of phenomena, or constructs theories. The three interlock and in-

teract. Most good observation is guided by antecedent classification or theory; the observer either gathers facts within a specific category, or he seeks crucial facts to test an hypothesis. Before the discovery of satisfactory theories, classifications are artificial and tentative.

These interdependencies and others that might be named render it impossible always to discriminate the three kinds of scientific work, and it is still less possible to classify scientific workers under three corresponding heads; but it is nevertheless true that a large body of workers devote their lives to observation on selected subjects and generalise but little; and that others deal chiefly with generalisation and theory. The best observers are acquainted with competing hypotheses as to the phenomena under observation; and the observations of those ignorant of hypotheses are comparatively worthless. The best theorists are personally familiar with observation; and the theories of those who are not also observers are unsuccessful.

It results that the great investigators, those who contribute classifications and theories which are at once comprehensive and stable, are not merely men with great power of generalisation and analysis, they are also men whose training as observers enables them to sort the good from the bad in the recorded observations of others. The greatest investigators have begun with mere observation, or with the collection of specimens, have then discussed their own observations, and finally in full maturity have reared noble structures of philosophy on foundations far broader than the observation of an individual could compass.

Powell's early scientific work made no important literary record. He collected the mammals, reptiles, shells, plants, fossils, and minerals of his region, ascertained their names, and prepared faunal and floral lists, but in this he did little more than follow the tracks of others. Whether consciously or unconsciously, he was training his mind to habits of close observation and establishing an all-important respect for the facts of nature. His contributions to the world's knowledge and the world's philosophy began in later life and pertain to other fields of research. As an explorer he contributed to geography, geology, and ethnology; ethnologic study led him to the broader science of anthropology; and the evening of his life was given to the broadest of all generalisations and the most comprehensive of all theories,—a system of philosophy.

His contributions to physical geography and geology are chiefly contained in three treatises. In his volume on the *Exploration of*

the Colorado River the first part is a narrative of the voyage—the narrative quoted in the preceding chapter,—and the second part is a systematic account of the physical features of the river valley. The second treatise makes a volume by itself, and has for its theme the *Geology of the Eastern Portion of the Uinta Mountains*. In these works the details of observation are not recited. The features of the country and the geologic structure are set forth in comprehensive statements, and are treated as texts for the discussion of the departments of geologic philosophy to which their explanation belongs. The principal generalisations are: (1) a definition of the “plateau province,” (2) a classification of mountain types, (3) a classification of valleys, and (4) a classification of the forms of displacement of the plateau province, with a demonstration of the equivalence of the fault and the monoclinical flexure. The chief additions to geologic theory appear in discussions of the physics of erosion and of the production of topographic forms by the joint action of upheaval and erosion. The term “base-level of erosion,” first used in these discussions and now current wherever the forms of the land are studied, carries with it an idea of apparent simplicity but of far-reaching importance. A stream cannot wear down below its base-level, and the rate and manner of degradation of a region depend on the relation of the region to the base-levels of its streams.

It was shown that the degradation of mountains is many times more rapid than that of lowlands, and that mountains are therefore temporary elevations unless continuously renewed by uplift. All great mountains are young.

When the strata deposited by the sea are lifted into land, rivers begin to flow over them. The initial direction of the rivers is down the slope, and this is also the direction of the dip. It is found, however, that many drainage systems are quite independent of the direction of the dip, and, still more strange, that rivers often cut their way through mountain ranges instead of going around them. A generation of geologists observed this and wondered at it without finding an adequate explanation, but the present generation has discovered three different ways in which “inconsequent” drainage may arise and has arisen. Two of these ways were discovered by Powell, and to characterise them he introduced the terms “superimposed drainage” and “antecedent drainage.”

When a region of disturbed strata has in long ages been degraded nearly to base-level, then sinks below water level and receives a coating of sediments, and then is lifted into land, its new

drainage conforms to the overlying strata. With continued uplift and continued degradation the newer deposits are destroyed and the drainage system sinks into the underlying disturbed strata. The drainage is independent of the system of dips into which it is lowered and on which it is "superimposed."

If a mountain range is slowly uplifted athwart the course of a large river, the river wears its channel deeper and maintains its course. When the uplift is completed, the mountain stands in two parts, divided by the river. The direction of the stream's flow is independent of the dips of the rocks in the mountain, because the drainage is "antecedent" to the uplift.

His third important treatise on physical geography constitutes the first three chapters of a monograph by the National Geographic Society on the physiography of the United States. It sets forth the broader processes by which the surface of the earth is modified, characterises the features to which these processes give rise, and classifies the land of the United States into physiographic regions or provinces.

Anthropology is Powell's favorite science, and to it his greatest contributions have been made. Nor need his preference occasion surprise. Geology is young, and being young has had the advantage of modern inductive methods from its birth. Its growth has been so rapid that its great generalisations have been attained, and present progress is by slow stages, adding here a little and there a little. Great indeed must be the future geologist who can earn the reputation of Lyell. But the study of man was begun in the far distant past, and it accumulated by early methods so large a body of theory that when better methods became known it was at first unable to accept and use them. It has resulted that inductive anthropology is a less developed science than geology. Moreover, anthropology is the great science of the future, for its results are to guide the development of human institutions. It has barely discovered its high destiny, and is beginning to train its powers for serious work.

The days that Powell has spent in intercourse with Indians for the purpose of studying their languages, their modes of thought, their institutions, their arts and their philosophies, aggregate several years of time. On the material thus gathered many printed volumes of description might be based. But the time necessary to arrange and edit this material was never given because his energies were consumed by more important work. A small portion only was published. A sketch of the *Ancient Province of Tusayan*

appeared in *Scribner's Monthly* in 1875; an address read at the Boston meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science was devoted to the *Political System of the Wyandots*; a few myths of the Utes were recited in the first annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology; and the material has been frequently drawn on for purposes of illustration; but as a body the observations are recorded only in note-books. And yet the time devoted to them was neither lost nor misspent, for it gave him the foundation of personal observation necessary to sound generalisation. It rendered him a rare critic of ethnologic material,—able by what seemed an intuition to select the grain for use and reject the chaff. More than this, it gave him the breadth of view for which he was distinguished. The American differ so widely—in many respects so radically—from the Aryan races that their comparative study yielded him generalisations he could never have derived from a comparison of Aryan peoples with one another. With the aid of books he brought yet other ethnic stocks within his view, testing and extending his generalisations and developing a system of anthropologic philosophy.

The framework of this system of philosophy was mentally arranged before any of it was given to the world, but the different parts have been elaborated and published in a somewhat fragmentary way and without strict adherence to their logical order. A few have appeared in the annual reports of the Bureau of Ethnology; the greater number have been prepared and read as addresses to various scientific societies and printed with their proceedings. They are thus widely scattered, and their plan and order, though ever in the mind of their author, and frequently communicated in conversation, have never appeared in print. The central essay is entitled *Human Evolution*, and was read to the Anthropological Society of Washington in 1883. It begins by characterising the geologic, archæologic, historic, and ethnologic data through which the history of man's evolution is discovered. It then treats of the general character of that evolution. Human activities are then divided into five categories, and a brief sketch is given of the line of evolution within each category. The categories are: first, esthetic arts; second, industrial arts; third, institutions; fourth, languages; fifth, philosophy. Of the remaining essays of the series, two logically precede this, in that they treat of the relation of human evolution to other evolution and the relation of the science of man to other sciences; eight logically follow it and develop the philosophy in detail.

An address to the Philosophical Society of Washington, likewise in 1883, is entitled *Three Methods of Evolution*, and in this Powell characterises the processes of inorganic, biotic, and anthropic evolution as radically distinct. He gives special attention to the distinction between biotic and anthropic evolution, because he regards the prevalent theory that they are identical as one of the most insidious impediments to anthropologic progress. The following extract from the concluding portion of the address includes some of the fundamental elements of his philosophy :

“It has thus been shown that there are three stages in the combination of matter and motion, and that each stage is characterised by a clearly distinct method of evolution. These may be defined as follows :

“First, physical evolution is the result of direct adaptation to environment, under the law that motion is in the direction of least resistance.

“Second, biotic evolution is the result of indirect adaptation to the environment by the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence.

“Third, anthropic evolution is the result of the exercise of human faculties in activities designed to increase happiness, and through which the environment is adapted to man.

“These may be briefly denominated : evolution by adaptation, evolution by survival of the fittest, and evolution by endeavor.

“Civilised men have always recognised to some extent the laws of human evolution,—that activities are teleologically developed, and that happiness is increased thereby. In the early history of mankind the nature of teleologic endeavor was so strongly impressed upon the mind that the theory was carried far beyond the truth, so that all biotic function and physical motion were interpreted as teleologic activity. When this error was discovered, and the laws of physical and biotic evolution established, vast realms of phenomena were found to have been entirely misunderstood and falsely explained, and teleologic postulates have finally fallen into disrepute. Men say there is progress in the universe by reason of the very laws of nature, and we must let them alone. Thus, reaction from the ancient false philosophy of teleology has carried men beyond the truth, until they have lost faith in all human endeavor ; and they teach the doctrine that man can do nothing for himself, that he owes what he is to physical and biotic agencies, and that his interests are committed to powers over which he has no control.

“Such a philosophy is gradually gaining ground among thinkers and writers, and should it prevail to such an extent as to control the actions of mankind, modern civilisation would lapse into a condition no whit superior to that of the millions of India, who for many centuries have been buried in the metaphysical speculations of the philosophy of ontology. When a man loses faith in himself, and worships nature, and subjects himself to the government of the laws of physical nature, he lapses into stagnation, where mental and moral miasma is bred. All that makes man superior to the beast is the result of his own endeavor to secure happiness.

“Man, so far as he is superior to the beast, is the master of his own destiny, and not the creature of the environment. He adapts the natural environment to his wants, and thus creates an environment for himself.”¹

The three methods of evolution correspond to a classification of the sciences in three groups: the sciences of matter, the sciences of life, and the science of man as a thinking animal. The individual sciences composing these groups, and their order among themselves, are set forth in an address to the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1888.

The essays devoted to the amplification of the outline of human evolution constitute two series. The first series is based upon the recognition of three stages of progress—savagery, barbarism, and civilisation. One address to the Anthropological Society is entitled *From Savagery to Barbarism* (1885); a second is entitled *From Barbarism to Civilisation* (1888); a third *Evolution in Civilised Man* (1887).

“By the division of labor men have become interdependent, so that every man works for some other man. To the extent that culture has progressed beyond the plane occupied by the brute, man has ceased to work directly for himself and come to work directly for others and indirectly for himself. He struggles directly to benefit others, that he may indirectly but ultimately benefit himself. This principle of political economy is so thoroughly established that it needs no explication here; but it must be fully appreciated before we can thoroughly understand the vast extent to which interdependence has been established. For the glasses which I wear, mines were worked in California, and railroads constructed across the continent to transport the product of those mines to the manufactories in the East. For the bits of steel on the bow, mines were worked in Michigan, smelting-works were erected in Chicago,

¹ *Bull. Philosoph. Soc.*, Washington, Vol. VI., pp. li-lii.

manufactories built in New Jersey, and railroads constructed to transport the material from one point to the other. Merchant-houses and banking-houses were rendered necessary. Many men were employed in producing and bringing that little instrument to me. As I sit in my library to read a book, I open the pages with a paper-cutter, the ivory of which was obtained through the employment of a tribe of African elephant-hunters. The paper on which my book is printed was made of the rags saved by the beggars of Italy. A watchman stands on guard in Hoosac Tunnel that I may some time ride through it in safety. If all the men who have worked for me, directly and indirectly, for the past ten years, and who are now scattered through the four quarters of the earth, were marshaled on the plain outside of the city, organised and equipped for war, I could march to the proudest capital of the world and the armies of Europe could not withstand me. I am the master of all the world. But during all my life I have worked for other men, and thus I am every man's servant; so are we all—servants to many masters and masters of many servants. It is thus that men are gradually becoming organised into one vast body-politic, every one is striving to serve his fellow-man and all working for the common welfare. Thus the enmity of man to man is appeased, and men live and labor for one another; individualism is transmuted into socialism, egoism into altruism, and man is lifted above the brute to an immeasurable height. Man inherited the body, instincts, and passions of the brute; the nature thus inherited has survived in his constitution and is exhibited along all the course of his history. Injustice, fraud, and cruelty stain the pathway of culture from the earliest to the latest days. But man has not risen in culture by reason of his brutal nature. His method of evolution has not been the same as that of the lower animals; the evolution of man has been through the evolution of the humanities, the evolution of those things which distinguish him from the brute. The doctrines of evolution which biologists have clearly shown to apply to animals *do not apply to man*. Man has evolved because he has been emancipated from the cruel laws of brutality.”¹

In another place he shows that, though competition of plant with plant and brute with brute is the means of biotic progress, civilised man does not compete with plant or brute, but destroys what are hurtful to him and improves what are beneficial. When man competes with man in the struggle for existence no step in evolution results.

¹ *Trans. Anthropological Soc. of Washington*, Vol. III., pp. 195-196.

“Vestiges of brutal competition still exist in the highest civilisation, but they are called crimes; and, to prevent this struggle for existence, penal codes are enacted, prisons are built, and gallows are erected. Competition in the struggle for existence is the agency by which progress is secured in plant and animal life, but competition in the struggle for existence among men is *crime* most degrading. Brute struggles with brute for life, and in the æons of time this struggle has wrought that marvellous transformation which we call the evolution of animals; but man struggles with man for existence, and murder runs riot: no step in human progress is made.

“That struggle for existence between man and man which we have considered and called crime is a struggle of one individual with another. But there is an organised struggle of bodies of men with bodies of men, which is not characterised as murder, but is designated as warfare. Here, then, we have man struggling with man on a large scale, and here it is where some of our modern writers on evolution discover the natural law of selection,—‘the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence.’ The strongest army survives in the grand average of the wars of the world.

“When armies are organised in modern civilisation, the very strongest and best are selected, and the soldiers of the world are gathered from their homes in the prime of manhood and in lusty health. If there is one deformed, if there is one maimed, if there is one weaker of intellect, he is left at home to continue the stock, while the strong and the courageous are selected to be destroyed. In organised warfare the processes of natural selection are reversed: the fittest to live are killed, the fittest to die are preserved; and in the grand average the weak, physically, mentally, and morally, are selected to become the propagators of the race.”¹

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

¹ *Science*, Vol. XI., p. 113.

BUDDHA'S LAST MEAL AND THE CHRISTIAN EUCHARIST.

THEIR PRESERVATION OF EARLIER RITES.

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

WHILE we would draw no parallel between Buddha's Last Meal and the Christian Eucharist such as we should draw between the Angelic Heralds of Luke and those of the Sutta-Nipâto, yet these meals have something in common. It is this: they both preserve primeval sacred ideas about eating and drinking. Henry Clay Trumbull's monograph *The Blood Covenant* has set forth the ancient practice underlying the Christian sacrament, viz., the exchange of blood to cement friendship,—the blood, by a later refinement of the race, being represented by wine. The text of Mark, which is the oldest, has for the memorial words:

“And as they were eating, he took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take ye: this is my body. And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them: and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my *blood of the covenant*,¹ which is shed for many. Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.” (Mark xiv. 22-25.)

But Paul was not content with this simple form, and a vision from the risen Christ informed him that the memorial words commanded a perpetuity for the rite:

“I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, how that the Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body which is for you: this do in remembrance of me. In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come. Wherefore whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord.” (1 Cor. xi. 23-27.)

¹The words in italics are from Exodus xxiv. 8.

This new formula, with its mysterious threat, affiliated the Sacred Meal to those of Eleusis and of Mithra, much to the scandal of Justin Martyr, who saw in the latter a diabolic travesty. Thus did Christianity perpetuate a primeval rite, inherited by several of the book-religions from the prehistoric past. But Gospel authority was wanting until Paul's new words were inserted into the text of Luke :

“And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the apostles with him. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer : for I say unto you, I will not eat it, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves : for I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come. And he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body [*which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood, even that which is poured out for you*]. But behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table. For the Son of man indeed goeth, as it hath been determined : but woe unto that man through whom he is betrayed ! And they began to question among themselves, which of them it was that should do this thing.” (Luke xxii. 14-23.)

The Revised Version of 1881 (which I always use) notes in the margin that the words italicised and in brackets are not in certain manuscripts. The best critics consider them an addition made from Paul. Luke was reckoned by the early Christians as Paul's Gospel. Tertullian gives us their literary standard when he says that the works of disciples are counted those of their masters.

Just as the Christian Eucharist preserves the covenant blood of Exodus, derived from a remoter past, so does the Buddhist final meal preserve an equally ancient practice. In the Book of the Great Decease we read :

“Now the Lord addressed Cundo the smith and said : ‘Whatever dried boar's flesh remains to thee, Cundo, that bury in a hole. I see no one, Cundo, upon earth nor in the heavens of Mâro or Brahmâ, no one among philosophers and Brahmins, princes and peoples, by whom, when he has eaten it, that food can be assimilated, save by the Tathâgato.’

“‘Even so, Master !’ said Cundo the smith in assent unto the Lord. And whatever dried boar's flesh remained over, that he buried in a hole.” (Book of the Great Decease, Chap. IV.)

Now James G. Frazer, in his remarkable book *The Golden Bough*, tells us this :

“No one may touch the food which the King of Loango leaves upon his plate: it is buried in a hole in the ground.” (*Golden Bough*, second edition. London, 1900, Vol. I., p. 318.)

This is done to prevent the scraps being used by a sorcerer, but it is also part and parcel of the whole system of royal and priestly taboos, such as seen in the former seclusion of the Mikado. As is well known to students of historical religion, the offices of priest and king were once identical, as in the case of Melchizedek. The primitive royal hierarch was a deity on earth, and the spiritual ancestor of

“That divinity which doth hedge a king.”

The supreme example of the divine or priestly king is the God-Man; and the race-consciousness of both the great historic Masters led them to identify themselves with this mythic Divine-Human. Greater than any parallels in their conduct from an alleged connection between their stories is the older and more venerable one which has its roots in the hero-legends of primeval man.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A NEW BOOK ON ANCIENT ATHENS.

Prof. Ernest Arthur Gardner of London is one of the foremost living authorities on classical archæology, and, having studied the topography of Athens on the spot, has condensed his own results as well as those of his predecessors—Curtius, Wachsmuth, Michaelis, Milchhöfer, F. C. Penrose, etc.—in a stately volume of 579 pages (Macmillan). The book is a pleasure to the eye. The cover shows a restoration of the Propylæa and the Parthenon in gilt outlines, and wherever we open the book we find instructive pictures. The frontispiece is a most artistic photogravure of a view of the Acropolis, and many other full-page illustrations are not less well executed. With the assistance of maps and diagrams we can study the several sites of interest almost as easily as if we were transported to the spot.

Professor Gardner reviews in the introductory chapter the geography of Athens, its climate, and other advantages, which must be regarded as a part of the characteristic features of the city. The bulk of the book (Chapters II.—VIII.) is devoted to the Acropolis, the construction of its walls, its status before the Persian wars, and to the buildings erected during the Periclean age. The Parthenon and Erechtheum, as might be expected, receive special attention. The remaining six chapters unroll before our eyes a picture of Athens during the fifth and fourth centuries (Chap. IX.). Then we have a survey of the most important buildings scattered over the town, the Theseum, Asclepium, and the theater (Chap. X.), the potter's field or Ceramicus (Chap. XI.), which is the famous burial-place of Athens, with its many monuments and tombs of famous men, compared by our author to England's Westminster Abbey (p. 457); further, a description of the city in Hellenistic and Roman times (Chap. XII.), a review of Pausanias's visit to Athens, elucidated by a good map on tissue paper superimposed upon a map of modern Athens, and finally a chapter on the Piræus, which concludes the work.

The book is obviously written for the general public, and will be serviceable to the student of Athenian history and art. All controversial matter is therefore wisely excluded from the main text. Mooted points are either entirely omitted or, wherever this procedure did not seem advisable, relegated to notes. In consideration of the author's unmistakable intention, it would not be fair for a reviewer to enter into details and turn critic, especially as all moot points are of minor interest, and moreover as the author, besides being an authority on the subject, proves remarkably careful not to venture on the slippery ground of new-fangled theories or hypotheses. His views are upon the whole based upon the traditional and well-founded interpretation of the facts. But we may be permitted to state our divergence from his opinion in one case, viz., in his explanation of

the adjective "enneapylon," i. e., the nine-gated, which is used by Greek authors with reference to the prehistoric wall, the Pelargicon, that surrounded the ancient city. Here, we venture to think, Professor Gardner is too conservative when he follows those former archæologists who studied the topography of Athens in their own homes from descriptions in Pausanias and other classical authors. He says "the most probable conjecture is that they were set one within another in a series of bastions or terraces." So far as we remember, Curtius was the first to suggest that the Pelargicon surrounded the foot of the Acropolis, not the crest of the plateau, and thus it is probable that the nine gates are distributed over its entire circumference. There must have been two fortified gates, one in the Pelargicon, another on top, and there is not room enough for nine successive gates between these two points. Moreover, a series of nine gates could by the complexity of this unusual mode of fortification only have added to the difficulties of the defence. We might further add that Professor Gardner speaks up for the honor of his countryman Lord Elgin, commonly censured for the barbarous spoliation of the Parthenon sculptures, claiming that he only transferred them to a place of safety. But these points are of minor importance, and assuming Professor Gardner now and then to be misguided, his incidental mistakes do not detract from the many excellencies of the book.

As a specimen of Professor Gardner's treatment of this subject, we reproduce some extracts from his chapter on the Ceramicus. Upon the whole there is among artistic monuments a striking absence of symbols giving us information concerning the beliefs of the Athenians as to the fate of the soul after death. Having discussed some of the numerous representations on the tombs which allude to the departure of the deceased or to events or habits of his life, he distinguishes on the oil decanters (on the *lecythi*) three different kinds of pictures: first, actual or ideal representations of the funeral; secondly, subsequent visits to the tomb with food and drink offerings; and thirdly, scenes of the journey to Hades. He continues:

"From the funeral two scenes are commonly selected: the lying in state of the deceased on a bed or bier, among mourning relatives, who do not always show in their grief the restraint which we see on the reliefs; and the deposition in the grave,—sometimes represented as it actually happened, but more often in an ideal scene, where two winged genii, Sleep and Death, lay in the grave a figure of the deceased with none of the stiffness of death, but seated or recumbent as if asleep. The tomb itself often appears in the background. The representation of the visit to the tomb is again, in some respects, like what actually happened: the relatives of the deceased, especially women, bring sashes and wreaths and other offerings in broad, flat baskets to decorate the tomb; but often the deceased himself appears, a figure quite like the rest, seated or standing on the steps of the tomb to receive what is brought, or to welcome the visit of his friends. In this case we may perhaps recognise an allusion to the representation of the deceased that existed upon his stela; but the vase painter, rather than copy another work of art, prefers to give his own direct version of the presence of the deceased. Sometimes, however, the deceased is represented as actually painted or sculptured upon the tomb. Yet another form in which he may appear in these scenes on the vases is that of an *εἰδωλον*, a little butterfly-like figure of human form with wings. In the journey to Hades, Charon and his boat are constant features, and he is evidently a realistic study in many cases from a rustic ferryman; sometimes the marshy bank of the Styx is represented by a group of rushes; and often Hermes appears as the guide and herald of the dead. The deceased often carries with him some of his funeral

gifts to the ferry-boat ; and sometimes, by a curious confusion of place, Charon and his skiff actually approach the tomb itself to fetch its occupant.

“ From the lecythi and the sculptured tombs together, we may gather some notion of how the Greeks thought of death and of the life beyond it. It is evident that there was some confusion, both in belief and in ritual, between various inconsistent views. The most prevalent notion seems to be of the continued existence of the dead in the neighborhood of the place where his body lies, of his presence to receive the visits of his relatives and their offerings, of his appearing to them as he had been in life, or sometimes hovering as a diminutive ghost about them and their gifts. It is impossible not to recall in this connection the description of Plato in the *Phædo*, how those souls that had allowed themselves to be too much mixed up and contaminated with the body in their earthly life, found it impossible to free themselves from it entirely at death, but still hovered about the cemeteries. Side by side with this conception of the actual presence of the deceased at his tomb, and sometimes inextricably confused with it, we find some allusions to the myth of Charon, but not to any other incidents of the life beyond the grave. The myths of Hades, of judgment and punishment or reward, that we read of in poets and philosophers, find no reflection in the popular feeling, so far as it is recorded for us by these monuments. In fact, it is not only for the beliefs of the people about death, but also for the representation of their life, that the sculptured tombs of the Athenians are valuable to us ; for they supplement and correct in a remarkable way the impressions given by literature. Especially notable are the prominence of women on the tombs and the constant representations of husband and wife, of parents and children, in the intimacy of family life. This is a side of the Greeks that we might well overlook but for these monuments ; yet we can hardly believe that what they turned to in moments of sorrow and therefore of the deepest feeling had not also, though not superficially conspicuous, a real influence on their life and character.”

P. C.

EXPLORATIONS IN BIBLE LANDS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Prof. H. V. Hilprecht, of the University of Pennsylvania, commonly considered the leading Assyriologist of America, presents in his latest work, *Explorations in Bible Lands During the 19th Century*,¹ the results of the excavations which have been made in Babylonia, Assyria, Palestine, Egypt, Arabia, and the country of the Hittites, so called, during the century just passed. Professor Hilprecht is the editor of, and the main contributor to, this stately volume, his department being Assyria and Babylonia. For a statement of the results of excavations in Palestine, he has engaged Dr. J. Benzinger ; in Egypt, Prof. Georg Steindorff ; for Arabia, Prof. Fritz Hommel ; and for the Hittite inscriptions, Prof. P. Jensen. The territory on the Euphrates near Babylon having yielded so much interesting and valuable material, it is but natural that the department of Assyria and Babylonia is the bulkiest in the book, consisting alone of 622 pages. Professor Hilprecht narrates here the long story of the rediscovery of Nineveh and Babylon, beginning with the earliest explorers, without forgetting to summarise the reports which Mediæval travellers brought home of the sites of the lost cities. We become acquainted with all the important details of the excavations made by Claudius

¹ With nearly two hundred illustrations and four maps. Philadelphia : A. J. Holman and Company. 1903. Pages, xxiv, 809.

James Rich (a Frenchman educated at Bristol, England), J. S. Buckingham, Sir Robert Ker Porter, Capt. Robert Mignan, G. Baille Fraser, Col. Chesney, James Felix Jones, Lynch, Selby, Collingwood, Bewsher, etc., etc. The discoveries of these men were only the beginning; they were taken up more systematically by Botta, who, supported by Flandin and Place, discovered at Khorsabâd, near the ancient site of Nineveh, an extensive Assyrian palace fortress which proved to be the castle of the famous conqueror of Samaria, King Sargon, which was called Dûr-Sharrukên, or "Sargon's Castle." For the first time the importance of these excavations now dawned upon the world, and our historians saw themselves necessitated to concede the extraordinary civilisation of the ancient Assyrians.

Of special interest are the excavations undertaken by Layard, an English Huguenot who, with comparatively small means, accomplished greater results than all his predecessors. He was followed by Rassam and Loftus. The works of Layard are too well known to need further explanation. The French government, anxious not to stand behind other nations, sent out an expedition under Fresnel, Oppert (a naturalised German), and Thomas. Sir Henry Rawlinson is the next to be named. Among his discoveries may be mentioned the first successful restoration of a Babylonian *ziggurat*, viz., "The Temple of the Seven Spheres of Heaven and Earth," which he unearthed at Borsippa. The conception which, on the basis of his investigations, he established concerning these peculiar Babylonian pyramids proved to be true in all essential points, they consisting of several platforms, one raised upon another, in successive stories, becoming smaller and smaller to the top. About the same time fall the labors of George Smith and Hormuzd Rassam. The French scored great successes at Tellô under De Sarzec, especially in the discovery of the important relics of the priest-king Gudea, a sovereign who must have possessed both great power and wisdom. Under his rule, about 2700 B. C., a period when Sumerian was still a spoken language, the country must have enjoyed extraordinary prosperity and a comparatively peaceful development. His capital, the city of Lagash, was the center of trade and commerce. Gudea fought victorious battles against Elam, and his agents reached the Mediterranean. His cedars were cut in northern Syria; his dolerite he obtained from the quarries of Magan, in eastern Arabia; his caravans brought copper from the mines of Kimash, and his ships carried gold and precious wood from the mountains of Medina and the rocky shores of the Sinaitic peninsula. What a powerful influence Sumeria must have exercised over the whole Orient, including Palestine, long before Abraham left his ancestral home on the banks of the Euphrates! De Sarzec discovered innumerable statues representing this powerful priest-king and also vases decorated with the coat-of-arms of Lagash,—a lion-headed eagle holding a lion in its talons.

The German excavations under Moritz and Koldewey are briefly summarised in a special chapter; but naturally the conclusion of this interesting chapter in history, the American expeditions, partly directed by Professor Hilprecht himself will claim our special interest. The first expedition may be considered a failure. It so happened that one of the Moravian Arabs was killed by a Turkish policeman while defending the property of the expedition, and this aroused the hostility of the half-civilised inhabitants of the desert, which finally led to the utter abandonment of the project. A new campaign started in 1889, this time with more success. The Americans tried their best to remain on a good footing with the Arabs; the difficulties, however, were still very great. The rivalry among the different chiefs and the greed of the poor "Afej" caused much embarrassment. The Arabs believed that the Americans possessed great treasures; every box of their provi-

sions was suspected to contain gold. The mere sight of a gold crown on the tooth of one of the explorers strengthened their conviction and excited their lust for plunder. Fortunately, however, there was one circumstance which proved of priceless value to the members of the expedition and may have helped to save their lives. We here insert verbatim the report of Professor Hilprecht:

“The notion was spread among the ‘Afej and their neighboring tribes that the foreigners were armed with great magical power, and that, in punishment of the firing and plundering of their camp, they had brought upon their enemies the cholera, which was not quite extinct even in the year following. Several successful treatments of light ailments, and exceedingly bitter concoctions wisely administered to various healthy chiefs, who were curious to see and to taste the truth of all that was constantly reported, served only to assure and confirm this belief; and Peters, on his part, seized every opportunity to encourage and to develop such sentiment among the credulous ‘Afej. He intimated to them that nothing was hidden from his knowledge, and that the accursed money which had been stolen would find its way back to him; he made mysterious threats of sore affliction and loss by death which would cause consternation among them; and to demonstrate his superior power and to indicate some of the terrible things which might happen at any moment, he finally gave them a drastic exhibition of his cunning art, which had a tremendous effect upon all who saw it. We will quote the story in his own language: ‘Just before sunset, when the men were all in camp and at leisure, so that I was sure they would notice what we did, Noorian and I ascended a high point of the mound near by, he solemnly bearing a compass before me on an improvised black cushion. There, by the side of an old trench, we went through a complicated hocus-pocus with the compass, a Turkish dictionary, a spring tape-measure, and a pair of field glasses, the whole camp watching us in puzzled wonder. Immediately after our dinner, while most of the men were still busy eating, we stole up the hill, having left to Haynes the duty of preventing any one from leaving the camp. Our fireworks were somewhat primitive and slightly dangerous, so that the trench which we had chosen for our operations proved rather close quarters. The first rocket had scarcely gone off when we could hear a buzz of excited voices below us. When the second and third followed, the cry arose that we were making the stars fall from heaven. The women screamed and hid themselves in the huts, and the more timid among the men followed suit. As Roman candles and Bengal lights followed, the excitement grew more intense. At last we came to our *pièce de résistance*, the tomato-can firework. At first this fizzled and bade fair to ruin our whole performance. Then, just as we despaired of success, it exploded with a great noise, knocking us over backward in the trench, behind a wall in which we were hidden, and filling the air with fiery serpents hissing and sputtering in every direction. The effect was indescribably diabolical, and every man, woman, and child, guards included, fled screaming, to seek for hiding-places, overcome with terror.’ ”

Comical as this incident is, we find that the history of the rediscovery of ancient Babylonia also contains tragic features. On page 318 we learn that while Professor Hilprecht sojourned in the Orient his wife, concealing a serious illness, wrote cheerful and encouraging letters so as not to prevent her husband from pursuing his work; and when he finally returned to Germany in perfect ignorance of her condition, she was beyond human aid and died soon afterward (March, 1902).

The great results achieved by these expeditions have been discussed in books by various scholars, and they are sufficiently indicated in Professor Hilprechts’

work ; but it will be impossible to recapitulate them in the present review. Suffice it to say that Professor Hilprecht has published three volumes of Assyrian monuments, and is still busily engaged in continuing the work of decipherment. In addition to him there are many American, French, and German scholars engaged in the same field.

The report of the explorations in Palestine, by Professor Benzinger, is comparatively short, and naturally so, for Palestine is very poor in antiquities. The Jews are by their very religion enjoined to abstain from making themselves graven images, and thus it happens that the Jewish race have never cultivated plastic arts. The monuments discovered in Palestine are mainly the inscription of Siloa recording the erection of a water conduit, the stone of King Mesha of Moab, the wrongly so-called sarcophagus of Alexander, the tomb of Absalom so called, and the cuneiform correspondence between the Egyptian viceroy and his sovereign. A whole Jewish city, Sandahanna, has been unearthed, but no further monuments of importance have been discovered. No doubt there are still invaluable treasures hidden in the bosom of the earth, but we must bide the time and the good luck to discover them.

Professor Steindorff surveys in brief outlines the history of the exploration of Egypt, beginning with the French expedition under Napoleon, the discovery of the "Rosetta Stone," Champollion's decipherment of the hieroglyphs (strange to say, he entirely omits to mention Young), following up the results of the more recent excavations under Lepsius, Maspero, Petri, Naville, etc., etc. He settles some mooted questions concerning the site of the ancient Lake Mœris, and touches lightly upon the most significant monuments.

While the excavations in Egypt and Assyria have commanded general interest and are comparatively well known, the explorations in Arabia are more remote. Arabia is a country of enormous size, and although most of it is desert land it is not quite so bare of civilisation as is generally assumed. The interior is practically independent. The Sultan exercises supremacy only over the outskirts, while the Bedouins roaming in the interior are practically independent. Under these conditions it is very dangerous to travel through the country ; nevertheless, some bold explorers have ventured into the interior and have brought back invaluable treasures, not only accounts as to the nature of the country, which in some parts is extraordinarily grand and beautiful, but also of inscriptions in Nabatean, Minean, and Sabean. They prove the intercourse between the Arabian capitals and Babylonia and other countries ; in fact, it was an Arabian dynasty which succeeded in gaining supremacy over northern Babylonia, the sixth king being Hammurabi, the Biblical Amraphel, and a contemporary of Abraham. Babylonian inscriptions tally with the records found in Arabia, and we find that later on under Tiglath-Pileser Sargon, and Esarhaddon the Arabians were again tributary to Babylonia.

The last installment of the book before us is on a subject almost unknown,—the so-called Hittites and their inscriptions, in which Professor Jensen, who may be regarded as the most successful decipherer of this ancient writing, gives a short account of about forty pages. His conclusions are that these inscriptions, generally credited to the Hittites, were made in the years between 1300 and 600 B. C. Most of them preceded the Assyrian period when Nineveh was the capital of Asia. The script was hieroglyphic, and it is not impossible that it was made in imitation of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The Egyptians came in contact with the Hittites (the inhabitants of Khate) about the year 1200 ; there are signs which must be regarded as ideographic, others as phonetic, similar to Egyptian writing. Fur-

ther, the nouns preceding the ideogram of *son* indicate the same ending as the plural nouns, and the grammatical construction of the words gives sufficient proof that it is a language built up after the pattern of the Aryan tongues. It is not Semitic, nor is it Iranian; thus, Professor Jensen identifies the Hittites with the Armenians and Indo-Germanic race, who are still living in the same districts of Hither Asia. Accordingly, we have here the most ancient monuments of a branch of the family group of our ancestors; and although in history the knowledge of their deeds has been almost blotted out, we now recover some important and interesting data as to the extent and nature of their civilisation. P. C.

DREAMS AND GHOSTS.

Mr. Andrew Lang is one of the most interesting of all the authors who have written on the subject of ghosts. While in the main occupying a critical attitude in his well-known book of *Dreams and Ghosts*,¹ he has aimed rather to entertain than to investigate; but the tone of the remarks he has interpolated among his recitals leaves little doubt as to his real inclinations. His book, he says, "does not pretend to be a convincing, but merely an illustrative, collection of evidence." He adopts the modern theory that every ghost is an hallucination, but that also an hallucination is a perception, to quote Professor James, "as good and true a sensation as if there were a real object there. The object happens *not* to be there, that is all." As to telepathy, he remarks with strained open-mindedness: "I do believe, with all students of human nature, in hallucinations of one, or of several, or even of all the senses. But as to whether such hallucinations, among the sane, are ever caused by psychical influences from the minds of others, alive or dead, not communicated through the ordinary channels of sense, my mind is in a balance of doubt. It is a question of evidence."

Mr. Lang tells, besides modern stories, many from remote times. "The ancient legends are given, not as evidence, but for three reasons: first, because of their merit as mere stories; next, because several of them are now perhaps for the first time offered with a critical discussion of their historical sources; lastly, because the old legends seem to show how the fancy of periods less critical than ours dealt with such facts as are now reported in a dull undramatic manner." The classical ghost-stories are all here, and even some from the Gaelic and Icelandic, which "have peculiar literary merit as simple dramatic narratives." There is also the famous Wesley ghost, Sir George Villier's spectre, Lord Lyttleton's ghost, the Beresford ghost, etc., etc. We shall reproduce but one, as a specimen of Mr. Lang's art. It is one on Professor Hilprecht.

THE ASSYRIAN PRIEST.

Herr H. V. Hilprecht is Professor of Assyriology in the University of Pennsylvania. That university had despatched an expedition to explore the ruins of Babylon, and sketches of the objects discovered had been sent home. Among these were drawings of two small fragments of agate, inscribed with characters. One Saturday night in March, 1893, Professor Hilprecht had wearied himself with puzzling over these two fragments, which were supposed to be broken pieces of finger-rings. He was inclined, from the nature of the characters, to date them about 1700-1140 B. C.; and as the first character of the third line of the first frag-

¹ Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York, and Bombay. Pages, 301.

ment seemed to read KU, he guessed that it might stand for Kurigalzu, a king of that name.

About midnight the Professor went, weary and perplexed, to bed.

"Then I dreamed the following remarkable dream. A tall, thin priest of the old pre-Christian Nippur, about forty years of age, and clad in a simple *abba*, led me to the treasure-chamber of the temple, on its south-east side. He went with me into a small low-ceiled room without windows, in which there was a large wooden chest, while scraps of agate and *lapis lazuli* lay scattered on the floor. Here he addressed me as follows:

"The two fragments, which you have published separately upon pages 22 and 26, belong together [this amazing Assyrian priest spoke American!].¹ They are not finger-rings, and their history is as follows:

"King Kurigalzu (about 1300 B. C.) once sent to the temple of Bel, among other articles of agate and *lapis lazuli*, an inscribed votive cylinder of agate. Then the priests suddenly received the command to make for the statue of the god Nibib a pair of ear-rings of agate. We were in great dismay, since there was no agate as raw material at hand. In order to execute the command, there was nothing for us to do but cut the votive cylinder in three parts, thus making three rings, each of which contained a portion of the original inscription. The first two rings served as ear-rings for the statue of the god; the two fragments which have given you so much trouble are parts of them. If you will put the two together, you will have confirmation of my words. But the third ring you have not found yet, and you never will find it."

The professor awoke, bounded out of bed, as Mrs. Hilprecht testifies, and was heard crying from his study, "It is so, it is so!" Mrs. Hilprecht followed her lord, "and satisfied herself in the midnight hour as to the outcome of his most interesting dream."

The Professor, however, says that he awoke, told his wife the dream and verified it next day. Both statements are correct. There were two sets of drawings, one in the study (used that night) one used next day in the University Library.

The inscription ran thus, the missing fragment being restored, "by analogy from many similar inscriptions":

To the god Nibib, child
Of the god Bel,
His Lord
Kurigalzu,
Pontifex of the god Bel
Has presented it.

But in the drawings the fragments were of different colors, so that a student working on the drawings would not guess them to be parts of one cylinder. Professor Hilprecht, however, examined the two actual fragments in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. They lay in two distinct cases, but, when put together, fitted. When cut asunder of old, in Babylon, the white vein of the stone showed on one fragment, the grey surface on the other.

Professor Romaine Newbold, who publishes this dream, explains that the Professor had unconsciously reasoned out his facts, the difference of color in the two pieces of agate disappearing in the dream. The Professor had heard from Dr. Peters of the expedition, that a room had been discovered with fragments of a

¹ The Professor is not sure whether he spoke English or German.

wooden box and chips of agate and *lapis lazuli*. The sleeping mind "combined its information," reasoned rightly from it, and threw its own conclusions into a dramatic form, receiving the information from the lips of a priest of Nippur.

Probably we do a good deal of reasoning in sleep. Professor Hilprecht, in 1882-1883, was working at a translation of an inscription wherein came *Nabû—Kudûrru—usur*, rendered by Professor Delitzsch "Nebo protect my mortar-board." Professor Hilprecht accepted this, but woke one morning with his mind full of the thought that the words should be rendered "Nebo protect my boundary," which "sounds a deal likelier," and is now accepted.

EASTER.

In every age the world has known
 Some bard felt moved to sing
 Earth's pæan over winter gone,
 Her welcome to the spring.

The mysteries of the Easter-thought
 To all mankind belong;
 No time the perfect light hath brought,
 No race the final song.

Yet art thou blessed, Palestine,
 Among the lands of earth!
 For thee a holy light did shine,
 A glorious song find birth.

He is the world's, that martyr-soul,
 Divine as heroes are!
 A beacon, when death's waves shall roll,
 The Galilean's star!

We deem not that the flesh o'ercame
 The grave's obscurity;
 We trust the soul's immortal flame
 Hath touched on deity.

We will not hail the Christ alone,
 The solitary way;
 God doth a thousand prophets own
 This happy Easter day.

We feel their all-pervading power
 Around us and above;
 We learn from spring-time bird and flower
 The truths of life and love.

One with the Christ who conquereth,
 One in the Hope they bring,
 One in their Victory over death,
 The first wild flowers of spring.

One with the Sermon on the Mount
 The birds' sweet melody,
 Clear-flowing from the eternal fount
 Of God's own charity.

Then, sing we, for all Nature sings!
 Sing Christ, and bird, and flower!
 Sing! for the world with gladness rings,
 And life and love have power!

CLARK UNIVERSITY, WORCESTER, MASS. ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

COMMENTS ON MR. ALBERT J. EDMUNDS'S ARTICLE.

The Lord's Supper is an Easter institution, for it is mystically connected with the beliefs in immortality and Resurrection, and in fact Christianity itself is an Easter-religion, for all its doctrines center in the hope of immortality as evidenced in the resurrection of Jesus.

Christianity is the "Pleroma"¹ of the ages; that is to say, it contains the fulfilment of the expectations of its time. It embodies many elements of primitive religious aspirations and beliefs, but it transfigures their meaning and renders them subservient to moral purposes.² One of these institutions is the Lord's Supper. It is connected with the venerable rite of the Haoma offering of Zarathustra, the grand advocate of monotheism and the prophet of the Lord Omniscient, for that is the translation of the name Ahura Mazda or Ormazd. But the Lord's Supper is connected with institutions more ancient than Mazdaism, viz., the covenant of blood and the ceremony of sanctification by means of eating the God to be worshipped.

Mr. Albert J. Edmunds, a prominent Pāli scholar and no mean authority on New Testament exegesis, contributes in the present number an article in which he points out the Primitive Survivals in the texts relating to both Buddha's last meal and the Christian Eucharist, and we may add here that in many Christian churches even at the present day the practice survives of allowing none of the consecrated bread and wine to be left over. Moreover, the theory (now commonly accepted by theological scholars) that St. Paul is the inaugurator of the Christian Eucharist is further supported by the fact that no mention of its institution by Christ when he took his last meal is made in the Fourth Gospel, while the passage in Luke is an apparent interpolation.³

P. C.

BOOK NOTICES.

HEBRAISMS IN THE AUTHORISED VERSION OF THE BIBLE. By *William Rosenau*, Ph. D. Baltimore: The Friedenwald Company. 1903. Pages, 283.

Mr. Rosenau has taken up in this book an interesting and neglected subject. It is an examination of the Hebrew influence on the language of the Authorised

¹ *Pleroma* is the Greek word for "fulfilment" so much used in the New Testament.

² The Open Court Pub. Co. is just publishing a small pamphlet on *The Age of Christ* containing a short exposition of the problems connected with the origin of Christianity.

³ For a detailed exposition of this much mooted question see Spitta's and Harnack's essays on the subject, and also the editorials in *The Monist*, Vol. X., No. 2, pp. 246 ff., and No. 3, pp. 341 ff.

Version of the Bible. Familiar as the English of the King James Bible has become, and much as it has influenced and moulded English speech, no one on first reading can fail to be impressed with the outlandishness and uncouthness of many of its phrases; and while we ordinarily attribute the strangeness of its linguistic garb to the fact that it was written in the now antiquated vernacular of the early years of the seventeenth century, one may be not a little surprised to learn that the impression which the book made in this regard upon the contemporary public was even more pronounced than that which it makes upon us. Let us read only the passage from Selden's *Table Talk*, which has been quoted by Professor Cheyne in a recent review of the Polychrome Bible; it is as follows:

"There is no book translated as the Bible for the purpose. If I translate a French book into English, I turn it into English phrase, and not into French English. I say, 'Tis cold,' not 'It makes cold'; but the Bible is rather translated into English words than into English phrase. The Hebraisms are kept and the phrase of that language is kept." After citing an example, Selden remarks: "It is well enough so long as scholars have to do with it; but when it comes among the common people, Lord, what gear do they make of it?"

Mr. Rosenau has a brief chapter on the growth of English and the influence of translated literature. He then gives a history of the English Bible, a list of proverbial Biblical passages in use, and of current Biblical expressions in English literature. He next discusses the difference between Hebraisms and English Archaisms, then Hebraisms in the New Testament, Lexicographical Hebraisms, Syntactical Hebraisms, and finally, in an appendix, he gives a full list of the Hebraisms in the Authorised Version, as established by his researches. μ.

GESU CRISTO NELLA LETTERATURA CONTEMPORANEA STRANIERA E ITALIANA. Studio storico-scientifico. Di *Baldassare Labanca*. Illustrato con 16 incisioni. Torino: Fratelli Bocca. 3 Via Carlo Alberto. Pp., 435. Price, 4 francs.

Professor Labanca's book on Jesus Christ in contemporary foreign and Italian literature is one of the latest numbers of the "Little Library of Modern Science" issued serially by the enterprising publishers Fratelli Bocca, of Turin. The books constituting this library, which resembles somewhat the International Scientific Library, have been written by the foremost authors of Italy, France, Germany, England, and America. We notice among the titles listed, translations of works by Brücke, Mach, Osborne, Maeterlinck, Grant Allen, Harnack, and Professor James.

Professor Labanca's work aims to summarise and briefly examine the principal contemporary works relating to the life and doctrines of Jesus Christ, with special reference to those which have appeared since Strauss and Renan. He discusses both the books describing the life of Christ (Christography) and the books setting forth the doctrines of Christ (Christology). He classifies his authors as "pious believers," "liberal believers," and "freethinkers," making no distinction between Catholics and Protestants on the one hand, or between scientists, critics, and novelists on the other. Writing in Rome, he has deemed himself obligated to take account of the many allusions to Jesus and the mother of Jesus which the first Christians symbolically expressed in the Catacombs of Rome, and he has performed this task in two chapters according to the best accredited interpretations of the archæologists. He originally intended that his work should comprise two volumes, but he was finally obliged to compress his material into a single book. Each chapter is preceded by a bibliographical list of the sources, and concludes with a

biographical addendum mentioning the minor literature. He admits that it is impossible for anyone to compass the enormous literature of the subject, but he believes that he has singled out the most important works which the world has produced in this field.

Professor Labanca has written entirely from the point of view of the historian of science, and has endeavored to show the same regard for Protestants as he has for Catholics, for free-thinkers as he has for liberal Christians. He has also not intermingled with his discussions his own views of philosophy and theology, but has sought on every point to be an impartial judge. In his concluding chapter, however, he has stated his own views concerning Christography and Christology; he denies the substantial divinity of Christ, but is not therefore an adversary of the Christian religion, which he wishes to see continued, especially in the face of the present sociological tendencies, which are increasing and not decreasing. The intrinsic and characteristic qualities of Christianity are, in his view, independent of the dogmas of the Credo, even including the dogma of the substantial divinity of Christ. "To be a good Christian," he says, "it is sufficient to admit that Jesus was an exemplary moral person, and that therefore it is fitting that he should be venerated and imitated by men." He remarks that the most diverse Christian confessions are tolerated in America and likewise respected, and that in that country new Christian congregations, independent of all creeds, originate nearly every year. For this reason it was possible to hold in Chicago in the year 1893 a parliament of all the different religions of the world,—which was impossible in Paris.

The book has indexes and contains sixteen cuts. It will be a useful work to students of the literature concerning Christ.

T. J. M'C.

The philosophical and sentimental letters published in the early years of the nineteenth century under the title of *Obermann*, though they have won for themselves a permanent place in the classical literature of France, have never yet been translated into English. The author of these letters was Étienne Pivert de Senancour. Though Senancour is well known and has been much admired abroad (his appreciators include authors of the stamp of Sainte-Beuve, George Sand, and Matthew Arnold), little of his personality has been carried with his fame to foreign countries. Readers unacquainted with *Obermann* and desirous of learning something of the life of Senancour will accordingly be glad to have the book of Arthur Edward Waite, just published by Philip Wellby of London, containing a biography of Senancour, a critical introduction to his letters, and a translation of the letters themselves. The translation has been well made, and English readers have now full access to these famous "note-books of a soul." (Pages, lxxxiii, 423. Price, 6 shillings.)

Buddhism seems to be spreading. We have received almost simultaneously three announcements which seem to be straws in the wind,—one coming from Burma, one from Germany, and the third from Japan. The Buddhist monk, Ananda Maitreya, proposes to publish a Buddhist quarterly under the title *Buddhism*. The editor expects to have contributions from sympathisers in the cause of Buddhism, and hopes to issue the first number in May, 1903. The subscription price is seven rupees (\$2.50) per year. Foreign money orders should be made payable to Mrs. M. Hla Oung, No. 1, Pagoda Road, Rangoon, Burma.

The German announcement advertises the publication of pamphlets under the title *Buddhistische Mission*, edited by Bruno Freydanck and published by the

Theosophischen Verlag Paul Frömsdorf. The Buddhism of this German periodical promises to be of a militant nature; among the German publications advertised under the editor's name, one is entitled "The Abominations of Christian Civilisation" and the other "The Great Lunatic Asylum of Europe." A series of other titles indicate a more peaceful temper. They are as follows: "Buddha and Christ," "Buddha Gaya and Golgotha," "The Buddhadharma," "The Buddhist Movement in the Occident," "Under the Buddha-Tree," etc., etc.

The third communication received is from The International Buddhist Young Men's Association, lately organised at Tokyo, Japan, its purpose being "to become a link between Buddhists scattered over various parts of the world; to attempt their union and improvement, and to enable them to work together for the betterment of mankind at large." They deem it the duty of the Buddhists of the Island Empire of the Far East "to strive to become the spiritual awakener of Asiatic peoples, endeavoring at the same time to diffuse the truth of Buddhism through the length and breadth of the world." The address is Buddhist University, Takanawa, Tokyo, Japan.

H. A. Rattermann has published a biography of the late Gustav Koerner, Ex-Governor of Illinois, who in his day played a not insignificant part in the political history of this country. Rattermann has drawn his materials from the memoirs of his late friend, and the present volume of 386 pages is brimful of interesting material. Gov. Koerner was a friend of Lincoln, a member of the "Committee on Platform" in the great convention that nominated the martyr-president, and afterwards U. S. Minister to Spain. He also wrote much, and the same publishing house is issuing his *Collected Works*. (*Gustav Koerner, ein Lebensbild*, von H. A. Rattermann. Cincinnati: Verlag des Verfassers, 1902.)

The Cincinnati Game Co. now publish among their educational card games a mathematical series designed for use in both school and home. These games are a pleasant form of drill exercise in number-combinations, and, so far, cover the ground of the four simple operations and fractions, there being in all three packs, costing 25 cents apiece. The editor of the series is Dr. David Eugene Smith, of Teachers College, New York City, and the authors of the games are Mr. Earl Trisler and Mr. E. W. Wilkinson. The same Company also issue games of famous paintings, poems, flowers, birds, mythology, authors, naturalists, wild animals, etc. (Cincinnati Game Co., Cincinnati, Ohio.)

The January and February numbers of the *Bibelot* are: (1) *Chrysanthema: Gathered from the Greek Anthology*, by William M. Hardinge; and (2) a continuation of the same, including *A Little Cycle of Greek Lyrics*. The Greek anthology, "that vast drift-heap of antique poetry, consisting of something like six thousand distinct pieces of verse, which has survived the wreck of empires," is here presented to us in a selected series of graceful translations, with many apt critical and literary comments. (Portland, Me.: T. B. Mosher. Price, 5 cents each.)

Grant Allen's well-known *Evolution of the Idea of God, An Inquiry into the Origins of Religion*, has been republished in cheap and slightly abridged form by Watts & Co., 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet St., London, E. C. (Paper, 6 pence.)

The Rev. Edward Day, of Springfield, Mass., in an article on "The Promulgation of Deuteronomy," which appeared in the December number of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, expresses the view that the whole story known as the reformation of Josiah and found in 2 Kings xxii. 3-xxiii. 27 and in 2 Chronicles xxxiv. 3-xxxv. 19, must be regarded as a late Deuteronomic invention. Not only is the story itself, even aside from the passages considered doubtful by critics, purely Deuteronomic in spirit, but also the language and the phraseology belong to the same period. The Rev. Day calls attention to the contradictions between the two reports of the story and also to the intrinsic improbabilities that a suzerain king of Assyria should have carried a drastic reform movement even into the domains of countries not subject to his scepter. But Josiah is idealised as the hero of the Deuteronomist playing the part of a most ardent iconoclast. Sword and fire and putrefying bones and unclean ashes and refuse were freely used, and he became a saint and the greatest king after David in the whole history of Judah. "Never after him arose there any like him" (2 Kings v. 25). The purging of Jerusalem and of Bethel by this sweeping reform must have been a gratifying idea to the zealous monotheist.

Accordingly, the Rev. Day regards the whole story as a pious fiction of the Deuteronomist. He says: "At some time during the three centuries which followed the fall of Jerusalem the more pious Jews, the Zionists of their day, who straggled back to Jerusalem by twos and threes and by dozens and scores, rather than by thousands, began as ardent Deuteronomists to better things at home. They wrote Deuteronomy and promulgated it; and they redacted the historical books. Then it was, apparently to give credence to their law-book and to advance their reform movement, that they seized upon Josiah, who had fallen at Megiddo, as a Jewish patriot, and, idealising him, invented and circulated this story of his promulgation of Deuteronomy and of a reformation of which he was the pious instrument."

We may add that the Rev. Day regards a large part of the prophetic literature also as Deuteronomic,—a conception which gains in probability and is now shared by several good authorities among modern critics.

NOTES.

Prof. Frederick Hirth, the head of the Chinese department of Columbia University, New York City, announces for the year 1902-1903 a series of lectures on Chinese art and history,—some of them adapted to beginners in Chinese and others for the general public, and finally courses for advanced students, being studies of selected works in Chinese literature and analyses of historical documents.

The fifth session of the Harvard Summer School of Theology will be held in Cambridge, Mass., from July 7 to July 23 of this year. The object of the school is "to provide a place where clergymen and students of theology may gather for the study of objects which have intrinsic and current theological interest, and where they may feel the inspiration which comes from direct contact with the best and most recent results of modern scholarship." The subject for the present session is "Principles of Education in the Work of the Church." The libraries and other collections of Harvard University, including the Semitic Museum, will be open to students of the Summer School. Letters of inquiry should be addressed to the Rev. Robert S. Morison, Divinity Library, Cambridge, Mass.

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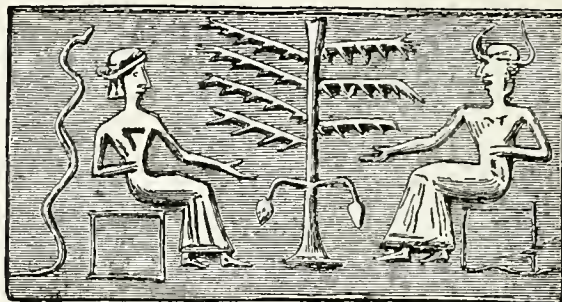
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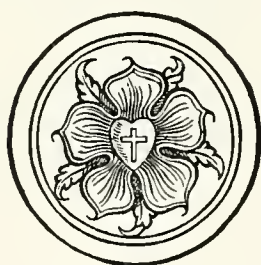
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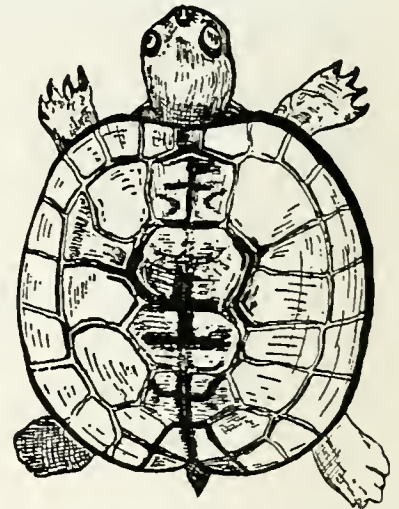
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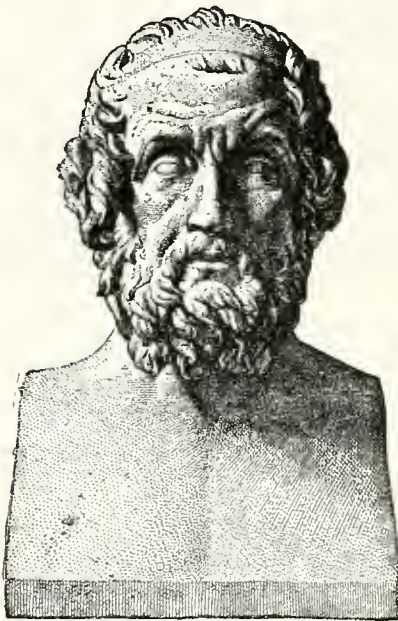
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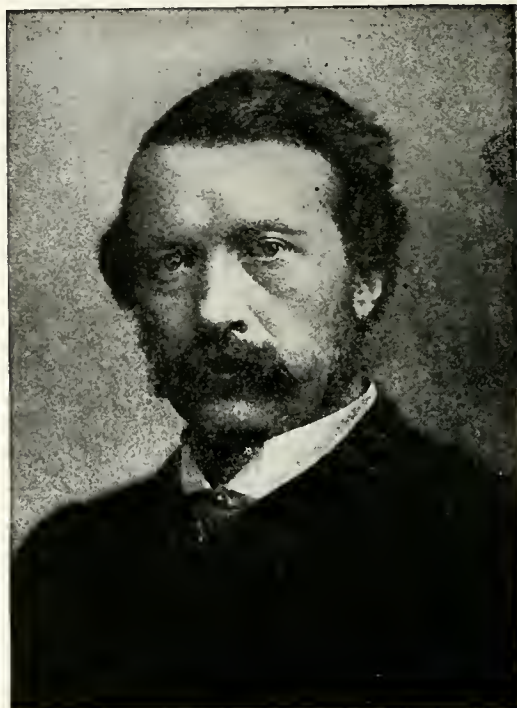
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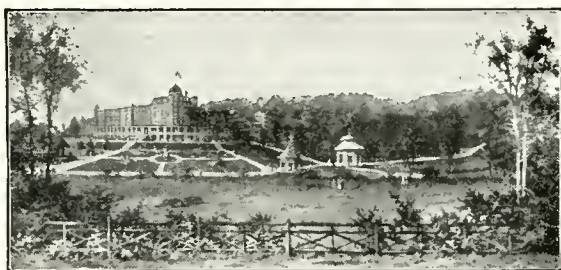
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