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FIRE FROM STRANGE ALTARS.

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REV. J. N. FRADENBURGH, Ph. D., D. D.
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AUTHOR OF "WITNESSES FROM THE DUST; OR, THE BIBLE ILLUSTRATED
FROM THE MONUMENTS." "LIVING RELIGIONS; OR, THE GREAT
RELIGIONS OF THE ORIENT FROM SACRED BOOKS AND MODERN
CUSTOMS." "BEAUTY CROWNED; OR, THE STORY OF
ESTHER, THE JEWISH MAIDEN." "OLD HEROES,
THE HITTITES OF THE BIBLE," ETC.



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J. N. FRADENBURGH, PH. D., D. D.

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. . . TO . . .

REV. DANIEL STEELE, D. D.,

MY EARLY PRECEPTOR,

WHOSE

Ripe Scholarship and Deep Piety have been to me

An Inspiration,

THIS VOLUME IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

IN obedience to the call of God, Abraham, with his family and dependents, had left his own kindred, and gone out from his own country to seek a home in a strange land. In the Land of Promise he became the founder of the Patriarchal Religion, which afterward developed into the organized religious system of the Israelites. The Canaanite was still in the land. Various religious cults surrounded "the friend of God." They were so closely related that we may speak of them as forming one religion, which we may call, for want of a more appropriate name, the Phœnician. Other cults were added or developed at a later period, but did not materially change the general character of the religion. Besides this setting in which the religion of Israel was placed, it was brought into frequent and close contact with two other great and powerful religions, the Babylonian and the Egyptian. These religions possessed all the advan-

tages of great antiquity, support of strong governments, learned and influential priesthoods, extensive literatures, magnificent temples, and brilliant services. In the struggle for existence, the peculiar people of God would have scarcely a chance.

The religion of the Israelites alone survived. The nation suffered from wars and conquests, oppressions and captivities, but these only served to assist the religion to a more healthful growth and a more spiritual worship. The exigencies of war and political revolutions do not fully account for the decay and final extinction of surrounding religions. They are not to be forgotten in the solution of the problem, but there is a point beyond which they are silent.

These heathen faiths lacked some element of moral strength, or suffered from some incurable spiritual malady which fixed their doom. The religion of Israel lived in obedience to the law of the survival of the fittest. It was adapted to the intellectual and moral nature of man. When we study these several faiths side by side, we learn the reasons why the religions of the Babylonians, the Phœnicians, and the Egyptians,

went down in irremediable ruin, while the religion of the Bible flourished, and sent its influence abroad till all nations felt its touch.

The Bible grew up in the midst of such surroundings and under such influences as the histories of these nations suggest. The Israelitish religion was a growth, and was not presented once for all in its completed form, lifted up out of all connections with other faiths. That many of its forms were borrowed and adapted, can admit of no question. Can we prove a transmission of spiritual ideas? Was it a mere natural growth, or was there a divine element with which we must reckon when we study the subject?

The roots of the Bible religion are to be discovered deeply imbedded in other soils. Connections may be traced in the style of poetic compositions, the words of many a psalm and prayer, and in the general religious feeling. Myths of other religions have left survivals in the Bible. Names of heathen gods are woven in the very constitution of the Hebrew language. This is especially noteworthy in the proper names of persons and places. Several of the old gods of Assyria and Egypt extended their influence as far

as Canaan, and found admission in the pantheon of native divinities. Magic, both Egyptian and Chaldæan, is frequently mentioned in the Bible. Altars, temples, sacred furniture, orders of priests, sacrifices, laws concerning clean and unclean, purificatory rites,—these should be studied, not only in the Bible and other Hebrew writings, but also in the religious ceremonies of other peoples.

The most interesting, the most reliable, the most authoritative, and the best of all commentaries on the Holy Bible is extant in three goodly volumes, and these volumes are Babylonia, Palestine, and Egypt. There are portions of the Pentateuch and historic books of the Bible which should be read while sitting by the temples and palaces, pyramids and tombs of the dead empires of the East.

The ten plagues of the Exodus, in their selection and import, yield to no explanation except when studied in the presence of the gods of Egypt. There are passages in the Prophets which can not be understood except when read in the light of clay tablets, stone obelisks, and ancient papyri. There are psalms which are to be interpreted by the murmuring streams, leafy coverts, and rocky

hills of Palestine. These silent witnesses, who are rising from beneath the dust of the ages, are eloquent advocates in behalf of the Bible as the inspired Word. The most important chapters in this great commentary are those which enable us to feel the beatings of the hearts of the people as they reverently approach their gods in the attitude of worshipers.

As we study these old religions in the presence of an open Bible, many questions hitherto insoluble answer themselves. The subject opens to us new and delightful fields, full of interest and abundant in rewards. The present volume will not, we are sure, prove itself an unwelcome contribution to the subject.

DECEMBER 25, 1890.

CONTENTS.

I.

RELIGION IN THE LAND BETWEEN THE RIVERS.

	PAGE.
I. LITERATURE, PRIESTS, AND TEMPLES, . . .	17
II. THE BLACK ART,	41
III. TRANSITIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS, . . .	67
IV. GODS AND NO-GODS. PART FIRST, . . .	95
V. GODS AND NO-GODS. PART SECOND, . . .	121
VI. THE BEGINNINGS OF THINGS,	146

II.

THE GODS OF THE PHCÆNICIANS

I. MY LORD BAAL,	169
II. GODS, AND OTHER MATTERS,	186

III.

THE FAITH OF THE PHARAOHS.

I. LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE,	211
II. TWO GREAT CIRCLES OF GODS,	241
III. PTAH, AMON, AND OTHER DIVINITIES, . . .	261
IV. DOCTRINES, TEMPLES, WORSHIP,	282

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE.
BABYLONIAN TABLETS,	19
CLAY TABLET,	22
RUINS OF THE TEMPLE AT KHORSABAD,	29
ASSYRIAN FIGURE,	35
CHALDÆAN PRIESTS,	39
EVIL GENII,	42
WINGED LION WITH HUMAN HEAD,	69
THE TREE OF LIFE,	82
UR OF THE CHALDEES,	104
NISROCH OF ASSUR,	142
SARCOPHAGUS OF ESMUNAZAR,	170
PHœNICIAN GEM,	172
FACE OF BAAL AT BAALBEC,	173
ASTARTE,	175
EFFIGY OF BAAL,	176
THE PHœNICIAN ASHTORETH,	179
RUINS OF ANCIENT TYRE,	182
DAGON,	187
AMON,	195
OBELISK AND PLAIN OF ON,	242
SIGNET RING, WITH SCARABÆUS,	243
OSIRIS,	249
ISIS AND NEPHTHIS,	252
APIS,	290
ROCK TOMBS ON THE NILE,	296
COLUMNS AT KARNAK,	303

I.

Religion in the Land between the
Rivers.

I.

LITERATURE, PRIESTS, AND TEMPLES.

THE discovery of a literature from twenty-five hundred to four thousand years old, which had been buried more than two thousand years in the ruins of the dead cities of Babylonia and Assyria, the recovery of the lost languages in which it is written, and their translation into modern tongues, are among the remarkable triumphs of nineteenth-century scholarship. The geographical position of these mighty empires, the richness of their soil, the size and magnificence of their great cities, the wideness of their sway in the days of their glory, the influence they exerted on early Eastern thought, and in molding and modifying religions and mythologies, the place they fill in Oriental history, and their intimate relations with the chosen people of God,—these considerations lend importance to any new discoveries which may be made concerning their early history, and the thoughts which moved the hearts of their peoples.

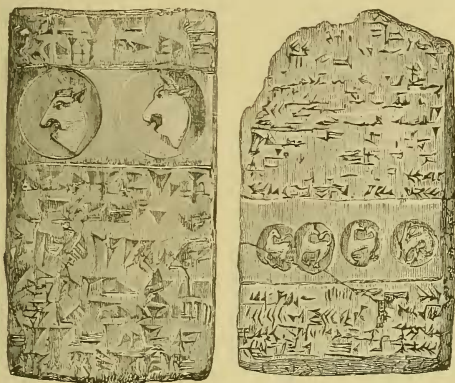
Here was the home of Abraham, “the friend of God,” and, in the light of recent Assyrian discoveries, we may now believe that he carried

with him, in his migration to Canaan, the contents of the sacred books of the kingdom of Ur, embracing the earliest traditions of the Creation, the Flood, and other facts recorded by his great descendant under the guidance of the Spirit of God in the Book of Genesis.

By public and private liberality and enterprise, the literary treasures of these ancient nations have had a glorious resurrection, and the modern scholar has breathed into them the breath of life, and they now speak to us and reveal wonderful secrets concerning the political, social, and religious history of many peoples. The language in which this history is written, with its difficult syllabary and strange cuneiform characters, is being slowly yet surely and thoroughly deciphered and interpreted, and already we have grammars, dictionaries, texts, reading-books, commentaries, translations, professorships, classes, and societies devoted to the work of presenting to our own generation the records which have been recovered from the tombs of these cemeteries of dead empires. The future can be only more glorious in revelations from this interesting field.

The Assyrians used a mode of writing borrowed from the Accadians, who spoke a Turanian tongue. To adapt a hieroglyphic, idiographic,

and syllabic alphabet to a Semitic language, was found to be most difficult. "The Turanian cuneiform writing, as science has now proved, was originally hieroglyphic—that is, composed of pictures of material objects—and these forms can in some cases be reconstructed. An inscription entirely written in these hieroglyphics exists at



BABYLONIAN TABLETS, CONTAINING CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS.

Susa, as is positively known; but it has not yet been copied, and is therefore unfortunately not available for study.

"In the course of time, by a very natural process, the pictured representation underwent a transformation in common use, in exact accordance with the process by which the Egyptian hieratic

was formed from the hieroglyphic, and the present Chinese characters from the pictures originally used. The desire for simplicity contributed to replace the picture by some few lines, which, without exactly copying its form, might serve to recall at any rate its most peculiar characteristic. The most ancient monumental remains of Babylonia and Chaldæa are inscribed with this form of writing, previous to its having assumed the cuneiform character, and this is called by scholars hieratic." *

The Accadians, who came from Elam at a very early period, were conquered by the Semites, perhaps as early as B. C. 3750, and many hundreds of years later their language ceased to be spoken, but long maintained its position as the language of learning and religion. The victorious Semites seem to have been called Casdim in the Old Testament, Assyrian *casidi*, "conquerors." Their earliest recovered monuments are clay tablets covered with brief but invaluable records. The Accadians bequeathed to the Casdim, not only their mode of writing, but also many of their laws, arts, sciences, and much of their religion. The Semites spoke a language closely allied to the Assyrian, and their religion resembled

* Lenormant, Ancient History of the East, Vol. I, pp. 433, 434.

that of the authors of the Himyaritic inscriptions.

The Assyrian language is nearest akin to the Hebrew, and to the Phœnician, which differs dialectically but slightly from the Hebrew. This fact has already enabled Semitic scholars to settle important questions of etymology and grammar, and thus to advance the interests of sound Biblical criticism. Assyrian differs widely from Aramaic, though sharing with it a number of important peculiarities. It differs widely also from the members of the Southern group of Semitic languages—the Arabic, Himyaritic, and Ethiopic.*

The archaic literature of Babylonia and Assyria has been preserved on clay tablets. While impressible, they were stamped with the arrow-head characters, and then baked. Sometimes they were covered with a clay coating, and then baked a second time. In the latter case, upon the removal of the outer coating, a double impression of the writing is revealed.

The tablets are of all sizes, "from an inch long to over a foot square." They are most frequently in a fragmentary condition when found, and the task of restoration is very great. They were arranged according to subjects in the

* Sayce, *Assyrian Lectures*. Ninth Lecture.

libraries, their titles were stamped on the backs of the tablets, and catalogues carefully prepared were ever at hand for convenient reference. The royal library of Nineveh and the great library of Sippara contained many thousands of volumes or tablets.

The first library of Chaldæa, according to Berosus, was established in the antediluvian Pantibiblia, the capital under Amelon, the third



CLAY TABLET.

fabulous king. Xisuthrus, the Chaldæan Noah, by command of Cronos, buried his books at Sippara to be recovered after the Deluge. The library of Erech, to which belonged the wonderful epic of Gizdhubar, containing the story of the

Flood, was among the most ancient of which we possess reliable information. The library of Cutha has furnished a legend of the creation and the war of the giants, while that of Larsa or Senkereh has yielded a number of mathematical tablets.

Sargon I, "the genuine rightful king," who bore the title "king of justice," with which we may compare Melchizedek, "king of righteousness," was a noble patron of learning before B. C. 3750. He conquered the whole of Baby-

lonia, and established the capital at Agané. Here he founded a great library celebrated for its workâ on astronomy and astrology, one of which consisted of no less than seventy-two books. Berosus seems to have translated this work into Greek. There was another important library at Calah. But the royal library of Nineveh, belonging to King Assurbanipal, which has yielded so many treasures to the British Museum, was the most celebrated. Assurbanipal encouraged the study of the dead Sumerian and Accadian languages, and caused grammars and dictionaries to be compiled, and translations to be made.

It has been remarked that the Assyrians anticipated the Hamiltonian method of teaching languages by many centuries. Copies of the most important works belonging to the old library of Agané were made and distributed among the libraries of Assyria, while during the same period of literary activity, many new works were produced.

This great library was most thoroughly organized, and must have had an extensive patronage. We have recovered even some of the rules of the efficient librarian concerning the use of the books. Chiefly through the labors of the greatly lamented George Smith, the tablets from

the palace of Nineveh were unpacked, examined, ticketed, and pieced together. "Historical and mythological documents, religious records, legal, geographical, astronomical, and astrological treatises; poetical compositions, grammatical and lexical disquisitions, lists of stones and trees, of birds and beasts, copies of treaties, of commercial transactions, of correspondence, of petitions to the king, and of royal proclamations,—such were the chief contents of this strange old library. The larger portion of the religious and poetical works were translations from Accadian, the original text being generally given side by side with the Assyrian rendering."*

The library at Babylon may have been founded by Khammuragas, the first of the Cossæan kings, who overthrew the Sargon dynasty. Sennacherib carried the largest portion of its contents to Assyria, when he took the city in B. C. 695.

Assyriologists, who have waited with great interest the progress of literary discoveries in Babylonia, the home of early art, science, and religion, have not been disappointed. Hormuzd Rassam, in his expedition of 1880–81, recovered important records from the ruins of the temples and palaces of Babylon, Borsippa, Sippara, and Cutha. The records found in Jumjuma in 1874,

* Sayce, *Babylonian Literature*, p. 16.

prove this mound to be the site of the great commercial exchange of Babylon.

One of the earliest accounts of the discoveries of Mr. Rassam, says: "These tablets show that for a long period, probably several centuries, the family of the Beni Egibi were the leading commercial firm of Babylon, and to them was confided all the business of the Babylonian Ministry of Finance. The building, whose ruins are marked by the mound of Jumjuma, was the *chancellerie* of the firm, and from its ruins come the records of every class of monetary transactions. The documents being all most carefully dated and compiled, are of great value to the chronologist and historian, while to the student of Babylonian civilization they are of the highest importance. From the tax receipts we learn how the revenue was raised by duties levied on land, on crops of dates and corn, on cattle, by imports for the use of the irrigation canals, and the use of the public roads. The insight into the component elements of social life, ranging from the kings and princes, the priests and soldiers, down to the lowest peasant and slave, is such as is hardly afforded by the records of any other nation. By the aid of these records, we can almost picture the motley crowds of citizens and countrymen who gathered in the court-yard of the

great Babylonian bankers. Then, as now, in the same land, the tax-gatherer was an extortionist; and many a petition was lodged against his claims." *

It is possible that we may yet be compelled to remand this banking firm of Egibi & Co. to the realm of myths; but, however this may be, great commercial activity is certainly shown by the multitude of documents which have been brought to light by Mr. Rassam.

A great triumph of Mr. Rassam in his last expedition, was the identification of the mounds Abu Hubba with the antediluvian Sippara, and the proof that the priests of this ancient city were worshipers of the solar disk and solar rays, and had a creed resembling that of the disk-worshipers of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty. There was a second city of Sippara and the two cities may be identified with the cities of Sepharvaim mentioned in the Bible.†

Mr. Rassam gives the following account of his discoveries in an ancient building: "We first of all discovered four rooms, and then we came upon

* The London *Times*, August 27, 1881. Egibi, the founder of the firm, is thought to have lived during the reign of Sennacherib. Boscawen, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. Vol. VI, p. 9.

† 2 Kings xvii, 24, 31; xviii, 34; xix, 13; Isa. xxxvi, 19; xxxvii, 13.

a fifth. The first four rooms were paved in what I should call the Assyrian or Babylonian style; *i. e.*, with bricks or stone, but the fifth was paved with asphalt, the discovery of which brought to my mind the saying of Solomon that 'there is nothing new under the sun.' As this seemed to me a very singular discovery, I ordered the breaking up of the floor, and after we had dug about three feet into it, we were rewarded by the discovery of an inscribed terracotta coffer, with a lid over the mouth, and, on taking off the cover, we found therein two terracotta inscribed cylinders, with a bas-relief on one side of it. These relics have been found to be the most important records of the oldest city of the world, known to the Greeks by the name of Sippara, and mentioned in the Bible as Sepharvaim. (2 Kings viii, 17; and xviii, 34, etc.) The ancient historians tell us that this city was founded by Noah (who is called Xisuthrus) after the Deluge; and, according to tradition, it was here that Noah buried the antediluvian records. Soon after I had discovered this new city, I had to come home, but I left some workmen under trustworthy overseers to continue the explorations at that place; and I have been informed since that they have uncovered some more rooms, in one of which they found a chan-

nel built with bricks, inside which were buried nearly ten thousand tablets, some whole and some broken."*

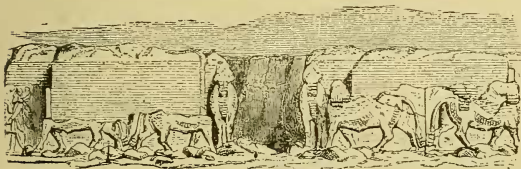
Rev. Dr. Ward, the conductor of the Wolfe expedition to Babylonia in 1885, discovered the site of the second city of Sippara, the "Sippara of Anunit" or Agadé, at a large mound called "Anbar," rivaling Abu Hubba in magnitude. A small tablet records four places—Sipar, Sipar edina, Sipar uldua, and Sipar utu. "The first would be the chief Sippar of Anunit, and the last is Sippar of Shamash. The third is unknown, although Sippar ulla is mentioned in a geographical text. But the second, Sipar edina, would seem to require the translation of 'Sippara of Eden.' This would be, I believe, the first time that Eden has been found as the designation of a region. . . . This would give considerable weight to Delitzsch's theory of the location of the Babylonian Eden."†

The oldest form of government in Assyria was doubtless theocratic, and earthly rulers were but vicegerents of the supreme God, and may have belonged originally to the order of priests.

* Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute, or Philosophical Society of Great Britain, August, 1882, Vol. XVI, pp. 159, 160.

† Ward, Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, October, 1885, p. xxx.

They had the right to sacrifice, while the priest stood behind them as subordinate. They were absolute monarchs, but ruled according to law, and consulted with their court, though always reserving the right of final decision. They lived in great luxury and magnificence, and had extensive harems, though queenly honors may have been granted to but one of their wives. "They were the most cruel nation of antiquity. Without a trace of shame they picture their butcheries



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE AT KHORSABAD.

on the walls of their palaces. Maiming was the lightest cruelty. The sweetest revenge was to flay an enemy alive, and nail his skin to the city wall. Impalement was also a favorite torture; and when the king is merry in the garden with his spouse, the heads of his conquered enemies are hung up before his eyes."

The old Accadians, from whom the Semites inherited much of their culture, had made considerable progress in science and law. The great astronomical work in seventy-two books discusses

eclipses, conjunctions of the sun and moon, spots on the sun, stars, and comets. There are also predictions of the weather determined by the changes of the moon. They had the signs of the zodiac, and the week of seven days. Many stars and constellations had been named, the phases of Venus had been detected, and the ecliptic or "yoke of the sky" had been divided into three hundred and sixty parts. The year had four seasons, twelve months, and three hundred and sixty days, with intercalary months to correct the calendar. The oldest code of laws in the world came from Accad.

In reading the legal treasures, one might almost imagine he was reading pleas of modern lawyers and decisions of modern judges. There were the same tedious formality, the same citing of precedents, and the same care in drawing up, signing, sealing, and witnessing documents. It was believed that the gods favored the just judge, and that divine punishments were inflicted upon those who received bribes or extorted unlawful tribute. An oath was required of the judge each day, by which he bound himself to judge according to the law and the testimony, and his decisions became precedents for the future. Children and slaves were protected in certain important rights. Descent was reckoned through the mother, who held

the highest rank in the family. Divorce on the part of a wife was more blameworthy than divorce on the part of a husband. Wives were protected in the possession of their own property. Sacrilege was considered a very grave offense. Fine and imprisonment were the penalties for contempt of court. Commissioners were appointed for brick-yards and highways; the empire was divided into districts for purposes of taxation, as was afterwards done by the Persians; records of the purchase and sale of property were carefully preserved; awful curses were pronounced upon him who would remove his neighbor's landmarks (Deut. xix, 14; xxvii, 17; Prov. xxii, 28; xxiii, 10), and endowments were bestowed upon literary men for celebrating the praises of the sovereign. The high esteem in which women were held is shown by the ideograph for mother, which means "deity of the house," while the ideograph for father means "maker of the nest." * Rural maxims and rustic songs show the importance they attached to agriculture.

This was a rich inheritance for the victorious Semites, and during periods of literary activity the caste of scribes were kept busy in trans-

* Houghton, Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. VI, pp. 474, 483.

lating Accadian tablets for the benefit of their own day and generation.

The Assyrian king was the priest of his god. Sargon is called "the exalted priest" and "the high-priest," and Nebuchadnezzar designates himself "the supreme high-priest." (1 Sam. xiii, 9; 2 Sam. vi, 17, 18; 2 Chron. vi, 5.) Below the king in dignity was the religious high-priest, under whom were ranged several classes of priests of subordinate rank. The high-priest was attached to the cult of the supreme god of his country, and the subordinate priests were consecrated to special places of worship. These priests purified with oil both persons and things, poured out libations, presented holy offerings, and offered sacrifices. The temples of Babylon were provided with large basins of water placed in the great court, and used for purposes of purification.

The temple of Merodach at Babylon had a second court—that of "Istar and Zamâma"—within which was a walled inclosure, containing the great tower and temples and chapels of many deities. The Holy of Holies, in the innermost temple, was, according to Nebuchadnezzar, "the holy seat, the place of the gods who determine destiny, the spot where they assemble together (?), the shrine of fate, wherein on the festival of

Zagmuku, at the beginning of the year, on the eighth and the eleventh days, the divine king of heaven and earth, the lord of the heavens, seats himself, while the gods of heaven and earth listen to him in fear, [and] stand bowing down before him." The cult of the many gods had its center at Babylon.

Herodotus gives the following description: "The center of each division of the town was occupied by a fortress. In the one stood the palace of the kings, surrounded by a wall of great strength and size; in the other was the sacred precinct of Jupiter Belus, a square inclosure, two furlongs each way, with gates of solid masonry, a furlong in length and breadth, upon which was raised a second tower, and on that a third, and so on up to eight. The ascent to the top is on the outside, by a path which winds round all the towers. When one is about half-way up, one finds a resting-place and seats, where persons are wont to sit some time on their way to the summit.

"On the topmost tower there is a spacious temple, and inside the temple stands a couch of unusual size, richly adorned, with a golden table by its side. There is no statue of any kind set up in the place, nor is the chamber occupied of nights by any one but a single native woman. . . .

They also declare—but I, for my part, do not credit it—that the god comes down in person into this chamber, and sleeps upon the couch. . . . Below, in the same precinct, there is a second temple, in which is a sitting figure of Jupiter, all of gold. Before the figure stands a large golden table, and the throne whereon it sits, and the base on which the throne rests, are likewise of gold. The Chaldæans told me that all the gold together was eight hundred talents' weight. Outside the temple are two altars, one of solid gold, on which it is only lawful to offer sucklings; the other a common altar, but of great size, on which the full-grown animals are sacrificed. It is also on the great altar that the Chaldæans burn the frankincense, which is offered to the amount of a thousand talents' weight, every year, at the festival of the god. In the time of Cyrus there was likewise in this temple the figure of a man, twelve cubits high, entirely of solid gold.* Herodotus is correct except when he enters into details.

This temple was called E-Saggil, "the house of the raising of the head." The special sanctuary of Merodach was E-Kua, "the house of the oracle," the walls of which Nebuchadnezzar en-

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 64, 65; Herodotus I, 181-183.

riched with “glittering gold.” Within the precinct of the great god was the chapel of Nebo, his son, called E-Zida, in which was the Holy of Holies, to which Merodach descended at the great festival at the beginning of the year. The tower of eight stages was E-Temen-gurum, “the house of the foundation-stone of heaven and earth,” and the topmost chamber was used as an observatory.

Assurbanipal repaired this celebrated temple and writes: “E-Sagili (the temple) of the lord of gods I made. I completed its decorations. The mother Bilat, the protectress, of Babylon. Hea and Shamas from the midst of the temple I brought. I caused them to enter into the city of Suanna (the sacred quarter of Babylon). Their



ASSYRIAN FIGURE.

noble shrine I adorned with fifty talents of bronze. I adorned —; with bricks I finished and enlarged upon it. I caused a ceiling of cedar-wood to be made beautiful as the

stars of heaven, adorned with beaten gold. Over Merodach, the lord of the gods, I rejoiced my heart. I worshiped him and performed his will. A noble chariot, the carriage of Merodach, prince of the gods ; with silver, gold, and precious stones I finished its work. To Merodach, king of the hosts of heaven and earth, the sweeper away of my enemies, a couch of acacia-wood, for the holy place adorned with precious stones, silver, and gold, as the resting-place of Bel and Bilat—givers of favor, makers of friendship—skillfully I made.”*

In the chapel of Makhir, “the god of dreams,” discovered by Mr. Rassam at Balawat, was found a marble coffer containing two stone tablets. This coffer resembled the arks or ships in which the images and symbols of the gods were carried in procession. The records furnish us with accounts of making these images of the gods. We also possess an old hymn which was recited when a new image was made in honor of “the ship of enthronement of Merodach:”

“Its helm is of cedar (?) wood, . . .

Its serpent-like oar has a handle of gold.

Its mast is pointed with turquoise.

Seven times seven lions of the field (Eden) occupy its deck.

The god Adar fills its cabin built within.

* Boscawen, *From Under the Dust of Ages*, pp. 14, 15.

Its side is of cedar from its forest.

Its awning is the palm (?) wood of Dilvun.

Carrying away (its) heart is the canal.

Making glad its heart is the sunrise.

Its house, its ascent, is a mountain that gives rest to the heart.

The ship of Ea is Destiny.

Nin-gal, the princess (Dav-kina), is the goddess whose word is life.

Merodach is the god who pronounces the good name.

The goddess who benefits the house, the messenger of Ea, the ruler of the earth, even Nan-gar (the lady of work), the bright one, the mighty work-woman of heaven, with pure (and) blissful hand, has uttered the word of life.

‘May the ship before thee cross the canal!

May the ship behind thee sail over its mouth!

Within thee may the heart rejoicing make holiday!’”*

These festivals were numerous in Babylonia. Other hymns commemorate the festival itself.

Merodach was supreme among the gods only when Babylon was the capital of Babylonia. His temple had within its vast inclosure shrines for all the principal gods of the nation. Herein it differed from temples dedicated to a single divinity. We can not fail to remark the close resemblance which we are able to trace between these temples and the temple of Solomon.

The temple was called “the House of God,” “Resting-place of the God,” “Dwelling of the

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 67.

God," "Palace of the God," "High Place," "Great House," "Palace," "House of the Lofty Head," "House of Life," "House of Heaven," "House of Light," "House of Scepter," "House of Bowing Down of the Head," "House of the Great Flame," "House of Love," and so on.*

But little is known from the monuments concerning the dress of the ancient Chaldæan priests. Representations show them with shaven heads, and wearing a plain robe bound with a girdle. The head-dress was a curious conical affair, if we trust to the representation of the priest in one of the sculptures of the time of Assurbanipal. The king, when he acted as chief pontiff, wore a breastplate adorned with twelve precious stones. (Exod. xxviii, 15-21.) The revenue of the priests was derived from tithes paid in kind and temple estates.

The adornments for the images of the gods are sometimes mentioned—blue robes, robes woven with gold, gold crowns of divinity set with precious stones, beautiful dresses, striped robes, beautiful starred robes, robes of open work, and so on.

The sacrifices included burnt-offerings, sin-offerings, peace-offerings, and wave-offerings; and there were also meat-offerings and drink-offerings.

* Boscawen, *From Under the Dust of Ages*, pp. 4, 11.

There is more than one mention of "first-fruits." The victims were to be perfect—"sheep, pure, large, and well-favored." These sacrifices closely resembled those of the Israelites. We note,

however, one conspicuous difference—the Israelites offered neither honey, milk, nor butter, and honey was strictly forbidden. (Lev. ii, 11.)

But Nebuchadnezzar says: "The portion of the gods of E-Sagili and Babylon, to each a daily portion prepared. I apportioned honey, milk, beautiful butter, and bread made with oil; honey - wine, sweet syrup drink, and noble wines." The Sip-



CHALDEAN PRIESTS,
(Bearing the Image of Bel.)

para tablet gives the portions of the victims which are given to the priests: "The rump, the tail, the skin, and the flanks, together with choice portions of the stomach and intestines, were to go to the priests, leaving the head and shoulders,

with certain portions of fat, for the sacrifices." The Marseilles and Carthage documents contain similar provisions.*

In the earliest times, human sacrifices had been offered, and human flesh consumed in honor of the spirits of the earth. In a tablet it is declared that it is unlawful to eat "the flesh of a man, the flesh of the gazelle, the flesh of the dog, the flesh of the wild boar, the flesh of the ass, the flesh of the horse, the flesh of the wild ass, and the flesh of the dragon." Another tablet contains a hymn to the god Tutu: "Thou art exalted in heaven; in the world thou feedest on mankind; thou art princely in the earth, the flesh of their hearts thou eatest, the flesh in abundance thou eatest."†

Reptiles were accounted most unclean, and the very mention of the pig is unknown in Semitic inscriptions. It is most profitable to compare all of this with the laws concerning sacrifices as recorded in the Pentateuch.‡

* Boscawen, *From Under the Dust of Ages*, p. 21; Fradenburgh, *Witnesses from the Dust*, pp. 314-316; cf. Lev. vii. 28-34, Num. xviii, 8-19.

† Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, pp. 83, 84.

‡ Consult with profit W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, *Fundamental Institutions*, p. 196, *et seq.*

II.

THE BLACK ART.

THE Babylonian and Assyrian religion, as revealed by the monuments, is the product of the fusion of the two religious systems of the Accadians and the Semites. This religious reformation dates from the time of Sargon of Accad. We are not able to separate these systems so as to study each by itself throughout the whole history of its development, but we may begin with the Accadian elemental worship, which figured largely also in the Semitic faith.

“There is a complete world of malevolent spirits, the distinguishing characteristics of which are strongly marked, and their attributes determined with precision; while the hierarchy to which they belong is classed in a most learned manner. At the top of the scale are placed two classes of beings, which partake more nearly than the others of the divine nature, and are genii or demi-gods, a sort of inferior deities. The first bear the Accadian name, *Mas*, ‘soldier, warrior;’ the second the Accadian name of *Lamma*, ‘giant,’ translated in Assyrian by *Lamas*. In the religious texts these names often designate propi-

tious and protecting genii, under whose shelter people place themselves; but, at other times, wicked and hurtful genii, whose power had to be charmed away."



EVIL GENII.

The moral element seems to have been altogether wanting in the beginnings of this phase of faith. The benefits or injuries received from the visible things of nature were capricious and

accidental, and entirely independent of the thoughts and actions of men. These spirits of nature, at the first, were not moved by passions or emotions. If they were to be influenced at all, it must be by an appeal to their love, hatred, pride, or jealousy.

When the power of the exorcist or medicine-man was required to cast out the spirits which caused diseases in man, then the spirits of these inferior orders were looked upon as demons, and decidedly malevolent. They were called "destroyers, warriors, ensnarers." Each class was frequently divided into groups of seven. Among the Jews there were seven principal angels, one of whom was Raphael. (Tobit xii, 15.) The rank of demons—when they formed a hierarchy—was designated by numbers, as the rank of each god was also designated by a number; in the latter case by a whole number, from one to sixty; in the former, by a fraction, with sixty for the denominator.

The *Maskim*, "ensnarers," cosmical demons, possessed the power of disturbing the order of nature. They dwelt in the abyss, and the god of fire was their great antagonist.

"From the four cardinal points the impetuosity of their invasion burns like fire.
They violently attack the dwellings of man.

They wither everything in the town or in the country.
 They oppose the freeman and the slave.
 They pour down like a violent tempest in heaven and earth."

Elemental malevolent spirits, the production of the infernal regions, were present everywhere, and struck terror into the minds and hearts of these simple and superstitious people.

"On high they bring trouble, and below they bring confusion ;

Falling in rain from the sky, issuing from the earth,
 They penetrate the strong timbers, the thick timbers ;
 They pass from house to house ;

Doors do not stop them,

Bolts do not stop them ;

They glide in at the doors like serpents.

They enter the windows like the wind."*

They people all deserts, mountains, marshes, and seas, and rush from their gloomy abodes only to torment men. When they possess the body of a man, resort to exorcisms and incantations is the standard remedy—to drive out evil spirits and invite favorable demons.† All diseases were thought to be the work of different classes of demons, who possessed different parts of the body, and against whom only exorcisms, incantations, and enchanted drinks were efficacious.

* Lenormant, *Chaldaean Magic*, pp. 23-30.

† Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities* viii, 25 ; Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 85 ; Isa. xxxv, 13, 14 ; Matt. xii, 27 ; Acts xix, 13-16 ; Tobit vi, 7, 16, 17.

Namtar and Idpa were the demons of the plague and the fever. Utuq seized upon and possessed the forehead, Alal the breast, Gigim the bowels, and Telal the hand. No part of the body was proof against the invasion of hostile demons. Sometimes demons appeared to men in visible form. Such were the Innin, the Uruku, the Phantom, the Specter, and the Vampire. The last even attacked and sought to destroy men. The dead were believed to come forth from their tombs in the form of vampires. The Incubus, the Succubus, and the Nightmare were demons greatly to be dreaded. The power of "the evil eye" and "the malevolent mouth," caused mortal terror.*

It must be remarked that a complete knowledge of Chaldaean magic in its full development belonged doubtless only to the priests or medicine-men, yet every one must needs have known something concerning the incantations and rites which were necessary in the common exigencies of life.

Purifications were multiplied, and magic knots possessed, in the opinion of the old Accadians, wonderful potency, while the power of numbers, especially of the sacred number seven, was very great.

* Lenormant. *Chaldaean Magic*, pp. 36, 38.

To insure a good harvest, the Accadian sung:

“The corn which stands upright shall come to the end of its prosperous growth;

The number (to produce that) we know it.” *

The divine name, known only to Ea, was the most powerful charm of all. Everything must yield to that name; and it was even made a distinct person. We may profitably compare the powers which the Talmudists and Cabalists believed were hidden in the name of God. Talismans and sacred texts were worn as charms, and talismanic images, placed on guard to protect the inmates of dwellings, were supplied with food and drink, that they might abide contentedly at their posts, and ever possess well-disposed and friendly minds. A magic hymn invites and prays:

“In sublime dishes eat sublime food.

From sublime cups drink sublime waters.

May thine ear be disposed to judge favorably of the king, son of his god!”

Sometimes a monstrous image of a demon was made and used as a talisman. It was apparently believed that even the demon himself would be frightened away by the sight of his own hideous likeness. Many gnostic gems also contain such monstrous representations.

* Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, p. 42; Horace, *Carmen* xi, 2, 3.

To cure a man of the plague, it was prescribed that his face should be turned toward the setting sun, and a talismanic image applied "to the living flesh of his body," when it was believed that the plague-demon would flee away. To protect against the deadly influence of the southwest wind, its frightful image—"the figure of a horrible demon in an upright posture, with the body of a dog, the feet of an eagle, the claws of a lion, the tail of a scorpion, the head of a skeleton but half decayed, and adorned with goats' horns, and the eyes still remaining, and lastly four great expanded wings"—was placed as a guard at the door or window, and the deadly wind dare not enter. Many of these talismanic images have been discovered, and are now to be found in the museums.* Tiamat, the primordial sea, was represented in this manner, and the first created beings were imperfect and of this monstrous character. Representations of battles, in which the gods are victorious over the demons, were placed upon the walls of the dwellings to secure the defeat of evil spirits. The Chaldæans, by their black arts, professed to have supernatural power over all spirits, both good and bad. They could at their pleasure ally themselves with divine or demoniacal powers.

* Lenormant, *Chaldæan Magic*, pp. 51, 52.

Hence the importance of sorcery and witchcraft became very great, and their influence was felt in all religious rites. The gods Ea and the Sun were the chief protectors against sorceries. So great was the fear of the influence of these gods, that the practices of sorcerers were described in language which was understood only by the initiated, though the Assyrian translations of Accadian originals were more explicit. The magic spell would even, as it was confidently believed, destroy life.

The sorcerer would utter terrible imprecations, which would unloose hostile demons and turn beneficent divinities into enemies.

“The malicious imprecation acts on man like a wicked demon ;

The voice which curses has power over him ;

The voice which curses has power over him ;

The malicious imprecation is the spell (which produces) the disease of the head.

The malicious imprecation slaughters this man like a lamb ;
His god oppresses him in his body ;

His goddess creates anguish in him by a reciprocal influence,

The voice which curses him and loads him like a veil.” *

The sorcerer made a drink of herbs, and pronounced an incantation over it, and it became, as

* Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, pp. 64, 65.

he pretended to believe, a deadly poison. He formed an image of a man from wax, and melted it in the fire, when the life of the one whom it represented would waste away as the image melted in the flame.

It will be seen that the religion of the Accadians was a performance rather than a worship. We may learn still more of its character by a careful study of the multitude of magic formulæ to which it has given rise. We present several of these formulæ :

“Him who is the possessor of the images of a man,
The evil face, the evil eye,
The evil mouth, the evil tongue,
The evil lip, the evil breath,
Conjure, O spirit of heaven! conjure, O spirit of earth!”

“The painful fever, the potent fever,
The fever which quits not a man,
The fever-demon who departs not,
The fever unremovable, the evil fever,
Conjure, O spirit of heaven! conjure, O spirit of earth!”

“The painful plague, the potent plague,
The plague which quits not a man,
The plague-demon who departs not,
The plague unremovable, the evil plague,
Conjure, O spirit of heaven! conjure, O spirit of earth!”

“May Nin-akha-Kudda, the mistress of spells,
The spell of Eridu,
Utter with pure mouth;
May Bahu the great mother,

The generatress of mankind,
Restore the blessing of health to the body; may Gula
With quieting hand the consecrated water, the water which
the air has warmed,
Send into his body!
The sickness of the head, the sickness of the mouth, the
sickness of the heart,
The sickness of the entrails (the sickness of the eye),
The ebbing sea, the rising sea,
The flood, the high-tide,
The water of the Tigris, the water of the Euphrates,
The mountain of the night, the mountain of the sunrise,
The mountain of the center,
May they turn back their breast!
Conjure, O spirit of heaven! conjure, O spirit of earth!"

"Seven are they, seven are they;
In the hollow of the deep, seven are they;
Gleams of the sky are those seven.
In the hollow of the deep, in a palace, they grew up.
Male they are not, female they are not.
They are whirlwind-like ghosts; travelers are they.
Wife they possess not, child they beget not.
Compassion and kindness know they not.
Prayer and supplication hear they not.
Horses which are bred in the mountains are they.
Unto Ea are they hostile.
The throne-bearers of the gods are they. -
To trouble the canal in the street are they set.
Evil are they, evil are they!
Seven are they, seven are they, seven twice again are they!
O spirit of heaven, conjure! O spirit of earth, conjure!"

"Like this garlic which is peeled and cast into the fire,
The burning flame shall consume (it);
In the garden it shall not be planted,

In pool or canal it shall not be placed ;
Its root shall not take the earth ;
Its stem shall not grow, and shall not see the sun ;
For the food of god and king it shall not be used.
(So) may the guardian-priest cause the ban to depart from
him, (and) unloose the bond
Of the torturing disease, the sin, the backsliding, the
wickedness, the sinning,
The disease which exists in my body, my flesh, (and) my
muscles.

Like this garlic, may it be peeled off, and
On this day may the burning flame consume !
May the ban depart that I may see the light !”

“ Like this date which is cut and cast into the fire,
The burning flame shall consume (it),
To its stalk he who plucks (it) shall not restore (it),
For the dish of the king it shall not be used ;
(So) may the guardian priest cause the ban to depart from
him, (and) unloose the bond
Of the torturing disease, the sin, the backsliding, the
wickedness, the sinning,
The disease which exists in my body, my flesh (and) my
muscles.

Like this date may it be cut, and
On this day may the burning flame consume (it) !
May the ban depart that I may see the light !”

“ Like this wool which is torn and cast into the fire,
May the burning flame consume (it) !
To the back of its sheep it shall not return ;
For the clothing of god and king it shall not be used.
(So) may the guardian-priest cause the ban to depart from
him, (and) unloose the bond
Of the torturing disease, the sin, the backsliding, the
wickedness, the sinning,

The evil which exists in my body, my flesh, (and) my muscles.

Like this wool may it be torn, and
On this day may the burning flame consume (it) !
May the ban depart that I may see the light !”

“Like this goat’s hair, which is torn and cast into the fire,
The burning flame shall consume (it) ;
To the back of its goat it shall not return,
For the work of dyeing it shall not be used.

(So) may the guardian-priest cause the ban to depart from
him, (and) unloose the bond

Of the torturing disease, the sin, the backsliding, the
wickedness, the sinning,

The evil which exists in my body, my flesh, (and) my
muscles !

Like this goat’s hair, may it be torn, and
On this day may the burning flame consume (it) !
May the ban depart that I may see the light !”

“Take the skin of a suckling that is still ungrown ;
Let the wise woman bind (it) to the right hand, and double
it on the left.

Bind the knot twice seven times ;

Lay (upon it) the spell of Eridu ;

Bind the head of the sick man ;

Bind the neck of the sick man ;

Bind his life ;

Bind firmly his limbs ;

Approach his bed ;

Pour over him the magical waters ;

May the disease of the head, like the eye, when it rests it-
self, ascend to heaven !

Like the waters of an ebbing (flood), to the earth may it
descend !

May the word of Ea issue forth !

May Dav-kina direct !

O Merodach, first-born of the deep, thou canst make pure
and prosperous !”

“The madness is bound in heaven, from the earth it is
driven away.

The power of the freeman, the master of power, is opened
(afresh).

The hand of the fruitful handmaid returns not,
Which is laid on the body of the sick.

As for Istar, who rejoices in quietude, one that exists not
causes her train to descend from the mountain.

To the form of the sick man they approach ;

She raises a cry of lamentation over the man ;

‘ Who takes (it) away ? who gives (him) health ?

Even Istar, the daughter of Sin ;

The mighty father, the son of Mul-lil ;

(And) Merodach, the son of Eridu.

May they give health to the body of the sick man !’

The god who adorns the gate (?), who (issues ?) the com-
mand, has bound his (body).

On the butter which is brought from a pure stall,

The milk which is brought from a pure sheep-cote,

The pure butter of the pure stall lay a spell.

May the man, the son of his good, recover ;

May the man be bright and pure as the butter ;

May he be white as this milk ;

Like refined silver may his firm flesh glisten ;

Like copper may it shine as a polished vessel !

To the Sun-god, the first-born of the gods, confide his
body.

May the Sun-god, the first-born of the gods, to the pros-
pering hands of his god confide him !”*

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 442, 443, 449, 457, 458,
472-474, 460-462.

These spirits, definite and distinct personalities, were innumerable, and filled the whole universe, and were the active cause of all the operations of nature. They were not spirits in any modern sense. "The *zi* was simply that which manifested life, and the test of the manifestation of life was movement. Everything that moved, or seemed to move, was endowed with life, for only in this way could primitive man explain the fact. He himself moved and acted because he had life; life, therefore, was the cause of movement. Hence, the objects and forces of nature were all assigned a *zi*, or spirit. The arrow that flew through the air, the stone that struck and injured, the heavenly bodies that moved across the sky, the fire that blazed up from the ground, devouring all that fell in its way, had all alike these spirits. The spirits were as innumerable as the objects and forces which surrounded the Chaldæan, and as mysterious and invisible as his own spirit or life."*

When these spirits came to possess, in the belief of the Accadians, moral character, a deadly warfare was constantly waged between the good and the bad. The benefits which bless and the plagues which afflict humanity, were thought to be the results of the victories and defeats of the

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 327, 328.

good spirits. An evil spirit and a good spirit were connected with every object and every element in the universe, and struggled for the mastery. War was necessary, peace impossible. Physical discords were battles between these spirits. Sin was the neglect of religious rites, or communion with wicked demons. This vast dualistic system tyrannized over the people, and it was the very basis of Chaldæan magic. It was impossible to do otherwise than to communicate with spirits.

The Jews believed that angels could fall in love with beautiful women. Lenormant has an exhaustive discussion upon this subject, showing vast erudition and wide research, and sustaining his position by numerous authorities.*

Evil spirits must be driven away, and good spirits must be gained and strengthened; and hence the importance of mysterious rites, charms, talismans, and powerful secrets. The only way of happiness and peace was to resort to the magicians, who could protect men, prevent direct calamities, and control the forces of the unseen world.

Good and evil spirits were classified, and at the summit of the hierarchy were placed certain gods, which were yet no gods, but beings which

* Tobit vi, 4; Augustine, *The City of God*, 23; Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, pp. 293-381.

possessed a higher range of the same power as was possessed by the inferior orders of spirits. Ana was the spirit of heaven, and was also even considered the material heavens. Ea was the soul of the inhabited earth, and also the dwelling of all animated beings. He was the god of science, the protector of men, and the guardian of the world. His spouse, Dav-kina, was the personification of the surface of the earth. Mul-lil was the god of the solid earth, and especially of the lower world, "the temple of the dead." In that gloomy realm there were no marked distinctions of rewards and punishment. Some who were permitted to drink of the water of life could again visit the upper world. The demons of the under-world loved darkness, and came forth in the night season to torment men and to lead them into mischief. The sun, their special enemy, triumphed over the black spirits every morning. The Accadians dreaded the night and darkness, while the Semitic Chaldæans loved to behold the glories of the starry sky.

Hitherto we have spoken of the religion as Accadian, and have called the language of the magic texts Accadian. But there were several stages of development before the religion attained an organized form with the old triad of gods—Ana, Mul-lil, and Ea—standing at the head of

the hierarchy. Originally it was a mere Animism—the spirits neither good nor bad. When a moral element was introduced, the demons, especially manifesting their power in causing disease, became decidedly evil and malevolent. The religion had now reached the stage of Shamanism, which is in fact only an organized Animism.

But animals had also their special spirits, and these shared their feelings and passions. Hence we have a Totemism which maintained its position side by side with Shamanism. When distinctions between good and evil demons were recognized, the exorcists approximated the character of priests.

The magic texts which have been presented, appeal to the spirits of heaven and earth to conjure in favor of the sick and the afflicted. All other spirits were subordinate to these great and beneficent spirits, and the good was made superior to the evil. It was but a step and these beneficent spirits became creators, and other spirits also were soon deified. This may be the correct account of the origin of the gods. The sorcerer, in this developed form of religion, would become a sorcerer-priest. In his hands was the power of fate, which even the gods were compelled to obey. With the advent of creative

gods, praise and adoration were added to spells and incantations. Temples and a fixed ritual became necessary. Religious performance became religious worship. There arose a litany, between which and the old magic lies a whole age of religious development.

“The fundamental conception of the preceding period, it is true, still survives; the deities must be influenced by the spoken word of their worshiper. But the spoken word has ceased to be the spell or incantation; it has become a prayer and supplication. Its efficacy depends no longer on the exorcisms of a medicine-man, but on the faithful petitions of the worshiper himself. And along with this change in the nature of the cult has gone a corresponding change in the divine beings to whom the cult is dedicated. They have become gods, bound together in a common brotherhood, like the brotherhood of the cities over whose fortunes they preside.”* Old forms remained, but they were losing their power.

There came also the period of hymns and penitential psalms, and while the earliest literature is in the Sumerian language of the South, much of the later literature is in the Accadian of the North. In these later stages in the development of the Accadian religion, we can not fail to recog-

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 337.

nize Semitic influence. We quote a psalm which reminds us, in several places, of the language of the Old Testament :

“The heart of my lord is wroth ; may it be appeased !

May the god whom I know not be appeased !

May the goddess whom I know not be appeased !

May the god I know and (the god) I know not be appeased !

May the goddess I know and (the goddess) I know not be appeased !

May the heart of my god be appeased !

May the heart of my goddess be appeased !

May the god and the goddess I know and I know not be appeased !

May the god who (has been violent against me) be appeased !

May the goddess (who has been violent against me) be appeased !

The sin that (I sinned I) knew not.

The sin (that I committed I knew not).

A name of blessing (may my god pronounce upon me !)

A name of blessing (may the god I know and know not) record for me !

A name of blessing (may the goddess I know and know not) pronounce upon me !

(Pure) food I have (not) eaten.

Clear water I have (not) drunk.

The cursed thing of my god unknowingly did I eat ;

The cursed thing of my goddess unknowingly did I trample on.

O lord, my sins are many, my transgressions are great !

O my god, my sins are many, my transgressions are great !

O my goddess, my sins are many, my transgressions are great !

O god, whom I know and whom I know not, my sins are many, my transgressions are great!

O goddess, whom I know and whom I know not, my sins are many, my transgressions are great!

The sin that I sinned I knew not.

The transgression I committed I knew not.

The cursed thing that I ate I knew not.

The cursed thing that I trampled on I knew not.

The lord in the wrath of his heart has regarded me;

God in the fierceness of his heart has revealed himself to me.

The goddess has been violent against me and has put me to grief.

The god whom I know and whom I know not has distressed me.

The goddess whom I know and whom I know not has inflicted trouble.

I sought for help and none took my hand;

I wept and none stood at my side;

I cried aloud, and there was none that heard me.

I am in trouble and hiding; I dare not look up.

To my god, the merciful one, I turn myself, I utter my prayer;

The feet of my goddess I kiss and water with tears.

To the god whom I know and whom I know not I utter my prayer.

O lord, look upon (me; receive my prayer!)

O goddess, look upon (me; accept my prayer!)

O god whom I know (and whom I know not, accept my prayer!)

How long, O god, (shall I suffer?)

How long, O goddess, (shall thy face be turned from me?)

How long, O god whom I know and know not, shall the fierceness (of thy heart continue?)

How long, O goddess whom I know and know not, shall
thy heart in its hostility be (not) appeased?

Mankind is made to wander, and there is none that
knoweth.

Mankind, as many as pronounce a name, what do they
know?

Whether he shall have good or ill, there is none that
knoweth.

O lord, destroy not thy servant!

When cast into the water of the ocean (?), take his hand.

The sins I have sinned turn to a blessing.

The transgressions I have committed may the wind carry
away!

Strip off my manifold wickedness as a garment.

O my god, seven times seven are my transgressions; for-
give my sins!

O my goddess, seven times seven are my transgressions;
forgive my sins!

O god whom I know and whom I know not, seven times
seven are my transgressions; forgive my sins!

O goddess whom I know and whom I know not, seven times
seven are my transgressions; forgive my sins!

Forgive my sins; may thy ban be removed!

May thy heart be appeased as the heart of a mother who
has borne children!

As a mother who has borne children, as a father who has
begotten them, may it be appeased!" *

Here is the recognition of sin and a devotional
spirit which are new in the religion of the old Chal-
dæans. The sin, however, which is recognized,
is sin only in a gross sense—eating forbidden

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 349-352.

food, and trampling on the accursed. It is not sin of the heart, but something which has been done through ignorance. But still it is a great advance upon the theology of the days of the early magic. Again, each god has his consort. This is not Accadian. In this primitive language there are no distinctions of gender, and the divinities are independent of all family relationships. But with these marks of Semitic influence there are to be found abundant remnants of old superstitions.

Seven figures as a magic number, and names, possess a mysterious power. Because the penitent does not know the name of the offended divinity, or because he thinks that the god does not wish his name to be mentioned at all, or, again, because he fears to speak the name lest it may be incorrectly pronounced, he seeks to conceal it and yet embrace it under the comprehensive title of gods and goddesses whom he knows and whom he does not know.

The magical texts form the oldest collection of literary remains in the land between the rivers. But there is no sharp chronological line which marks the time when the composition of magical texts ceased, and the production of more devotional works began. Many hymns are older than these texts, and many magical texts were

produced in an age of comparatively advanced religious culture. "Nothing is more common than to find a magical text breaking off into a hymn, or a fragment of a hymn, the recitation of which forms part of the spell or ceremony."

A hymn also may end in words of purely magical import. And then, too, there are poetical addresses to deities employed as spells in medical practice. The patient has frequently the choice between medicines prepared somewhat after the manner of the regular practitioner of the present day, and the employment of a spell which has been held sacred from days of old. Sometimes, by the side of hymns to the gods, there are corresponding hymns to inferior orders of beings. Legendary poems might be employed as spells. We learn, then, the connection between magical texts and some of the hymns. The latter were used as mystical incantations, which were recited while the magic rites were in progress.

The Accadian language became sacred, and maintained its position for centuries. Great importance was attached to the mere words of this old tongue. It became the vehicle of religious instruction, and learned men, during periods of literary activity in Assyria, were busy in translating Semitic texts into this language of the gods.

For purposes of popular instruction, they also made translations from Sumerian and Accadian into Assyrian. Sometimes the Semites composed directly in the Accadian language. At a later period, it began to lose its religious prestige, and the later Assyrian came into more general use in all literary productions.

Many of the ancient writings have suffered from interpolations, and it is not uncommon to find the names of modern deities substituted, in Assyrian versions, for Proto-Chaldean names. Texts which are introduced by "spell" or "incantation"—*siptu* in Assyrian, *en* in Accadian—are not always thereby designated to be employed in a magical manner, for *siptu* in the later language, and in such connection, has come to mean only "to be recited." It will be seen how difficult a task it is to fix the date of documents so constructed and handled, and to determine with precision their teachings and implications. We can only arrive at an approximation to accuracy.

The science of divination filled a large place in Babylonian and Assyrian theology. Some of the literary works which treat of different branches of the subject, have been worked out with great elaboration. There is one mentioned which contains twenty-five books or tablets, and

another has more than one hundred. The rules adopted for the interpretation of prodigies were both abundant and curious. The use of lots; divination by means of arrows and twigs taken from sacred trees; talking trees and singing leaves; atmospheric phenomena; the flight of birds, their cries and sports; clouds, waterspouts, winds, lightning, meteors; presages drawn from fire, water, and stones; signs taken from serpents, and the peculiarities, external and internal, of all animals, and especially all the circumstances connected with the advent into the world, both of human beings and of other animals; monstrous forms; the sun, moon, stars, planets, and comets; dreams and the inspired utterances of seers,—from this selection from the material presented by the monumental records, we may learn how complicated was the system.

The tablets which treat of this subject are for the greater part quite fragmentary, and generally later than the magic tablets; but even in their imperfect condition, they serve to throw a few rays of most welcome light upon an obscure subject.

The Book of Daniel should be read in the light of these revelations from beneath the dust of ages. It were well also to consult the Book

of Ezekiel, and the apocryphal Epistle of Jeremias.*

We shall learn more of the subject discussed in this chapter in the course of the future progress of this work.

* Lenormant, *La Divination et la Science des Présages chez les Chaldéens*; *Les Six Premiers Chapitres de Daniel*.

III.

TRANSITIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS.

IN all Semitic art, the gods are represented in human form ; only demons and inferior spirits, or mythological personages, are portrayed as animals or composite figures. Ea alone, as “god of life,” is given the skin of a fish, which, however, he wears only as a cloak. The brood of Chaos, depicted in sacred art, and described by Berosus, do not belong to the present creation, and disappear when light is victorious over darkness. The god of the Semites is the father of the human race, and has created man in his own image. Sometimes there is an apotheosis of men, and they become gods, though this tendency was early checked.

Naram-Sin, the son of the great Sargon of Accad, bore the title of a god, as we learn from a hæmatite cylinder, discovered by General Di Cesnola in Cyprus, to which the mighty king had extended his conquests. One of the monarchs of Ur, Amar-Agu, or Buru-Sin by name, was deified. There is no trace of such apotheosis later than the time of Khammuragas, though a Cassite sovereign, Agu-kak-rimê—about B. C.

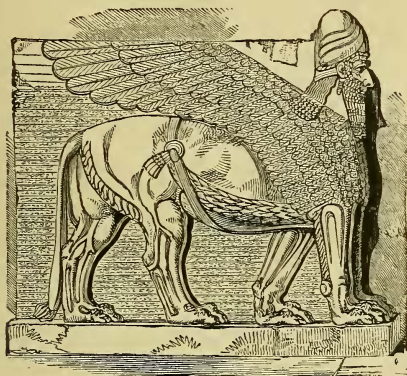
1630—claimed to have been descended from the god Sugamuna.

But the god had not always been represented in human form in Babylonia. It was only when the Accadian came in contact with the Semite that the tendency to represent the gods in this manner—a tendency which had been already shown in Chaldaean art—became fully developed. The Accadian had represented his gods as animals, and when the Semite relegated some of these as subordinate spirits to the realm of chaos, they were permitted to retain their bestial forms.

The guardians of Assyrian temples and palaces in the forms of winged, human-headed bulls and lions, and the eagle-headed cherubs which guard the sacred tree, are survivals of this old pre-Semitism. Frequently, when the gods assumed a human form, they were placed by the art of the day on the backs of the animals under whose forms they had been formerly symbolized. The written records which have been preserved to us, confirm the testimony of art upon this point. The sun-god of Kis is said to have been represented as an eagle. These symbols, as survivals, appear on Babylonian boundary-stones.

In the myths concerning Istar and Gizdhubar, there are recollections of the time when gods were represented as eagles, horses, and lions.

“We are taken back to an epoch of totemism, when the tribes and cities of Chaldæa had each its totem, or sacred animal, to whom it offered divine worship, and who eventually became its creator-god.” The fish was the totem of Eridu, and afterward became the god Ea. The name of this god is sometimes expressed by an ideo-



WINGED LION WITH HUMAN HEAD.

graph which signifies “antelope,” and Ea was called “the antelope of the deep,” “the antelope, the creator,” “the antelope, the prince,” “the lusty antelope;” and the ark, or “ship,” in which the image of Ea was carried in procession, was called “the ship of the divine antelope of the deep.”

Ea may have been the product of the amalgamation of two earlier divinities. The original antelope-god may have been the god of the river Euphrates, and the fish-god the god of the great deep—the Persian Gulf, and later, the encircling ocean. Nina—we have the name under different forms in different places and times—the serpent-goddess, was the daughter of Ea, and had her home in the marshes of the river and gulf. As Ea was the culture-god, the serpent may in this way have been connected with wisdom, as in the Genesis account of the temptation of our first parents. Merodach, in his war-song, speaks of “the strong serpent of the sea,” and “the great serpent of seven heads.” The primitive serpent-goddess may have been beneficent in character, but the Semites made her the very incarnation of wickedness.

Ea was also at times regarded as a gazelle, and was called “the princely gazelle,” “the lusty gazelle,” and “the gazelle who gives the earth,” and his son Merodach is called “the mighty one of the gazelle-god.” But the gazelle was more usually appropriated to Mul-lil, and hence, we may conclude, was the totem of Nipur.

There was a god Uz, the Accadian word for a goat, who, it would seem, was specially adored at Nipur. There is evidence which goes to show

that the goat was the totem of Sippara ; at least Uz was the title of the local sun-god who was there worshiped. "The god Uz himself is depicted as sitting on a throne, watching the revolution of the solar disk, which is placed upon a table and slowly turned by means of a rope. He holds in his hand a ring and bolt, and is clad in a robe of goat's-skin, the sacred dress of the Babylonian priests."

The pig was once the totem of Nipur, as Adar is called "the lord of the swine." The dog was connected with Merodach, who, in the later Babylonian religion, owned four divine hounds. Merodach may have been originally "the lord of death," and his four hounds—"the seizer," "the devourer," "the capturer," and "the pursuer"—may have been devastating winds. The Semites held the pig and the dog in the utmost abhorrence, and the dog is not represented in the early Assyrian art.

Again, Ea and his wife had each two divine "bulls." The bulls of Ea were called "the god of the field of Eden" and "the god of the house of Eden." Merodach, as the sun-god, was "the bull of light." The sky was but a duplicate of the Babylonian plain, and "the bull of light" was the plowman of the celestial fields.

Taurus, as the zodiacal bull, when the Acca-

dian astronomers named the signs, ushered in the vernal year.

In some instances the bestial element was eliminated from the old totemistic conceptions. As an example, we may cite the case of the Accadian Zu, "the divine storm-bird," which became the god Zu of the Semites. This storm-bird was known as Lugal-tudda, "the lusty king," and was the patron deity of Marad. He stole fire and lightning from heaven, and brought them down to earth for the use of man; as a punishment, he was driven as an outcast from heaven by the great gods.

"Lugal-tudda (fled) to the mountain, a place remote.

In the hill of 'Sabu he (dwelt).

No mother inhabits it and (cares for him).

No father inhabits it and (associates) with him.

No priest who knows him (assists him).

He who (changed) not the resolution, even the resolution
of his heart,

In his own heart (he kept) his resolution.

Into the likeness of a bird was he transformed.

Into the likeness of Zu, the divine storm-bird, was he
transformed.

His wife uplifts the neck.

The wife of Zu, the son of Zu, may he cause them to
dwell in a cage,

Even the god of the river-reeds (Enna), and the goddess,
the lady of the basket of river-reeds (Gu-enna)!

From his mountain he brought (her),

As a woman fashioned for a mother made beautiful,

The goddess of plants, as a woman, fashioned for a mother,
made beautiful.

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On (his) head he placed a circlet;
. . . on his head he set a coronal
(When) he came from the nest of the god Zu.
(In a place) unknown in the mountain he made his tomb."

Here the old story has become a fairy-tale—the transformation into a bird has become voluntary, in order to secure a beautiful bride. But there is no doubt as to the original form of the myth. While Zu gazes upon the works of Mul-lil, "he sees the crown of his majesty, the clothing of his divinity, the tablets of destiny, and Zu himself, and he sees also the father of the gods, the bond of heaven and earth. The desire to be Bel (Mul-lil) is taken in his heart; yea, he sees the father of the gods, the bond of heaven and earth; the desire to be Bel is taken in his heart: 'Let me seize the tablets of destiny of the gods, and the laws of all the gods let me establish; let my throne be set up; let me seize the oracles; let me urge on the whole of all of them, even the spirits of heaven.' So his heart devised opposition; at the entrance to the forest where he was gazing, he waited with his head (intent) during the day. When Bel pours out the pure waters, his crown was placed on the throne, stripped from (his

head.) The tablets of destiny, (Zu) seized with his hand ; the attributes of Bel he took ; he delivered the oracles. (Then) Zu fled away and sought his mountains. He raised a tempest, making (a storm).”

The offended god appeals to several gods of the upper court to slay the Babylonian Prometheus, Zu, but none can be prevailed upon to take the life of a brother god ; so he abides safe in his new mountain home.*

The divinity revealing himself in the sound of the thunder, the storm, and the sea, leads some of the Semites to the deification of the voice itself. This may also account for the great importance attached to names, their proper use, and accurate pronunciation ; and this mystical importance assigned to names will assist in the explanation of the awe and dread in which the curse was regarded. When once uttered, the gods themselves could not break its power. Mamit was the Assyrian god of fate, whose operations, like those of the Greek Até, were usually evil. The awfulness of the curse may be learned from the incantations used by the early sorcerer.

“O curse, curse the boundary that none can pass ! The limit of the gods (themselves) against which they may not transgress ! The limit of

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 277-299.

heaven and earth which altereth not! The unique god against whom none may sin! Neither god nor man can undo (it). A snare not to be passed through, which is set for evil. Whether an evil *utuk*, or an evil *alu*, or an evil *ekimmu*, or an evil *gallu*, or an evil god, or an evil incubus, or a *labartu*, or a *labatsu*, or an *akhhharu*, or a *lilu*, or a *lilat*, or the maid of a *lilu*, or the evil plague-demon, or the disease-bringing *asakhu*, or a bad sickness, which has set its head towards the dropping water of Ea, may the snare of Ea seize it! Which has stretched its head against the wisps of Nirba (the corn-god), may the lasso of Nirba bind it! Against the limitation (of the curse) it has transgressed. Never may (the limitation) of the gods, the limitation of heaven and earth, depart from it! (The limitation of the great) gods it reverences not. May (the lasso of) the great gods bind it! May the great gods curse it! May they send back (the demon) to (his) home! The home of (his) habitation may they cause him to enter! As for him who has turned to another place, to another place, a place invisible, may they bring him! As for him who has turned into the gate of the house, the gate of a place from which there is no exit may they cause him to enter! As for him who has stationed himself in the door and bolts, in

the door and bolts may they bind him with bonds from which there is no release! As for him who has blown (?) into the threshold and socket, who into threshold and hinge has crept, like water may they pour him out, like a cup may they shatter him, like quarry-stone may they break him to pieces! As for him who has passed across the beam, his wings may they cut! As for him who has thrust his neck into the chamber, may they twist his neck!" *

As has *already been stated, these ancient peoples believed that diseases were caused by demons which, in some way, had been received into the human system. But when the disease, as a pestilence or an epidemic, swept over a whole country, there was another theory. It was then thought to be an instrument in the hands of the gods for the punishment of sins. Even when the disease attacked only single individuals, this solution of the problem was sometimes entertained. Namtar, the plague-demon, had been the messenger of the gods of the under-world and the arbiter of human fate, but in Semitic times he became the angel of death and acquired divine attributes. He commanded the "seven gods," and Itak or Isum in the form

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 308.

of a whirlwind was his messenger. We find also Nerra, the god of the dead, represented as the master of Isum, and these two divinities became the messengers of divine vengeance upon the wicked.

It would appear that the "seven gods" were sent as a commission to investigate the sins of the people of earth. They found things in a bad state, and so reported to Anu, who summoned Nerra, and sent him to destroy them with sword and famine and plague. He came to Babylon to execute upon that mighty city his stern commission. Mul-lil looks down upon the scene, and says in his heart:

"Nerra is crouching at his gate among the corpses of the noble and the slave: Nerra is crouching at the gate; thou hast set his seat (there). Their foes have besieged the men of Babylon, and thou art their curse. Thou didst bind them with chains (?), and didst fix the doom (?), O warrior Nerra. Thou didst leave one and go forth against another. The form of a dog dost thou assume and enterest into the palace. The people saw thee; their weapons were broken. The heart of the high-priest, the avenger of Babylon, is full of valor; when he urged on his troops to take the spoil of the enemy, before the people he has done wickedness. In the city to which I shall send thee

thou shalt fear no man, shalt reverence none; small and great slay together, and leave not the youngest of the evil race. Thou shalt spoil the first that come to Babylon, the people of the king which is gathered together and entered into the city, shaking the bow and setting up the spear, auxiliaries who have transgressed against Anu and Dagon, thou shalt set up their weapons; like the waters of the storm thou shalt give their corpses to the open places of the city; thou shalt open their treasures (?) and bid the river carry them away."

It would seem that by the intercession of Merodach the wrath of the plague-god was appeased, and he carried the scourge to Erech. From this city he took a more daring flight toward the land of the West. "And the warrior Nerra spoke thus: 'Sea-land against sea-land, 'Sumasti against 'Sumasti, the Assyrian against the Assyrian, the Elamite against the Elamite, the Kossæan against the Kossæan, the Kurd against the Kurd, the Lullubite against the Lullubite, country against country, house against house, man against man, brother against brother, let them destroy one another, and afterwards let the Accadian come and slay them all, and fall upon their breasts.' The warrior Nerra (further) addresses a speech to Isum, who goes before

•

him: 'Go, Isum, incline all thy heart to the word thou hast spoken.' (Then) Isum sets his face towards the land of the West; the seven warrior gods, unequalled, sweep (all things) away behind him. At the land of Phœnicia, at the mountains, the warrior arrived; he lifted up the hand, he laid it on the mountain; the mountain of Phœnicia he counted as his own soil."*

Here is a great advance since we first heard of the Accadian demon Namtar, before his character was modified by Semitic influence. He was the demon of destiny whose power none could escape. But Nerra, in some sense his decendant, is one of the gods and punishes wickedness. He is not unlike the angels of the Old Testament whom Jehovah employs for the same purpose. We are reminded of the angels who were commissioned to visit Sodom and behold the iniquity of the inhabitants of the cities of the plain. (Genesis xviii, xix.) An angel with a drawn sword stood in the way of Balaam. (Num. xxi, 22-35.) The angel who slew the first-born of the land of Egypt was not far different in character from this old Isum of Babylonia. (Exod. xii, 23.) The angel of vengeance destroyed seventy thousand of the

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 311-313; cf. Isaiah, xix, 2-4.

children of Israel, and stretched out his hand towards Jerusalem to destroy it, when the Lord "repented" and said: "It is enough; now stay thine hand." (2 Sam. xxiv, 15, 16.)

The following is the beginning of the fragment of an old hymn:

"(In) Eridu a stalk grew overshadowing; in a holy place did it become green;

Its root was of white crystal which stretched towards the deep;

(Before) Ea was its course in Eridu, teeming with fertility; Its seat was the (central) place of the earth;

Its foliage was the couch of Zikum (the primæval) mother. Into the heart of its holy house, which spread its shade like a forest, hath no man entered.

(There is the home) of the mighty mother who passes across the sky.

(In) the midst of it was Tammuz.

(There is the shrine?) of the two (gods)."*

No one can avoid recognizing the resemblance between this and the world-tree of Norse mythology, which we have described in another work.†

The Accadian world-tree extends its roots far down into the deepest abyss, stretches its trunk through the world of human habitation, and lifts its top up to Zikum, the primordial

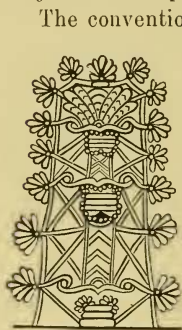
* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 238.

† Fradenburgh, *The Gods of our Fathers*.

heavens, who rests upon its outspread branches. Within this tree was the temple of Tammuz and Davkina, "the great mother," which was too holy for mortal man to enter. This tree in our old nursery tale has degenerated into Jack and the Bean-stalk.

Ea describes in a magic text the cure for a man possessed of the seven demons. He must first go to "the cedar-tree, the tree that shatters the power of the incubus, upon whose core the name of Ea is recorded." When an augur is initiated, he is made to descend into an imitation of the lower world, where he beholds "the altars amid the waters, the treasures of Anu, Bel, and Ea, the tablets of the gods, the delivering of the oracle of heaven and earth, and the cedar-tree, the beloved of the great gods, which their hand has caused to grow." Another magic text directs: "Take the fruit of the cedar, and hold it in front of the sick person; the cedar is the tree which gives the pure charm, and repels the inimical demons, who lay snares." The cedar was much used in medical magic, and a cone of the cedar is held in the hand of the eagle-headed cherub which guards the sacred tree. This cone is also of great importance in other connections. This, then, was the world-tree and the tree of life; and having upon its core the name of Ea, the

god of wisdom, it was also the tree of knowledge. We find, however, two sacred trees—the cedar and the palm. This may have been a later development. The relations of the sacred trees of Babylonia with the sacred trees of other nations and religions would open too large a subject for the present discussion.*



THE TREE OF LIFE.

The conventional forms of the sacred trees in Assyrian art effectually conceal their species. Doubtless “the tree of life” and “the tree of the knowledge of good and evil” were conceived by the author of Genesis under similar forms.

The primitive Chaldæan had little knowledge concerning a future life. The horizon of his hopes was bounded by the present world. According to the theology of Nipur, Mul-lil ruled over the ghost-world—a gloomy realm beneath the earth. Here the Anúnas, the spirits of earth, had their golden throne, and guarded the waters of life. The cult of Eridu made the great ocean-stream the home of the gods. When the two cults were united, the under-world of

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 240-242; Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, pp. 92, 93.

Nipur was connected with this ocean-stream, and it became the entrance to Hades. The ghost-world and the world of Ea were identified and confounded; there was, however, this distinction—that the ghosts remained in the under-world, while Mul-lil dwelt in the world above with Ea and Merodach. Since the sacred river and the Persian Gulf were identified with the ocean-stream, the world of the gods was thought to be situated somewhere beyond the mouth of the Euphrates.

We meet with another and different conception in Kharsag-Kurkúra—"the mountain of the world"—which became the Assyrian Olympus. This mountain was placed in the far north, and seemed to correspond with the world-tree. Its roots were deep down in the abyss, and its summit high up in the world of the immortal gods. It drew another Hades and another Paradise to the north.* A Babylonian hymn begins:

"O mighty mountain of Mul-lil, Im-Kharsag (the mountain sky), whose head rivals the heavens; the pure deep has been laid as its foundation.

Among the mountains it lies like a strong wild bull.

Its horns glisten like the splendor of the Sun-god.

Like the star of heaven that proclaims (the day), it is full of glistening rays.

* Cf. Isaiah xiv, 13.

The mighty mother, Nin-lilli (the lady of the ghost-world), the reverence of E-Sára (the temple of the hosts of heaven), the glory of E-Kúra (the temple of the hosts of earth), the adornment of E-Giguna (the temple of the city of darkness), the heart of E-Ki-gusúra (the temple of the land of light).”*

This mountain became the ladder by which to ascend to the home of the gods ; while far above was the highest heaven—“the heaven of Anu.” Hades was still a dark and dreary land beneath the earth, where the spirits of the dead flit, eat dust and drink mud, and from which they sometimes escape, and, as vampires, feed upon the blood of living men. The road to this gloomy realm leads through the seven gates, whose porters strip the dead of all his trappings and apparel, and guard against his return to the upper air. There are neither rewards nor punishments in this dark abode, and there is the recognition of neither vice nor virtue. It is all unsubstantial, shadowy, and unreal.

There are, however, the beginnings of a nobler and purer doctrine.

“Wash thy hands, purify thy hands.
Let the gods, thine elders, wash their hands, purify their hands.
Eat sacred food from sacred plates.

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 362.

Drink sacred water from sacred vessels.
 Prepare thyself for the judgment of the king of the son of
 his god."

"They have put there the sacred water.
 The goddess Anat, the great spouse of Anu,
 Will cover thee with her sacred hands.
 The God Iau will transport thee into a place of delights.
 He will transport thee into a place of delights.
 He will place thee in the midst of honey and butter.
 He will pour into thy mouth reviving water;
 Thy mouth will be opened for thanksgivings."

"On a couch reclining, and
 Pure water he drinks.
 Who in the battle was slain she sees.
 His father and his mother his head support;
 His wife weeps much.
 Those who are his friends on the ground stand round.
 She sees, and thou shalt see.
 His spoil on the ground he does not regard.
 Of his spoil an account he has not.
 The captives assemble and follow food,
 Which in the tents are eaten."*

There may have been a worship of the mountains among the Accadians before they left their home in the East to settle as colonists in Chaldæa. The mountains were not only the altars of the gods, but were themselves also sometimes considered divine, or the visible habitations of

* Halévy, *Records of the Past*, Vol. XI, pp. 161, 162; Boscawen, Vol. IX, p. 134.

the divinities of the air. The temple mounds of Babylonia may occupy the places of older sanctuaries, around which clustered many sacred associations. It is quite suitable that in this land the people should have conceived the idea of building a tower, the summit of which should be so high that the gods would make it their peculiar residence. The monuments refer to this work, and to the confounding of the secret counsels of the people, so that they were compelled to abandon their purpose.

The great astronomical work—"The Observations of Bel"—proves that the heavens were studied in early Chaldæan times. The Assyrian religion, in its full development, was decidedly sidereal. The gods of the Pantheon were identified with planets, and the stars—as well as the sun, moon, and comets—were deified; thus assuming a double character, mythological and sidereal.

The sun had different names—as in Egypt, in the morning, in the evening, and at midday—"the sun of life," "the god of death," and "the Southern sun." The same cuneiform character, whose phonetic value is *an*, means both star and deity. Merodach, "the circle of the sun," is Mercury as the morning star, and Jupiter as the evening star, and is called by different names

throughout all the months of the year—"the messenger of the rising sun," "the light of the heavenly spark," and so on. The moon is called "the star of Anunit," and "the star of the Tigris." Venus is "the proclaimer of the coming sun," and "the lady of the defenses of heaven." Saturn is "the eldest-born of the sun-god." Jupiter is identified with several stars, as "the star of Merodach," and "the flame of the desert;" and Mars is "the star of the seven names." The stars are called "judges," and the pole-star is "the judge of heaven." The colors of the garments of the Chaldæan priests seem to have been symbolical of the heavenly bodies to whose worship they were devoted. Red symbolizes Mars; blue, Mercury; and pale yellow, Venus. The study of the stars became an imperative religious duty.

The Assyrians possessed a regular ritual and rubric. Each day of the year was assigned to a special deity or patron saint, and special services and ceremonies were observed. In an Accadian calendar, sacred services are prescribed in honor of twenty gods. On certain Sabbath days—the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, twenty-eighth, as well as the nineteenth of each month—the flesh of birds and cooked fruits could not be eaten, garments could not be changed, and white

robes could not be worn. The king was forbidden to ride in his chariot. No laws could be made, no military commands issued, and no medicine taken. The word *Sabattu*, "a day of rest for the heart," remains. There was also a day called the "day of joy." Each month also was dedicated to a special god.*

"Though religious uniformity is certainly not the law of the empire, yet a religious character appears in many of the wars, and attempts seem to be made at least to diffuse everywhere a knowledge and recognition of the gods of Assyria."

"In every way religion seems to hold a marked and prominent place in the thoughts of the people, who fight more for the honor of their gods than even of their king, and aim at extending their belief as much as their dominion."†

Kings are responsible to the gods, and must rule in righteousness. The inscriptions, even those most strictly historic, begin and end with prayer and praise to the principal deities, while Babylonian inscriptions largely concern the erection and repairing of temples. Altars are called

* Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, pp. 248 *et seq.*; Sayce, *Records of the Past*, Vol. VII, pp. 155-170.

† Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. I, p. 398; *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. I, p. 241.

“the foot-stools of the great gods.” Proper names frequently contain, as elements, the names of one or more gods.

Nebuchadnezzar is high-priest of Merodach. Nebo is “the bestower of thrones in heaven and earth.” Sennacherib introduces the Assyrian religion in conquered countries, and several kings have been raised to the rank of deities. Law-suits are held in temples. Assurbanipal causes the kings whom he conquers to swear “to worship the great gods.” Success in war or in the chase is ascribed to the help of the guardian deities. Esarhaddon prays at the dedication of a temple that “the bull of good fortune may never cease to watch over it;” and he erects many statues and altars to the great gods. “The god Sin shone on the top of the temples and shadowed the battlements.” Nabonidus erects a temple to the moon—“king of the stars upon stars”—in the city of Ur, and prays: “The king of the great divinity in the hearts of their inhabitants fix thou firmly, that they may not transgress against thy divinity!” “Fix thou firmly in his heart that he may never fall into sin.” Tiglath-Pileser I dedicates twenty-five captured gods “for the honor of the temple of the queen of glory.” He prays Anu and Rimmon to support the men of his government, establish the

authority of his officers, send refreshing rain, give victory in battle, and reduce hostile kings and keep them in allegiance to his successors. He desires to worship "honestly, with a good heart and pure trust."

In B. C. 2280, a powerful king of Elam, Kudur-Nankhunte by name, ravaged the city of Erech, and carried the image of Istar away to Susa. After 1635 years, this same image was recaptured and restored by Assurbanipal. Sargon sacrificed "pure victims, supreme sacrifices, expiatory holocausts," and offered frankincense, vases of glass, chiseled objects in pure silver, heavy jewels, "sculptured bulls, winged quadrupeds, reptiles, fishes, and birds, symbols of abundance of an incomparable fecundity." Tablets and cylinders, with important inscriptions, were deposited in the foundation-stones of buildings.*

It will be observed that our knowledge of the religion of the Assyrians is confined largely to the court. The religion of the common people was doubtless more corrupt by connection with elemental worship and magic.

Sacred texts, talismans, and amulets retained their supposed efficacy in the later faith. San-

* Various translators, *Records of the Past*, Vols. XI, p. 20; V, p. 123; I, p. 27; V, p. 96; III, pp. 115, 123; XI, p. 33 *et seq.*; V, pp. 146-148, 15, 25, 26; III, p. 55; I, p. 29.

duarri, king of Kundi and Sitzu, who contended against Esarhaddon, wrote the names of "the great gods side by side," and trusted in the power of this charm. Images of the gods and holy texts were placed on the door-posts, to protect the inmates of the house from disease. Sacred texts were sometimes bound about the statues of the gods, or around the head of the sick.

Criminals were thrown into a furnace, or den of lions, or among wild beasts. The Book of Daniel is powerfully confirmed in every particular. The Scripture estimate of the character of the Assyrians is fully confirmed by the monuments, and their city was indeed "a bloody city." (Isaiah xxxiii, 19; Nah. iii, 1.) They are violent and treacherous and covenant-breakers, who "despise the cities and regard no man." Their pride calls down upon them the Divine wrath. (Isaiah x, 7-14; xxxiii, 1, 8; Ezek. xxxi, 10, 11; Zeph. ii, 15; Isaiah xxxvii, 24-28.) Their national emblem was a lion, that "tears in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangles for his lions, and fills his holes with prey and his dens with raven." When Nineveh repented, under the preaching of Jonah, it was by turning from evil and violence, (Nah. ii, 11-13; Jonah iii, 8.)

Certain passages from the monuments may be

compared with similar passages from the Holy Scriptures: "Who can compare with thee, O Ninip, son of Bel? Thou didst not stretch forth thy hand (in vain). . . . O thou! thy words, who can learn? Who can rival them? Among the gods, thy brothers, thou hast no equal. . . . In heaven, who is great? Thou alone art great! On earth, who is great? Thou alone art great! When thy voice resounds on heaven, the gods fall prostrate. When thy voice resounds on earth, the genii kiss the dust. . . . Keep thou the door of my lips! Guard thou my hands, O lord of light! O sun, to the lifting up of my hands (in prayer) show favor! . . . O my God, my sins are seven times seven! . . . Before his god in prayer he fell flat on his face." These passages might be greatly multiplied.

Self-mutilation seems to have been considered especially praiseworthy. "He who stabs his flesh in honor of Ishtar, the goddess unrivaled, like the stars of heaven he shall shine; like the river of night he shall flow." We meet also with the belief that sins may be inherited from the parents, and may be imputed from an elder brother, or even from some unknown person.

Throughout the East the protecting divine power is regularly represented in ancient art as

a circle or disk, with long wings on each side. The winged disk hovers over the king of Nineveh as he goes forth to battle. In the earlier art the wings extend from a simple circle or disk, but in later art the circle is modified so as to represent the Divine Person. Sometimes there is also a head over each wing, forming, with the central figure, a Divine Triad. In the Assyrian sculptures the king is often represented kneeling in worship under the winged disk, and receiving in his hands two healing streams from the outstretched wings. Sacred writers have made use of this grandest of figures to give strength and comfort to him who believes in the love and protection of God.

“But unto you that fear my name, shall the Son of righteousness arise with healing in his wings.” “The Lord recompense thy work, and a full reward be given thee of the Lord God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to trust.” “He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust.” “I will trust in the covert of thy wings.” “Hide me under the shadow of thy wings.” “In the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice.” (Psalms xvii, 8; lxi, 4; lxiii, 7; xci, 4.)

If there was ever an ancient monotheism in Assyria, it was early overgrown by polytheism.

“When we penetrate through the gross surface of polytheism, which it had acquired from popular superstition, and revert to the original and higher conceptions, we shall find the whole based on the idea of the unity of the Deity, the last relic of the primitive revelation disfigured by and lost in the monstrous ideas of pantheism, confounding the creature with the Creator, and transforming the Deity into a god-world, whose manifestations are to be found in all the phenomena of nature.” “In truth, polytheism was stamped on the earth in temples and towns, and the warlike or beneficent works of kings. Rimmon was the patron of the all-important irrigation; Sin, of brick-making and building; Nergal, of war. Polytheism glittered in scrolls of light in the constellations of the firmament; it measured days and months, and years and cycles, and, by its auguries of good or ill, decided the least ways of house-life and the greatest collisions of nations.”*

*Lenormant, *Ancient History of the East*, Vol. I, p. 450; Tomkins, *Studies on the Times of Abraham*, p. 12.

IV.

GODS AND NO-GODS.

PART FIRST.

THROUGHOUT Chaldæa the spirit of the sky received worship from the earliest times; but in Erech, Ana became the chief deity of the local cult, and the importance of his city gave him the first place in the Semitic triad of gods, when our real acquaintance with him begins. His influence early extended to the west; for in the time of Thotmes III his name and that of Anat, his double, were known in Palestine. The original Ana was the visible sky; the Semitic Anu was a spiritual divinity, who reigned in a spiritual heaven far above the visible sky. Afterward he became the lord and father of the universe, and still later a pantheistic god, or the universe itself. Sometimes Anu is called "the one god," but this is to be taken in a pantheistic sense. His sign was a star, or a symbol resembling a Maltese cross, which was often worn round the necks of Chaldæan kings. He seems never to have reached the importance of many other gods, since only Tiglath-Pileser I was his special

votary, and even he was more devoted to Assur. When the whole universe was divided into two regions, Anu was heaven, and Anat was the earth.

Mul-lil was primarily the local deity of Nipur. The word signifies "the lord of the ghost-world." Lil was an old Accado-Sumerian word, and denoted "cloud of dust." The Arabian Lilith, according to the cabalistic rabbis, was said to have been the first wife of Adam, whom she deceived by taking the form of a woman. She had seven hundred and eighty-four children—all demons. She was also the daughter of impurity. Upon the birth of the first child, it was the custom of Arabian nurses to throw stones at the foot of the bed to drive away Lilith. "The wild beasts of the desert shall also meet the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow; the screech-owl"—Lilith, or demon of darkness—"shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest." (Isaiah xxxiv, 14.)

Mul-lil was also "the lord of the world" and "king of all the spirits of the earth." When he became the supreme sun-god of the Semites, under the name of Bel—either the beneficent sun who gives life and light, or the malevolent sun who burns and scorches—he retained his primitive attributes, but assumed other attributes

suitcd to his new character. Bel was represented as a king, wearing a tiara crested with bull's horns, and holding a scepter as an emblem of power. The astronomical work of Sargon of Accad was called "Observations of Bel," and Assyria was called "The Empire of Bel."

The wife of the primæval god was Ninkigal, the queen of Hades, who was also known as Ninlil, "the lady of the ghost-world." Assurbanipal addresses her as "the mistress of the world, whose habitation is the temple of the library." In the Semitic texts she is named Allat, and it is with this goddess that Istar had sad experience upon the occasion of her descent into the realm of shades.

Namtar, the plague-demon, was the "beloved son" of Bel, and demons, nightmares, and diseases were his messengers. "The older Bel" was not always distinguished from "the younger Bel" of Babylon.

"It is thus clear that, just as Eridu in southern Babylonia was the primitive seat of the worship of the Chaldæan culture-god and of the civilization with which his name was connected, Nipur in Northern Babylonia was the original home of a very different kind of worship, which concerned itself with ghosts and demons and the various monsters of the under-world. It was, in

fact, the home of that belief in magic, and in the various spirits exorcised by the magician, which left so deep an impression upon the religion of early Babylonia. . . . The analogy of Eridu would lead us to infer, moreover, that it was not only the home of this belief, but also the source from which it made its way to other parts of the country. In the pre-historic age, Eridu in the south and Nipur in the north would have been the two religious centers of Babylonian theology, from whence two wholly different streams of religious thought and influence spread and eventually blended. The mixture formed what I may call the established religion of Chaldæa in the pre-Semitic period.”*

Berosus, according to Alexander Polyhistor, declares that, at the first, the representatives of the various nations settled at Babylon lived without rule and order, like the beasts of the field.

“In the first year there made its appearance, from a part of the Erythræan Sea which bordered upon Babylonia, an animal endowed with reason, who was called Oannes. (According to the account of Apollodorus) the whole body of the animal was like that of a fish, and had under a fish’s head another head, and also feet below,

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 150, 151.

similar to those of a man, subjoined to the fish's tail. His voice, too, and language, was articulate and human; and a representation of him is preserved to this day.

“This being, in the day-time, used to converse with men, but took no food at that season; and he gave them an insight into letters and sciences and every kind of art. He taught them to construct houses, to found temples, to compile laws, and explained to them the principles of geometrical knowledge. He made them distinguish the seeds of the earth, and showed them how to collect fruits. In short, he instructed them in everything which could tend to soften manners and humanize mankind. From that time, so universal were his instructions, nothing material has been added by way of improvement. When the sun set, it was the custom of this being to plunge again into the sea, and abide all night in the deep; for he was amphibious. . . . Moreover, Oannes wrote concerning the generation of mankind, of their different ways of life, and of their civil polity.”*

Other animals like Oannes are said to have appeared, but our information concerning them is confined to a knowledge of some of the names which old writers have preserved.

*Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, pp. 57, 58.

In a bilingual reading-book, compiled for the use of Semitic students of Accadian, we have what may be received as a native fragment of this legend:

“To the waters their god has returned;
Into the house of (his) repose the protector descended.
The wicked weaves spells, but the sentient one grows not
 . . . old.

A wise people repeated his wisdom.
The unwise, and the slave the most valued of his master,
 forgot him.

There was need of him, and he restored (his) decrees (?).”*

Whatever may be the etymology of the word Oannes, it is certain that the being of whom we have this description is the same as the culture-god Ea, who had his home in the Persian Gulf, and was the god of wisdom, and instructed the people in the arts and sciences. Both were represented as part man and part fish, and both were called “the god of pure life.”

The word Ea signifies “belonging to a house,” and hence originally Ea must have been a “house-god.” He was symbolized by a serpent. The primitive seat of his worship was the city of Eridu, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates—now represented by the mounds of Abu Shah-

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 132.

rein, south of Mugheir; or Ur. Eridu was a holy city, and the center of the early culture and civilization of Babylonia. There is evidence that Eridu and Ur maintained commercial relations by water with the Sinaitic Peninsula on the one side and the western coast of India on the other side, at a period which Sayce places at from three to four thousand years before the Christian era.

This water-god is addressed as "lord of the earth," "lord of heaven and earth," "the master of all created things," "the ruler of all the world," "the god of the universe," and "the prince of the zenith." His consort Davkina, or Davki, "the lady of the earth," possessed powers co-extensive with his own. The old inhabitants of Eridu believed the world to have been formed out of these two elements, water and earth—Ea and Davkina. Ea was the demiurge of the south, as Bel was the demiurge of the north.

Ea was invoked as the god "who stretches out the bright firmament; the god of good winds; the lord of hearing and obedience; creator of the pure and the impure; establisher of fertility, who brings to greatness him that is of small estate. In places difficult of access we have smelt his good wind. May he command, may he glorify, may he hearken to his worshipers! O god of the pure crown, moreover, may all creatures that

have wings and fins be strong! Lord of the pure oracle, who giveth life to the dead, who hath granted forgiveness to the conspiring gods, hath laid homage and submission upon the gods his foes. For their redemption did he create mankind, even he the merciful one with whom is life. May he establish, and never may his word be forgotten in the mouth of the black-headed race (of Sumir), whom his hands created! As god of the pure incantation, may he further be invoked, before whose pure approach may the evil trouble be overthrown, by whose pure spell the siege of the foe is removed! O god, who knowest the heart, who knowest the hearts of the gods that move his compassion, so that they let not the doing of evil come forth against him; he who establishes the assembly of the gods (and knows) their hearts, who subdues the disobedient. . . . May he (determine) the courses of the stars of heaven; like a flock may he order all the gods! May he exorcise the sea-monster of chaos; her secrets may he discover(?) and destroy for evermore! Mankind may he raise to length of days, and may he overthrow mischief(?) for future time! Since (their) places he created, he fashioned, he made strong, lord of the world is he called by name, even Father Bel. The names of the angels he gave unto them. And

Ea heard, and his liver was soothed, and he spake thus: 'Since he has made his men strong by his name, let him, like myself, have the name of Ea. May he bear (to them) the bond of all my commands, and may he communicate all my secret knowledge through the fifty names of the great gods!' His fifty names he has pronounced, his ways he has restored; may they be observed, and may he speak as formerly! Wise and sentient, may he rule triumphantly! May father to son repeat and hand them down! May he open the ears of both shepherd and flock!"*

It is interesting to remark in this hymn that the creation of the human race and the resurrection of the dead are ascribed to Ea. In the ancient Babylonian religion mankind are not descended from the god, as in so many other theologies, but are emphatically his creation. Through Davkina, the oracles of Ea were communicated to men, and she is entitled "the mistress of the oracular voice of the deep," and "the lady who creates the oracular voice of heaven." She is the goddess of the earth, and of the sky, which was considered as another earth; and Ea is the watery abyss beneath the earth and the watery abyss above the sky, "the waters above the firmament." Dumuzi, or Tammuz, "the only begotten

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 140, 141.

one," the sun-god, is the offspring of Ea and Davkina.

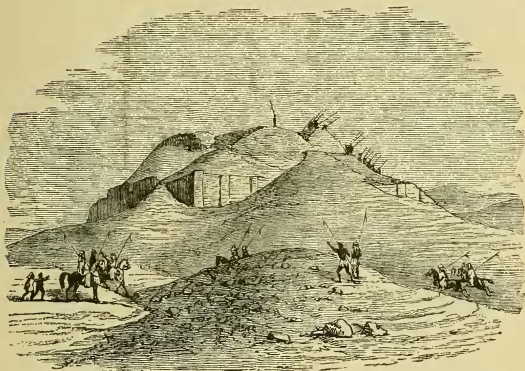
This god of the abyss possessed the attributes of several classical divinities. Like Hades, he was lord of the lower regions, and his spouse was "the lady of the great land, the lady of the house of death." Like Poseidon, he was "lord of the abyss," "lord of fountains," and "lord of sailors." He taught the Chaldaean Noah how to build the ark and sail over the waters of the Flood. He had dominion over various spirits of the deep, and was associated with the goddess Bahu, "the void," also called Gula. Like Hermes, he was "the god who knows all things, lord of wisdom, mines, treasures, gifts, and music, and the lord of the bright eye."*

Such are the gods which form the first triad—Ana, Mul-lil, and Ea, of the early Chaldaean theology, developed under Semitic influence into Anu, Bel, and Ea.

The chief seat of the worship of the moon-god was Ur, now represented by the mounds of Mugheir, where he had a great temple and was worshiped with imposing ceremonies. He was also called Nanak or Nannar, "the bright one," whence the classical legend of Nannarus. He was "the first-born of Mul-lil," and "the father of the

*Talbot, *Records of the Past*, Vol. V, p. 165.

gods," and was raised to the highest place in the Babylonian pantheon by the old astronomers of Chaldæa. Each Babylonian town had its own local moon-god, but the importance of the city of Ur made the special moon-god worshiped there



UR OF THE CHALDEES.

the god of all. On the other hand, all purely Semitic religions make the sun-god supreme.

We present a hymn—Accadian, with a Semitic translation—from the great library of Assurbanipal. Abraham may have often listened to this hymn while he was yet a resident of "Ur of the Chaldees."

"Lord and prince of the gods, who in heaven and earth
alone is supreme!

Father Nannar, lord of the firmament, prince of the gods!

Father Nannar, lord of heaven, mighty one, prince of the gods!

Father Nannar, lord of the moon, prince of the gods!

Father Nannar, lord of Ur, prince of the gods!

Father Nannar, lord of the temple of the mighty Light, prince of the gods!

Father Nannar, who biddest the crowned disk to rise, prince of the gods!

Father Nannar, who makest the crowned disk fully perfect, prince of the gods!

Father Nannar, who sweeps away with a blow invincible, prince of the gods!

Strong Ox, whose horn is powerful, whose limbs are perfect, whose beard is of crystal . . .

Merciful one, begetter of the universe, who founds (his) illustrious seat among living creatures!

Father, long-suffering and full of forgiveness, whose hand upholds the life of all mankind!

Lord, thy divinity like the far-off heaven fills the wide sea with fear.

On the surface of the peopled earth he bids the sanctuary be placed, he proclaims their name.

Father, begetter of gods and men, who causes the shrine to be founded, who establishes the offering.

Who proclaims dominion, who gives the scepter, who shall fix destiny unto a distant day.

First-born, omnipotent, whose heart is immensity, and there is none who may discover it.

Firm are his limbs (?); his knees rest not; he opens the path of the gods his brethren.

(He is the god) who makes the light from the horizon to the zenith of heaven, opening wide the doors of the sky, and establishing light (in the world).

Father, begetter of the universe, illuminator of living
beings . . . sender of . . .

Lord, the ordainer of the laws of heaven and earth, whose
command may not be (broken);

Thou holdest the rain and the lightning, defender of all
living things; there is no god who hath at any time
discovered thy fullness.

In heaven who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art su-
preme.

On earth who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme.

As for thee, thy will is made known in heaven, and the
angels bow their faces.

As for thee, thy will is made known upon earth, and the
spirits below kiss the ground.

As for thee, thy will is blown on high like the wind; the
stall and the fold are quickened.

As for thee, thy will is done upon the earth, and the herb
grows green.

As for thee, thy will is seen in the lair and the shepherd's
hut; it increases all living things.

As for thee, thy will hath created law and justice, so that
mankind has established law.

As for thee, thy will is the far-off heaven, the hidden
earth which no man hath known.

As for thee, who can learn thy will, who can rival it?

O lord, in heaven (is thy) lordship, in the earth (is thy)
sovereignty; among the gods, thy brethren, a rival
thou hast not.

King of kings, of whose . . . no man is judge, whose
divinity no god resembles.

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Look with favor on thy temple!

Look with favor on Ur (thy city);

Let the high-born dame ask rest of thee, O lord!

Let the free-born man, the . . . ask rest of thee, O lord!
Let the spirits of heaven and earth (ask rest of thee), O
lord!"*

The priesthood and population of Ur seem to have come from Nipur rather than from Eridu. The moon-god of Ur, with the growth of the city, absorbed the local cults, and from Ur as a center extended his influence far and wide. He had temples, not only at Ur, but also at Babylon, Borsippa, Calah, and Dur-Sargina; and his temple at Haran even rivaled that at Ur. With the growth of the Semitic power in Babylonia, he received the name of Sin. The name is found in Southern Arabia; Sinai may mean "dedicated to Sin;" and we have "the wilderness of Sin."

Nabonidus repaired the temple of Sin at Haran, re-dedicated it, and prayed:

"May the gods who dwell in heaven and earth approach the house of Sin, the father who created them? As for me, Nabonidus, king of Babylon, the completer of this temple, may Sin, the king of the gods of heaven and earth, in the lifting up of his kingly eyes, with joy look upon me, month by month, at noon and sunset! May he grant me favorable tokens, may he lengthen my days, may he extend my years,

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 160-162; cf. translation in Tomkins, *Studies on the Times of Abraham*, pp. 9, 10.

may he establish my reign, may he overcome my foes, may he slay my enemies, may he sweep away my opponents! May Nin-gal, the mother of the mighty gods, in the presence of Sin, her loved one, speak like a mother! May Samas and Istar, the bright offspring of his heart, to Sin, the father who begat them, speak of blessing! Nuzku, the messenger supreme, hearken to my prayer and plead for me!"*

Larsa was near Ur, but on the opposite bank of the Euphrates, and had a famous temple from the earliest times, dedicated to the sun-god of whom the moon-god is especially the father. Additional weight is given to this opinion by the fact that Ur-Bagas, the first monarch of united Babylonia of whom we have a record, founded or restored the temple of Sin at Ur, and also the temples of the sun-god at Larsa, of Mul-lil at Nipur, and of Anu and Istar at Erech. Ur was at that time the metropolis of the whole region. With the rise of the Semite, the name of the god of Larsa was merged into the general name Samas, "the sun," the "Shemesh" of the Bible.†

But Sippara was emphatically the city of the worship of the sun-god whose temple Ê-Bábara, "the house of luster," outshone all others in

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 165.

† 1 Sam. v, 9.

early historic times, and gave to the city pre-eminent importance. The Bible mentions Sepharvaim, "the two Sipparas," one of which is now represented by the mounds of Abu Hubba, discovered by Hormuzd Rassam, and the other has been discovered by Dr. Ward in the mounds of Anbar. Agadé or Accad—it may have been one of the several Sipparas, which are known to have existed—near these cities of the sun, was founded or restored by the first Sargon, and rose to such prominence as to give its name to the whole of Babylonia. Here Sargon established a library, which became so celebrated that the district was known as "the region of books." Popular etymology connected Sippara with *Sepher*, "a book;" and in the fragments of Berosus the city was named Pantibiblia, "Book-town." The new Samas of Sippara is Semitic, and the hymns addressed to him are full of Semitic thought:

"Lord, illuminator of the darkness, opener of the sickly face,
Merciful god, who setteth up the fallen, who helpeth the weak,
Unto thy light look the great gods,
The spirits of earth all gaze upon thy face;
The language of hosts as one word thou directest;
Smiting their head, they look to the light of the midday sun.
Like a wife, art thou set, glad and gladdening.
Thou art the light in the vault of the far-off heaven.
Thou art the spectacle of the broad earth.
Men far and near behold thee and rejoice.
The great gods have smelt the sweet savor (of the sacrifice),

The food of the shining heaven, the blessings (of the gods).
He who has not turned his hand to sin (thou wilt prosper),
He shall eat thy food, (he shall be blessed by thee.)”*

Nabonidus, restoring his temple, prayed :

“O Samas, (mighty lord) of heaven and earth, light of the gods his fathers, offspring of Sin and Nin-gal, when thou enterest into Ê-Babara, the temple of thy choice, when thou inhabitest thy everlasting shrine, look with joy upon me, Nabonidus, the king of Babylon, the prince who has fed thee, who has done good to thy heart, who has built thy dwelling place supreme, and upon my prosperous labors; and daily at noon and sunset, in heaven and earth, grant me favorable omens, receive my prayers, and listen to my supplications. May I be lord of the firmly-established scepter and sword, which thou hast given my hands to hold, for ever and ever!”†

The local sun-gods, when not designated by different names, were either absorbed by Samas or they became his sons. The absence of marks of gender in the Accadian language occasioned a difficulty when the Semite came to adopt the old gods. Among the Accadians the mother stood at the head of the family, and the goddesses of Accad were independent deities and in

*Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 171.

†*Ibid.*, p. 174.

all respects equal with the gods. Among the Semites distinctions of gender were all-important. The father was the head of the family, and the gods were the real divinities, each, however, requiring, by an almost grammatical necessity, his female counterpart. Hence the female divinities were but pale reflections of their male consorts—their “faces,” or complements. The old Accadian sun-god *Â* was adopted; but, in the confusion occasioned by the lack of marks in the language to distinguish gender, became a goddess and was made the wife of Samas, while the latter god partially absorbed the primitive fire-god Savul. Thus it was with the fate of many of the pre-historic divinities of Babylonia. Anuna met with a still worse fate. He was worshiped as the local god of Sippara of Anunit, which stood near Sippara of Samas. When this primæval divinity was adopted by the Semites, they created for him a consort, Anunit, who saved her life by being identified with Istar, while her lord, who had made her own existence possible, passed away into almost complete forgetfulness.

Samas unfastens the bolts of the shining sky, opens the door of heaven, and covers the immensity of the heavens. He is “the illuminator of the darkness, the light of the gods, the master of the spheres, the lord establisher of life,

the powerful head of heaven, the highest of the spirits." He helps kings who are devoted to his service, when they go forth to war. He is "the supreme ruler, who casts a favorable eye on expeditions, the vanquisher of the king's enemies, and the breaker-up of opposition." He causes monarchs to "assemble their chariots and their warriors," and "goes forth with the armies."*

When Nebuchadnezzar repaired the temple of the sun at Sankereh, he prayed: "O Sun! Great Lord! into the temple of Tarah, thy divine dwelling-place, in joy and gladness when thou shalt enter the pious works of my hands, regard with pleasure! and a life of prolonged days, a firm throne, a long reign, may thy lips proclaim for me! and may the gates and doors, and halls, and apartments of the temple of Tarah, which I have built with no sparing of expense, remain recorded in thy book!"†

The Accadian spirit of the sun and the early sun-god were the powerful enemies of all evil demons, and many of the hymns addressed to the god are full of magical incantations and formulæ. Some passages of purity may be selected.

* Cf. Lenormant, *Records of the Past*, Vol. XI, pp. 123-128; Oppert, Vol. XI, p. 26; Smith, Vol. V. p. 54.

† Talbot, *Records of the Past*, Vol. VII, p. 72.

"O Sun-god, on the horizon of heaven thou dawnest!
 The pure bolts of heaven thou openest!
 The doors of heaven thou openest!
 O Sun-god, thou liftest up thy head to the world!
 O Sun-god, thou coverest the earth with the bright firmament of heaven!
 Thou settest the ear to (the prayers) of mankind;
 Thou plantest the foot of mankind . . .
 The cattle of the god (Ner) thou enlightenest."

"O Sun-god, the (supreme) judge of the world art thou!
 O lord of the living creation, the pitiful one who (directest) the world!
 O Sun-god, on this day purify and illumine the king the sun of his god!
 Let all that is wrought of evil which is in his body be removed elsewhere!
 Like the cup of Zoganes, cleanse him!
 Like a cup of ghee, make him bright!
 Like the copper of a polished tablet, let him be made bright!
 Undo his curse!
 Until the day when he shall live, the supremacy . . .
 With Ann and Mul-lil . . .
 Direct the law of the multitudes of mankind!
 Thou art eternal righteousness in the heaven!
 Thou art justice, even the bond of the ears of the world!
 Thou knowest right, thou knowest wickedness!
 O Sun-god, righteousness has lifted up its foot!
 O Sun-god, wickedness has been cut as with a knife!
 O Sun-god, the minister of Ann and Mul-lil art thou!
 O Sun-god, the judge supreme of heaven and earth art thou!"

"O Sun-god, in the midst of heaven, at thy setting,
 May the inclosure of the pure heaven speak to thee of peace!
 May the gate of heaven be thy bond!

May the directing god, the messenger who loves thee,
direct thy way.

In Ê-Babára, the seat of thy sovereignty, thy supremacy
rises like the dawn.

May Á, the wife whom thou lovest, come before thee
with joy!

May thy heart take rest!

May the glory of thy divinity be established for thee!

O Sun-god, warrior hero, may it exalt thee in strength!

O lord of Ê-Babára, as thou marchest, may it direct thy
course!

Direct thy road, march along the path fixed for thy
pavement.

O Sun-god, judge of the world, the director of its laws
art thou!"*

Adar, Ninip, or Uras, was originally a sun-god, who became the Chaldean Hercules. He is described as "the crusher of opponents, he who rolls along the mass of heaven and earth; treader of the wide earth, who has not lessened the glory of his face; head of nations, bestower of scepters; lord of lords, whose hand has controlled the vault of heaven and earth; lord of water-courses, seas, and whirlwinds; opener of canals, and lord of crops and boundaries; the deity who changes not his purposes; the light of heaven and earth, whose is the speech of the gods no god has ever disregarded; destroyer of them that hate him, and son of the Zenith." He gives

*Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 491, 499, 500, 513.

power over every beast of the field, and reigns as the monarch of all the nations of the earth. He was also "the hero of the gods, the supporter of the deities of heaven and of rain-storms, the bright one whose powers are unequaled, the chief of the Annunaki, the most powerful of the gods, lord over the face of the whirlwind, and first-born of Bel," or Mul-lil. Sometimes he is described as a mythical monarch, who performs wonderful exploits—"like a bull destroying his companions, like a great buffalo lifting up his horns." With Nergal, he was the special guardian of Tiglath Pileser I, and gave this ancient Nimrod power over the beasts of the field.*

According to Lehmann, Adrammelech is the same as the goddess Adar-malkat, "Adar the queen," or Â, or Anunit, the goddess of births, corresponding to the Semitic goddess Erûa, "the begetter." Erûa is an Aramaic form, and we have the Babylonian Eritu, a name of Istar. Eru, "the handmaid," is an Accadian title of Zarpanit.

If Adar was a sun-god, it was "the meridian sun," whose scorching rays represented the fiercer side of his character. His consort was called "the lady of the dawn." An oracle was attached

* Various Translators, Records of the Past, Vol. I, p. 11; III, pp. 39, 40; V, p. 108; IX, p. 96; XI, p. 9; 2 Kings xvii, 30.

to his shrine, and he was "the lord of the oracle," "the oracle supreme," and "the voice."

The Accadians worshiped the wind, whether the beneficent wind, the cooling breeze of summer, the wind which brought the refreshing and fertilizing rain, or the evil wind laden with the cold storm, the raging tempest, or the burning desert sands. Hence the seven winds—"the sword of rain, the vampire, the leopard, the serpent, the watch-dog, the violent tempest which blows against god and king, and the baleful wind"—were seven evil spirits; and yet not essentially evil, for they were "the messengers of Anu their king." Mâtu was the especial god of the tempest, and was much dreaded. He had been sent down to drown mankind in the Deluge, and his return was greatly feared. There were also several storm-gods, called "the gods Mâtu." There is an old hymn which relates to the Mâtu gods:

"They are the destructive reptiles, even the winds that
create evil!

As an evil reptile, as an evil wind, do they appear!

As an evil reptile, as an evil wind, who marches in front
are they!

Children monstrous, monstrous sons are they!

Messengers of the pest-demon are they!

Throne-bearers of the goddess of Hades are they!

The whirlwind which is poured upon the land are they!

The seven are gods of the wide-spread heaven.

The seven are gods of the wide-spread earth.

The seven are gods of the (four) zones.

The seven are gods seven in number.

Seven evil gods are they !

Seven evil demons are they !

Seven evil consuming spirits are they !

In heaven are they seven, in earth are they seven !”*

When Matu became a Semitic god he absorbed the attributes of another god whose original name was Meri, the air-god, now generally known under the Biblical name Rimmon. The popularity of this god in his beneficent character grew in Babylonia and Assyria, and his worship became less local than that of the other great gods which have been named.

Rimmon was the god of storms and tempests, of rain and whirlwind, of thunder and lightning, of floods and water-courses—the god of the air, “who causes the tempest to rage over hostile lands and wicked countries.” He destroyed crops, rooted up trees, and was followed by famine and pestilence. He was called “the great guardian of heaven and earth, the intelligent guide, the lord of the visible world, the lord of knowledge, glory, and life.” His most usual symbols were the serpent and the triple or double bolt. In his milder and most popular

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 207.

character, he is "the careful and beneficent chief, the giver of abundance, the lord of fecundity, the lord of canals, and the establisher of works of irrigation."*

In the west, Rimmon was identified with the sun-god Hadad, and became the supreme god of the northern Syrian tribes. His worship was celebrated as far south as the valley of Jezreel.†

His wife was called Sala, an Accadian name, and was "the lady of the mountain," as Rimmon was "the lord of the mountain." The wife of the sun-god of Eridu was also called "the lady of the mountain," and Zarpanit had the same designation. We may therefore conclude Sala and Zarpanit were originally the same divinity. Another appellation of Sala was "the lady of the desert," and her consort was "the ever-glowing sun of the desert land." In a penitential psalm she was Gubára, "the fire-flame," and was doubtless the morning and evening star which rises over the top of the mountains. She was the goddess of wisdom and of hidden treasures and the goddess of the copper hand, with which compare the Celtic "Nuada of the silver hand."‡

* Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. I, pp. 164, 165.

† Zech. xii, 11; 2 Kings v, 18.

‡ Fradenburgh, *The Gods of our Fathers*.

But few hymns addressed especially to Rimmon have been recovered. We offer a single fragment :

“(Rimmon in) his anger has bound for him the heaven.
Rimmon in his strength has shaken for him the earth.
The mighty mountain, thou hast overwhelmed it.
At his anger, at his strength,
At his roaring, at his thundering,
The gods of heaven ascend to the sky,
The gods of earth descend to the earth.
Into the horizon of heaven they enter,
Into the zenith of heaven they make their way.”*

It will be seen that it is not always possible to discover consistency in old mythologies ; and this is especially true when two religions, a newer and an older, formerly belonging to alien races, have been amalgamated, as has been the case with that which is the subject of our present study.

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 500.

V.

GODS AND NO-GODS.

PART SECOND.

BABYLONIAN kings, like those of Assyria and Judah, were buried in their own palaces, and yet more than one general necropolis became famous in early times. Such a city of the dead was situated in the neighborhood of Cutha, which is now represented by the mounds of Tel-Ibrahim. The primitive Accadian name was Gudua, "the resting-place," and it is interesting to remark that "cemetery" is an Aryan word with the same etymological meaning. Nerra or Ner—"the strong one," "the bright one," "the god of the high voice"—was the old god of Gudua. He was the personification of death, and had his throne in Hades, where he ruled over "the great city," and hence he came to be known as Nergal, "the great Ner." But he was also "the king of Cutha," "the king of heaven," "the king who marches before Anu," and "the mighty sovereign of the deep." The last title would connect him with Eridu, and he may have been originally a water-spirit. As the

lord of Hades he was the son of Mul-lil, and "the hero of the gods." Laz was his wife, but we have little knowledge concerning her attributes. The Semites made him the champion of the gods, who slays only the wicked, and not alike the evil and the good. Though he lost his character as the god of the lower world, yet a survival remained—mankind being called "the cattle of Ner."

The old priests of Chaldæa chanted the hymn:

"O warrior, the mighty deluge, that sweepst away the hostile land!

O warrior of the great city of Hades, that sweepst away the hostile land!

O god that comest forth from 'Sulim, that sweepst away the hostile land!

O mighty ruler, illustrious lord, that sweepst away the hostile land!

O lord of Cutha, that sweepst away the hostile land!

O lord of the temple of 'Sulim, that sweepst away the hostile land!

O gallos-spirit of the divine master of the dawn, that sweepst away the hostile land!

O warrior of the god Supulu, that sweepst away the hostile land!

The mighty deluge, who has no rival;

The uplifter of the weapon, who threshes out opposition!"*

Merodach was the local god of Babylon. It would seem from inscriptions lately recovered

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 496.

that Nabonidus, with the instinct of an antiquarian and the spirit of a reformer, had removed the images of the gods from their ancient sanctuaries and had collected them in Babylon. Religion and civil government were closely bound together. When Babylon held the supremacy among cities, Merodach was the god of gods. When the civil power was centralized in Babylon, the centralization of religion would naturally follow. But it was not an easy task to destroy the local cults, which had lived thousands of years, and gather them into one holy city. Ancient shrines would resent such a movement. Merodach himself would not brook the presence of equals in his own home. Dissatisfaction would spread among priests and people. This attempted change in the old cults of Babylonia cost Nabonidus the throne, and resulted in the downfall of the kingdom. Merodach chose Cyrus, and appointed him to the sovereignty. Babylon yielded after a single battle, and Cyrus restored the offended gods to their own shrines, and rebuilt their temples.

“Merodach, the great lord, the restorer of his people, beheld with joy the deeds of his viceroy, who was righteous in hand and heart. To his city of Babylon he summoned his march, and he bade him take the road to Babylon; like

a friend and a comrade he went at his side." It is most interesting to compare the record of the inscriptions with the language of the Old Testament.*

Merodach is a merciful god; the interpreter of Ea, the god of wisdom; and raises the dead to life.†

As the sun-god he fights against Tiamat, the primæval dragon of darkness.‡

A hymn which may have been used in the religious service of his temple is defective, but we quote a fragment:

"(Thou art) the king of the land, the lord of the world!
O first-born of Ea, omnipotent over heaven and earth.
O mighty lord of mankind, king of (all) lands,
(Thou art) the god of gods,
(The prince) of heaven and earth who hath no rival,
The companion of Anu and Bel (Mul-lil),
The merciful one among the gods,
The merciful one who loves to raise the dead to life;
Merodach, king of heaven and earth,
King of Babylon, lord of É-Sagila,
King of E-Zida, king of E-makh-tilla (the supreme house
of life).

Heaven and earth are thine!

The circuit of heaven and earth is thine!

* Cf. Isaiah xliv, 28; xlv, 1-7; see also Jeremiah and Daniel; 1 Sam. xxvi, 19.

† Various Translators, Records of the Past, Vol. V, pp. 116, 139; VIII, p. 75.

‡ Isaiah xxiv, 21, 22; Rev. xii, 7-9.

The incantation that gives life is thine!
The breath that gives life is thine!
The holy writing of the mouth of the deep is thine!
Mankind, even the black-headed race (of Accad),
All living souls that have received a name, that exist in
the world,
The four quarters of the earth, wheresoever they are,
All the angel hosts of heaven and earth,
(Regard) thee and (lend to thee) an ear."

Nebuchadnezzar says: "To Merodach, my lord, I prayed; I began to him my petition; the word of my heart sought him, and I said: 'O prince that art from everlasting, lord of all that exists, for the king whom thou lovest, whom thou callest by name, as it seems good unto thee thou guidest his name aright, thou watchest over him in the path of righteousness! I, the prince who obeys thee, am the work of thy hands; thou createst me and hast intrusted to me the sovereignty over multitudes of men, according to thy goodness, O lord, which thou hast made to pass over them all. Let me love thy supreme lordship, let the fear of thy divinity exist in my heart, and give what seemeth good unto thee, since thou maintainest my life.' Then he, the first-born, the glorious, the first-born of the gods, Merodach the prince, heard my prayer and accepted my petition."*

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 97, 99.

Neriglissar addressed the god in the prayer:
"O god Merodach, great lord, lord of the house of the gods is his name, light of the gods, father, even for thy high honor which changeth not, a house have I built. May its fullness increase! May it acquire treasures in its midst! May its tribute augment from West to East by the rising sun from the kings of the nations of all men! Their many tributes may it receive within (its walls)! May they come within it forever! May their approach copiously prevail!"

Merodach, his wife Zarpaint, and their son Nebo, formed an old Babylonian triad. The Accadian triads were usually male deities, but the Semites introduced the element of sex in religion. Zarpaint was identified with the Accadian Gasmu, "the wise one." She was entitled "the lady of the deep," "the mistress of the abode of the fish," and "the voice of the deep," and must originally have ranked with the god Ea. She was also identified with the goddess Lakhamun, who was worshiped in Dilmun, a sacred island, and the goddess Elagu, of the mountains of Elam. Her special shrine was just inside the temple of Merodach, and here every woman of Babylon was obliged to prostitute herself once in her life. Babylonian legends found at Khorsabad, on little clay olives, bear witness to this

frightful custom. The Succoth-Benoth of the Old Testament—"tents of daughters"—may refer to the tents of this prostitution.*

Nebo and his wife Tasmit had a temple in Borsippa, now represented by the ruins Birs-i-Nimroud. This temple was called E-Zida, "the constituted house," while its holy of holies was "the supreme house of life," and its tower "the house of the seven spheres of heaven and earth." There was also a shrine, E-Zida, within the great temple of Merodach.

Nebo was "the god of the holy mound," and bore the titles: "The wise," "the intelligent," "the creator of peace," "the author of the oracle," "the creator of the written tablet," "the maker of writing," "the opener," and "the enlarger of the ear." He was also called "the overseer of the angel hosts of heaven and earth," and "the bond of the universe." The latter title finds its explanation in the name of the tower of his temple—"the house of the seven bonds of heaven and earth." "The seven 'bonds' seem to represent the seven planets, or rather their stations; the tower was in seven stages, and each stage was painted so as to symbolize

* Oppert, *Records of the Past*, Vol. XI, pp. 43, 44; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. I, pp. 265, 266; Bohn's *Strabo*, Vol. III, p. 155; Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, pp. 95, 110-112; *Jeremias*, 43; 2 Kings xvii, 30.

the colors symbolical of the seven planets. Nebo must, therefore, have once been an elemental god, or at all events a god connected with the chief of the heavenly bodies." "The deep," which surrounded the earth like the Oceanos of Homer, was compared to a snake or a rope, and was called "the rope of the great god." It was personified by Innina, or the deity Nina or Nana. Sayce thinks it possible that Innina may have been the primitive Nebo of Borsippa.

Nebo was the god of knowledge, science, and literature. Together with Tasmit he invented writing, and directed the education of Assyrian kings. "Assurbanipal asserts that Nebo and Tasmit had 'made broad his ears, and enlightened his eyes,' so that he ordered all the characters of the syllabaries and the ancient writings of Accad to be explained and written down." The tablets of the royal library, discovered at Nineveh, are called "the wisdom of Nebo."

Upon the dedication of a temple, Nebuchadnezzar prayed: "O Nebo, noble son, exalted (messenger), and beloved offspring of Marduk, my works of piety behold joyfully! A long life, abundant offspring, a firm throne, a prolonged reign, the subjection of all rebels, the conquest of my enemies' land, grant to me as a recompense." He is "the lord of lords, who has no

equal in power;" and he "grants to kings the scepter of royalty for the governance of the people."*

The following is a hymn to Nebo :

"To Nebo, the supreme messenger, who binds all things together,
The scribe of all that has a name, for thy purity (ascribe) the lordship.
The lifter-up of the stylus supreme, the director of the world.
The possessor of the reed of augury, the traverser of strange (lands),
The opener of the wells, the fructifier of the corn,
The god without whom the irrigated land and the canal are un(watered),
The glorious lord who pours out the oil of anointing and the unguent,
Hear the prayer, (consider) the supplication!
O mighty hero, king (of E-Zida ?)!"†

The wisdom of Ea was transmitted to the people, not only directly, but also through the line of Merodach and Nebo. Since Nebo was the god of the learned class, his cult kept pace with the march of literature and science, and he became the least local of all the gods which we have named. His worship was important in

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 115; Cooper, *Archaic Dictionary*, p. 557; Various Translators, *Records of the Past*, Vol. I, p. 58; V, pp. 122-139; VII, p. 77; XI, p. 101.

† Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 488.

Assyria, and passed on to the Semitic tribes of the West.

Nebo was sometimes confused with Nuzku. The latter god was originally "the messenger of Mul-lil." When this older Bel of Nipur became merged in the younger Bel-Merodach, Nuzku followed the fate of his master. He was called "the lord of the zenith," and his name signifies "the brilliance of the daybreak."

The primitive sun-god of Eridu was Tammuz—the name appears in several forms—and Davkina appears to have been both his wife and mother. The cult of Tammuz was transported to Accad, where he had a temple called "the tower of mighty bulk" and "the shrine of observation." Istar must have been the same as Davkina and Tillili, the primordial earth, and inherited, during the long period of her prominence in the Accadian and Semitic religions, the cults and beliefs of many other deities. There were many blunders as to her sex in her adventures among the Semites. In the Old Testament the feminine termination is attached to her name to satisfy the grammatical instinct. The Moabites made her a male divinity, and Dilbat, the planet Istar, was "a female at sunset and a male at sunrise"—a "maless" would be the English imitation of the artificially-coined word. She is even

made the sun-god himself. At sunrise she was "Istar of Accad," or "Istar of the stars;" at sunset she was "Istar of Erech," or "the mistress of the gods."

Of all the old goddesses, Istar alone maintained her independent character; and was in all respects equal to Bel or any other of the gods, except in the West, where Ashtoreth and Astarte became subordinate to the supreme Baal. When we seek her genealogy, we find that she was the daughter of Sin, or of Anu. She formed, with Sin and Samas, an important Babylonian triad.

"Her worship was a reflection of that worship of nature which underlay the Semitic conception of Baalism. The fierce passions excited by an Eastern sun found their expression in it. Prostitution became a religious duty, whose wages were consecrated to the goddess of love. She was served by eunuchs, and by trains of men and boys who dressed like women, and gave themselves up to women's pursuits. Istar, in fact, had ceased to be the 'pure' goddess of the evening star. The other elements in her hybrid character had come to the front, aided by the Semitic conception of the female side of the divinity. She was now the fruitful goddess of the earth, teeming with fertility, the feminine development of the life-giving sun-god, the patroness

of love. The worshiper who would serve her truly had to share with her her pains and pleasures. Only thus could he live the divine life, and be, as it were, united with the deity. It was on this account that the women wept with Istar each year over the fatal wound of Tammuz; it was on this account that her temples were filled with the victims of sexual passion and religious frenzy, and that her festivals were scenes of consecrated orgies. As the worship of the goddess spread westward, the revolting features connected with it spread at the same time. The prophets of Israel denounce the abominations committed in honor of Ashtoreth and Baal within the sacred walls of Jerusalem itself; the Greek writers stand aghast at the violations of social decency, enjoined as religious duties on the adorers of the Oriental Aphrodité; and Lucian himself—if Lucian indeed be the author of the treatise—is shocked at the self-mutilation practiced before the altar of the Syrian goddess of Hierapolis. From Syria, the cult, with all its rites, made its way, like that of Attys-Adonis, to the populations beyond the Taurus. At Komana, in Kappadokia, the goddess Ma was ministered to by six thousand eunuch priests; and the Galli of Phrygia rivaled the priests of Baal and Ashtoreth in cutting their arms with knives, in

scourging their backs, and in piercing their flesh with darts. The worship of the fierce powers of nature, at once life-giving and death-dealing, which required from the believer a sympathetic participation in the sufferings and pleasures of his deities, produced alternate outbursts of frenzied self-torture and frenzied lust.*

The account of the descent of Istar into Hades in search of the water of life, wherewith to call back to the world her beautiful bridegroom, who had met with an untimely death, caused by the cold of winter or the dark powers of the under-world, doubtless draws its material from Accadian sources. Ezekiel saw the women of Jerusalem "weeping for Tammuz," and Jeremiah gives the very words of the lamentation: "Ah me, my brother; and ah me, my sister! Ah me, Adonis; and ah me, his lady!"† Istar, in the story to which we have referred, cries: "O my brother, the only one!" Other passages of Scripture find their explanation in this refrain.‡

The Adonis and Aphrodite of Greek mythology are of the same origin, Adonis being but the Phœnician Adoni, "my lord," "the very word of the wail." The dirge was known in

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 266, 267.

† Ezek. viii, 14; Jer. xxii, 18.

‡ Zech. xii, 11; Amos viii, 10.

Greece in Homeric days, and is found in Greek tragedy.* At Gebal or Byblos, the death of Adonis was especially commemorated. When in the spring-time the rains and snows from the mountains stained the waters of the river Adonis with red, the people, beholding in the stream the blood of the slaughtered god, held a funeral festival in his honor. Under Egyptian influence, the sun-god and his spouse being connected with Osiris and Isis, the days of mourning were followed by days of rejoicing since the god was believed to have regained the strength of his youth. The same thought we find repeated in the mythologies of other races. The poem which relates Istar's search for her beautiful Tammuz will be read with interest.

“To the land whence none return, the region of (darkness),
Istar, the daughter of Sin, (inclined) her ear,
Yea, Istar herself, the daughter of Sin, inclined (her) ear,
To the house of darkness, the seat of the god Irkalla,
To the house from whose entrance there is no exit,
To the road from whose passage there is no return,
To the house from whose visitors the light is excluded,
The place where dust is their bread (and) their food is mud.
The light they behold not, in darkness they dwell;
They are clad like birds in a garment of feathers.
Over the door and the bolt the dust is scattered.
Istar, on arriving at the gate of Hades,

*Homer, *Iliad* XVIII, 570; Æschylos, *Agamemnon*, 121.

To the keeper of the gate addresses the word :

‘Opener (keeper) of the waters, open thy gate !

Open thy gate that I may enter !

If thou openest not the gate that I may enter,

I will smite the door, the bolt I will shatter,

I will smite the threshold and pass through the portals.

I will raise up the dead to devour the living ;

Above the living the dead shall exceed in number.’

The keeper opened his mouth and speaks ;

He says to the princess Istar :

‘Stay, O lady, thou must not break it down !

Let me go and declare thy name to Nin-ki-gal, the queen
of Hades.’

The keeper descended and declares (her name to Nin-ki-gal
[Allat]):

‘O goddess, the water thy sister Istar (is come to seek);

Trying the mighty bars (she has threatened to break open
the doors) (?)’.

When Allat (heard) this (she opened her mouth and says:)

‘Like a cut-off herb has (Istar) descended (into Hades);

Like the lip of a drooping reed she has prayed for (the
waters of life).

What matters to me her wish ! what (matters to me) her
anger ?

(When she says,) this water with (my bridegroom),

Like food would I eat, like beer would I drink ;

Let me weep for the heroes who have left (their) wives ;

Let me weep for the handmaids whom from the bosoms of
their husbands (thou hast taken);

For the little child let me weep, whom thou hast taken ere
his days are come.

Go, keeper (nevertheless), open for her (thy) gate ;

Strip her also according to the ancient rules.’

The keeper went, he opened for her (his) gate ;

‘Enter, O lady, let Cutha be glad (at thee);

Let the palace of Hades rejoice before thee.’

The first gate he made her enter, and shut (it); he threw down the mighty crown of her head.

‘Why, O keeper, hast thou thrown down the mighty crown of my head?’

‘Enter, O lady, (for) thus are the orders of Allat.’

The second gate he made her enter and he shut; he threw away the earrings of her ears.

‘Wherefore, O keeper, hast thou thrown away the earrings of my ears?’

‘Enter, O lady, (for) thus are the orders of Allat.’

The third gate he made her enter and he closed; he threw away the precious stones of her neck (lace).

‘Wherefore, O keeper, hast thou thrown away the precious stones of my neck (lace)?’

‘Enter, O lady, (for) thus are the orders of Allat.’

The fourth gate he made her enter and closed; he threw away the ornaments of her breast.

‘Wherefore, O keeper, hast thou thrown away the ornaments of my breast?’

‘Enter, O lady, (for) thus are the orders of Allat.’

The fifth gate he made her enter and closed; he threw away the gemmed girdle of her waist.

‘Wherefore, O keeper, hast thou thrown away the gemmed girdle of my waist?’

‘Enter, O lady, (for) thus are the orders of Allat.’

The sixth gate he made her enter and closed; he threw away the bracelets of her hands and her feet.

‘Wherefore, O keeper, hast thou thrown away the bracelets of my hands and my feet?’

‘Enter, O lady, (for) thus are the orders of Allat.’

The seventh gate he made her enter and closed; he threw away the cincture of her body.

‘Wherefore, O keeper, hast thou thrown away the cincture of my body?’

‘Enter, O lady, (for) thus are the orders of Allat.’

After that Istar had descended into the land of Hades, Allat beheld her and was haughty before her.

Istar took not counsel, she besought her with oaths.

Allat opened her mouth, and says

To Namtar (the plague-demon), her messenger, the word she utters :

‘Go, Namtar, (take Istar from) me, and

Lead her out ; sixty times (strike) Istar (with disease)—

The disease of the eyes (into) her (eyes) ;

The disease of the side (into) her (side) ;

The disease of the feet into her (feet) ;

The disease of the heart into (her heart) ;

The disease of the head strike (into her head) ;

Into her, even the whole of her, and into (each limb strike disease).’”

But after Istar had left the abodes of men, there was trouble on the earth. Pap-sukal, the messenger of the mighty gods, reported the condition of affairs to the sun-god.

“The sun-god went ; in the presence of Sin, his father, he (stood),

In the presence of Ea, the king, (his) tears flowed down.”

As the result of the representations made to Ea, he formed a creature—whose nature and character are still obscure—and sent him to Hades to secure the release of Istar.

“‘Go, Atsu-su-namir, towards the gate of Hades set thy face ;

Let the seven gates of Hades be opened before thee ;

Let Allat see thee and rejoice at thy presence,
When her heart is at rest and her liver is appeased.
Conjure her also by the names of the great gods.
Turn thy heads; to the resting-place of the stormy wind
set thine ear;

The home of the pure one, the resting-place of the stormy
wind, let them prepare (?); the waters in the midst
let her drink.'

When Allat heard this

She struck her girdle, she bit her thumb—

'Thou hast asked of me a request none should request!
Go, Atsu-su-namir, let me injure thee with a great injury!
May the garbage of the sewers of the city be thy food!

May the darkness of the dungeon be thy habitation!

May the threshold be thy seat!

May drought and famine strike thine offspring!

Allat opened her mouth and says,

To Namtar, her messenger, the word she addresses.

'Go, Namtar, strike open the firmly-built palace,
Shatter the thresholds (which) bear up the stones of
light;

Bid the spirits of earth (Anúnaki) come forth, and seat
them on a throne of gold;

Over Istar pour the waters of life, and bring her be-
fore me.'

Namtar went, (and) smote the firmly-built palace;

He shattered the thresholds (which) bear up the stones of
light;

He bade the spirits of earth come forth; on a throne of
gold did he seat (them);

Over Istar he poured the waters of life, and brought her
along."

He passed her through the seven gates, restoring her clothing and ornaments, and said :

“ ‘ If she (*i. e.* Allat) has not given thee that for which the ransom is paid, turn back to her again

For Tammuz, the bridegroom of (thy) youth.

Pour over him the pure waters, (anoint him) with precious oil ;

Clothe him with a purple robe ; a ring (?) of crystal let him strike upon (the hand).

Let Samkhat (the goddess of joy) enter the liver.’ . . .

(Before this) the goddess Tillili had taken her jewels,

The eye-stones, also, (which) were unbroken ;

The goddess Tillili had heard of the death of her brother (Tammuz) ; she broke the jewels (which she had taken),

Even the eye-stones, which were full of the face (of light?),

(Crying) : ‘ O my brother, the only one, do not destroy me !

In the day that Tammuz bound on me a ring (?) of crystal and a bracelet of turquoise, at that time he bound (them) on me.

At that time he bound (them on me). Let the wailing men and wailing women

Bind (them) on the funeral pyre, and smell the sweet savor.’ ” *

Thus the earth-goddess seeks the waters of life to raise the sun-god, and with him all nature, from the sleep of death. Sometimes the myth represents Istar as the cause of the death or

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 221-227.

enslavement of her own lovers, whom she controls by her magical influence according to her own pleasure.

There was also a better side to the worship of Istar. She was recognized as the divine mother who presided over the family life, and as such exercised a most gracious influence. This, however, never became the popular faith, but was confined to the few elect souls whose moral instinct detected and adopted the best elements in the religion, and rejected the worthless and the base.

But Istar was also a war-goddess. In Assyria she grew in popularity till she became a deity of the first rank. As "the goddess of battles and victories," she gives arms to the warrior, upholds him, grants him the help of "sixty great gods," and utterly destroys his enemies. She brings down the high head of the proud; and she exalts, preserves, and strengthens the kingdom. She reached the highest point of honor during the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. In an inscription, Esarhaddon says: "Istar, queen of war and battle, who loves my piety, stood by my side. She broke the bows. Their line of battle in her rage she destroyed. To their army she spoke thus: 'An unsparing deity am I.' By her high command

(or favor) I planted my standards where I had intended." She is frequently represented as a winged figure with a halo, and holds a bow in her hand.

When Teumman, king of Elam, threatened the empire with invasion, Assurbanipal resorted to the temple of Istar, knelt before the goddess, and spread out before her the message of the warlike king.* Nor was his prayer in vain. The deity promised her aid, and bade him dismiss his fears. While the king was offering his prayer, at that very hour of the night, a holy seer had a prophetic dream, and received a revelation from Istar. "Istar, who dwells in Arbela, entered, and right and left was a quiver uplifted. She held a bow in her hand; she drew a heavy falchion to make war; her countenance was wrathful. Like a fond mother she speaks with thee, she cries to thee. Istar, the exalted of the gods, appoints thee this message: 'Thou entreatest to gain victory; the place lies before thee; I am coming!' Thou shalt answer her thus: 'To the place to which thou goest, with thee let me go!' The lady of ladies, even she declares to thee thus: 'I will defend thee, that thou mayest dwell in the sacred precincts of Nebo—eat food, drink wine, keep festival, glorify

* Cf. 2 Kings xix, 14-19.

my divinity; when I have gone, this message shall be accomplished. I will cause the desire of thy heart to prevail; thy face shall not grow pale, thy feet shall not stumble, thy beauty(?) shall not fade. In the midst of battle, in her kindly womb she embosoms thee and embraces thee on every side. Before her a fire is kindled (fiercely) to overcome thy foes.' " *



Nisroch of Assur.

The Assyrian religion is the same as that of Babylon, with the addition of the national god Assur. With the rise of this god, the Babylonian gods transplanted to Assyria lost both rank and definiteness, but continued to receive worship. This was accorded them, doubtless, largely for prudential reasons. Assur, like Nisroch, was, at the first, purely a local deity of the city of Assur, now Kaleh-Sherghat, the primitive capital of the land. The shrine of the god was transferred to Nineveh, when this city

* Various Translators, *Records of the Past*, Vol. I, pp. 70, 85; III. p. 104; VII, pp. 67, 68; IX, pp. 50, 51; XI, pp. 61-78; Bohn's *Strabo*, Vol. II, pp. 279, 309; Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, pp. 276, 277; Fradenburgh, *Witnesses from the Dust*, pp. 162-164.

became the capital of the empire. Assur was originally the Accadian *Ana-sar*—*Ansar*—"the god of the hosts of heaven;" while *Ki-sar* was "the goddess of the earth and the hosts of heaven." By the union of these two the present world was produced. An-sar and Ki-sar appear in Damascius under the forms Assoros and Kis-sare, and are said to be the offspring of Lakhma and Lakhama, and the progenitors of the old Accadian triad—Anu, Mul-lil, and Ea. Assur, the capital city, is probably a corruption of the Accadian A-usar, "water-bank," and the word was easily confused with the god Assur. Thus it was that the god and his city became identified. The god, however, did not lose his anthropomorphic character. This character asserted itself upon his removal to Nineveh, and he became the national god who might be compared with the Yahveh of Israel. No female divinity was his counterpart, but he stood alone as the absolute lord of Assyria.

The chief temple of Assur was dedicated to "the mountain of the world." With Merodach, he confided sovereign power to Sargon, who was called "the viceroy of the gods at Babylon," and "the favorite of the great gods." The names of the pious are recorded in the book of Assur. Tiglath-Pileser prays: "In return for my con-

stant piety, may the gods place my name in the book of Assur, for all future time, firmly as a rock!" His favorite emblem was "the winged circle or globe, from which a figure in a horned cap is frequently seen to issue, sometimes simply holding a bow, sometimes shooting his arrows against the Assyrians' enemies."*

Around the three chief gods of the Babylonian pantheon were grouped a vast multitude of divinities, so vast that Assurnatsirpal declares that there were "sixty-five thousand great gods of heaven and earth." New gods were also made out of divine titles, and divinities sometimes owed their existence to literary errors. Even phrases from the ritual were made into gods, and many were imported from foreign lands. Back of these gods were unnumbered obscure deities and spirits. "The lord of hosts" was an expression full of significance to the Semites, who inherited this old religious system.

Frequently several gods are elaborately addressed in the same inscription. A good example is furnished by Sargon: "Samas makes my designs successful, Rimmon affords me abundance; . . . Bel-El lays the foundation of my city; Mylitta-Taauth grinds the painting-stone

*Oppert, *Records of the Past*, Vol. XI, p. 17; Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. II, pp. 3, 4.

in his bosom; . . . Anu executes the works of my hand; Istar excites the men; . . . Hea arranges the marriages; the Queen of the gods presides over child-birth." "Assur lengthens the years of the kings he has appointed; he protects the armies of the inclosure of the town. Ninip, who lays the foundation-stone, fortifies its rampart to distant days." Shalmaneser II addresses, with similar elaboration, eleven gods. We are reminded of Micah, who had "a house of gods."*

We can not even name all the gods of the Assyrian pantheon. In one inscription we have a list of several hundred, with their attributes. Several of the gods of rare occurrence have bequeathed their names to the sacred historians.†

* Oppert, *Records of the Past*, Vol. XI, pp. 24, 25; Sayce, Vol. V, p. 29; cf. Judges xvii, 5.

† 2 Kings xvii, 31; Gen. xiv, 1-17; and elsewhere.

VI.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THINGS.

THE cosmogonies of Babylonia are especially interesting because of their connection with the Mosaic system as recorded in Genesis. It is also profitable to compare the revelations of the monuments with other Semitic cosmogonies which have been transmitted to us, though sometimes in a hopelessly fragmentary condition, through ancient writers who have drawn from native sources. The elements which have entered into the present order of things may be variously regarded, and there is abundant room for philosophical speculations. The old Chaldæans struggled with the deep problems presented. According to the Accadian theology the gods *created* the world, while the conquering Semites held to the doctrine of *generation*. When the two religions came together, there was more or less conflict; but the Assyro-Babylonians harmonized these two hypotheses by assuming a pre-existing chaos.

We will place several of these cosmogonies side by side, and institute a brief comparison. Berosus is considered a reliable authority.

Alexander Polyhistor has preserved fragments of his writings, and Eusebius and George the Syncellus have transmitted them to us :

“There was a time in which there was nothing but darkness and an abyss of waters, wherein resided most hideous beings, which were produced of a twofold principle. Men appeared with two wings, some with four wings, and two faces. They had one body, but two heads—the one of a man, the other of a woman. They were likewise, in their several organs, both male and female. Other human figures were to be seen with the legs and horns of a goat. Some had horses’ feet; others had the limbs of a horse, but before were fashioned like men, resembling hippocentaurs. Bulls, likewise, bred there with the heads of men; and dogs, with fourfold bodies, and the tails of fishes. Also horses, with the heads of dogs; men, too, and other animals, with the heads and bodies of horses and the tails of fishes. In short, there were creatures with the limbs of every species of animals. Add to these fishes, reptiles, serpents, with other wonderful animals, which assumed each other’s shape and countenance. Of all these were preserved delineations in the temple of Belus at Babylon.

“The person who is supposed to have presided over them was a woman named Omoroca; which

in the Chaldee language is *Thalatth*; which in Greek is interpreted *Thalassa*, the sea; but, according to the most true computation, it is equivalent to *Selene*, the moon. All things being in this situation, *Belus* came, and cut the woman asunder; and out of one half of her he formed the earth, and of the other half the heavens; and at the same time he destroyed the animals in the abyss. All this (he says) was an allegorical description of nature. For the whole universe consisting of moisture, and animals being continually generated therein; the deity (*Belus*), above-mentioned, cut off his own head; upon which the other gods mixed the blood, as it gushed out, with the earth; and from thence men were formed. On this account it is that men are rational and partake of divine knowledge. This *Belus*, whom men call *Dis* (or *Pluto*), divided the darkness, and separated the heavens from the earth, and reduced the universe to order. But the animals so recently created, not being able to bear the prevalence of light, died.

“*Belus*, upon this, seeing a vast space quite uninhabited, though by nature very fruitful, ordered one of the gods to take off his head; and when it was taken off, they were to mix the blood with the soil of the earth, and from thence

to form other men and animals, which should be capable of bearing the light. Belus also formed the stars, and the sun and the moon, together with the five planets.”*

We shall meet with Omoroca again in the Tiamat, against whom Merodach victoriously fought in the creation legend, and Nergal in the tablet of Cutha. The whole struggle represents the bringing of order out of apparent disorder. According to Berosus, we have the same double origin of man as that with which we meet in Genesis. In the latter account, it is earthly material and divine breath out of which the human being is formed; in the former account, it is earth and divine blood. Again, if science shall hereafter prove that in the first origin of life in this world there was no distinction of sex, we may point to both Berosus and Moses as uttering teachings not inconsistent, to say the least, with the same doctrine.

Damascius, a writer of the sixth century, who had access to older materials, says :

“But the Babylonians, like the rest of the Barbarians, pass over in silence the One principle of the universe, and they constitute two, Tauthe and Apason, making Apason the husband of Tauthe, and denominating her the ‘mother of

* Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, pp. 58-60.

the gods.' And from these proceeds an only-begotten son, Moymis, which, I conceive, is no other than the intelligible world proceeding from the two principles. From them, also, another progeny is derived, Dache and Dachus; and again a third, Kissare and Assorus, from which last three others proceed, Anus, Illinus, and Aus. And of Aus and Davke is born a son called Belus, who, they say, is the fabricator of the world—the Demiurgus.”*

Abydenus, a disciple of Berosus, writing about 268 B. C., says :

“There was nothing but water in the beginning, and that was called the sea (*Tiamat*); Bêlos (*Bel-Marduk*) put an end to this state of things by assigning to everything its place in the world.”†

The works of Sanchoniathon, the celebrated Phœnician author, have been wholly lost, except certain fragments which Eusebius has preserved for us from the translation which Philo of Byblus made into the Greek language about one hundred years before the present era. From these invaluable extracts we quote a few sentences :

“He supposes that the beginning of all things was a dark and condensed windy air, or a breeze

* Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 92.

† Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, p. 499.

of dark air, and a chaos turbid and black as Erebus; and that these were unbounded, and for a long series of ages destitute of form (*or* limit). But when this wind became enamored of its own first-principles (the chaos), and an intimate union took place, that connection was called Pothos; and it was the beginning of the creation of all things. And it (the chaos) knew not its own production; but from its embrace with the wind was generated Môt, which some called Ilus (mud); but others, the putrefaction of a watery mixture. And from this sprung all the seed of the creation and the generation of the universe. And there were certain animals, not having sensation, from which intelligent animals were produced; and they were called Zophasemim (צופי השמים, Tsophe hashshamayim)—*i. e.*, *observers of heaven*—and they were formed similar to the shape of an egg. And Môt shone out with the sun, and the moon, and the less and the greater stars.”

Our author continues:

“Of the wind Kolpia and his wife, Baau, which is interpreted Night, were begotten two mortal men, Aeon and Protogonus so called; and Aeon discovered food from trees. Those begotten from these were called Genos and Genea, and inhabited Phoenicia, and when great droughts

came (*upon the land*), they stretched their hands to heaven, towards the sun, for this (he says) they supposed to be the only God, the Lord of Heaven, calling him *Beelsamin*^{*}, which name among the Phœnicians signifies Lord of Heaven, but among the Greeks is *equivalent* to Zeus, or Jupiter.”*

We shall discuss the extract from Damascius when we reach the Creation tablets. Sancho-niathon repeats the story of the primordial chaos, dark and without form, brooded over by the wind. The creation of the present order of things resulted from their union.

There is a curious and precious fragment from a tablet which has come down to us from the great temple of Nergal, at Cutha, through the library of Nineveh. It may date from the time of Khammuragas, about 2350 B. C., but the presence of Accadian words shows that it depends upon pre-Semitic materials. The god Nergal is the speaker, and represents the character of the primordial creation :

“On a tablet he wrote not, he opened not (the mouth), and
bodies and produce
He caused not to come forth in the land, and I approached
him not.
Warriors with the body of a bird of the valley, men

* Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, pp. 1-5.

With the faces of ravens,
Did the great gods create.
In the ground the gods created his city.
Tiamat gave them suck.
Their progeny the mistress of the gods created.
In the midst of the mountains they grew up and became
 heroes and
Increased in number.
Seven kings, brethren, appeared as begetters;
Six thousand (in number were) their armies.
The god Ba-nini, their father, (was) king; their mother,
The queen, (was) Melili."

After many broken lines, the story continues:

"The first year as it passed,
One hundred and twenty thousand warriors I caused to go
 forth, and among them
Not one returned alive.
The second year as it passed I caused ninety thousand
 soldiers to go forth, and none returned alive.
The third year as it passed I caused sixty thousand seven
 hundred to go forth, and none returned.
They were carried away, they were smitten with sickness.
 I ate;
I lamented; I rested.
Thus did I speak to my heart, saying: 'Verily, it is
 I, and
(Yet) what have I left to reign over?
I am a king who makes not his country whole,
And a shepherd who makes not his people whole,
Since I have produced corpses and left a desert.
With terror of men, night, death, (and) plague have I
 cursed it.
With fear, violence, destruction, (and) famine
(I have effected) the overthrow of all that exist."

The remainder of the tablet is too imperfect for quotation.

In its main features this account from Cutha agrees with that of Berosus. In both alike the first living beings are imperfect and composite in their nature and form; they are nourished by the primordial chaos; and they are finally exterminated by the gods of light. These first creations may be considered as experiments, and they were certainly partial failures. We possess in these old documents a primitive and gross kind of Darwinism. The Greek cosmogonies of Hesiod contain the same features.

Tiamat is the Tauthe of Damascius and the Thalath of Berosus; and also the *těhôm*, or "deep," of Genesis, over which the Spirit—*rû-ach*—of God brooded in the beginning of the formal work of creation, whose issue was the present order of things. At Eridu the deep, which was the home of Ea and the other gods, was called *apzu*, in which we recognize the Apason of Damascius. By a punning etymology, frequently met with among the Semites, this was read *abzu*, "the house of knowledge"—an appropriate abode for Ea, the god of wisdom and of all science, arts, and culture. This "deep" was both the ocean-stream that surrounded the earth, and also the great deep above the firmament of

heaven. As the mother of the gods, it was called Zikum or Zigarum, "the heaven," "the mother that has begotten heaven and earth." It is nothing less than the great deep out of which heaven and earth were produced, the Omorooca of Berosus, who was torn asunder by Belus.

Zikum seems to have been honored in Southern Babylonia under the name of Bahu, "the daughter of heaven," "the great mother." Now this Bahu has special interest, in that it is the *bohu* of Genesis—"the void," "the empty space"—and the Baau of the Phœnicians, over which the wind, Kolpia, brooded like the breath of God in the Mosaic account. This Bahu may have been the chaos of the earth, while *apzu*, the Tiamat of the Semites, was the chaos of the great abyss. The distinction between *apzu* and Bohu was forgotten, while Bohu was ever remembered as distinct from Tiamat. Fortunes quite diverse awaited the two latter goddesses. Bohu became a goddess indeed, while Tiamat degenerated, and was left as the demon of chaos. It is Tiamat, in this later character, against whom Nergal fought in the Cutha tablet. Again, when we come to the fourth Creation tablet, we shall find the sun-god, Merodach, engaged in a struggle with this monster, and finally slaying her and tearing her body asunder.

Tiamat, as we find her in the first Creation tablet, has not lost her primordial character as the prolific and beneficent mother of the gods. The last part of the tablet is lost. Fortunately we have the beginning, which reads :

“ At that time the heaven above had not yet announced,
Or the earth beneath recorded, a name ;
The unopened deep was their generator,
Mummu-Tiamat (the chaos of the sea) was the mother of
them all.

Their waters were embosomed as one, and
The corn-field was unharvested, the pasture was ungrown.
At that time the gods had not appeared, any of them ;
By no name were they recorded ; no destiny (had they
fixed).

Then the (great) gods were created ;
Lakhmu and Lakhamu issued forth (the first),
Until they grew up, (when)
An-sar and Ki-sar were created.

Long were the days, extended (was the time, until)
The gods Anu, (Bel, and Ea were born) ;
An-sar and Ki-sar (gave them birth).”

The agreement between the Chaldæan account and that of Damascius is very close. There is mention of the same divine beings. Tiamat and Apsu are Tauthe and Apason ; An-sar and Ki-sar are Assorus and Kisare ; Lakhmu and Lakhamu are Lache and Lachus ; for thus we must read instead of Dache and Dachus. There is a single difference : Damascius makes Moymis

the son of Apason and Tauthe, while Mummu of the tablet is identical with Tiamat. The resemblances with Genesis will be noticed later. We note at present only the indefinite time from which the beginning of the history dates—"At that time;" "In the beginning." (Genesis i, 1.) The tablet of Cutha knows nothing about the seven "days," or stages of progress, in the creation; we have them in the Chaldæan tablets, as in Genesis.

Between the first and the second tablet much time must have elapsed, for we find that the great mother Tiamat has already become the demon of Chaos. Professor Delitzsch makes the second tablet conclude with the prayer of Merodach to capture Tiamat. It would seem, also, that Anu and Ea had declined to attack the demon. The third and fourth tablets relate the history of this struggle. This account, being so thoroughly mythological, has nothing in this respect with which we may compare the relation of Moses.

The third tablet begins with the appeal of An-sar addressed to Merodach, praying him to attack Tiamat, and prophesying his complete triumph. Tiamat becomes aware of the counsel of the gods. "She has convened an assembly, and is violently enraged." We now read :

" 'The gods have marched round her, all of them;
Up to those whom thou hast created at her side I have gone.' "

When they were *gathered* (?) beside her, Tiamat they approached.

The strong one (Merodach), the glorious, who desists not night or day,

The exciter to battle, was disturbed in heart.

Then they marshaled (their) forces; they create darkness.

'The mother of Khubur, the creatress of them all,

I pursued with (my) weapons unsurpassed; (then) did the great snake(s) bite.

With my teeth sharpened unsparingly did I bite.

With poisoned breath like blood their bodies I filled.

The raging vampires I clothed with terror.

I lifted up the lightning-flash, on high I launched (it).

Their messenger Sar-baba . . .

Their bodies were struck, but it pierced not their breasts. .

I made ready the dragon, the mighty serpent and the god Lakha(ma),

The great reptile, the deadly beast and the scorpion-man,

The devouring reptiles, the fish-man and the gazelle-god,

Lifting up (my) weapons that spare not, fearless of battle,

Strong through the law which (yields?) not before the foe.

The eleven-fold (offspring), like him (their messenger), were utterly (overthrown?).

Among the gods her forces . . .

I humbled the god Kingu in the sight (of his consort?), the queen.

They who went in front before the army (I smote?),

Lifting up (my) weapons, a snare for Ti(amat)."

The battle seems to have been but preliminary, and yet such has been the success that Merodach has earned the praise of the

gods. In the fourth tablet, after several lines we read :

“O Merodach, thou art he who avenges us ;
We give thee the sovereignty, (we) the hosts of all the
universe !
Thou possessest (it), and in the assembly (of the gods)
mayest thou exalt thy word !
Never may thy weapons be broken ; may thine enemies
tremble !
O lord, be gracious to the soul of him who putteth his
trust in thee,
And destroy the soul of the god who has hold of evil.”

The gods bestow upon Merodach “the scepter,
the throne and the reign,” and give him “a
weapon unsurpassed, consuming the hostile.”
They now urge :

“Go, and cut off the life of Tiamat ;
Let the winds carry her blood to secret places.”

The report of Ea is hopeful to the gods, for
he says :

“A path of peace and obedience is the road I have caused
(him) to take.”

We now reach the account of the great and
decisive battle :

“There was too the bow, as his weapon he prepared (it) ;
He made the club swing, he fixed its seat ;
And he lifted up the sacred weapon which he bade his
right hand hold.

The bow and the quiver he hung at his side ;
He set the lightning before him ;
With a glance of swiftness he filled his body.
He made also a snare to inclose the dragon of the sea.
He seized the four winds that they might not issue forth,
any one of them,
The south wind, the north wind, the east wind, (and) the
west wind.
His hand brought the snare near the bow of his father
Anu.
He created the evil wind, the hostile wind, the storm, the
tempest,
The four winds, the seven winds, the whirlwind, the un-
ending wind ;
And he caused the winds which he had created to issue
forth, the seven of them,
Confounding the dragon Tiamat, as they swept after him.
Then the lord lifted up the deluge, his mighty weapon.
He rode in the chariot of destiny that retreats without a
rival.
He stood firm and hung the four reins at his side."

We lose the connection here, but evidently Merodach is gaining the mastery. When the tablet becomes more legible, it continues in enthusiastic strains :

"On that day they exalted him, the gods exalted him,
The gods his fathers exalted him, the gods exalted him.
Then the lord approached ; he catches Tiamat by her
waist ;
She seeks the huge *bulk* (?) of Kingu her husband,
She looks also for his counsel.
Then the rebellious one (Tiamat) appointed him the over-
thrower of the command of Bel.

But the gods his helpers who marched beside him
Beheld (how Merodach) the first-born held their yoke.
He laid judgment on Tiamat, (but) she turned not her
neck.

With her hostile lip(s) she announced opposition.
(Then) the gods (came) to the help of the lord sweeping
after thee.

They gathered their (forces) together to where thou wast.
(And) the lord (launched) the deluge, his mighty weapon;
(Against) Tiamat, whom he requited, he sent it with these
words:

‘(War) on high thou hast excited.
(Strengthen?) thy heart and muster (thy troops) against
the god(s).’”

We regret the loss of the middle of this address, but we have the end in the bold challenge:

“Stand up, and thou and I will fight together!”

Tiamat called up all her magical powers, and
directed them against her adversary:

“When Tiamat heard this,
She uttered her former spells, she repeated her command.
Tiamat also cried out vehemently with a loud voice.
From its roots she strengthened (her) seat completely.
She recites an incantation, she casts a spell,
And the gods of battle demand for themselves their arms.
Then Tiamat attacked Merodach, the chief prophet of the
gods;

In combat they joined; they met in battle.
And the lord outspread his snare (and) inclosed her.
He sent before him the evil wind to seize (her) from
behind.

And Tiamat opened her mouth to swallow it.
He made the evil wind enter, so that she could not close
her lips.

The violence of the winds tortured her stomach, and
Her heart was prostrated and her mouth was twisted.
He swung the club, he shattered her stomach;
He cut out her entrails; he overmastered (her) heart;
He bound her and ended her life.

He threw down her corpse; he stood upon it.
When Tiamat, who marched before (them) was conquered,
He dispersed her forces; her host was overthrown;
And the gods, her allies, who marched beside her,
Trembled (and) feared (and) turned their backs.
They escaped, and saved their lives.

They clung to one another, fleeing helplessly.
He followed them, and shattered their weapons.
He cast his snare, and they are caught in his net.
Knowing(?) the regions, they are filled with grief.
They bear their sin, they are kept in bondage,
And the eleven-fold offspring are troubled through fear."

The victory is complete. The books of destiny are captured and become the property of the younger gods. Merodach tramples upon Tiamat, and breaks her skull with his club; and the blood, borne away by the north wind, is carried to "secret places." He strips Tiamat of her skin, "like a fish," and stretches the skin out so as to form therefrom the visible heavens. The chaotic waters are made obedient to law.*

* Rev. xii, 7-9; Isa. xxiv. 21, 22.

The heavens having been made, the work of creation is continued in the fifth tablet:

“ He prepared the twin mansions of the great gods.
He fixed the stars, even the twin-stars, to correspond with them.

He ordained the year, appointing the signs of the zodiac over (it).

For each of the twelve months he fixed three stars,

From the day when the year issues forth to the close.

He founded the mansion of (the sun-god), the god of the ferry-boat, that they might know their bonds,

That they might not err, that they might not go astray in any way.

He established the mansion of Bel and Ea along with himself.

Moreover he opened the great gates on either side,

He strengthened the bolts on the left hand and on the right,

And in the midst of it he made a staircase.

He illuminated the moon-god, that he might be porter of the night,

And ordained for him the ending of the night, that the day may be known,

(Saying:) ‘Month by month, without break, keep watch in thy disk.

At the beginning of the month light up the night,

Announcing thy horns, that the heaven may know.

On the seventh day, (filling thy) disk,

Thou shalt open indeed (its) narrow contraction.

At that time the sun (will be) on the horizon of heaven at thy (rising).’”

The remainder of this tablet is in so mutilated a condition that its meaning is too uncertain for

quotation. There is a fragment of another tablet which Sayce, for some reason which he does not state, makes the seventh and last of the series. The first few lines read :

“At that time the gods, in their assembly, created (the beasts).

They made perfect the mighty (monsters).

They caused the living creatures (of the field) to come forth,

The cattle of the field, (the wild beasts) of the field, and the creeping things (of the field).

(They fixed their habitations) for the living creatures (of the field).

They distributed (in their dwelling-places) the cattle and the creeping things of the city.

(They made strong) the multitude of creeping things, all the offspring (of the earth).”

The rest of the tablet is lost. There are a few unplaced fragments of other portions of the creation story, but they are all too brief. We have no account of the creation of man. It doubtless belongs to this last tablet. In a magical text of Babylonia concerning the creation of the woman we meet with a confirmation of the statement of Genesis ii, 22, 23.*

* I have followed in this discussion the last translation of Sayce, *Records of the Past*, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 122-146; cf. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, pp. 384-390; Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, pp. 47-66, 489-498; Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und Das Alte Testament*, pp. 2-17; and the English Translation by

The series of creation tablets and the Semitic fragments which have been preserved in old authors, when purged of their mythology, magic, and polytheism, are found to bear close and interesting resemblances with the Mosaic record of Genesis, even to the use of certain words which possess special cosmogonic value. We have already called attention to some of these resemblances. Among them are the primordial surging sea, the all-encompassing darkness, the divine brooding spirit, the creation proceeding from lower to higher forms in the order of development, the creation of light necessary to the existence of the present order of beings, the appointment of the heavenly bodies for signs and seasons and days and years, the sun to rule the day and the moon to rule the night, and the classes of animals with which the earth was peopled.

In the Chaldæan tablets the constellations were arranged according to the signs of the zodiac, the solstices and equinoxes seem to have been known, and the lunar phases were observed. The moon, as the friend of the shepherd and as the heavenly body most studied by the old astronomers, had the preference over the sun. Indeed

Whitehouse, Vol. I, pp. 2-17; Boscawen, *From under the Dust of Ages*, pp. 29-64; Delitzsch, *Neuer Commentar über die Genesis*, pp. 47-68, and the English Translation by Sophia Taylor, Vol. I, pp. 72-105.

the moon might be considered the great shepherd of the stars which the Accadians have called "sheep."* The Chaldæans drew important omens from the observation of the heavenly bodies, and the Assyrians attached great importance to the moon, which they watched most carefully.† The sun, moon, and stars are represented as making their entrance into the world from the regions below the horizon through great gates which are opened by guards as they approach. These guards were scorpion-headed men, whose "heads reached to the threshold of heaven, and whose footing was the under-world."

The accounts of the creation current among the Greeks, Scandinavians, Hindus, Persians, and other peoples, would furnish additional illustrations, but we must not enter this inviting field.

"All these are doubtless wrecks of primitive revelations of God, modified, changed, corrupted, elaborated, adapted to foreign philosophies and mythologies, and yet, in all their wanderings, showing traces of their pristine divinity—at length, as far as is necessary for purposes of morality and religion, rescued, purified, spiritualized, and recorded by Moses under the direction of the Holy Spirit, as we find them in Genesis."

*Psa. cxlvii, 4.

†Cf. Num. x, 10; Psa. lxxxi, 3; Isa. i, 13.

II.

The Gods of the Phœnicians.

I.

MY LORD BAAL.

IMPORTANT ethical questions connected with the divine commandment of extermination issued against the Canaanites, the conquest of Palestine by Joshua, and the wars of the Judges and of the Kings, demand a reasonable solution. A vindication of the divine policy in these conquests and wars is possible only when the age, the races, and the circumstances are thoroughly studied. An important contribution to the subject is the treatment of that group of religions of which the Phœnician may be regarded as the fairest representative. The consideration of these religions will discover to us at least one reason for God's stern dealings with the native races of Palestine. In speaking of these religions we may use the word Phœnician as a general term, applicable in a loose way to the whole group.

The study of this religion is difficult in the extreme. There are no sacred books, with their rich stores of knowledge; no important sculptures or paintings, with their truthful representations

of the aspect of the gods and the modes of their worship; few monumental inscriptions to be deciphered, and few attempts at the treatment of so important a subject at the hands of foreign authors.

There are few monuments of the Phœnician language, and yet the Hebrew so closely resembles the Phœnician that the prophet Isaiah calls



Sarcophagus of Esmunazar.

the former the language of Canaan. (Isa. xix, 18.) There are a number of votive offerings and funeral inscriptions, which are mostly Carthaginian. The inscription on the sarcophagus of Esmunazar, king of Sidon, contains imprecations on those who would violate his grave, quite in the style of the imprecatory inscriptions of the Assyrians and Babylonians. The inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, while it preserves the names of native gods, is also important in the confirmation it lends to several points in the Biblical records.*

The Carthaginian tablet, from Marseilles, dis-

* Deut. ii, 32; iv, 43; Num. xxi, 19, 23, 29, 30; xxii, 41; xxxii; Josh. xiii, 9, 15-18; xx, 8; xxi, 36; Judg. xi, 20; 1 Sam. vii, 12; 2 Kings iii, 4-27; x, 33; xiii, 20; 1 Chron. v, 8; vi, 78; Isa. xv, 2, 4, 5; Jer. xlviii, 1-3, 18, 19, 22, 24, 25, 34, 41; Amos ii, 2; Fradenburgh, *Witnesses from the Dust*, pp. 291, 299.

covered near the site of the ancient temple of Diana in 1845, fixes the prices of victims to be offered as sacrifices. In the "Poenulus," one of the comedies of Plautus, are to be found several Phœnician verses, followed by a Latin translation. The Marseilles tablet contains the names of gods, and illustrates certain passages in the Holy Scriptures; and the "Poenulus" is not void of Phœnician sentiment.*

Before the conquest of Joshua, the Phœnicians were doubtless a literary people. Kirjath-Sepher, one of the ancient towns of Palestine—it may have been Hittite—means "the city of books." There is mention of court poets, who sung the praises of the great kings and conquerors of those early times. Tradition referred written laws to the god Taaut, and Thoth was the human author. Law was even deified under the name of Thuro, whose wife was Khusareth, or "harmony." Phœnician cities seem to have contained important archives and records. There were also treatises on agriculture and various other useful arts. But all this—we can not tell how much or how little—the breath of time and the wrath of man have swept away.

* Deut. xxiii, 18; Lev. xix, 27; xxi, 5; 1 Kings viii, 2; Jer. xlv, 15-19; Fradenburgh, *Witnessess from the Dust*, pp. 314-318.

Several ancient authors quote from the early Phœnician literature. The most important of these fragments have been preserved in the writings of Eusebius of Cæsarea. Philo of Byblos made the translation from a work on the hierarchy of the ancient Phœnician gods, drawn up by Sanchoniathon of Berytus, at "about the time of the Trojan war," and dedicated to Abibaal, king of his own town. Its real date is probably not earlier than the third or fourth century before the Christian era.

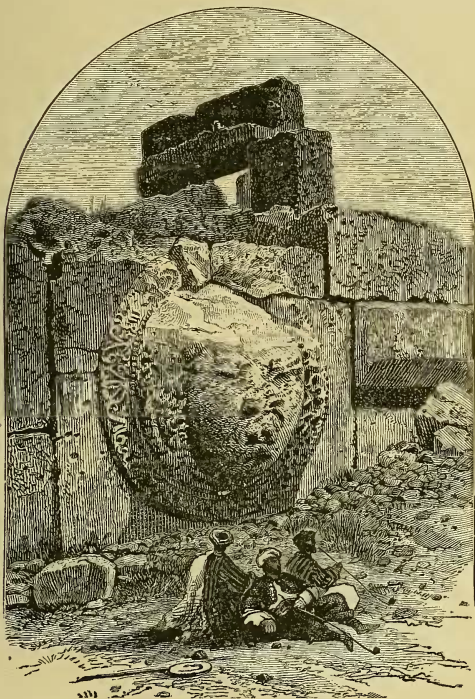


Phœnician Gem.

Old Testament writers refer to the religion of the Canaanites, and the chosen people of God frequently fell into their idolatries. Coins and a few idols have been found in Cyprus and elsewhere, and various names of gods have been preserved by these means. Monumental discoveries have not yet ceased, and hence our information is being increased constantly, and yet by only small increments. With such scanty material, we can hope to present but an imperfect picture of the ancient worship.

There are indications which it has been thought point to a primitive monotheism in Phœnicia. The visible order of things seems to have been

looked upon as an emanation of the Divine Being, and not as the result of a distinct act of creation.



FACE OF BAAL, AT BAALBEC.

These nations ascribed certain honorific titles to the gods, which would seem to indicate that they

apprehended the distinct personality of God. *Eliun*, "the exalted," "the most high," was worshiped in Canaan before the time of Abraham; for Melchizedek was "the priest of El-Eliun." The second element in the name of this venerable and mysterious priest is identical with Sadyk—"the righteous"—and St. Paul correctly translates the name "king of righteousness."* Baal means "lord," and we have many Baalim, determined by the place of their worship or their peculiar office. Such are Baal-Tsidon, "lord of Sidon;" Baal-Tars, "lord of Tarsus;" and Baal-Peor, "lord of Peor;" Baal-Zebub, "lord of flies;" Baal-Berith, "lord of covenants;" Baal-Phegor, "lord of licentiousness," and so on. Adoni—Hebrew, Adonai—is "my lord," and Baalti, "my lady." Melkarth means "king of the city." The Kabiri are "the great ones."

It has been thought that all these names, and many others of like character—except that of the Kabiri—were originally merely epithets of the One Divine Being. The fact of the existence of most ancient and primitive goddesses need not weigh against this opinion. "It may be that the original conception of female deities differs among Semitic and Aryan nations, and that these feminine forms . . . were at first in-

*Gen. xiv, 18; Heb. vii, 2.

tended only to express the energy or activity, or the collective powers, of the deity; not a separate being—least of all a wife. This opinion is certainly confirmed when we see that, in a Carthaginian inscription, the goddess *Tanit* is called *the face of Baal*; and that, in the inscription of Eshmunazar, the Sidonian Astarte is called *the name of Baal*.”*

In the inscription of Mesha we meet with Chemosh-Ashtar as a single deity. From all this it has been thought that the Phœnician supreme god was originally androgynous.† An insuperable objection to this view is the existence of the Kabiri, the sons of Sadyk. They were actual deties, seven in number, and their brother was Eshmun, “the eighth.” If, therefore, not polytheists at the first, the Phœnicians doubtless soon became such, and the words which had been used only as epithets soon came to designate distinct gods. We attempt a review of the chief of these divinities.



Astarte.

* Müller, *Science of Religion*, pp. 78, 79.

† Speaker's Commentary, Vol. I, p. 732; cf. Num. xxv, 3; 2 Kings i, 2; Judges viii, 33; and elsewhere; W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites, Fundamental Institutions*, p. 459.

Baal was "the lord" *par excellence*, "the lord of heaven," and "the aged lord." He was known in Numidia as "the eternal king." A multitude of personal and geographical names, containing the name of this god as an element, show the wide extent and vast importance of his worship. Dedictory inscriptions sometimes couple Baal with a goddess who is usually Tanith.

Baal-Tammuz, identified with Adonis, is a solar god. Each year this god was supposed



Effigy of Baal.

to die and be born again in the course of natural phenomena. It is the old battle between light and darkness, good and evil. His rites were celebrated with symbols of mourning followed by the most extravagant rejoicing. The sun as a physical object received separate worship.* A solar god, called Apollo by classical writers, was worshiped in Utica, Carthage, and other Phœnician colonies.

The "high places of Baal" are mentioned in the history of Balaam. The Israelites fell into this primitive form of idolatry, but repented and turned again unto God under the faithful warnings of Samuel.† They also worshiped Ashto-

* 2 Kings xxiii, 5.

† Num. xxii, 41, Judges ii, 13; 1 Sam. vii, 4.

reth, and extended divine honors to a calf, which may have symbolized Baal. The organized worship of these strange divinities was inaugurated in Israel under the influence of the wicked queen Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre and Sidon, whom king Ahab had taken in marriage. Under the stirring appeals of Elijah, the wild prophet of the mountain, the priests of Baal were put to death by the people. Jehu, by an act of treachery, exterminated the idolaters and destroyed the image and the temple of the god. The worship, however, was not destroyed, but Baalim were numerous to the very end of the monarchy.

High places and groves were consecrated, and a numerous priesthood performed the rites of worship. Says the prophet: "They have filled their places with the blood of innocents; they have built the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with fire for burnt-offerings unto Baal."* The rites were most fanatical, and the invocations were uttered with loud and frantic cries, while the priests cut themselves with knives and lances.† Of the worship of the priests of Baal on Mount Carmel, a late writer says: "They now, in their frenzied state, tossed to and fro the swords and lances which formed part of their

* Jer. xix, 4, 5. † 1 Kings xviii, 28.

fantastic worship, and gashed themselves and each other, till they were smeared with blood; and mingled with their loud yells to the silent and sleeping divinity those ravings which formed the dark side of ancient prophecy.”*

The statue of Baal rode on bulls, and was represented with bunches of grapes and pomegranates in his hands. “Baal was of an elemental and sidereal character at once. As the former, he was god of the creative power, bringing all things to life everywhere, and, in particular, god of fire; but he was sun-god besides, and, as such, to human lineaments he added the crown of rays about the head peculiar to this god. In the one quality as well as the other he was represented at the same time as sovereign of the heavens (Baal-samen), and of the earth by him impregnated.”†

Ashtoreth was originally “a mere name for the energy or activity of God.”‡ She became a supreme goddess, and was worshiped with special honors in Sidon. She also represented the moon, and bore the head of a heifer with horns curving so as to form a crescent, whence she was called Ashtoreth-Karnaim, “Astarte of

* Stanley, *History of the Jewish Church*, Second Series, p. 335.

† Dollinger, *Heidenthum und Judenthum*, quoted by Rawlinson in “*The Story of Phœnicia*,” p. 112.

‡ Rawlinson, *The Religions of the Ancient World*, p. 139.

the two horns." (Gen. xiv, 5.) She represented the reproductive power of nature, and presided over love and sensuality. The Israelites worshiped her as "queen of heaven."* Ashtaroth was the capital of Bashan.† Samuel banished her worship, but "Solomon went after Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Sidonians." (1 Kings xi, 5.) According to Herodotus, the oldest seat of her worship was at Ascalon, whence it was transferred to Cyprus and Cythera.

Rude stones, in early times, were symbolical of divine power, or were objects in which divinity was believed to dwell. These were called Baetyli or Bethels, and were among the earliest objects of worship



The Phœnician Ashtoreth.

in Asia. "Such was the Venus of Paphos, the Cybele of Pessinus, the solar god of Emesa, of whom Heliogabalus was priest. The Arabs to the time of Mahomet worshiped Venus under the form of a stone, on which only a head was rudely indicated. This absence of all traces of human art gave occasion to the fable that they had fallen from heaven, and in modern times to the theory of their being aëro-

* Jer. vii, 18; xlv, 25. † Deut. i, 4; Josh. xii, 4.

liths.”* Her worship became Hellenized where it came in contact with Greek influence. The Atargatis or Derceto of Herodotus, to whom a temple and sacred lake near Ascalon were consecrated, though differently symbolized, was probably the same goddess. The dove was consecrated to Venus under all her different names.

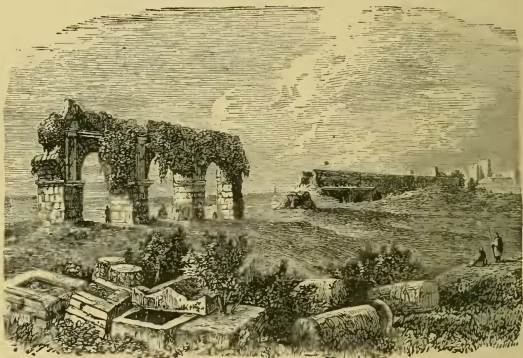
“As highest goddess, or queen of heaven, Astarte was accounted by the Greeks as Hera; yet they also recognized in her something of Athene, Aphrodite, Selene, Rhea, Artemis, Nemesis, and the Moirai. In fact, she came nearest to the Phrygian Cybele. Scepter and spindle in hand, she wore rays and a mural crown on her head, and the girdle too, an ornament only befitting Aphrodite-Urania. Her golden statue rode next to that of Baal-Zeus, in a chariot drawn by lions; a precious stone, placed upon her head, illuminated the whole temple by night. . . . A combined worship was offered to the two, Baal and the goddess. Their temple at Apheka was so exceedingly rich that Crassus spent several days in weighing all the gold and silver vessels and precious things that were contained in it. These gifts were the combined offerings of Arabia, Babylonia, Assyria, Phœnicia,

* Kenrick, Phœnicia, p. 304.

Cilicia, and Cappadocia, and therefore of all the people of the Semitic tongue. In the court of the temple there were sacred beasts in a tame state in great numbers, and also a pond containing holy fish. Priests and temple ministers were present in such numbers that Lucian counted above three hundred employed in one sacrifice; besides these, there were troops of flute-players, Galli, and women frenzied with inspiration. At the spring festival, called by some 'the brand feast,' by others 'the feast of torches,' which was attended by streams of visitors from every country, huge trees were burnt with the offerings suspended on them. Even children were sacrificed; they were put into a leathern bag and thrown the whole height of the temple to the bottom, with the shocking expression that they were calves and not children. In the fore-court stood two gigantic phalli. To the exciting din of drums, flutes, and inspired songs, the Galli cut themselves on the arms; and the effect of this act, and of the music accompanying it, was so strong upon mere spectators, that all their bodily and mental powers were thrown into a tumult of excitement; and they, too, seized by the desire to lacerate themselves, inflicted wounds upon their bodies by means of potsherds lying ready for the purpose.

Thereupon they ran bleeding through the city, and received from the inhabitants a woman's attire."*

Melkarth has been regarded as a form of Baal, but probably possessed, at least in the later development of the religion, a separate personality. Classical authors identify him with Her-



RUINS OF ANCIENT TYRE.

cules. He is called Baal-Tsur, or "Baal of Tyre"—special lord of Tyre—and, as the name would indicate, "king of the city." His symbol in his temple at Gades was an ever-burning fire. Coins of Tyre, in the age of Severus, show the fire along with the figure of Hercules, who is

* Dollinger, *Heidenthum und Judenthum*, quoted by Rawlinson in "The Story of Phœnicia," pp. 115, 116.

represented with club and lion's skin. In the temple at Gades, women were excluded from the sacerdotal functions, the garments of the priests were of pure white linen and their heads were shaven, and swine were not eaten.* There was a festival which was observed at Tyre, called "the awakening of Hercules," which would indicate the solar character of the god.

Moloch, or Milcom, was the god of the Ammonites. "The head was that of a bull—a form under which, from the story of Europa and the Minotaur, it is probable the chief god of Phœnicia was represented; the body, human; and the stretched-out hands received the child, which was consumed in the fire kindled below, while the beating of a tabret by the priests drowned its cries."† It has been thought that the Israelites worshiped Moloch in the desert.‡ The law against this worship proves the reality of the crime.|| Solomon introduced "Moloch, the abomination of the children of Ammon." (1 Kings xi, 7.) In the valley of Tophet these bloody rites were celebrated from the time of Solomon to Josiah, who defiled the place by appointing it as a receptacle for the filth of the city, "that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass

* Kenrick, Phœnicia, pp. 322, 323. †Ib. p. 318.

‡ Amos v, 26. || Lev. xx, 2-5.

through the fire to Moloch." (2 Kings xxiii, 10.) In this valley a perpetual fire was kept burning to consume the filth cast out from the city.* "To pass through the fire" meant to be burned in the fire.† "The truth appears to be that two motives—an expiatory offering and a religious consecration—were blended in the sacrifice of infants to Moloch; and the readiness, and even joy, with which mothers brought them to his altars seems inexplicable, except on the supposition that they believed themselves to be securing their children's eternal happiness by this sacrifice of natural feeling."‡

Sanchoniathon says: "It was the custom among the ancients, in times of great calamity, in order to prevent the ruin of all, for the rulers of the city or nation to sacrifice to the avenging deities the most beloved of their children, as the price of redemption; they who were devoted for this purpose were offered mystically."|| The Carthaginians every year sacrificed a youthful victim, whom they chose by lot. After the victory of Agathocles, two hundred youths were sacrificed. The most acceptable offering among the Phœnicians was that of an only child.

* Matt. v, 22. † Cf. Jer. vii, 31; xxxii, 35.

‡ Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, pp. 319, 320.

|| Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 21.

Mothers brought their infants to the brazen image of Saturn, and quieted them by their caresses till they were thrown into the flames. During the proconsulate of Tiberius, the priests of these unholy rites were hanged on the trees in their sacred groves. The Israelites also worshiped Chiun, though probably not with infant sacrifices.* Human sacrifices were secretly offered even down to the time of Tertullian.†

Balak asks Balaam: "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for the sin of my soul?" (Micah vi, 6, 7.) It was whispered among the Phœnicians that the Supreme God himself, with his own hand, had slain his only Son as a sacrifice.‡ Both rulers and private individuals might imitate this divine example, and there are sad evidences that this was sometimes done. Abraham's offering of Isaac has great significance in the light of the custom of all the peoples among whom he dwelt.

* Amos v, 26.

† Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, 9; *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, Vol. XI, pp. 70, 71.

‡ Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, pp. 19-22.

II.

GODS, AND OTHER MATTERS.

THE prophet of luxuriant visions says: "Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house, which was toward the north; and, behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz." (Ezek. viii, 14.) This was the Greek Adonis, especially worshiped at Byblos.* Aphaca was also an important seat of his worship. Legend says that he was wounded by a boar on Lebanon, and that once a year the stream of Byblos was reddened by his blood. "On a certain day of the year a globe or star of fire was supposed to dart from the summit of Lebanon into the river, representing Urania."† The solar character of the god is evident. The departure of the sun from the upper hemisphere was his death, and at the summer solstice he was mourned. When the mourning was concluded, the image of the god was buried. The next day he was supposed to come to life, his image was again

* Josh. xiii, 5; 1 Kings v, 18; Ps. lxxxiii, 7; Ezek. xxvii, 9, 29.

† Kenrick, Phœnicia, p. 309.

brought forth, and extravagant sorrow was followed by wild rejoicing. The rites at Aphaca were characterized by every form of abomination, and were at last abolished by Constantine. The full discussion of these myths would carry us far beyond the limits of this work.*

The Israelites regarded Dagon as a special Philistine deity, whose principal seats of worship were at Ashdod and Gaza.† His cult was



Dagon.

widely extended throughout Western Asia. Assurnatsirpal calls himself "the beloved of Anu and Dagon," and Sargon declares that he "had extended his protection over the city of Harran, and,

according to the ordinance of Anu and Dagon, had written down their laws. Beth-Dagon was a city of Asher, in the neighborhood of Tyre and Sidon.‡ Dagon seems to mean "the exalted one;" he has been identified with Mul-lil, and his female consort is Dalas or Salas. He has been thought to be the fish-god, but in the Assyrian

* Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 5; Lenormant, *Mémoires du Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 1st Session, Paris, 1873, 2d Volume, pp. 149-165; Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, pp. 221-277.

† Judg. xvi, 23; 1 Sam. v, 2-5; 1 Chron. x, 10.

‡ Josh. xix, 27.

records the form of the fish-god is not distinctly connected with Dagon; nor is the Bible clear on this point. The fish-god represented on Assyrian monuments is described by Berossus: "The whole body of the animal was like that of a fish; and had under a fish's head another head, and also feet below, similar to those of a man, subjoined to the fish's tail."* The sculptured figure is described: "The head of the fish forms a miter above that of the man, while its scaly back and fan-like tail fall as a cloak behind, leaving the human feet and limbs exposed; sometimes a human body has appended to it the tail of a fish."†

Nin seems to have been a fish-god among the inhabitants of the Mesopotamian territory. Odacon, who appeared subsequent to Oannes and expounded his words, may be the same as Dagon. While the name has been generally derived from *dag*—"fish"—Sanchoniathon makes the name mean "corn," and hence the god would be an agricultural deity.‡ The obscurity can not be wholly dissipated.

Shemesh was the sun-god, and was also, as we have seen, one of the great gods of Assyria.

* Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 57.

† Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 343.

‡ Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 11.

The name *Abed-Shemesh*, found in two native inscriptions and meaning "servant of *Shemesh*," is proof of the early existence of this cult. Some kind of images seems to have been used in his worship.* A votive tablet which has been discovered in *Numidia* is dedicated to *Baal*, and contains an image of the sun. "There was also connected with it a dedication to the sun-god of chariots and horses, to which a quasi-divine character attached,† so that certain persons were, from their birth, consecrated to the sacred horses, and given by their parents the name of *Abed-Susim*—'servant of the horses'—as we find from an inscription from *Cyprus*."‡

Hadad was the name of the king of *Edom* who had married the sister of *Pharaoh's* queen. *Hadad* is called the son of *Bedad* or *Ben-Dad*. *Hadad* and *Dad*, as we learn from the inscriptions, were titles of the supreme *Baal* of *Syria*, whom the *Assyrians* identified with *Rimmon*.|| *Shalmaneser* speaks of "the god *Dáda* of *Aleppo*." The name is an abbreviated form of *Hadad*, current among the natives of the North. It is the

* 2 Chron. xiv, 5; xxxiv, 4. † 2 Kings xxiii, 11.

‡ Rawlinson, *The Religions of the Ancient World*, pp. 146, 147.

|| Gen. xxxvi, 35, 36; 1 Chron. i, 46, 47; 1 Kings xi, 14-25; 2 Sam. viii, 3-12; x, 16, 19; 1 Chron. xviii, 3, 5, 7, 8-10; xix, 16, 19; Zech. xii, 11.

same word that we find in Be-Dad, Ben-Dad, "the son of Dad," the father of the Elamite Hadad. Dad recurs in the David of the Old Testament; and David or Dod, sometimes written Dodo, is the masculine corresponding with a Phœnician goddess whose name means "the beloved one," and who is called Dido by Roman writers. Dido was the presiding deity of Carthage, whom legend confounded with Elissa, and was the consort of the sun-god conceived as Tammuz. The Moabite stone shows that the Northern Israelites worshiped Dodo or Dod as the Supreme God, as well as Yahveh. This was perhaps an old title of the Supreme God in the Jebusite Jerusalem, whom Isaiah calls Dòd-i—"my beloved." * The original name of David may have been Elhanan—"Elhanan, who is Dodo," or David. †

Coins bear the name of Abd-Hadad, "the servant of Hadad," who reigned at Mabog in the fourth century of the present era.

The original name of Solomon was Jedidiah, which was changed to "the peaceful one" when his father had "peace from all his enemies." (2 Sam. xii, 24, 25.) Now, we meet in the inscriptions with Sallimmanu, "the god of peace,"

* Isa. v, 1—Hebrew Bible.

† 2 Sam. xxiii, 24; cf. 2 Sam. xxi, 19; 1 Chron. xx, 5.

who may have been a fish-god and even Ea himself. His name was ideographically expressed by a fish in a basin of water. In the time of Tiglath-Pileser III, B. C. 732, the Moabite king bore the name of Salamanu; and the image of "Sallimmanu the fish, the god of the city of Temen-Sallim, 'the foundation of peace,'" stood in Assyrian temples. In the age of Shalmaneser II, a royal scribe bore the polysyllabic name of Sallimmanu-nunu-sar-ilani or "Solomon the fish is king of the gods."

It has also been shown that Saul was the sun-god of Babylon, Savul or Sawul.*

The names of other old divinities are imbedded in the literature of Palestine.

The god Anu and the older Ana made their way westward at a very early period. Thotmes III mentions a Palestinian town, Beth-Anath, "the temple of Anat," and there was another town of the same name within the borders of the tribe of Naphtali. (Josh. xix, 38.) Anathoth was a city of priests. (Josh. xxi, 18.) There was an Anah or Anat who was the daughter of the Hivite Zibeon and mother-in-law of Esau; and Anah or Anu was the son of the Horite Zibeon. (Gen. xxxvi, 1, 14, 20.)

The first king of Edom mentioned in Genesis

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1886, pp. 52, 58.

xxxvi is Bela, the son of Beor; that is, Bileam or Balaam, the son of Beor. Neubauer has shown that Balaam is Bil'am, "Baal is Am(mi)," and the latter is the supreme god of Ammon. We may compare the last syllable in such words as Jerobo-am and Rehobo-am.

The original name of the god of Gudua was Nerra or Ner whose throne was in Hades, where he sat crowned and awaited the entrance of the dead kings of the earth. He ruled over "the great city," which was peopled by all the hosts of the dead. In Phœnicia he was known as Sarrabu, "the great king," and among the Shuities on the western bank of the Euphrates he was Emu—with which compare the god of the Ammonites, named above.

We have also Samlah of Masrekah, who is identified with the Greek Semelê. In 1884 a Phœnician inscription was discovered in a bay to the west of the Peiræos containing the name Pen-'Samlath, "the face of 'Samlath."

We find traces of many gods—Nebo, Sin, Rimmon, and others—among the Palestinian nations, but can not in this connection grant these more particular reference.

Eshmun, the youngest son of Sadyk, was the special god of Berytus. Legend says that while Astarte was hunting in the Phœnician forests,

she fell in love with this beautiful youth, and upon being refused, changed him into a god and carried him to heaven. The Greeks identified him—we know not on what principle—with Æsculapius.

The Cabiri were brothers of Eshmun, but by a different mother. Whether they were native or foreign may yet remain a question. Kenrick believes “that, in their original conception, they represented the elements of fire and air, combined in the idea of flame.”* They may be identified with the Corybantes, the Curetes, the Idaei Dactyli, and the Telchines, and are represented in the costume of blacksmiths. They were the reputed sons of Hephaistus—the same as those small and misshapen and yet powerful deities common to many mythologies, to whom the discovery and working of metals have been ascribed. Figures on Phœnician coins, especially those from Cossyra, holding a hammer in one hand and a serpent in the other, and wearing a smith’s apron, are supposed to represent the Cabiri. To these deities has been ascribed the invention of ships, and they were recognized as the lords of sailors. Herodotus saw their images on the prows of Phœnician vessels. The origin of the Cabiri myths, their migrations, modifica-

* Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 10; Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, p. 327.

tions, and intricate connections, are problems so delicate and involved that we may never hope for satisfactory explanations.* The name of Eshmunazar, which has become so historic, and many others preserved in Phœnician inscriptions—Bar-Eshmun, Han-Eshmun, Eshmun-itten, Abed-Eshmun, Netsil-Eshmun, and others—contain the name of the god as a component.

The goddess Onca, who gave name to one of the gates of Thebes, was Phœnician. Nonnus calls her "the blue-eyed Mene." She seems to have been worshiped in the Acropolis of Athens under the title of Polias. Her image was erected at Onca in Boeotia by Cadmus, and she was also worshiped at Corinth. She may be compared with the warlike goddess Athene.

The Phœnicians had no deity corresponding with Neptune, except as they came in contact with foreign nations. Cadmus was said to have founded a temple to Neptune in Rhodes and an altar in Thera. Hanno founded such a temple on the promontory of Solocis. Hamilcar, after a great defeat in Sicily, sacrificed a child to Saturn, and offered victims to Neptune. A Greek inscription found at Athens records the

* Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, pp. 326, 328; Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, pp. 146, *et seq.*; Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, Vol. II, p. 82, and elsewhere; Horace, *Carmina*, I, 3, 2; III, 29, 64.

annual offerings which Tyrian merchants and seamen presented to this god. The Phalerians disputed with the Phœnicians the right to his priesthood. "His image is found on the coins of Carteia and on those of Berytus, but with Grecian attributes, and of the Roman age; yet his worship, along with the costume of the armed Minerva, is said by Herodotus to have come from the borders of the Lake Tritonis in Africa, and it is difficult to conceive by whom, except by the Phœnicians, it should have been established there among the native nomad tribes."*



Amon.

Osiris worship was adopted by the Phœnicians, as appears by the representations on the coins of Gaulos. Amon, under the form "Hammon," is found attached as an epithet to Baal on votive tablets. Tanith enjoyed still wider recognition among Phœnician settlers at Carthage, in

* Kenrick, Phœnicia, p. 326.

Cyprus, at Athens and, elsewhere, and probably came from the East. The whole number of Phœnician gods, including those of foreign adoption, was not great.

The deities of early Phœnician worship were not, in the earliest times, represented by images. The ever-burning fire, and certain conical stones called *baetyli*, were employed as symbols, and the latter even received a sort of worship. Sometimes pillars of metal, stone, or wood, were placed in front of the temple. The wooden pillar was called Ashera, translated in the authorized version of the Bible as "grove." It symbolized Astarte, and is the descendant of the sacred tree in early Assyrian art, which may be traced back to the sacred tree of Eden. "At festive seasons they seem to have been adorned with boughs of trees, flowers, and ribbons, and to have formed the central object of a worship which was of a sensual and debasing character."*

The worship consisted of prayer, praise, and sacrifices, when the victims were usually wholly consumed on the altar. Deities were also honored by libations of wine and smoke of incense. At the frequent festivals the sacrifices were sometimes celebrated on a large scale. Circumcision was practiced until the Phœnicians came in con-

* Rawlinson, *The Religions of the Ancient World*, p. 157.

tact with foreign nations. According to Sancho-niathon, Chrysor "exercised himself in words, and charms, and divinations."* The ancient inhabitants of Palestine not only worshiped on high places, but also held certain trees and fountains in highest estimation. •

The tablet of Marseilles, discovered in 1845, fixes the prices of various sacrificial victims. The ox, the bullock, the stag, the sheep, the goat, the lamb, the kid, the fawn, the wild bird, and the tame bird, are the victims which are named. There is also mention of the first-born of animals; and there are meal-offerings, offerings with oil, and offerings of cakes, milk, and fat. An honorary portion of the ox, and other similar offerings, was presented to the god; the priest received a prescribed portion, "but the skin and the haunches and the feet, and the rest of the flesh, belong to the offerer." When the poor man brought his offering, whether of cattle or of birds, the priest was to exact no portion. The sacrifice was to be perfect and pure—nothing leprous, scabby, or lean was allowed. No one was permitted to taste of the blood of the dead victim. The priest who would accept other besides the prescribed offerings, and the offerer who did not pay for his offerings, were punished. A tablet from

* Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, pp. 7, 8.

Cyprus gives the disbursements of the priests of the temple, in which are mentioned—besides architects, guardians, overseers, tenders of cattle, masons, masters of the days, scribes, and singers—boys, bakers, and even dogs with their young.*

The Phœnician temple—judging from the remains of those at Paphos in Cyprus, and in Malta and Gozo, and the descriptions given in classical writers of the temple of Melkarth at Tyre—was situated within an inclosure forming open-air courts, often ornamented by porticoes of wood. The temple itself “was an open vestibule in a façade or pylon, much higher than the rest of the building. There was first a sanctuary, where were made the oblations; and then a second sanctuary, more retired, a holy of holies, where the laity, and even the majority of the priests, were not allowed to enter. Waiting-rooms were placed all round.” In the most retired holy place were kept the symbols of the divinity. Such was the temple at Tyre, and other sanctuaries had the same essential parts.†

Open-air worship doubtless preceded all sacred

* Cf. Jer. xlv, 15-19; Deut. xxiii, 18; Lev. xix, 27; xxi, 5; Sayce, *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, pp. 79-84.

† Lenormant, *Ancient History of the East*, Vol. II, pp. 229, 230.

buildings, and the early shrines were very simple structures; perhaps no more than a small cell for the reception of an image of the god, open on one side, before which the faithful could offer prayers and sacrifices. "The *Maabed* of Amrit or Marathus is a specimen, almost complete, of this earliest kind of temple. In the living rock a quadrangle, one hundred and ninety-two feet long by one hundred and sixty broad, has been cut and smoothed into a nearly flat area. In the middle of this space has been left a portion of the natural rock, a block some twenty feet square and ten feet high. Upon this cubical mass, which is one with the floor of the inclosure, has been built, of separate stones, a small shrine or tabernacle, fifteen feet long by twelve feet broad and fourteen feet high. The walls are made of three layers of hewn stone, and the roof of a single block. The only external ornament is a fillet and cornice along the four sides of the roof, and the only internal one a slight vaulting of the otherwise flat stone by which the chamber is covered in. No steps or staircase lead up into the chamber, and it is difficult to understand how it was entered. Perhaps it was built merely to contain an image of a deity, before which worshipers in the court below prostrated themselves. Two other very similar shrines were discovered

by M. Rénan, in the neighborhood of the *Maabed*, and are figured in his great work.”*

The temple of Byblos is represented on coins by which it is shown that the court was screened by a portico, which protected the worshipers from sun and rain.

The tomb of Hiram—it may have been the actual sepulcher of this great king—is about three miles distant from the modern Tyre. The pedestal consists of three courses of gray limestone, each three feet thick, the uppermost slightly overhanging the others. The sarcophagus placed upon this foundation is twelve feet long by six feet broad and six feet high, and is formed out of a single stone. The lid is a solid block, three feet in thickness. Unfortunately, as is the case with the great majority of structures of similar character, the tomb has been rifled.

At some distance from the coast opposite Aradus there stand four monuments or tombs, in a good condition of preservation. One of these has been described as a “real masterpiece in respect of proportion, elegance, and majesty.” The basement-story consists of four blocks of stone, is circular in form, and is adorned by four stone lions, whose heads and fore-quarters project from

* Rawlinson, *The Story of Phœnicia*, pp. 252, 253.

the mass. Two stories above are cylindrical, the upper being smaller and concentric, and are formed of a single stone. The whole is surmounted by a dome. A row of carved crenelations, round the summit of each of the stories of the double cylinder, constitutes the sole decoration. The height of the monument is thirty-two feet. The tomb-chamber beneath is reached from an entrance at some little distance, a flight of fifteen steps leading down to a descending passage about twenty-five feet long. The main chamber, twenty feet square and nine feet in height, leads to two chambers in the same direction and parallel to each other, each containing on either side niches for coffins—eight in all. The whole has been hewn from the solid rock.

The other tombs of this group are less happy in design. One of them is built of large blocks in five courses, and contains the sepulchral chambers within its own mass. The stones of the lowest course are beveled, and all are laid without cement. There was originally a cornice, above which rose a pyramid. The whole was about fifty-three feet in height.

Tombs have been discovered elsewhere, and are generally subterranean chambers pierced in the rock, in the walls of which, in oven-like recesses, were the embalmed bodies of the dead.

The sarcophagus of Esmunazar, king of Sidon, whose mother was priestess of Ashtoreth, was discovered in 1855, and furnishes the longest Phœnician inscription. He says, in this inscription: "We built the temple of the Adonim (the great gods) at Sidon on the sea-shore, and all-powerful Heaven has made Ashtoreth favorable to us. We also have built on the mountain a temple to Eshmun, whose hand rests on a serpent. Lastly, we also built the temples of the Adonim of Sidon, at Sidon, of the Baal of Sidon, and of Ashtoreth—the glory of Baal." Again he says: "When I fall asleep, at the end of my days, then let there be rest, caring for the dead. And I shall lie in this stone coffin, and in this grave, at the place which I have built, founding an ornament for the whole kingdom. And let not any man open this resting-place, nor let him seek for treasure with us, for with us no treasure shall be placed; neither let him take away the stone coffin where I lie, nor let him overweight the strength of this coffin by laying a second coffin upon it. But if a man sells our grave he is made a curse to himself, we banish him out of the whole kingdom; and any man who opens the lid of this grave, or who removes the stone coffin in which I lie, or who overloads the support of this coffin, may God deny him a

resting-place for his soul, and let him not be buried in his grave! May God make him without son or name! Instead of him sleeping, may he quake before the mighty, before the holy, and before them that shall follow him!"*

The great sepulcher discovered in the vicinity of Beyrout in 1887, consists of several excavated chambers in which were many sarcophagi, some of which were plain, but some so richly ornamented, and exhibiting so great artistic skill, as to command unqualified praise. Most of these tombs had been rifled; but, fortunately, two or three had not been violated. The royal sarcophagus furnishes an important Phœnician inscription, in eight lines, which has been translated as follows: "I, Tabnit, priest of Ashtoreth and king of Sidon, son of Ezmunazar, priest of Ashtoreth and king of Sidon, lying in this tomb, say: 'Come not to open my tomb; there is here neither gold, nor silver, nor treasure. He who will open this tomb shall have no prosperity under the sun, and even in the grave shall not find repose.'"†

Votive statues were placed in the temples,

* Lenormant, *Ancient History of the East*, Vol. II, p. 197; Rule, *Oriental Records Historical*, pp. 11, 12; Oppert, *Records of the Past*, Vol. IX, pp. 111-114.

† Rawlinson, *The Story of Phœnicia*, p. 269.

and there were numerous idols for private worship. The idols were made of stone, baked earth, and bronze. The images of the gods were sometimes carried to the field of battle.* Chemosh leads Mesha, king of Moab, in his military campaigns, fights his battles, and gains his victories. To Chemosh the king offers the vessels of Jehovah captured in war, and to Ashtar-Chemoth he devotes the women and maidens. The Moabite stone, only recently discovered, was called "a stone of salvation."† The king could say of his national god: "He saved me from all despoilers, and let me see my desire upon all my enemies."‡

It is believed that the descendants of Canaanites are still to be found in Palestine, "and that their strange and heathenish observances, so tenaciously held in secrecy, but known to include the worship of the sun and moon, are relics of the Old-world idolatry." The peasants, or Fellahin, "are in reality Canaanites by descent, and still retain their ancient religion, thinly veneered with Mussulman compliances. Personal local divinities are still worshiped as in the cult of

* Lenormant, *Ancient History of the East*, Vol. II, pp. 230, 231; 2 Sam. v, 21.

† Cf. 1 Sam. vii, 12.

‡ Ginsburg, *Records of the Past*, Vol. XI, pp. 165-168.

the primitive Canaanites."* Modern survivals assist in the solution of many old problems.

The judgment pronounced upon this old religion has been uniformly unfavorable. Movers defines it as "an apotheosis of the forces and laws of nature, an adoration of the objects in which these forces were seen, and where they appeared most active." Lenormant adds: "Round this religious system gathered in the external and public worship a host of frightful debaucheries, orgies, and prostitutions, in honor of the deities, such as we have already described at Babylon, and which accompanied all the naturalistic religions of antiquity. The Canaanites were remarkable for the atrocious cruelty that stamped all the ceremonies of their worship and the precepts of their religion. No other people ever rivaled them in the mixture of bloodshed and debauchery with which they thought to honor the deity." Creuzer says of this faith: "Terror was the inherent principle of this religion; all its rites were blood-stained, and all its ceremonies were surrounded with gloomy images. When we consider the abstinences, the voluntary tortures, and, above all, the horrible sacrifices imposed as a duty on the living, we no longer

* Tomkins, *Times of Abraham*, p. 93; Conder, *Tent-work in Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 222.

wonder that they envied the repose of the dead. This religion silenced all the best feelings of human nature, degraded men's minds by a superstition alternately cruel and profligate, and we may seek in vain for any influence for good it could have exercised on the nation."* Rawlinson says: "Altogether, the religion of the Phœnicians, while possessing some redeeming points, as the absence of images and a deep sense of sin which led them to sacrifice what was nearest and dearest to them to appease the divine anger, must be regarded as one of the lowest and most debasing of the forms of belief and worship prevalent in the ancient world, combining, as it did, impurity with cruelty, the sanction of licentiousness with the requirement of bloody rites, revolting to the conscience, and destructive of any right apprehension of the true idea of God."† Mommsen declares: "The religious conceptions of the Phœnicians were rude and uncouth, and it seemed as if their worship was meant to foster rather than to restrain lust and cruelty."‡ And Lenormant says again: "All the atrocities of the Phœnician worship were practiced at Carthage,

* Lenormant, *Ancient History of the East*, Vol. II, pp. 222, 223.

† Rawlinson, *The Religions of the Ancient World*, p. 158.

‡ Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Vol. II, p. 10.

particularly the burning of children. These barbarous sacrifices took place every year, and were frightfully multiplied on the occasion of public calamities, in order to appease the wrath of the gods. In every place where the Carthaginians carried their trade and their arms, not only at fixed periods, but at all critical conjunctions, their fanaticism celebrated these horrible sacrifices." *

* Lenormant, *Ancient History of the East*, Vol. II, p. 280.

III.

The Faith of the Pharaohs.

209

I.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

IT is very difficult to do justice to a heathen religion. The attention is attracted to the ritualistic services—temples, priests, offerings, chants, prayers, processions, symbols, formulæ, prostrations, and genuflections; we study the meanings and forms of words, our minds are preoccupied with our own religious ideas, and what we think religion ought to be; but the spirit, the soul of the religion which we study, we are too apt to miss. Difficulties multiply when we inquire concerning the religion of a race separated from our own by great differences of blood, radically distinct in language, and removed in history by thousand of years and a quadrant of the globe. We know not the meanings they attach to words. We can not think as they think and feel as they feel. To appreciate properly any strange religion, especially any beggarliest religion of any lowest race, a man must be a genuine lover of humanity, and an unprejudiced and earnest, a sincere and diligent, inquirer. He must completely divest himself of the idea that any religion exists, or ever has existed, which is all a sham or

meaningless, or an invention of crafty priests or more crafty evil spirits. He must be ready to recognize something good in every religion, some pure gold, though perhaps in the midst of much rubbish. Any lowest and basest religion is not a fit subject for ridicule. It should be treated with reverence, and the student should feel that it is holy ground upon which he treads. All nations feel after God, if haply they may find him. Their religion is to them all their comfort and hope and life, and in some poor measure satisfies the deep longings of their souls to lean on the bosom of the Eternal. Then, too, many of these religions have been proclaimed by earnest souls to whom the All-Father seems to have vouchsafed special illumination. That which is most objectionable in heathen religions, is the accumulated traditions and distortions of centuries.

That which most attracted the attention of the Greeks and early Christians when brought into contact with the Egyptians was the worship of animals, such as the cat, the dog, the fish, the ape, the owl, the jackal, the snake, the bug, and the ram. But the absurdities, so glaring at first, disappeared as they became better acquainted with the system. Philo of Alexandria was compelled to acknowledge that laughter at the re-

ligion of Egypt was too apt to end in conversion wrought by its overpowering influence.

The animals which were worshiped were not fetishes, but symbols of the deities; and certainly they were more appropriate symbols than stocks and stones. And animal worship was not the only worship. Various deities were named Osiris, Isis, Amon, Thoth, and many others; and some, indeed many, true and noble ideas were held concerning these gods; yea, underneath all, from time to time, we may see struggling forth the doctrine of the one God.

“No religion can be studied with profit except in the words of its votaries.” But what shall we say when the language of the race has been dead for thousands of years, when no man living can read a word of it, when even the letters are as unknown as though they really meant nothing, and when its whole literature is shut up in such a language and such an alphabet? Such was the condition of knowledge concerning the Egyptian language and literature at a period no more remote than the beginning of the present century. No man living knew the meaning of a word, nor could any living man sound a letter. The discovery of the Rosetta Stone, bearing the same inscription in a hieroglyphic, a demotic, and a Greek text—a stone erected in honor of

Ptolemy Epiphanes one hundred and ninety-three years before Christ, and now preserved in the British Museum—furnished Champollion with the key for the decipherment of the ancient Egyptian language. Other scholars—Lepsius, Birch, Hincks, Brugsch, Rougé, and many more—have worked successfully in this field.

Many Egyptian texts have been published in *fac-simile*, and the number of unpublished texts is almost innumerable. Five folio volumes of texts have been published which were taken from the temple of Denderah alone, and yet others remained uncopied. Renouf, in speaking of the vast number of inscriptions, says: "I had the pleasure of passing some time, one or two years ago, at Qurna, on the left bank of the Nile, near Thebes, with a great scholar, who had spent much time in copying the inscriptions of a single tomb; but though he worked indefatigably and rapidly, he was compelled to come away, leaving a great part of his intended work unaccomplished." *

Time and the vandalism of travelers work sad havoc among these precious and venerable records of old Egypt. Memphis, Thebes, On, and other cities are no more. Mummy-cases

* Renouf, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 24, 25.

and coffins bearing inscriptions have furnished fuel for centuries. Papyri of great value have been lost. Yet, notwithstanding this destruction, we possess more material, and that which is more trustworthy, for the study of the religion of ancient Egypt, than all that remains to us for the study of the religions of Greece and Rome. Indeed, all that is left to us of the Egyptian literature is religious, or pervaded by a religious spirit. Royal palaces and political monuments have perished, while temples and tombs covered with prayers and litanies remain, and papyri of sacred writings have been preserved for at least three or four thousand years. The Egyptians were a most religious nation, and we may thank the disinterested enthusiasm of Egyptologists that their language is putting on a modern garb in modern tongues, and we may now read in translations the thoughts which stirred the hearts of the Pharaohs of old, perhaps a thousand years before Moses stood on the bank of the Nile. The Egyptian language is closely related to the Coptic, which is its direct descendant. Some of the papyrus manuscripts may be more than four thousand years old. They "have been preserved by being kept from the air and damp in a perfectly dry climate, hermetically sealed in earthen or wooden vessels, or

under mummy coverings, sometimes at a depth of ninety feet within the living rock, and still further protected by a thick covering of the pure, dry sand of the desert."

The literature of Egypt, though not to be compared with the literatures of Greece and Rome and several modern countries, yet possesses an interest of its own which has commanded the profound study of many noble minds. The style of the prose composition is frequently cramped, stilted, forced, dry, bald, obscure, and forbidding. As well might one turn to a table of logarithms for refreshment. The man who can read it through, inspired by no other interest than the literary finish, is a hero and a martyr. There are insufferable self-laudation of kings, grandiloquent accounts of victories, and endless lists of articles of tribute and spoils of war, *ad nauseam*.

"Poetry was in a more advanced condition. Like the Hebrew poetry, it delighted in parallelisms and antitheses, while it transcended Hebrew poetry in its rhythmic arrangement, in the balance of the lines, the close correspondence of clause to clause, and the strict observance of rhythmic law in most cases."*

In some compositions there are a simplicity which is more than childish, a confusion which

* Rawlinson, History of Ancient Egypt, Vol. I, pp. 136, 137.

is insoluble, and an obscurity which is absolutely impenetrable. A better judgment, however, may probably be pronounced when the language is better understood.

The Egyptian literature, such as it is, is quite voluminous. Those who are best qualified to pronounce an opinion, declare that it rivals in extent any other ancient literature. Many volumes of translations have already been published in modern tongues, and the work is even now but fairly begun. The variety of subjects treated is remarkable—religion, history, theology, poetry, travels, epistolary correspondence; military, legal, police, and statistical reports; complaints, petitions, treaties, orations, love-songs, morality, rhetoric, mathematics, medicine, geography, astronomy, astrology, magic, proverbs, calendars, receipts, accounts, catalogues of libraries, and various other works.

The religious works, as has been already remarked, are among the most important, and among these the chief place must be assigned to "The Book of the Dead." This book, which claims to be a revelation of the god Thoth, declares the will of the gods and reveals divine mysteries. Thoth himself, the god of letters, is said to have written certain important portions. Extracts were placed in the coffins, on the inner

sides of the chests, on the inner walls of the tombs, on the linen wrappings of the mummies; or, again, especially in the time of the later Pharaohs, copies of important chapters were written on papyrus and deposited with the dead. This sacred use of the holy writings was known as early as the eleventh dynasty.

The Book of the Dead was a work of slow growth. Several of the chapters are very ancient, while additions were made from time to time during many centuries. These additions themselves were frequently ancient productions. The Book of the Dead, then, is a collection of works, more or less ancient, all treating upon the same important subject—the experience of the soul beyond this present life.

The tomb of Bekenrenef, or Petamonemapt, of the twenty-sixth dynasty, is excavated in the rock over nearly an acre and a quarter of ground, and every square inch of the wall is covered with sculptured selections from this book. The Turin papyrus, the longest which has been discovered, contains one hundred and sixty-five chapters. This is not the whole work, since chapters not contained in this papyrus are met with in other manuscripts.

The first sixteen chapters consist of prayers and invocations, which are to be used from the

moment of death to the commencement of the embalming process. At the very moment of death, the soul separated from the body addresses the deity of Hades, presents his claims to favor, and asks admittance to the realm of the departed. The chorus of glorified souls support his prayer. Osiris answers: "Fear nothing in making thy prayer to me for the immortality of thy soul, and that I may give permission for thee to pass the threshold." The soul, strengthened by this assurance, enters the land of the dead. He now, for the first time, sees the sun in the lower hemisphere, and is dazzled by its glory. He sings to the sun a hymn of praise.

The journeys of the soul in the lower region must now begin; but first there must be granted the divine provision of knowledge, as the nourishment needful to sustain and strengthen it in its long wanderings.

The seventeenth chapter is the Egyptian faith, and is most mystical and quite unintelligible. There is a large vignette, with a series of symbols, sacred, mysterious, and obscure, accompanied with explanations equally mysterious and obscure. We meet now with prayers to be said while the body is being rolled in its wrappings, in which allusions are made to the conflicts of Osiris with Typhon, the demon of dark-

ness, invoking the aid of Thoth, the conductor of souls, against the black demon. The body of the deceased is wrapped in its coverings, while the soul is supplied with the food of knowledge. But hitherto the deceased can not move a step. He prays to the gods, and they restore the use of his limbs and all his faculties as during life. The soul now starts on his long and perilous wanderings. The sacred scarabæus will be his sufficient passport. He places this over his heart, and is permitted to pass through the gloomy portal. His journey is no pleasant pastime. Frightful monsters—crocodiles, serpents, reptiles of many forms—surround him, and seek his life. They are the servants of Typhon, and have no mercy. They glare upon him; they attack him; they seek to devour him; they address him in insulting speeches. He defends himself with his spear; he lashes his enemies with his tongue; he resorts to all-powerful magic formulæ. He calls out: “O serpent Rerek! advance not! The gods Seb and Shu are my protection. Stop! thou who hast eaten the rat which the sun-god abhors, and hast chewed the bones of a rotten cat!” He cries to the crocodile: “Back! Crocodile of the West! who livest upon the Achemu who are at rest; what thou abhorrest is upon me; I have eaten the head of Osiris;

I am Set. Back! Crocodile of the West! there is an asp upon me; I shall not be given to thee; dart not thy flame upon me! Back! Crocodile of the East! who feedest upon impurities; what thou abhorrest is upon me; I have passed; I am Osiris;" and so on. He prays: "O Ra, in thine egg, radiant in thy disk, shining forth from the horizon, swimming over the steel firmament, sailing over the pillars of Shu, thou who hast no second among the gods, who producest the winds by the flames of thy mouth, and who enlightenest the worlds with thy splendors, save the departed from that god whose nature is a mystery, and whose eyebrows are as the arms of the balance, on the night when Aaut was weighed." "O lord of victory in the two worlds, . . . save the Osiris from that god who seizes upon souls, devours hearts, and feeds upon carcasses." The soul is aided by the gods, conquers all his enemies, forces his passage through the midst of defeated monsters; and, feeling that all the gods severally have taken possession of the different members of his body, and by so doing have made him invincible in battle, he raises to them a song of triumph.

And his is no small triumph. Had he gone astray in the desert, he would have died of hunger and thirst. Had he yielded to his foes,

a most horrible fate would have awaited him. But he has conquered, and is safe, but exhausted. He rests, recruits his strength, and is prepared for further advancement.

He talks with Divine Light, who instructs him and becomes his guide as he proceeds on his wondrous way. A series of transformations, which he can assume at will, enables him to escape his enemies, and identifies him with noble, divine symbols. He is successively a hawk, an angel, a lotus, the god Ptah, a heron, a crane, a human-headed bird, a swallow, a serpent, a crocodile. Meantime the body has been carefully preserved by embalming. The soul seems heretofore to have traveled as a shade. He is now joined again with his body. He passes through the dwelling of Thoth, and that god gives him a book to read along the way. It contains important secrets, which he will need before the end of his trial. He reaches the banks of a subterranean stream, beyond which are the Elysian Fields. But here he meets with a new and unexpected danger. A disguised boatman has been sent by Typhon to allure him, if possible, from his way. Happily he discovers the villainy of his enemy, and drives away the boatman, heaping upon him deserved reproaches. He finds the right boat at last. The boatman subjects

him to a severe examination, to determine whether he possesses the necessary qualifications to enable him successfully to make the proposed voyage. He acquits himself well in the examination. Each part of the boat seems to have become animate and to have found a tongue. To the twenty-three parts severally, in answer to the questions which they ask, he gives their names and the mystical meanings therewith connected. He is permitted to embark; the boatman takes him across the mystic river; he stands in the Elysian Fields. He is conducted by Anubis through many windings of a labyrinth, and reaches the judgment-hall of Osiris, where he will receive his final sentence. One hundred and eight chapters of the Book of the Dead have been employed in this second part. The severest ordeal is at hand. The soul stands in the Hall of Truth. Osiris, the judge of the dead, is seated on a lofty throne. Forty-two assessors are present. Anubis, "the director of the weight," brings forth the balance. The forty-two accusers are represented as standing above the balance. In one scale of the balance is placed the image of Maāt, or Righteous Law, and in the other scale of the balance is placed a vase containing the virtues or the heart of the deceased. Thoth stands near, watching the indicator of

the balance, and ready, pen in hand, to write the result in his book. The forty-two terrible assessors begin the trial. Their heads are chiefly those of animals—the lion, the jackal, the hawk, the ram, the crocodile, the hippopotamus. They live by catching the wicked, feeding upon their blood, and devouring their hearts. Each of the assessors, bearing a mystical name, questions the soul. He tells the symbolic name of each, and tells its meaning. Among the names are “eyes of flame,” “breath of flame,” “cracker of bones,” “devourer of shades,” “eater of hearts,” “swallower,” and so on. The soul must also answer, in a presence so fearful and august, questions most searching concerning his life, and to declare his innocence with respect to forty-two classes of sins. To the assessors severally he proclaims his blameless life: “I have not blasphemed; I have not deceived; I have not stolen; I have not slain any one treacherously; I have not been cruel to any one; I have not caused disturbance; I have not been idle; I have not been drunken; I have not issued unjust orders; I have not been indiscreetly curious; I have not multiplied words in speaking; I have struck no one; I have not eaten my heart through envy; I have not reviled the face of the king, nor the face of my father; I have not made false accusations; I

have not kept milk from the mouth of sucklings ; I have not caused abortion ; I have not ill-used my slaves ; I have not killed sacred beasts ; I have not defiled the river ; I have not polluted myself ; I have not taken the clothes of the dead." Addressing the awful conclave, he boldly says : " Let me go ; ye know that I am without fault, without evil, without sin, without crime. Do not torture me ; do not aught against me. I have lived on truth ; I have been fed on truth. I have made it my delight to do what men command and the gods approve. I have offered to the deities all the sacrifices that were their due. I have given bread to the hungry, and drink to him that was athirst ; I have clothed the naked with garments. . . . My mouth and my hands are pure." He also declares that he has not hindered the irrigation of the soil from the river and canals ; that he has never injured the stones for mooring vessels on the Nile ; that he has never altered prescribed prayers ; and that he has never touched any of the sacred property, never fished for sacred fish, and never stolen offerings from the altar. The great tribunal listen to this apology. The forty-two assessors pronounce his knowledge sufficient ; his heart is weighed in the balance ; Osiris pronounces his final judgment ; his home is among the blest.

Forty chapters, mystical and obscure, describe the further progress of the happy soul. In the boat of the sun, he goes forth through the regions of heaven. "Afterwards the Ritual rises to a higher poetical flight, even contemplating the identification of the deceased with the symbolic figure comprising all the attributes of the deities of the Egyptian pantheon."

The good soul does not at once obtain perfect bliss, but is purged of his infirmities in a fire guarded by four ape-faced genii, becomes the companion of Osiris for three thousand years, returns to earth, enters his former body, rises from the dead, and lives again a human life. This process is repeated through a mystic cycle of years when at last the soul reaches a stage which it is sometimes difficult to distinguish from absorption in the divine essence.

The wicked man passes away from the judgment-seat, and is purified through many trans-migrations; or, if he is incorrigible, he becomes a prey to the terrible hippopotamus-headed monster, and is decapitated by Horus and Smu on the block of Hades.

It will be remembered that the Book of the Dead is not a systematic treatise, but rather a collection of works of different ages and various authorship. To make out our history of the

progress of the soul in the lower world we have neglected, to a great extent, the fact that these chapters supplement and overlap each other in a manner quite confusing. We may rely, however, upon the main results of the discussion. Several of the statements—as the return of the soul to a worldly life, and the purification of the wicked who are not incorrigible—may need modification.”*

There are several other important religious works to which we must make some reference. We have already spoken of the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthis.† The Book of Glorifying Osiris in Aquerti, contained in a papyrus of the Louvre, is very similar in character. Isis and Nephthis speak as follows: “Come to thine abode, O come to thine abode, God An, come to thine abode; good bull, the lord of all men who love thee and all women; god of the beautiful countenance, who residest in Aquerti. Ancient one among those of the sacred West. Are not all hearts swelling with love of thee, O Unnefer! . . . Gods and men raise their hands in search of thee, as a son seeketh his mother.

* Lenormant, *Ancient History of the East*, Vol. I, pp. 308-314, 322; Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I, pp. 140-144, 327-329; Renouf, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 179-208; Tiele, *Egyptian Religion*, pp. 22-32.

† See chapter vii.

Come to them whose hearts are sick; grant to them to come forth in gladness, that the bands of Horus may exult, and the abodes of Set may fall in fear of thee. Ho! Osiris who dwellest among those of Amenti, I am thy sister Isis; neither god nor goddess hath done what I have done for thee. . . . O Osiris, . . . thou art the youth at the horizon of heaven daily, and thine old age is the beginning of all seasons. The Nile cometh at the bidding of thy month, giving life to men by the emanations which proceed from thy limbs, who by thy coming causest all plants to grow up. . . . O Osiris, thou art the lord of millions, raising up all wild animals and all cattle; the creation of all that is proceedeth from thee. To thee belongeth all that is upon earth; to thee all that is in heaven; to thee all that is in the waters; to thee belongeth all that is in life or in death; to thee all that is male or female. Thou art the sovereign king of the gods, the prince amid the company of the gods."*

Several works are founded upon the Book of the Dead, of which they may be considered abridgments. The obscurities being avoided, these lesser works are more easily understood.

* Renouf, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 214, 215.

Prominent among these is the Book of the Breaths of Life, "made by Isis for her brother Osiris, for giving new life to his soul and body and renewing all his limbs, that he may reach the horizon with his father the sun, that his soul may rise to heaven in the disk of the moon, that his body may shine in the stars of the constellation Orion, on the bosom of Nūt."

A beautiful hymn to the sun, with much of the true devotional spirit, is contained in the Anastasi Papyri of the British Museum, and belongs to the nineteenth dynasty.

"Come to me, O thou Sun;
HORUS of the horizon, give me (help);
Thou art he that giveth (help);
There is no help without thee,
Excepting thou (givest it).
Come to me, TUM, hear me thou great God.
My heart goeth forth towards An.
Let my desires be fulfilled,
Let my heart be joyful, my inmost heart in gladness.
Hear my vows, my humble supplications every day.
My adorations by night;
My (cries of) terror, . . . prevailing in my mouth,
Which come from my (mouth) one by one.
O HORUS of the horizon, there is no other besides like him;
Protector of millions, deliverer of hundreds of thousands,
The defender of him that calls on him, the Lord of An,
Reproach me not with my many sins.
I am a youth, weak in body;
I am a man without heart;

Anxiety comes upon me as an ox upon grass.
 If I pass the night, . . . and I find refreshment,
 Anxiety returns to me in the time of lying down."*

If such works as the Book of the Dead teach us the theology and mythology of the Egyptians, the hymns instruct us in their worship. The hymn to the Nile, found in two papyri of the British Museum, is the composition of the well-known poet Enna, who was the contemporary of Moses :

"Hail to thee, O Nile!
 Thou shewest thyself in this land,
 Coming in peace, giving life to Egypt.
 O Ammon, (thou) leadest night unto day,
 A leading that rejoices the heart;
 Overflowing the gardens created by RA,
 Giving life to all animals;
 Watering the land without ceasing:
 The way of heaven descending:
 Lover of *food*, bestower of corn,
 Giving light to every home, O PTAH!

Lord of fishes, when the inundation returns,
 No fowls fall on the cultures.
 Maker of spelt; creator of wheat;
 Who maintaineth the temples;
 Idle hands he loathes
 For myriads, for all the wretched.
 If the gods in heaven are grieved,
 Then sorrow cometh on men.

* Goodwin, Records of the Past, Vol. VI, pp. 100. 101.

He maketh the whole land open to the oxen,
And the great and the small are rejoicing;
The response of men at his coming!
His likeness is NUM!
He shineth, then the land exulteth!
All bellies are in joy!
Every creature receives nourishment!
All teeth get food.

Bringer of food! Great lord of provisions!
Creator of all good things!
Lord of terrors and of choicest joys!
All are combined in him.
He produceth grass for the oxen;
Providing victims for every god.
The choice incense is that which he supplies.
Lord in both regions,
He filleth the granaries, enricheth the storehouses,
He careth for the state of the poor.

He causes growth to fulfill all desires,
He never wearies of it.
He maketh his might a buckler.
He is not graven in marble,
As an image bearing the double crown.
He is not beheld;
He hath neither ministrants nor offerings;
He is not adored in sanctuaries;
His abode is not known;
No shrine is found with painted figures.

There is no building that can contain him!
There is no counselor in thy heart!
The youth delight in thee, thy children:
Thou directest them as king.
Thy law is established in the whole land,

In the presence of thy servants in the North :
Every eye is satisfied with him :
He careth for the abundance of his blessings.
The inundation comes, (then) cometh rejoicing ;
Every heart exulteth :
The tooth of the crocodiles, the children of NEITH,
(Even) the circle of the gods who are counted with thee.
Doth not its outburst water the fields,
Overcoming mortals (with joy),
Watering one to produce another ?
There is none that worketh with him ;
He produces food without the aid of NEITH.
Mortals he causes to rejoice.

He giveth light on his coming from darkness :
In the pastures of his cattle
His might produceth all :
What was not, his moisture bringeth to life.
Men are clothed to fill his gardens :
He careth for his laborers.
He maketh even and nooutide.
He is the infinite PTAH and KABES.
He createth all works therein,
All writings, all sacred words,
All his implements in the North.

He enters with words the interior of his house ;
When he willeth he goeth forth from his mystic fane.
Thy wrath is destruction of fishes.
Then men implore thee for the waters of the season.
'That the Thebaid may be seen like the Delta.
That every man be seen bearing his tools,
No man left behind his comrade !
Let the clothed be unclothed,
No adornments for the sons of nobles,

No circle of gods in the night !
The response (of the god) is refreshing water,
Filling all men with fatness.

Establisher of justice ! men rejoice
With flattering words to worship thee,
Worshipped together with the mighty water !
Men present offerings of corn,
Adoring all the gods ;
No fowls fall on the land.
Thy hand is adorned with gold,
As melted of an ingot of gold,
Precious as pure lapis lazuli.
Corn in its state of germination is not eaten.

The hymn is addressed to thee with the harp ;
It is played with a (skillful) hand to thee !
The youths rejoice at thee !
Thy own children,
Thou hast rewarded their labor.
There is a great one adorning the land ;
An enlightener, a buckler in front of men,
Quickening the heart in depression ;
Loving the increase of all his cattle.

Thou shinest in the city of the king ;
Then the householders are satiated with good things,
The poor man laughs at the lotus.
All things are perfectly ordered.
Every kind of herb for thy children.
If food should fail,
All enjoyment is cast on the ground,
The land falls in weariness.

O inundation of Nile ! offerings are made to thee ;
Oxen are slain to thee ;

Great festivals are kept for thee;
Fowls are sacrificed to thee;
Beasts of the field are caught for thee;
Pure flames are offered to thee;
Offerings are made to every god,
As they are made unto Nile.
Incense ascends unto heaven,
Oxen, bulls, fowls are burnt!
Nile makes for himself chasms in the Thebaid;
Unknown is his name in heaven,
He doth not manifest his forms!
Vain are all representations!

Mortals extol (him), and the cycle of gods!
Awe is felt by the terrible ones;
His son is made lord of all,
To enlighten all Egypt.
Shine forth, shine forth, O Nile! shine forth!
Giving life to men by his oxen;
Giving life to his oxen by the pastures!
Shine forth in glory, O Nile!"*

The following dirge may be in memory of
Mineptah, the Pharaoh of the Exodus: .

"Amen gave thy heart pleasure,
He gave thee a good old age,
A life-time of pleasure followed thee.
Blessed was thy lip, sound thy arm,
Strong thy eye to see afar.
Thou hast been clothed in linen.
Thou hast guided thy horse and chariot
Of gold with thy hand;

* Cook, *Records of the Past*, Vol. IV, pp. 105-114.

The whip in thy hand; yoked were the steeds;
The Xaru and Nahsi marched before thee,
A proof of what thou hast done.
Thou hast proceeded to thy boat of *ās* wood,
A boat made of it before and behind.
Thou hast approached the beautiful tower, which
Thou thyself madest.
Thy mouth was full of wine, beer, bread, and flesh;
Were slaughtered cattle and wine opened;
The sweet song was made before thee;
Thy head-anointer anointed thee with *kami*;
The chief of thy garden-pools brought crown;
The superintendent of thy fields brought birds;
Thy fisherman brought fish;
Thy galley came from Xaru, laden with good things;
Thy table was full of *horses*;
Thy female slaves were strong;
Thy enemies were placed fallen;
Thy word no one opposed;
Thou hast gone before the gods, the victor, the justified!"*

Connected with the Egyptian tomb was a sepulchral chamber, where the friends of the deceased met to sacrifice to his *ka*. The mummy was brought forth and placed near an altar, on which were arranged cakes, wine, fruits, vegetables, vases of oil, meats, and other delicacies. The relatives affectionately embraced the mummy, or tore their hair in grief. After these expressions of reverence and sorrow, they adored the mummy, or *ka*, of the deceased with presents of flowers,

* Birch, Records of the Past, Vol. IV, pp. 49-52.

returned it to the tomb, and sadly bent their steps homeward.

The Song of the Harper, dating from the eighteenth dynasty, is a funeral dirge to be sung at the feast held on the anniversary of his death by the relatives of the deceased. "The song is very remarkable for the form of old Egyptian poetry, which, like that of the Hebrew, delights in a sublimer language, in parallelisms and antitheses, and in the ornament of a burden. No doubt it was sung, and it seems to be even rhythmic, forming verses of equal length." We present three of the verses :

"The great one is truly at rest,
The good charge is fulfilled.
Men pass away since the time of RA,
And the youths come in their stead.
Like as RA reappears every morning,
And TUM sets in the horizon,
Men are begetting,
And women are conceiving.
Every nostril inhaleth once the breezes of dawn,
But all born of women go down to their places.
Make a good day, O holy father!
Let odors and oils stand before thy nostril.
Wreaths of lotus are on the arms and bosom of thy sister,
Dwelling in thy heart, sitting beside thee.
Let song and music be before thy face,
And leave behind thee all evil cares!
Mind thee of joy till cometh the day of pilgrimage,
When we draw near the land which loveth silence.

Mind thee of the day, when thou, too, shalt start for the land,
To which one goeth to return not thence.
Good for thee then will have been (an honest life);
Therefore be just and hate transgressions,
For he who loveth justice (will be blessed).
The coward and the bold neither can fly (the grave).
The friendless and the proud are alike; . . .
Then let thy bounty give abundantly, as is fit;
(Love) truth, and Isis shall bless the good,
(And thou shalt attain a happy) old age."*

We present, for the sake of comparison, extracts from the festal dirge of King Antuf, of the eleventh dynasty :

“After all, what is prosperity?
Their fenced walls are dilapidated.
Their houses are as that which has never existed.

No man comes from thence
Who tells of their sayings,
Who tells of their affairs,
Who encourages our hearts.

Ye go

To the places whence they return not.
Strengthen thy heart to forget how thou hast enjoyed thyself,

Fulfill thy desire whilst thou livest.

Put oils upon thy head.

Clothe thyself with fine linen adorned with precious metals.

With the gifts of God

Multiply thy good things,

Yield to thy desire,

Fulfill thy desire with thy good things

(Whilst thou art) upon earth,

According to the delectation of thy heart.

The day will come to thee,

When one hears not the voice,

* *Stern, Records of the Past*, Vol. VI, pp. 129, 130.

When the one who is at rest hears not
Their voices.

Lamentations deliver not him who is in the tomb.

Feast in tranquillity,

Seeing there is no one who carries away his goods with
him.

Yea, behold, none who goes thither comes back again."*

Herodotus may refer to such festal hymns when he says: "In social meetings, among the rich, when the banquet is ended, a servant carries round to the several guests a coffin, in which there is a wooden image of a corpse, carved and painted to resemble nature as nearly as possible, about a cubit or two cubits in length. As he shows it to each guest in turn, the servant says: 'Gaze here, and drink and be merry; for when you die, such will you be.'"†

There are many magical texts which contain not a little theology and mythology. These are full of interest, but we can not present any but the briefest extracts:

"When HORUS weeps, the water that falls from his eyes grows into plants, producing a sweet perfume. When BABA lets fall blood from his nose, it grows into plants changing to cedars, that produce turpentine instead of water. When SHU and TEFNUT weep much, and water falls

* Goodwin, *Records of the Past*, Vol. IV, pp. 117, 118.

† Herodotus, II, 78.

from their eyes, it changes into plants that produce incense. When the SUN weeps a second time, and lets fall water from his eyes, it is changed into working bees; they work in the flowers of each kind, and honey and wax are produced instead of the water.”*

In the Book of Hades the Egyptians are said to be the tears of the eye of Horus, and eatable plants are said to come from the divine mouth. There is also this remarkable expression: “Their food is to hear the word of this god,” Ra.†

The justly celebrated Book of the Dead is as much a vast collection of more or less closely connected magical texts as anything else. The Tale of the Two Brothers, curiously suggestive of an incident in the life of Joseph—Genesis xxxix, 7-21—is full of mythology and magic. Many other writings are not less fruitful in mysterious and black arts.

The proverbs and precepts with which we frequently meet are full of wisdom. We select a decalogue of precepts from a collection of the thirty-second dynasty:

“Make it not in a heart of a mother to enter into bitterness.”

“Make not a companion of a wicked man.”

* Birch, *Records of the Past*, Vol. VI, p. 115.

† Lefébure, *Records of the Past*, Vol. X, p. 109.

"Do not do after the advice of a fool."

"May it not happen to thee to maltreat an inferior, and may it happen to thee to respect the venerable!"

"Do not save thy life at the cost of that of another."

"Do not go out with a foolish man ;

Do not stop to listen to his words."

"Do not pervert the heart of thy acquaintance if he is pure."

"Do not take a haughty attitude."

"Do not mock the venerable man who is thy superior."

"Do not amuse thyself or play upon those who are dependent upon you."*

There is much of the supernatural and impossible in the romances of old Egypt. Animals and trees speak, the dead come to life, and mummies converse in their tombs, or leave their coffins, and, after enjoying the society of the living for a time, return to their narrow abodes. How much of this points to peculiarities of belief, and how much may be explained by literary license, we are not able to decide.

There is quite a large mass of epistolary correspondence which is worthy of some praise. Science is in its infancy, and medicine and mathematics are mediocre. The historical writings are of great value. The several volumes of the "Egypt Exploration Fund" which have already appeared are important contributions to our knowledge of the empire of the Nile.

* Deveria, Records of the Past, Vol. VIII, pp. 159, 160.

II.

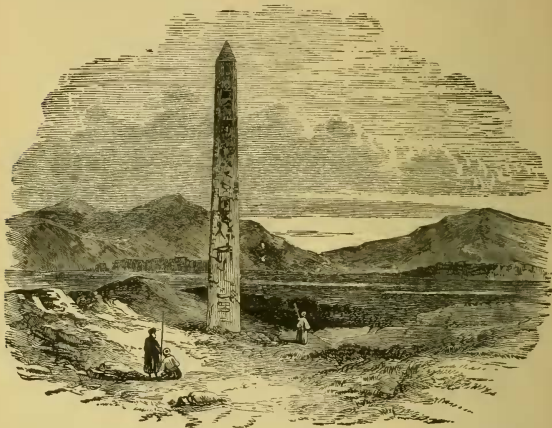
TWO GREAT CIRCLES OF GODS.

A LITTLE east of the Nile, and not far from the spot where Memphis was afterward built, stood a city of great renown, called Pa-ra, or "the City of the Sun"—literally translated by the Greeks as *Heliopolis*, but known both among Egyptians and Hebrews as An or On, a word which seems to signify "pillar," or "stone," and possibly given on account of some obelisk, or, more likely, some sacred stone hidden in the innermost sanctuary. The wife of Joseph—Asnet or Asnath, "Isis-Neith"—belonged to this city.* Here was the most learned priesthood of all Egypt, and On was the very center of letters and culture. Here the king was crowned, as also at Memphis, and received a special title, "sovereign lord of On." The religious cult was ancient and venerable and prevailed at a later period throughout all Egypt.

Ra, the god of the sun by day, was the chief deity of this sacred city. Attributes are ascribed to this divinity which can belong only to the supreme god—"the lord of truth, the maker of

* Gen. xli, 45.

men, the creator of beasts, the lord of existence, the maker of fruitful trees and herbs, the maker everlasting, the lord of eternity, the lord of wisdom, the lord of mercy, the one maker of existences, the one alone of many hands, and the sovereign of life and health and strength."



OBELISK AND PLAIN OF ON (HELIOPOLIS).

The god says, in the seventeenth chapter of the Book of the Dead: "I am Tum, a being that is alone." Tum is the concealed god, who, before the creation, existed alone. At On this concealed god had a temple of wondrous magnificence. It was resplendent with gold and all precious stones, rich in gifts of mightiest mon-

archs, and attended by more than ten thousand sacred slaves. Ra exists of himself, and comes to view out of this concealment and darkness. He is symbolically represented by the scarabæus, or beetle, the emblem of change and transformation. Another emblem is "Ra in the egg"—the world-egg which is familiar in many mythologies. Ra traverses the heavens undisturbed, and finishes his course; but in the west, the land of Amenti, the kingdom of the dead, in which is the abode of the great deity whose name is known only to himself—perhaps this deity is but the spirit of Ra—he must battle with the dark powers.



SIGNET RING, WITH
SCARABÆUS.

"The sun-god, after his setting, has now become a *soul*; and as, in his glory in the heavens, in his glittering body, he was represented as a sparrowhawk, so in his concealment as a soul in the realm of the dead he is represented by the Bennu-bird, the heron, which, as a bird of passage, is a symbol of immortality and of return to life."

As the self-begetting god, who constantly renews himself, Ra is identified with Chem, who was worshiped at Chemmis, or Panopolis, and at Thebes, and to some extent throughout Egypt.

Chem was so inexcusably vile, indecent, and corrupting in his grossness as to render his representation or description impossible. He symbolized the male generative power of nature, and in the inscription of Darius is called: "The god KHEM, raising his tall plumes; king of the gods, lifting the hand; lord of the crown, powerful by it; all fear emanates from the fear of him; the Kamutf, who resides in the fields, horned in all his beauty, engendering the depths." As supreme god, the ruler of all things made and unmade, he bears the strange title "father of his own father."*

Tum is the god of the setting sun, as Harmachis is the god of the rising sun, or "Horus on the horizon," whose emblem was the sphinx, which symbolized the "power of enlightened and disciplined reason."

When Ra triumphs over the powers of darkness, and comes forth from the conflict strengthened and purified, he is crowned, and exclaims: "It is I who have received the double crown with delight; it is I on whom the burden has been laid of ruling over the gods in the day when the world is set in order by the lord of the universe."

* Birch, *Records of the Past*, Vol. VIII, p. 142; Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I, pp. 342-344.

We present a few verses from "The Litany of Ra:"

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, the master of the hidden spheres who causes the principles to arise, who dwells in darkness, who is born as the all-surrounding universe.

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, the beetle that folds his wings, that rests in the empyrean, that is born as his own son.

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, the soul that speaks, that rests upon her high place, that creates the hidden intellects which are developed in her.

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, the spirit that walks, that destroys its enemies, that sends pain to the rebels.

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, he who descends into the spheres of Ament, his form is that of TUM.

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, he whose body is so large that it hides his shape, his form is that of SHU.

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, he who leads RA into his members, his form is that of TEFNUT.

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, the two vipers that bear their two feathers, their form is that of the impure one.

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, the timid one who sheds tears, his form is that of the afflicted.

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, he who is more courageous than those who surround him, who sends fire into the place of destruction, his form is that of the burning one.

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, he who makes the roads in the empyrean, and who opens pathways in the sarcophagus, his form is that of the god who makes the roads.

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, he who sends forth the stars and who makes the night light, in the sphere of the hidden essences, his form is that of the shining one.

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, the high spirit who hunts his enemies, who sends fire upon the rebels, his form is that of KABA.

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, he who sends the flames into his furnaces, he who cuts off the head of those who are in the infernal regions, his form is that of the god of the furnace.

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, the master of souls, who is in his obelisk, the chief of the confined gods, his form is that of the master of souls.

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, the double luminary, the double obelisk, the great god who raises his two eyes, his form is that of the double luminary.

Homage to thee, RA! Supreme power, the master of the light, who reveals hidden things, the spirit who speaks to the gods in their spheres, his form is that of the master of the light.

The soul of RA shines in his shape, his body rests amid the invocations which are addressed to him; he enters into the interior of his white disk, he lights the empyrean with his rays, he creates it, he makes the souls remain in their bodies; they praise him from the height of their pedestal. He receives the acclamations of all the gods who open the doors, the hidden essences who prepare the way for RA's soul, and who allow the king of souls access to the fields.*

Chepra, the beetle-god, was one of the forms of Ra. He is a god both beneficent and dreaded;

* Naville, *Records of the Past*, Vol. VIII, pp. 105-117.

for he is the righteous god, and is connected with Ma, the goddess of righteousness.

The myths of Ra are closely related with those of Osiris, and the two worships stand side by side in harmonious concord.

We quote part of a hymn from the fifteenth chapter of the Book of the Dead :

Hail, thou who art come as Tum, and who hast been the creator of the gods !

Hail, thou who art come as soul of the holy souls in Amenti !

Hail, supreme among the gods, who by thy beauties dost illumine the kingdom of the dead !

Hail, thou who comest in radiance and travelest in thy disk !

Hail, greatest of all the gods, bearing rule in the highest, reigning in the nethermost heaven !

Hail, thou who dost penetrate within the nethermost heaven, and hast command of all the gates !

Hail, among the gods, weigher of words in the kingdom of the dead !

Hail ! thou art in thine abode creator of the nethermost heaven by thy virtue !

Hail, renowned and glorified god ! Thy enemies fall upon their scaffold !

Hail ! thou hast slain the guilty, thou hast destroyed Apap (the serpent of darkness) !*

Shu and Tefnut are the two lion-gods who light Tum as he comes out from his place in the

* Tiele, *Egyptian Religion*, pp. 83, 84.

heavenly ocean. Shu is addressed: "Thou who hast not thy second among the gods, who brings forth the wind by the fire of his mouth, and who lights up the two worlds by his brightness." There is a representation of the dogs, which symbolize the winds, swiftly following Shu. He was originally the symbol of cosmic heat and light, and is the world-egg in which Ra is to be found. "He is the lord who came forth alone from the heavenly sea, Nun, over which, in the beginning, the quickening breath of the deity passed. As the principle of creation, he is uncreated; with the beginning of his existence the sun began to exist. He is the life-giver, and, like all the gods that are to be taken as representing the first cause, has the marvelous designation bestowed on him of young-old, an expression by which the Egyptians sought to indicate eternal youth." As the god of the atmosphere, he is depicted as supporting upon his uplifted arms the vault of heaven, which is in the form of a woman bending forward and standing on hands and feet. Ra, the sun-god, is represented as traveling along the back of the goddess of heaven.*

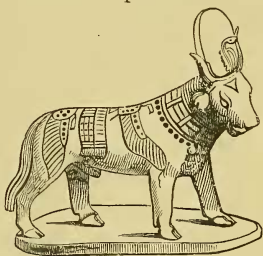
When Shu became identified with the sun, it was as the dread scorching sun, and he was

* Tiele, *Egyptian Religion*, pp. 84-86.

closely related with Set. His form was that of a male cat.

Tefnut, his wife, also depicted in Egyptian art as a lioness or as a cat, was the great cosmic ocean, or the foam of the primordial cosmic waters. When Shu was the raging sun, his spouse was symbolized by the puffed-up adder of deadly sting. Sometimes she is pictured as a lioness vomiting flames.

These are the principal gods of the circle of Ra, and of the sacred city of On. The myth of Ra and his conflict with Apap, the demon of darkness, ever renewed and ever



OSIRIS.

scoring a victory for the god of light, while it represents the physical struggle, also points to the moral warfare waged between good and evil, the triumph of the good, and the hope of immortality by the resurrection of the dead.

The seat of another religion, perhaps quite as ancient as that of Ra, is Thinis, which was situated on the west bank of the Nile, about one degree south of Memphis. When Abydos, a neighboring city, rose to prominence, Thinis was neglected, and gave way to its more powerful

rival. In this old city was a most venerable sanctuary, in which Osiris was worshiped as lord of the kingdom of the dead. Other temples, erected elsewhere to his honor, are doubtless later.

Plutarch gives the Greek version of the myth of Osiris. According to this classic author, Osiris was an Egyptian king, who, having reformed the customs of his own land, with true missionary zeal traveled abroad, that he might extend the blessings of civilization. During his absence, the queen, who is at the same time his wife and sister, acts as regent, and is faithful to her charge. Now Typhon, who is his own brother, but is vexed at the mild and beneficent government, forms a conspiracy with an Ethiopian queen and certain nobles, which has for its object the death of the king. He causes a sarcophagus to be made which will just fit the body of Osiris, whom he invites to a banquet. When the guests are assembled, their attention is attracted to the sarcophagus, and Typhon, as in a jest, promises to give it to him whose body it will fit. One after the other lie down in the chest; but it is either too short or too long, too narrow or too wide, too shallow or too deep, till it comes to the turn of the king. His body fits the coffin; but before he can rise, the lid is put

on and nailed closely down. The sarcophagus is thrown into the Nile and floats out to sea, but comes ashore at Byblos, in Phœnicia, where it becomes entangled in the top of a tamarind-tree, which so embraces it in its growth that it is most effectually concealed. The king of Byblos cuts the tree down, and places it as a pillar in his house. Isis, the wife of the murdered king, and Nephthis, her sister, wail his loss, and seek him throughout many lands. At last his faithful spouse finds him inclosed in the pillar, and returns with her treasure to Egypt. But while she is on a visit to her son Horos, at Bubastis, Typhon finds the body, cuts it in fourteen pieces, and scatters them over the country. Isis discovers the members, and causes each to be buried where it is found. Horos avenges his father, and slays his murderer, and henceforth Osiris is king of the world of the dead.

With several modern additions, yet this account retains much that is ancient and genuine. We have the very words of the lamentations of the two sisters. Isis mourns: "His sister Isis has been filled with concern about him, and has scattered his enemies in a threefold rout. . . . She is Isis, the illustrious, the avenger of her brother; she has sought him without resting; she has wandered all round the world as a

mourner; she did not cease until she had found him. She has made light with her feathers, she has made wind with her wings, she has made the invocations of the burial of her brother; she has taken with her the principles of the god with the peaceable heart, she has made an extract of his being, she has made (thereof) a child, she has suckled the infant in secret. No



ISIS AND NEPHTHIS.

man knows where that was done." Nephthis laments: "Ah! lordly king, come back! Let thy heart rejoice, for all they who persecuted thee are here no more. Thy sisters stand beside thy bier; they bewail thee,

and shed tears. People turn (?) thee round on thy bier, that thou mayest behold their beauty. O, speak to us, king and our lord!"

The Typhon of the Greek myth can be none other than Set, with whom Osiris contends. His conflicts with this dark god, and his many other exploits, must be explained as the ever-

recurring battle between light and darkness, order and disorder, good and evil, virtue and vice.

His soul is united with his body in the invisible world, but in the night is displayed in the brilliant constellation of Orion, just as the soul of his spouse shines forth from Sirius.

Osiris sometimes appears as a Nile-god, and also as a god of wine, and a god of the moon. But the Nile, of which he is a god, is rather that heavenly stream which refreshes the whole earth; and the wine corresponds to the heavenly beverage of immortality, of which the moon was thought to be the fountain-head. He became, in later development, the lord of the universe and the lord of all life.

How these conceptions arose out of the original natural one, is self-evident, and it is equally clear how he soon became the type of the good man, of the human soul which is obliged to carry on a conflict similar to his against the powers of death, and which finds in his victory a guarantee of its own triumph, and his rising again a pledge of its own immortality. From the most ancient times, accordingly, we find the dead, both men and women, represented as identifying themselves with him, their everlasting ideal."*

* Tiele, *Egyptian Religion*, p. 45.

The pious dead, when through conflicts many and fearful they reached the happy fields of the Egyptian heaven, feasted at lordly banquets, gathered fabulous harvests, bathed in the glorious light of their god, and sailed with Osiris in his bark over the heavenly ocean, or sparkled as stars in the night firmament. The wicked were consigned to one of the seventy-five compartments of hell, and endured punishments according to their sins. An everlasting death, or everlasting darkness, a punishment personified by the demon Auai, which is strongly suggestive of "weeping and gnashing of teeth," was the Egyptian conception of that world of horror.

Osiris was the god of the beneficent sun, and was called "the manifester of good, full of goodness and truth; the beneficent spirit, beneficent in will and words, mild of heart, and fair and beloved of all who see him." He "affords plentifulness, and gives it to all the earth; all men are in ecstasy on account of him; hearts are in sweetness, bosoms in joy; everybody is in adorations; every one glorifies his goodness; . . . sanctifying, beneficent is his name."*

The worship of Osiris extended and became universal. When his cult was established in any place, he took the form of the deity of that

* Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 366.

place, and its sacred animal was consecrated to him. Hence his many forms and many names. In the one hundred and forty-seventh chapter of the Book of the Dead there is mention of no less than a hundred of these names. Isis, with a thousand names, shared his popularity. She had temples of her own even under the earliest dynasties, and in later times her honors were multiplied. She was "the great divine mother," the goddess of fecundity. With her husband, she ruled over the world of the dead.

Set was also a sun-god, who had temples and was worshiped in early times. He was the god of the baneful influences of the sun, and was revered out of fear more than from any other motive. He was hated, persecuted, and at last so detested that his very name was, wherever possible, erased from the monuments. He was the especial god who received the homage of foreign peoples. One of the Shepherd Kings accorded to him exclusive worship. He was the local god of Ombos, and is called the god of the Negroes. In remote antiquity Set seems to have been honored equally with Horos, the sun-god, and, like the latter, stands on the bark of the sun and wards off the serpent of darkness. But he lost his position in the affections of the people, and became the fierce god of fire, war,

and death. He was the cause of all evil—earthquakes, lightnings, tempests, pestilences, and, finally, moral evil of every kind. The animals sacred to him were most unclean—the swine, the hippopotamus, the crocodile, and “the monster with stiff ears, peculiar snout, and tail erect, which is the hieroglyph of this god.” He fought against Horos, and against Osiris, but was humiliated and conquered by these bright and beneficent powers.

Nephthis was the wife of Set, and greatly resembled her sister Isis in character. She also was called the mother goddess and the mistress of heaven. She bewailed the murdered Osiris, and is the guardian of the pious dead. She becomes by Osiris the mother of Anubis, whom Isis adopts and brings up, while, on the other hand, Isis is sometimes designated as the wife of Set.

Horos, unlike his rival companion, became most celebrated. He bears such titles as lord of truth, lord of heaven, helper of his father, lord of the sacred bark, and king of men, and is also called “the supreme ruler of gods and men.” It has been thought that Horos, like the Phœnician Baal, designates a class of gods rather than a single god. As the ancient Horos, he is “husband of his mother;” as the rising sun, he is “the infant Horos;” and as the son of Isis, he

is the avenger of his father. He is the warrior-god, he stands on the bark of the sun and fights against the serpent Apap or the dark god Set. He is armed with a spear, a trident, or a sword; he hurls his trident at the snout of the hippopotamus-god; he beheads the wicked in the kingdom of the dead. His protecting hawk hovers over the heads of Egyptian warriors as they march forth to the battle-field. He is also lord of the harvest and celebrated for his beauty. The sphinx, his well-known symbol, is the emblem of intelligence and strength.

Hathor, the mother and nurse, and at the same time the wife of Horos, was sometimes confounded with Isis, whom she closely resembles. Both were represented with the head of a cow, and both wore the same emblems upon their coif. Like Nu, she pours the waters of life from the heavenly sycamore in which she sits, for the refreshment of all those who truly thirst. It may have been the result of Greek influence that she became the goddess of beauty and love, of joy and song. She was called "mother of Ra, eye of Ra, mistress of Amenti, celestial mother, and lady of the dance and mirth." She was the golden goddess also, who was the first to greet the rising and the setting sun.

Thoth was a moon-god, and the king of eternity. He was the lord of truth and of divine words, of knowledge and of priestly culture, of arts and sciences, of discoveries and inventions. He invented writing, and was the author of the most sacred scriptures. He founded libraries and made laws, and was the advocate and justifier of the good at the bar of Osiris. He revealed the will of the gods. It is said that he wrote a work which contained all wisdom, and by the use of which all things could be charmed. He inclosed this precious volume in a box of gold, this in a box of silver, this in a box of ivory and ebony, this in a box of bronze, this in a box of brass, and the box of brass in a box of iron; and, secured in this manner, he threw the treasure into the Nile at Coptos, and stationed fearful watchers about the place of its concealment. It was long sought and at last found, but brought to its possessor many misfortunes together with its blessings. Thoth was highly honored in Egypt, and, as Hermes Trismegistus, exerted an influence on the theosophy of the early Christian centuries.*

Anubis, to be easily recognized by his jackal's

* See the Theological and Philosophical Works of Hermes Trismegistus, Christian Neoplatonist, translated by John David Chambers.

head, was the god of embalming and of mummies, and the conductor of the souls of the departed. His genealogy, like that of so many divinities, is variously given—the son of Osiris and Isis, the son of Osiris and Nephthis, the son of Set and Nephthis.

All the Osirian gods are the descendants of Seb and Nu. Seb is the god of the earth, whose material substance is eternal, and is called the most ancient sovereign. Nu is the goddess of the heavenly ocean, who supplies the souls of the dead with the beverage of immortality, and, with the descending dew, gives all good things to man.

“At night, when even the moon is invisible, all that is in the universe, all the gods of the luminous heaven, are at rest in peace. The heaven rests upon the earth like a goose brooding over her egg. The earth-god alone continues to reign. The mistress of the heavenly ocean alone shares his vigil, and reveals herself in the clear starlight, continuing all the night through to bestow her benefits; all the other gods are hidden. Thus must it have been, thought the Egyptian, once in the beginning of things. Then there existed no others, save the eternal god, the god of everlasting substance, and the eternal waters that covered and overflowed all

things. But, just as each morning from the marriage of these two, the gods of the clear daylight heaven are born, so it happened before the ages; so, before Osiris came into being, or Horos, or any one of the gods, did Seb, the father of them all, bear sway." *

* Tiele, *Egyptian Religion*, pp. 66, 67.

III.

PTAH, AMON, AND OTHER DIVINITIES.

WHEN the Thinitic kings made Memphis their seat, they carried with them the worship of the Osirian gods, but adopted Ptah, the chief deity of the new locality, who reached great prominence. When his worship was neglected, as seems to have been the case at one period, the kings were hated and their monuments desecrated. The reputation of Ptah extended with the growth and power of the Old Kingdom of the first dynasties. The Greeks compared him with Hephaistos, the god of cosmic fire. His name is interpreted as meaning "he who forms." As the invisible and hidden god, his symbol was a mummy, concealed in its sarcophagus. He procreates all things. The gods come from his mouth, and men from his eye. He was, in early times, the god of order, justice, righteousness, and truth, and came to give laws to men, and was a lover of good. He was closely connected with Ma, the goddess of righteousness. It must have been at a much later period, when he became confounded with

the sun-god, that he could be called "the lord of the long times, the honorable, the golden, and the beautiful."

Ptah has but one son mentioned in the Egyptian literature, Imhotep by name. "He is a personification of the sacrificial fire, and of the worship regulated by the sacred book, and he is always represented with this book upon his knees; and the texts designate him as the first of the Cherhib, a class of priests who were at the same time choristers and physicians; for the sacred hymns were believed to have a magical power as remedies."

Together with Ptah, two goddesses, Sechet or Bast and Neith, were prominent in the worship of Lower Egypt. Neith had her chief seat at Sais, and the Libyans were especially devoted to her cult. Sechet was a favorite among the Arab tribes, and had her chief seat at Bubastis, where, under the name of Bast, she was held in high honor. We also meet with Chnum, the god of the cataracts. There will be further mention of these divinities in a succeeding portion of this chapter.

From the sixth to the eleventh dynasty, an obscurity rests upon Egyptian history, and we are able to gather but little information concerning the Egyptian religion during this long period.

When the light increases and begins to dispel the darkness, we find a different set of gods holding sway. These are the local gods of the Thebaid, brought into distinguished renown by the rise of Thebes and the glory of the Middle Kingdom.

Chem, or Min, is the god of Coptos and Chemnis, and his twofold name corresponds to his characters as god of divine power and god of fertility. "He is the hidden male nature-power, the creator represented as fertilizer of the world; hence, at agricultural festivals he had the first place. An opening flower, or some similar symbol, is usually placed beside him." He is but a form of the sun-god, and is closely connected with Amon, like whom he is called "husband of his mother."

Amon, "the hidden one," as the life-giving power of nature, became the highest deity. Munt, or Mentu, was the god of war, and may be identified with Horos in his exceptional character as the war-god and the god of death. Amon was also a god of war. These gods are evidently very closely related, and are but modifications of the same divine conception. The warlike character of these gods does not fully appear till the period of the New Kingdom.

During the dynasties of the Middle Kingdom,

there were peaceful gods suitable to a prosperous agricultural people.

Chnum, the god of the cataracts, now attains extraordinary prominence. He is the architect of the universe, and in him the two ideas of cosmic fire and divine breath are combined. He broods over the cataracts, and these were considered the source of all Egyptian waters. Sati, his companion, "the arrow," speaks of the swiftness of the waters as they dash along. The cataracts are the celestial waters localized. Anuka is another companion of this god, and is the female principle of fertility. Chnum, in his character as the fertilizer, was symbolized by the ram. As the creator, he is "the father of fathers, the mother of mothers." The chief seat of the worship of Chnum and his associate divinities was at Elephantinè.

Amenemha III was a devoted worshiper of Sebak, the crocodile-headed god, whose cult he imported into his new province, the Fayoum. The god was, perhaps, a native of Ethiopia, a province which had been subdued by Usertasen III, the father of Amenemha. His worship had been introduced at Ombos, Coptos, and elsewhere, and had attained great importance before it was transferred to the Fayoum.

There was a firm belief among the Egyptians

that the crocodiles of the Nile always deposited their eggs along the line of the limit of its inundation. From this the conclusion was drawn that the god of the river was a crocodile, or at least had the form of a crocodile. Sebak was the god of the inundation, and, since the soil of the Fayoum was deposited from the sacred stream, he was an appropriate god of this new territory. When he had a companion distinct from the local goddess of the place where his worship was established, she was imported from a foreign country. Since Set also had the symbol of the crocodile, Sebak was confounded with him, and suffered with his waning reputation. He was also thrown into some obscurity, and that too at an ancient period, in comparison with Hapi, the god of the Nile, who was profoundly revered, especially at such places as were touched by the stream.

The Hyksos who destroyed the Middle Kingdom made war upon the Egyptian religion, but spared Set, or Sutech, as nearest resembling in character their own national god, by whatever name he may have been called. When the Egyptian scribe copied the treaty between Rameses II. and the Hittites, it may have been from inability to read the divine name that he called the god of the Hittites Sutech. Apepi

sought to conciliate those whom he had roused to desperate measures by his assault upon their gods. He proposed to the prince of Thebes to recognize Amon-Ra also, in his religious devotions. The proposition came too late. The invaders and oppressors were expelled, and the gods of Egypt again received their accustomed honors.

With the expulsion of the Hyksos we reach the most brilliant period in Egyptian history. The golden age of literature was during the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. The purest and most exalted conceptions of God may be assigned to this period. The loftiest religious thought and the deepest philosophical speculation culminated in the conception of Amon-Ra. If he be not a purely spiritual being, he is the closest approximation possible to Egyptian thought. Amon-Ra combines in himself the great gods, and he is addressed in language with which we may compare the inspired utterances of the psalmists of the Old Testament.

To Amon as the supreme creator is assigned Amont as a companion; to Amon-Ra, as the visible god of the sun, belongs Mat or Mut, or the Hathor of the Thebaid; and to Amon, as the hidden god of the sun, is given Apé, the goddess of the night-heavens.

Chonsu is the son of Amon and Mut. He is a moon-god, bears on his head the lunar disk, and carries in his hand a palm-branch as the symbol of time and eternity. "He is certainly the revealer of the will of the hidden god of night. Very great power was attributed to him; his oracles were consulted; he himself watched over the execution of his commands. One of his surnames is Pa-ar-secher, 'he who does what pleases him;' and in the temple of Chonsu-Thot this may be read: 'Whatever comes out of his mouth comes to pass, and if he speaks, what he has ordained happens.' He was resorted to for the cure of all diseases, or for the exorcism of all the evil spirits who inflict them." *

The other great gods of Egypt were reformed after the model of Amon-Ra; the gods of lesser rank became servants, or mere forms of the greater gods. In this manner the principal gods were amalgamated. The names and attributes of each were assigned to the others. There seems to have been the feeling that, under these many names and forms, the one unnamed and unknown god sought to become manifest. Notwithstanding this monotheism, from kingly policy, the Egyptians still clung to the old forms of worship and primitive cults. Any

*Tiele, *Egyptian Religion*, p. 154.

change which aimed to abandon old sanctuaries, abolish revered forms of worship and sacred symbols, or erase venerable divine names, would have been resented and would have threatened the overthrow of the government. Hence there was the largest religious toleration. The chief gods of all the great geographical divisions of the country were not forgotten. Thebes became the religious metropolis of Egypt, and Amon-Ra became the ruler of the gods.

The hymns to the great god of Thebes are among the most beautiful in Egyptian hymnology. The following is from the nineteenth dynasty:

“Praise to Amen-Ra!

The Bull in An, chief of all gods,

The good god beloved,

Giving life to all animated things,

To all fair cattle.

Hail to thee, Amen-Ra, lord of the thrones of the earth,
Chief of Aptu,

The Bull of his mother in his field,

Turning his feet towards the land of the South,

Lord of the heathen, prince of Punt,

The ancient of heaven, the oldest of the earth,

Lord of all existences, the support of things, the support
of all things!

The One in his works, *single* among the gods,

The beautiful Bull of the cycle of gods,

Chief of all the gods,

Lord of truth, father of the gods,
 Maker of men, creator of beasts,
 Lord of existences, creator of fruitful trees,
 Maker of herbs, feeder of cattle,
 Good being begotten of Ptah, beautiful youth beloved,
 To whom the gods give honor,
 Maker of things below and above, enlightener of the
 earth,
 Sailing in heaven in tranquillity,
 King Ra, true speaker, chief of the earth,
 Most glorious one, lord of terror,
 Chief creator of the whole earth.

Supporter of affairs above every god,
 In whose goodness the gods rejoice,
 To whom adoration is paid in the great house,
 Crowned in the house of flame,
 Whose fragrance the gods love,
 When he comes from Arabia,
 Prince of the dew, traversing foreign lands,
 Benignly approaching the Holy Land.

The gods attend his feet,
 Whilst they acknowledge his majesty as their lord.
 Lord of terror most awful,
 Greatest of spirits, mighty in . . .
 Bring offerings, make sacrifices.
 Salutation to thee, maker of the gods,
 Supporter of the heavens, founder of the earth.

Awake in strength, Min Amen,
 Lord of eternity, maker everlasting,
 Lord of adoration, chief in . . .
 Strong with beautiful horns,
 Lord of the crown high-plumed,
 Of the fair turban, (wearing) the white crown.

The coronet and the diadem are the ornaments of his face.
He is invested with *Ami-ha*.

The double-crown is his head-gear; (he wears) the red
crown.

Benignly he receives the Atef-crown,
On whose south and on whose north is love.
The lord of life receives the scepter,
Lord of *the breastplate*, armed with the whip.

Gracious ruler, crowned with the white crown,
Lord of beams, maker of light,
To whom the gods give praises,
Who stretches forth his arms at his pleasure,
Consuming his enemies with flame;
Whose eye subdues the wicked,
Sending forth its dart to the roof of the firmament,
Sending its *arrows* against Naka to consume him.

Hail to thee, Ra, lord of truth,
Whose shrine is hidden, lord of the gods,
Chepra in his boat,
At whose command the gods were made,
Athom, maker of men,
Supporting their works, giving them life,
Distinguishing the color of one from another,
Listening to the poor who is in distress,
Gentle of heart when one cries unto him.

Deliverer of the timid man from the violent,
Judging the poor, the poor and the oppressed,
Lord of wisdom whose precepts are wise,
At whose pleasure the Nile overflows,
Lord of mercy, most loving,
At whose coming men live,
Opener of every eye,
Proceeding from the firmament,

Causer of pleasure and light,
At whose goodness the gods rejoice,
Their hearts revive when they see him.

O Ra! adored in Aptom,
High-crowned in the house of the obelisk,
King (Ani), lord of the new-moon festival,
To whom the sixth and seventh days are sacred,
Sovereign of life, health, and strength; lord of all the gods
Who are visible in the midst of heaven,
Ruler of men . . .
Whose name is hidden from his creatures,
In his name, which is Amen.

Hail to thee, who art in tranquillity,
Lord of magnanimity, strong in apparel,
Lord of the crown high-plumed,
Of the beautiful turban, of the tall white crown,
The gods love thy presence.
When the double crown is set upon thy head,
Thy love pervades the earth.
Thy beams *arise* . . . men are cheered by thy rising.
The beasts shrink from thy beams.
Thy love is over the southern heaven;
Thy heart is not (unmindful of) the northern heaven.
Thy goodness . . . (all) hearts.
Love subdues (all) hands.
Thy creations are fair, overcoming (all) the earth.
(All) hearts are softened at beholding thee.

The one maker of existences,
(Creator) of . . . maker of beings,
From whose eyes mankind proceeded,
Of whose mouth are the gods,
Maker of grass for the cattle,
Fruitful trees for men,

Causing the fish to live in the river,
The birds to fill the air,
Giving breath to those in the egg,
Feeding the bird that flies,
Giving food to the bird that perches,
To the creeping thing and the flying thing equally,
Providing food for the rats in their holes,
Feeding the flying *things* in every tree.

Hail to thee for all these things,
The one alone with many hands,
Lying awake while all men lie (asleep),
To seek out the good for his creatures,
Amen, sustainer of all things,
Athom, Horus of the horizon,
Homage to thee in all their voices,
Salutation to thee for thy mercy unto us,
Protestations to thee who hast created us.

Hail to thee, say all creatures,
Salutation to thee from every land,
To the height of heaven, to the breadth of the earth,
To the depths of the sea.
The gods adore thy majesty;
The spirits thou hast created exalt (thee);
Rejoicing before the feet of their begetter,
They cry out welcome to thee,
Father of the fathers of all the gods,
Who raises the heavens, who fixes the earth.

Maker of beings, creator of existences,
Sovereign of life, health, and strength, chief of the gods,
We worship thy spirit *who alone* hast made us.
We whom thou hast made (thank thee) that thou hast given
us birth;
We give to thee praises on account of thy mercy to us.

Hail to thee, maker of all beings,
 Lord of truth, father of the gods,
 Maker of men, creator of Beasts,
 Lord of grains,
 Making food for the beast of the field,
 Amen, the beautiful Bull,
 Beloved in Aptu,
 High-crowned in the house of the obelisk,
 Twice-turbaned in An,
 Judge of combatants in the great hall,
 Chief of the great cycle of the gods.

The one alone without peer,
 Chief of Aptu,
 King over his cycle of gods,
 Living in truth forever,
 (Lord) of the horizon, Horos of the east,
 He who hath created the soil (with) silver and gold,
 The precious lapis lazuli at his pleasure,
 Spices and incense various for the peoples,
 Fresh odors for thy nostrils.
 Benignly come to the nations,
 Amen-Ra, lord of the thrones of the earth,
 Chief of Aptu,
 The sovereign *on his throne*.

King alone, *single* among the gods,
 Of many names, unknown is their number,
 Rising in the eastern horizon, setting in the western
 horizon,
 Overthrowing his enemies,
 Dawning on (his) children daily and every day,
 Thoth raises his eyes,
 He delights himself with his blessings.
 The gods rejoice in his goodness who exalts those *who are*
 lowly.

Lord of the boat and the barge,
They conduct thee through the firmament in peace.

Thy servants rejoice,
Beholding the overthrow of the wicked.
His limbs pierced with the *sword*,
Fire consumes him,
His soul and body are annihilated.

Naka saves *his feet*;
The gods rejoice;
The servants of the sun are in peace;
An is joyful;
The enemies of Athom are overthrown and Aptu is in
peace; An is joyful;
The giver of life is pleased
At the overthrow of the enemies of her lord;
The gods of Kher-sa make salutations,
They of the Adytum prostrate themselves.

They behold the mighty one in his strength,
The image of the gods of truth, the lord of Aptu,
In thy name of doer of justice,
Lord of sacrifices, the Bull of offerings,
In thy name of Amen, the Bull of his mother,
Maker of men,
Causing all things which are to exist,
In thy name of Athom Chepra,
The great hawk making (each) body to rejoice,
Benignly making (each) breast to rejoice,
Type of creators, high-crowned,
. . . (lord) of the wing,
Uati is on his forehead.
The hearts of men seek him.
When he appears to mortals.

He rejoices the earth with his goings forth.

Hail to thee, Amon-Ra, lord of the thrones of the world,
Beloved of his city when he shines forth."*

Thotmes III, who more than any other Egyptian monarch is worthy of the title of "The Great," was the founder of the religious pantheon at Thebes, and the author of that policy which placed Amon-Ra at the head of all the gods of Egypt.

A still more thorough religious reformation was attempted by Amenophis IV. Indeed, this was nothing less than a religious revolution. He raised the god Aten, the splendor of the sun's disk, to the supreme position in place of Amon-Ra. It has been but lately discovered that this king was of Asiatic lineage and had been educated in the religion of the Semites, and naturally desired to bring the Egyptian religion, as far as possible, into harmony with the faith of his fathers. He adopted no half measures, but made his work most thorough and complete. He demanded for Aten exclusive worship, while he endeavored to root out all other forms of worship. The monuments dedicated to other gods were destroyed, and the name of Amon was erased or chiseled out wherever it occurred, even in combination in the names of kings. The

* Goodwin, *Records of the Past*, Vol. II, pp. 129-136.

names of Ra and Osiris were respected, but this was only because they, too, were names of the one sun-god. He changed his own name to Khunaten, "glitter of the sun's disk." He may have considered Thebes too polluted for his residence; it may have been a measure of necessity to secure his personal safety and that of his court—whatever the reason, he removed his capital to a new locality, now marked by the vast and magnificent ruins of Tell-el-Amarna. Here he built the great temple of the sun, where his favorite god received the adoration which was his due as the one god. The king himself was most ugly in person, but seems to have been recognized as the type of beauty—at least the works of art which belong to his reign are as ugly as his own repulsiveness.

A servant of the king prays: "Beautiful is thy setting, thou sun's disk of life, thou lord of lords, and king of the worlds. When thou unitest thyself with the heaven at thy setting, mortals rejoice before thy countenance, and give honor to him who has created them, and pray before him who has formed them, before the glance of thy son, who loves thee, the king Khunaten. The whole land of Egypt and all peoples repeat all thy names at thy rising, to magnify thy rising in like manner as thy setting.

Thou, O God, who art in truth the living one, standest before the two eyes. Thou art he which createst what never was, which formest everything that is in the universe. We also have come into being through the word of thy mouth. Give me favor before the king every day; let there not be wanting to me a good burial after attaining old age in the territory of Khu-aten, when I shall have finished my course of life peaceably."

His wife addresses the god: "Thou disk of the sun, thou living god! there is none other besides thee! Thou givest health to the eyes through thy beams, creator of all beings. Thou goest up on the eastern horizon of heaven, to dispense life to all which thou hast created; to man, four-footed beasts, birds, and all manner of creeping things on the earth, where they live. Thus they behold thee, and they go to sleep when thou settest. Grant to thy son, who loves thee, life in truth, to the lord of the land, Khunaten, that he may live united with thee in eternity. As for her, his wife, the queen Nofer-i-Thi—may she live for evermore and eternally by his side, well-pleasing to thee! She admires what thou hast created day by day."*

After the death of Khunaten, his immediate

* Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, Vol. I, pp. 501, 502.

successors returned to the worship of Amon and other gods. Horemheb defaced the monuments of the reformer, used the stones in other buildings, made pavements thereof, and endeavored to destroy every trace of the heresy. During the remainder of Egyptian history the fortune of the gods fluctuated, corresponding with the varying fortune of the cities in which their cult was established, with a tendency to give national importance to several of the greatest and to recognize all.

Under Seti I, and his son Rameses II, there was a revival of Osiris worship in a modified form; and the latter king was fervently devoted to Set. Indeed the religion of Tanis became the prevalent faith of lower Egypt; but after the fall of the Ramesides it was overshadowed by the cult of Mendes or the worship of the he-goat, perhaps identical with that of Chnum in his purified form as the spirit of the universe.

Herodotus gives the following description of the temple of Bast at Bubastis: "Excepting the entrance, the whole forms an island. Two artificial channels from the Nile, one on either side of the temple, encompass the building, leaving only a narrow passage by which it is approached. These channels are each a hundred feet wide, and

are thickly shaded with trees. The gateway is sixty feet in height, and is ornamented with figures cut upon the stone, six cubits high and well worthy of notice. The temple stands in the middle of the city, and is visible on all sides as one walks round it; for as the city has been raised up by embankment, while the temple has been left untouched in its original condition, you look down upon it wheresoever you are. A low wall runs round the inclosure, having figures engraved upon it, and inside there is a grove of beautiful tall trees growing round the shrine, which contains the image of the goddess. The inclosure is a furlong in length, and the same in breadth. The entrance to it is by a road paved with stone for a distance of about three furlongs, which passes straight through the market-place with an easterly direction, and is four hundred feet in width. Trees of an extraordinary height grow on each side of the road, which conducts from the temple of Bubastis to that of Mercury."

The following is his account of the festival celebrated in honor of the goddess: "Men and women come sailing all together, vast numbers, in each boat, many of the women with castanets, which they strike, while some of the men pipe during the whole time of the voyage; the

remainder of the voyagers, male and female, sing the while, and make a clapping with their hands. When they arrive opposite any of the towns upon the banks of the stream, they approach the shore, and, while some of the women continue to play and sing, others call aloud to the females of the place and load them with abuse, while a certain number dance. . . . After proceeding in this way all along the river course, they reach Bubastis, where they celebrate the feast with abundant sacrifices. More grape-wine is consumed at this festival than in all the rest of the year besides.”*

The goddess is called Pacht, “the devouring one,” or Sechet, “she that kindles the fire,” and is represented as a lioness vomiting forth flames, or as a woman with the head of a cat. The tortures of the wicked in the other world are under her direction, and the flames which issue from her mouth consume her enemies. She seems to be the goddess of the scorching heat of the sun, but also possesses another and more peaceful character.

The Libyans had always been worshipers of Neith, who was also known among the Egyptians during the first dynasties. She was the local goddess of Sais, and owes her brilliant reputation

* Herodotus, II, pp. 138, 60.

to the Saitic kings. Neith is a mother-goddess, but differs from other mother-goddesses in being a virgin-goddess. We may compare her with the highest sun-god who creates himself without a father. It is the deepest ground of all being. Neith became, in her development, the goddess of science and wisdom. Like so many of the divinities of Egypt, she had a double nature, and was the goddess of war. "She was represented either in human shape or in that of a cow lying down, and in both forms has a disk of gold between her horns, and her head and neck adorned with gold, and draped with a mantle of purple."

When Egypt was conquered by the Persians, Neith was at the height of her influence, and retained her supremacy for many years, and her fame spread far beyond the bounds of her native land.

Such are the principal divinities of old Egypt. With much that is incongruous in their character and worship, we find also much that is highly spiritual and truly ennobling.

IV.

DOCTRINES, TEMPLES, WORSHIP.

EACH deity of the Egyptian pantheon was limited in power and local in influence, though the chief gods were worshiped over a wide territory. The divinities which were recognized and honored were innumerable. There was one for each locality, month, day, and hour; and they were all subject to the same weaknesses and infirmities as men.

But the inferior deities often seem to be mere aspects of the greater gods, and many of their names are in reality but names of the same gods. In one place Ra is invoked under no less than seventy-five names. The Book of the Dead has a whole chapter devoted to an enumeration of the names of Osiris. Indeed, Osiris and Ra, both aspects of the sun-god—which in themselves fill the character of all Egyptian divinities—are sometimes confounded one with the other, and in many places there is to be discovered even a distinct profession of monotheism.

The sun, as Osiris or Ra, became the symbol of God, though at first, perhaps, only the symbol

of life. It is evident that the Egyptian religion, as known to the Greeks and Romans and the early Christians, had greatly degenerated from its former comparative purity. Notwithstanding the fact which we have just stated, we certainly find in early times the doctrine of one god and the doctrine of a plurality of gods taught side by side without a thought, so far as we are able to discover, of the slightest inconsistency. The word for god, *nutar*—according to Renouf, to whom we are indebted for much of the material of this chapter—like the Hebrew *El*, means “power.” The Coptic *nuti*, *nute*, is used in the Coptic version of the Bible, which was made probably in the third century. The common Egyptian expression *nutar nutra* corresponds to the Hebrew *El Shaddai*. *Nutar* was a common noun, and was used for any power active in nature, as well as for the Supreme Power. It will be seen, then, that the Egyptians were not inconsistent in teaching monotheism and polytheism at the same time.

In many passages the singular number may be appropriately translated “God.” A few examples may be presented in illustration: “If thou art a wise man, bring up thy son in the love of God. God loveth the obedient, and hateth the disobedient. Praised be God for all

his gifts. Curse not thy master before God. Give thyself to God. Keep thyself continually for God, and let to-morrow be like to-day. Let thine eyes consider the act of God. It is he who smiteth him that is smitten." In these passages, and many others of like character, there is the true religious spirit. *Nutar* is THE POWER. But *nutriu*, or "powers," are also named—especially the power connected with the regular return of day and night, light and darkness—powers which are at first merely physical, then personified, then fixed by a name in some myth, and at last celebrated in legends which are supposed to set off or explain the myth. There arise powers as divinities, and stories of their relations and exploits.

A single illustration, as worked out by Renouf, whom we have followed in the above, will show how closely Egyptian resembles Aryan mythology. When we translate the names of the gods in the illustration, the legend to which reference is made is explained.

The parents of Osiris, or the sun, are Seb and Nut, or the earth and heaven. Before his birth, Osiris wedded his sister Isis, or the dawn. Their son is Horus, or the sun in his full strength. Set, or darkness, triumphs over Osiris in the west. Nephthis, or sunset, is the spouse of Set.

Osiris mistook Nephthis for her sister Isis, and the fruit of their union is a son—Anubis, or the twilight. Set is the brother of Osiris and Isis, and Nephthis is their sister. It will be seen how easily all this can be explained on a physical basis, according to the solar hypothesis of mythology.

The gods of the Egyptians, as well as those of the Indians, Greeks, and Teutons, were the powers of nature, the “strong ones,” whose might was seen and felt to be irresistible, yet so constant, unchanging, and orderly in its operation, as to leave no doubt as to the presence of an everlasting and active Intelligence. Yet these same gods were so subject to human infirmities that they could be frightened and set one against the other in hostile array. It was believed that they governed nature and all things by law, but still the Egyptians looked for incessant and disjointed intervention. There were different phases of thought in regard to the gods in different periods of history, and sometimes a perplexing mingling of apparently contradictory ideas during the same period.

The individual gods were frequently represented as not limited in power by any other gods. Each of a number of gods was as good as any other god, and as good as all other gods. This

phase of religious thought has been called by the convenient but somewhat awkward term "Henotheism." It is presented in hymns dating from the early part of the eighteenth dynasty. Many of the divinities—Osiris, Horos, Ra, Ptah—are represented as supreme and absolute.

The Almighty God says: "I am the maker of heaven and earth. . I raise its mountains and the creatures which are upon it; I make the waters, and the Mehura comes into being. . . . I am the maker of heaven and of the mysteries of the twofold horizon. It is I who have given to all the gods the soul which is within them. When I open my eyes, there is light; when I close them, there is darkness. . . . I make the hours, and the hours come into existence." This is "the Almighty God, the self-existent, who made heaven and earth, the waters, the breath of life, fire, the gods, men, animals, cattle, reptiles, birds, fishes, men, and gods." Again, he is represented as saying: "I am yesterday, I am to-day, I am to-morrow." Other gods are represented in equal ample terms.

The number of the gods does not equal the number of names. The god whose words we have quoted, says: "I am Chepra in the morning, Ra at noon, Tmu in the evening." The Nile is a god, but is identified with Ra, Amon, Ptah,

and other gods; sometimes Nile seems to be identified with the Supreme and Unnamed God—the heavenly Nile, which gives life and refreshment to the whole world.

Amon, the chief divinity of Thebes, is most clearly identified with the Supreme, the Uncreated Being. He is called “the lord of lords, king of the gods, the father of fathers, the powerful of the powerful, the substance which was from the beginning.” He is described as “listening to the poor who is in distress; gentle of heart when one cries to him; deliverer of the timid man from the violent; judging the poor, the poor and the distressed; lord of wisdom, whose precepts are wise, and at whose pleasure the Nile overflows; lord of mercy, at whose coming men live; opener of every eye, proceeding from the firmament; causer of pleasure and light, at whose goodness the gods rejoice, and their hearts revive when they see him.” He has the attributes of the Supreme God, and performs works only possible to the Almighty.

There is an approach towards monotheism in the latest hymns to Amon, yet Egypt stopped short of monotheism and rested in pantheism. Thus Amon is addressed: “Thou art heaven, thou art earth, thou art fire, thou art water, thou art air, and whatever is in the midst of them.”

God is "immanent in all things." "He alone maketh himself in millions of ways"—"permanently abiding in all things; the Living One, in whom all things are everlasting."

This pantheism told upon Egyptian morality. The ethical system was practically destroyed, though the moral instincts of many lifted them above the existing theology. If everything be an emanation from God, and hence a part of God, then sin is impossible. This was a hopeless fall, and resulted in those features so disgusting to Jews, Greeks, and Christians.

"In contemplating the doctrines of ancient Egypt, we are seized with a kind of giddiness, like one on the verge of a fathomless abyss. No mythology has ever possessed so great a store of fantastical and complex myths, engrafted on a simple principle like that of monotheism. In this system it would appear as if man and the shades of the dead were imperceptibly bound by one immense chain to innumerable deities representing the special modes of being, the forms, and the will of the universal being in whom the whole centers. As a whole, it constitutes a special kind of pantheism, to define which exactly would require a science more advanced than ours."*

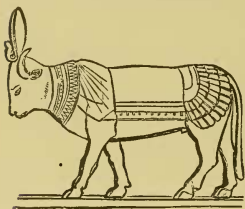
* Chabas.

The worship of animals had its origin in a very remote period of Egyptian history. It may have been originally a pure animism. "The explanation of it lies in the tendency usually denominated fetishistic, but more properly animistic, which led men to see in animals, distinguished for beauty or strength, or by the services which they perform, or by the injury they do, or by their form, their color, or by any other specialty, the incarnation of powerful spirits, whom it is good policy to worship, in order that their anger may be averted or their favor gained."*

This worship did not abide in mere animism, but was raised to a higher level. The Egyptians studied the habits of the animal kingdom with great accuracy of observation. Certain characteristics of various animals strongly impressed their minds—not always the same characteristics which would impress us. As we may metaphorically call a man a "lion," in praise of his strength—or, again, as the Son of God is called "the Lion of the tribe of Judah," so the Egyptians called Thotmes III a "crocodile," a "jackal," and a "young bull." In like manner they called the gods by the names of animals which possessed, in an exceptionally high degree, characteristics which they conceived as belong-

* Tiele, *Egyptian Religion*, p. 102.

ing to such gods. We use the names "lamb," "dove," and "lion" in a similar manner. In some cases the name of a god means also some particular kind of animal. Anubis means "jackal," and Sebak means "crocodile." This metaphorical language acted disastrously upon thought, and conquered thought. For example, instead of the bull representing a god, he himself became



APIS.

divine and was worshiped as a god. So that which at first was intended to assist worship—by presenting an appropriate symbol of the god to catch the eye, excite the imagination, and hold the at-

tention—at last destroyed real worship by arresting the mind, and thus preventing it from looking through the symbol up to God.

If the Supreme God is to be symbolized by any visible form, the living form is certainly best adapted to this end. The Egyptians recognized this fact, and hence the whole system of animal worship. Some animals were universally sacred, and hence could not be killed or injured under any circumstances. Such were the cat, sacred to Bast or Sekhet; the ibis and cynocephalus ape, sacred to Thoth; the hawk and beetle, sacred to

Ra; and white cows, sacred to Hathor. It were a blacker crime to kill one of these than to kill a man. Less universally revered were sheep, sacred to Kneph; and dogs, which seem to have been sacred to no particular deity. Many animals received but a local recognition. Lions were sacred to Horos and Tum at Heliopolis and Leontopolis; crocodiles were sacred to Set at Ombos, Coptos, and in the Fayoum; hippopotami were sacred to Taouris at Papremis; wolves or jackals were sacred to Anubis at Lycopolis; ibexes and frogs at Thebes, antelopes at Coptos, goats at Mendes, ichneumons at Heracleopolis, and shrew-mice at Athribis. Vultures were sacred to Maut at Eileithyia, snakes at Thebes, and fish in various places.

“In each locality where any kind of animal was sacred, some individuals of the species were attached to the principal temples, where they had their special shrines or chambers, and their train of priestly attendants, who carefully fed them, cleaned them, and saw generally to their health and comfort. When any of them died, they were embalmed according to the most approved method, and deposited in mummy-pits, or in tombs specially appropriated to them, with much pomp and ceremony. All the other individuals of the species were sacred within the locality, and had to be

protected from injury. It was a capital offense to kill one of them intentionally; and to do so even accidentally entailed some punishment or other, and necessitated priestly absolution. The different towns and districts were jealous for the honor of their favorites; and quarrels occasionally broke out between city and city, or between province and province, in connection with their sacred animals, which led in some cases to violent and prolonged conflicts, in others to a smoldering but permanent hostility.”*

Sometimes the god was thought to come and enter a particular animal, which was then installed with great ceremony in its temple, and worshiped as the veritable incarnate god. Certain marks on the animal were recognized by the priests as signs of the divine presence. The sacred bull called Apis was worshiped in a magnificent temple at Memphis. Here he was sumptuously fed, numerously attended, grandly housed, devotedly worshiped, and from time to time led in procession through the streets, to receive, amid loud acclaim, the enthusiastic welcome of the inhabitants. Upon his death he was richly embalmed, and deposited with great ceremony in the sepulchral chambers of the Serapeum. He became, after his death, the object of a special

* Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 425.

cult. All Egypt mourned, and would not be comforted until a successor had been installed in his place. There were similar incarnations at Heliopolis, Hermonthis, and Momemphis.

The worship of animals was not peculiar to Egypt, though in that country it attained its most extensive development. Cows and oxen were worshiped among the Romans as they are in the present day among the Hindoos. The horse was sacred among the Celts, Germans, and Slavonians, and a number were kept at their temples. Horses and chariots of the sun were kept in the temple of Jerusalem, and four white Nisæan studs of the Persians were sacred.* The Germans preserved cats because they were thought to be skilled in magic. They also made offerings to wild birds to induce them to spare the produce of the fields.

In Holland, in early times, sacred swans were kept at the expense of the State, and the punishment for killing one of these was death. At the Hague and elsewhere there was great reverence for the stork. The geese of the capital of Rome were sacred symbols of fruitfulness and domesticity kept in honor of Juno.

These considerations, though not to be neg-

*2 Kings xxiii, 11; Herodotus, I, 189; cf. Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, VIII, 3, 12.

lected in the solution of the problem, do not give an account of the origin of animal worship which is entirely satisfactory. They help to explain its development and perpetuation. It is more than probable that its beginnings belong to the most primitive society and are connected with Totemism. The argument in favor of this solution has been urged with convincing power, but we can not in this connection enter upon its elaboration.*

The deification of the kings was equally characteristic of the Egyptian religion, and yields to a similar explanation. This dates from the time of the Old Kingdom. It seems to have been inaugurated by Chufu and Chafra of the fourth dynasty, though some of their predecessors were worshiped as gods; whether during their lives or only after death can not be determined. Chufu was worshiped as a god under one of his immediate successors, and Psamtik, son of Uthahor, in the twenty-sixth dynasty was his priest. The sacred rites of the dead had been performed in his memory for two thousand years. The sons of Chafra were the priests of their own father. The same may be said of many other

* Consult J. G. Frazier, *Totemism*; and W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*; and *The Religion of the Semites*, *Fundamental Institutions*.

kings. Sanctuaries were erected in which while living they were worshiped as gods, and special sepulchral temples were built beside their pyramids. This worship came to overshadow the worship of the gods. The king was the son of his god, the incarnation of the divine being on earth. "As every good man at his death became Osiris, as every one in danger or need could by the use of magic sentences assume the form of a deity, it is quite comprehensible how the king, not only after death, but already during his life, was placed on a level with the deity."* This doctrine was as pleasing to the people as to the king.

Religion and the State among the Egyptians were completely identified. God himself was the ruler, and the king was his son. The temples were but houses of prayer for the king, which none but him and the consecrated priests could enter. Priestly officers were State functionaries, and were generally under the appointment of the king. The priests had shaven heads, wore white linen clothing, observed special cleanliness, and abstained from certain kinds of food, especially from fish and beans.

The belief in the immortality of the soul was strong among the Egyptians. The tomb was

* Tiele, *Egyptian Religion*, p. 105.

called, literally, "the eternal dwelling." The departed are called "living;" the sarcophagus is "the lord of life;" and the coffin is "the chest of the living." Only evil spirits are spoken of as "dead." An image of the god Osiris, repre-



ROCK TOMBS ON THE NILE.

senting the deceased and placed in his tomb, carries a hoe and pick and a bag of wheat, indicating that the departed is engaged in some useful employment, and is united, in heart at least, to Osiris. Sacrifices and incense were offered in the tomb, over the lintel of which, and often

in the chamber, was an inscription in which we sometimes meet with *em hotep*—"in peace"—so frequent in Jewish and Christian sepulchral inscriptions. Great attention was paid to the rites due to the dead, and the preservation of their tombs. The pyramids are monuments of the desire of the Egyptians to perpetuate the names and deeds of the departed, and by so doing to gain for themselves the favor of the gods.

Inscriptions upon tombs were carefully preserved, and a curse was pronounced upon him who would remove them, or fail in performing the rites appointed to the dead. Not to have a son to celebrate these rites was accounted the greatest calamity.

"The lustral water offered upon earth to the dead, had its counterpart in the other world. The most usual representation of this is the picture in which the goddess Nut pours out the water of life to the deceased, from the interior of a sycamore-tree."

Sacrifices were not offered, it would appear, to the deceased himself, but to his *ka*. Now, concerning the nature of the *ka*, there has been great discussion. Brugsch explains it as "person," and with this explanation Dr. Birch agrees. Maspero and Renouf compare it with the Roman "genius." The latter says: "The Egyptian *ka*

was not a mere image; it was conceived as endowed with life, intelligence, and will. . . .

The Egyptians, moreover, believed that the unseen world contained realities exactly corresponding to those of this life, and that among these realities each man had his prototype or living image, who seems to have sprung into existence at the same time with himself under the creative hand of Ptah, to have grown with his growth, and generally to have stood to him in a relation very much resembling that of the *genius* in the Roman mythology." According to Dr. Weidemann, the *ka* is "the image which a man's name recalls to the mind's eye of those who have known him." "In countless representations subsequent to 1800 B. C., we see the king in the presence of the gods, while behind him stands his *ka*, shown as a little man with the ruler's own features. . . . Here the personality appears as companion to the person, doing what he does, and following him, as a man is followed by his shadow. . . . The separation between personality and person is not, however, thoroughly and systematically carried out. They are undoubtedly two separate beings, but they are so far one that they can only exist through and with each other. Only so long as the *ka* is with him does the man live, and only at the

moment of death does the *ka* leave him. But herein we perceive a difference in their mutual relationship. The *ka* can exist without the body, but not so the body without the *ka*. Yet the *ka* is not therefore a loftier and more spiritual being. It is to the full as material as the body itself, needing the sustenance of food and drink, and suffering from hunger and thirst when deprived thereof." Miss Amelia B. Edwards interprets *ka* as meaning the "life" or the "vital principle," and thinks that this best suits the passages in which the word occurs and their accompanying illustrations. "We ourselves speak figuratively of the life as 'going out of the body' at the moment of death; but the Egyptians believed, not only that it went out, but that it henceforth led an independent existence. They saw that, while the man lived, he nourished his life (*i. e.*, his *ka*) with the foods and drinks which he consumed; and they naturally concluded, from their concrete point of view, that the *ka*, on deserting the body, needed a continuance of the same support. . . . We at once understand how it was that the disembodied *ka* became dependent upon the periodical renewal of food-offerings, and why, failing such, he perished. When he perished, the 'life' of the deceased became extinct, and extinction was the greatest of calam-

ities. It annihilated the dead man's prospects of ultimate reunion with his *ka*—his 'life'—and it deprived him of immortality."*

This *ka* entered the idol, image, or Osirid deposited in the tomb. The disembodied soul was enswathed in a body of its own. The Egyptians gave a substantive existence not only to the body, soul, spirit or intelligence, and *ka*, but also to the name and shadow.

The Egyptians believed in spiritual possessions, dreams, charms, and incantations. Some of their dreams remind us of those recorded in the Bible. They attested the truth of their utterances by oaths, to which they also resorted in legal investigations. They believed in special providences, and lucky and unlucky days; indeed, all the days in the year are marked in their calendar either as lucky or as unlucky. Signs and omens possessed great influence among all classes of people. They believed in angels and fates. The Hathors or Egyptian fates were fair and beneficent maidens.

Caste among the ancient Egyptians, except the caste of trade, which is felt in most countries

* Renouf, Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. VI, p. 501; Miss Edwards, *The Academy*, Jan. 5, 1889, No. 870, pp. 12-14. The reader should consult throughout this chapter, Renouf, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*.

in some degree, was unknown. Polygamy was only allowed, but not indorsed. The use of the word *harem* in connection with the early religious history is misleading.

Among the virtues enjoined in their code of morality were piety, charity, gentleness, self-command, chastity, benevolence, honesty, kindness, truthfulness, justice, righteousness, goodness, sincerity, friendship, hospitality, sobriety, peaceableness, humility, and honor to parents. The wicked were doomed to a horrible fate called "the second death."

The Egyptians show the very slightest acknowledgment of sin, as we understand sin, while they seemed to hold very extravagant notions as to their own virtues and purity of character. There are abundant self-righteous boasting and pharisaic self-complacency. One of their number says with satisfied pride :

"I was not an idler, . . .
No listener to counsels of sloth;
My name was not heard in the place of reproof;
I relaxed not. When I was brought
To this land, it was as though a god was in it."*

Another boasts : "I shielded the weak against the strong, I protected him who honored me, and was to him his best portion. I did all good

* Goodwin, Records of the Past, Vol. VI, p. 137.

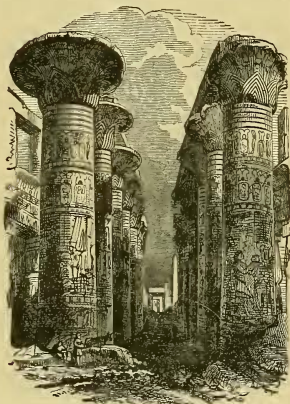
things for them when the time came to do them. I was pious towards my father, and did the will of my mother; kind-hearted towards my brethren. I made a good sarcophagus for one who had no coffin."* Still another proclaims: "I myself was just and true, without malice, having put god in his heart, and having been quick to discern his will. I reached the city of those who are in eternity. I have done good upon earth; I have not been wicked; I have not approved of any offense or iniquity. . . . Pure is my soul. . . . I have not made myself master over the lowly; I have done no harm to men who honored their gods. I have spent my life in the life of truth, until I have attained the age of veneration. . . . My sincerity and my goodness were in the heart of my father and mother; my affection was in them. Never have I outraged it in my mode of action towards them from the beginning of the time of my youth. Though great, yet I have acted as if I had been a little one. I have not disabled any one worthier than myself. My mouth has always been opened to utter true things, not to foment quarrels. I have repeated what I have heard just as it was told me."†

* Renouf, *Records of the Past*, Vol. X, p. 52.

† Chabas, *Records of the Past*, Vol. X, pp. 7-10.

Since Egyptians prepared their own tombs, these eulogies may have been their honest judgments concerning their own characters. They are important, at least, as ideals of excellence.

The religion was most imposing in its ceremonials. The temples were numerous, great, and massive. There were many lofty columns, long courts and halls, mighty obelisks, gigantic colossi, enchanting groves and lakes, and long avenues of sphinxes, strong and majestic in their repose. Rich paintings and sculptures met the eye, strains of music greeted the ear, and clouds of incense rose upon the air.



COLUMNS AT KARNAK.

The temples were thronged with crowds of devoted worshipers. Endless processions went forth from their portals, and everywhere were pomp, splendor, and display. There were solemn chants, earnest prayers, smoking victims, constant rounds of service, mysterious rites, annual, monthly, and other festivals, symbolic observ-

ances, and mythologic survivals. Images of the gods were paraded through the streets, attendant priests were clad in gorgeous vestments, processions floated on the sacred Nile, flowers breathed their fragrance on the air, banners waved proudly and gallantly in the breeze, sacred emblems spoke a mysterious language, and a great multitude of features were calculated to develop wonder, reverence, solemnity, and worship.

The offerings were numerous—bread, flour, cakes of various kinds, oil, honey, fruits, wine, beer, incense, aromatic gums, sweet-scented woods, the produce of the palm, olive, and mulberry, the lotus and the papyrus, bouquets of flowers, baskets and garlands woven from flowers, gold, silver, brass, lapis lazuli, rings, divers vessels of silver and gold, garments, embroideries, natron, alabaster, jasper, carnelian, turquoise, salt, feldspar, hæmatite, and all beautiful and precious stones; statues of gods, signets, necklaces, and all articles of adornment. The animals for sacrifices were bulls, oxen, cows and heifers, male calves, sheep, goats, pigs, geese, ducks, pigeons, antelopes and other wild animals and water-fowls. Oxen, male calves, and geese were universal victims; others were for special occasions or places. The victim chosen to be sacrificed was usually decked with flowers and presented to the priest, who,

after thorough examination, pronounced as to its perfection. When slain, the blood was permitted to run over the altar. Parts of the victim were burned, while the remainder was shared between the priests and those who brought the victim. Sometimes the whole victim was consumed upon the altar. There were certain practices which remind us of the scape-goat of the Hebrew religion. There seemed also to have been some idea of the expiatory nature of sacrifice.

“The larger temple-buildings were usually placed within a walled-in space, which inclosed the propylæa, formed of sphinxes *couchant*, the sacred trees, and the fish-ponds. It was on these ponds that the mysteries of the journeys and conflicts of the gods on the heavenly ocean were acted, and they no doubt also served for the manifold lustrations. After entering the precincts, and passing through between the rows of sphinxes, a second portal was reached, flanked by gigantic pylons or side towers, upon which, in most cases, might be found sculptured and painted great feats of war or religious representations. Obelisks, gilt needles of stone, the symbolism of which belongs to solar worship, were very commonly found erected on opposite sides of this entrance, or further within the building; and statues of the kings were similarly placed.

“On festal occasions, gay streamers floated from high masts, that overtopped even the pillars. A lofty portal led next into a wide fore-court, open to the sky, but surrounded by a pillared corridor on three or four sides. After passing through one or more of these fore-courts, a lesser inclosure was reached, the roof of which, higher in the middle than at the sides, was supported by pillars. This seems to have been a sort of fore-court for the priests; for immediately adjoining it was the holy of holies, which, on three sides, was surrounded by lesser halls and apartments, each one being set apart for some particular rite. Offerings of incense were presented on the left, substantial offerings on the right. The holy of holies was low, small, and mysterious. There stood the sacred ark, the emblem of the hidden deity. This was a sort of chest, half-covered over by a veil or curtain, and, like the sacred boat upon which it was placed, it was adorned with the symbols of life, endurance, light, and fertilizing power. It ought apparently to be distinguished from the mystical chest, yet in many respects its signification is the same; and, on days of festival, it was carried round in procession outside the temple by a number of the priests. Often, winged figures are found upon it, recalling the cherubim of the

Israelitish temple. Within the ark was the image of the deity, which no one had ever beheld, though other images of the gods were conspicuous in the temples, and were also carried round in processions. Processional voyages were often made on the river with the ark.

“Each Egyptian would seem to have had his own particular chapel, where he performed his religious duties. The temples themselves could be entered only by the kings and priests, but the fore-courts were probably open to the people. On all sides the walls were eloquent, covered as they were with images and hieroglyphs. Everything was arranged with the greatest splendor and expense, but everywhere there was a feeling of mystery, of impressiveness, of seriousness. The temples of Egypt were grand and awe-inspiring, rather than pleasant and alluring, like those of Greece. They were built on a colossal scale, their style was severe, and light was sparingly admitted. In one word, they were in perfect keeping with the principal idea of the religion practiced within them, and expressed, above all, the notions of durability, eternity, and the sacred mystery of the gods.”*

We do not find, however, that Moses borrowed

*Tiele, *Egyptian Religion*, pp. 114-116.

from the Egyptians. Renouf says: "I have read through a number of works professing to discover Egyptian influences in Hebrew institutions, but have not even found anything worth controverting." External resemblances are abundant, but no transmission of ideas can be discovered. Israelitish idolatries can not, with any degree of certainty, be traced to Egypt.

Hellenic religion and philosophy, according to the same author, are barren of Egyptian influence. Contrary to the general opinion which has, till late years, been held, Renouf holds that Alexandria was not the means of communicating Oriental and Egyptian ideas to the Western world. Indeed, down to Roman times, Alexandria was not directly connected with the East. The religion of Egypt, so far as the evidence at hand enables us to form a judgment, was of native growth and original development. In its purity, it taught virtue, holiness, immortality, and future retributions. The sum of duty, as given in the Book of the Breaths of Life, is: "He hath given food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothes to the naked. He hath given the sacred food to the gods, the funeral repasts to the pure spirits. No complaint hath been made against him before any of the gods. . . . He is favored among the faithful, and divinized among

the perfected. Let him live! Let his soul live! His soul is received wherever it willeth.”*

But this religion—pure in its moral precepts, profound in its mysteries—after having emerged from polytheism into the dawn of monotheism, not only fell short, but plunged again into a more degenerate polytheism and pantheism, even verging dangerously upon the grossest materialism.

The fires which burned upon these strange altars for so many centuries with varying brightness have long since gone out, and left but a deeper darkness. The altars themselves have crumbled into dust. There is no bleeding sacrifice, no chanting priest with splendid vestments, no voice of prayer, no imposing service in temple or on high place, no procession solemn or joyous or orgiastic, no uplifted standard or waving banner, and no initiations into strange mysteries. The names of many of the gods, once feared or revered or loved, have been forgotten. Not a single worshiper remains; no heart in all this world beats in loyalty to Bel, Baal, or Osiris. There, indeed, remain a few survivals of these ancient cults; but they are lifeless and meaningless, except as they throw a few rays of light back upon the far-distant past.

* Horrack, *Records of the Past*, Vol. IV, pp. 127, 128.

There is sufficient reason for the overthrow of these religions. They never emancipated themselves from a false philosophical basis. The universe, with all its gods, dæmons, and men, was too frequently looked upon as an emanation, and not as a creation. Materialistic tendencies remained to the very last. Politics and religion, State and Church, were bound too closely together, or were united on an erroneous principle. The religions were local in origin and development. They were connected with certain places and certain peoples. A world religion was unknown. If at times the religions strove to rise above polytheism, they were soon taught their inherent weakness, and descended to the pantheistic and materialistic. There was little recognition of sin in the Bible sense. It was a misfortune or an accident; it was the result of ignorance or a mistake in religious performance. In spite of much teaching approximating the truth, fate and magic held sway. The tendency was downward, and toward the dust. These religions were good only within their own territory; beyond this, any other religion was just as good.

There were two notable efforts on a large scale at reformation—one in Egypt and one in Babylon. These reformations were attempted by kings, and, as a result in each case, the king

lost his throne, and a new dynasty was founded which was loyal to the old established faith, or a foreign monarch inherited the regal throne. Khuenaten sought to restrict the worship of Egypt to one god, the god of the solar disk. Afterward, pressed by necessity, he admitted the god Amon to equal honors. By this concession he hoped to save his crumbling throne. But it was too late. His zeal for a purer religion cost him the kingdom. Nabonidus sought to centralize the worship of the gods of Babylonia in the capital. It was a great innovation. The people fell away from their allegiance. They welcomed the king of Persia to the royal power of Babylon. These religions could not be reformed, and they failed in the reformation of the people. The true germ was not present, or its vitality had been destroyed.

The religion of the ancient Hebrews could not have originated from any one or all of these religions. That there were many points of contact has been abundantly shown. Judaism was influenced by all, but presented many sharp contrasts, which yield to no ordinary explanation. The religion of the Jews was entirely different in spirit, and in fact was something quite *sui generis*.

The sacred books of the Israelites could not have been borrowed from these religions. There

are not a few superficial resemblances to which frequent reference has been made in this work; but when the tone and the spirit are considered, we discover how impossible it is to admit any vital kinship. That the religion of the Israelites was a development, and that this development moved on side by side with that of the other religions which we have passed under review, need not be denied; but the religion of the Bible possessed a peculiar providential element.

The man of Ur, "the friend of God," was divinely chosen and taught. His call to Canaan was unlike the call of Chedorlaomer, his great contemporary, to the same country. "It was God speaking in his soul that lifted him out of these polytheistic surroundings in Chaldæa, and gave him the lofty covenant of a pure faith in Canaan—a covenant which was for him and his descendants. It was not the thought of one who protested against the errors about him, but it was revealed to him by a voice from heaven; a covenant was made and ratified between him and the Divine Speaker, which should never be forgotten."* The peculiarities of Hebrew character which made this nation a fit depositary of the Word of God, and the peculiarities of the Hebrew language which made it a fit vehicle for

* Jacob and Japheth, p. 58.

the reception and transmission of this Word, need not be discussed. Other and better qualified workers have thoroughly explored this fruitful field, and have presented on the subject many pieces of magnificent writing, which are familiar to the Bible student. The same divine spirit which was so conspicuous in the life of Abraham is to be seen throughout the Israelitish history. That spirit called the nation back again and again to the purity of its early faith. A long line of inspired prophets prevented a permanent fall into idolatry. Some of clear vision saw in the God of the Israelites a world-God, and caught more than a glimpse of a world-religion.

Christianity is not a continuation of Judaism. It can not be considered an offshoot or a reformed type. It is not a new Judaism. The connection, however, between the two religions is very close. Judaism was a prophecy; Christianity is its fulfillment. It saved all the divine elements of Judaism, and wrought them into the imperishable religion of humanity. We can not review these old religions, which have engaged our attention in the present volume, without turning with an increasing confidence and affectionate humility to the impregnable rock of the Holy Scriptures. We can not call up the names of these thousand-

and-one old gods without lifting up our hearts in loving self-surrender to the God of heaven. We can not contemplate the tedious and laborious rites and the sometime frantic and frenzied appeals to attract the gods and secure peace, without joyfully bowing at the feet of Jesus the Christ, who sees the upward glance of the eye of faith, and hears the lowest whisper of prayer which rises from a sincere heart.

INDEX.

- Á 115, 116. became goddess, 112; old sun-god 112; wife of Samas. 112.
 ABD-HADAD 190.
 Abed-Shemesh, 189.
 Abed-Susim. 189.
 Abi-Baal. 172.
 Abraham. 17, 105, 312.
 Abu Hubba, 26, 28, 110.
 Abu Shahrein, 100, 101.
 Abydos, 249.
Abzu, 154.
 "Academy," the, 300.
 Accad, 110.
 Accadian curse, 74-76.
 Accadian language, 23; sacred, 63, 64; Semites composed in, 64; translations from, 24, 64; no distinctions of gender, 62, 111.
 Accadian mother head of family, 111, 112.
 Accadian religion — exorcists, 57; gods origin of, 57; hymns. 59-61; performance becomes worship, 58; stages of development, 56-58.
 Accadians 20; progress in science and law, 29; Accadian traits, 126
 Accadian world-tree, 80, 81.
 Adam 96.
 Adar 36, 71; character, 115, 116; consort. 116; mythical monarch, 116
 Adar-malkat. 116.
 Adonis, 133, 134 186; rites at Aphaca, 186, 187
 Adrammelech, 116.
 Æon, 151.
 Æschylus, 134
 Agadé, 23, 28, 110; library of, 22.
 Agathocles, 184.
 Agu-kak-rimê, 67.
 Ahab, 177.
 Alal, 45
 Alexander Polyhistor, 98, 147.
 Allat, name of Nin-lil 97.
 Amar-agu, 67.
 Amelon, 22.
 Amenemha III, 264.
 Amenophis IV, attempts reformation, 275-278.
 Amon, 195, 263, 266.
 Amon-Ra, god of great purity, 266; hymns, 268, 275; identified with Supreme God, 287.
 Amont, 266.
 Amrit, 199.
 An, 241.
 Ana, 56; chief deity of Erech, 95; worship extending West, 191.
 Anat, 95.
 Anathoth, 191.
 Anbar, 28, 110.
 Ancient Fragments, 99, 149, 150, 152, 184, 185, 187, 197.
 "Ancient History of the East," 20, 94, 198, 203, 204, 206, 207, 227.
 "Ancient Monarchies," 88, 119, 144.
 Animals—attached to temples, 291, 292; embalmed, 291; origin of worship, 294; sacred, 290-294; sacred among other nations, 294; worship of, 212, 213, 289-294.
 Animism, 57.
 Annunaki, 116.
 Aus, 150.
 "Anti-Nicene Library," 184.
 Antuf, dirge to. 237, 238.
 Anu, 78, 95; his sign, 95; worship extending to the West, 191.
 Anubis, 256; god of mummies, 258, 259.
 Anuka, 264.
 Anuna, local god of Sippara, 112.
 Anunit, identified with Istar, 112.
 Apap, 247, 249.
 Apason, 149, 154.
 Apepi, 265, 266.
 Aphaca, 180, 186.
 Apis, 290; worship at Memphis, 292, 293.

- Apollo, 176.
 Apollodorus, 98.
 Apotheosis of men, 67.
Apzu, 154.
 Aradus, 200.
 "Archæological Dictionary," 129.
 Ascalon, 179, 180.
 Ashdod, 187.
 Ashtar-Chemosh, 204.
 Ashtoreth, 131; character, 178-183.
 Ashtoreth-Karnaim, 178.
 Asnath, 241.
 Asnet, 241.
 Assorus, 143, 150.
 Assur, 142; emblem of, 144; lord of Assyria, 144; prayer to, 143, 144.
 Assurbanipal, 23, 38, 89, 90, 97, 128; helped by Istar, 141, 142.
 Assurnatsirpal, 144.
 Assyrian character, 91.
 Assyrian language, 18, 21; ancient interpolations in documents, 64.
 "Assyrian Lectures," 21.
 Assyrian, the oldest form of government, 28, 29.
 Assyrian Olympus, 83, 84.
 Assyrian religion—elemental worship, 41; first triad of gods, 101; hymns, 105-108, 110, 111, 114, 115, 117, 118, 120, 122, 129; human sacrifices, 40; polytheism, 93, 94; ritual and rubric, 87, 88; sacrifices, 38, 39; sacerdotal worship, 86, 87.
 Atargatis, 180.
 Atê, 74.
 Aten, 275.
 Athene, 194.
 Athens, 194.
 Attys-Adonis, 132.
 Ansar, 143.

 BAAU, 151, 155.
 Baal, 131, 256; character, 176, 178; high places, 176; his wife Tanith, 176; statue, 178.
 Baalim, 174.
 Baal-Tammuz, 176.
 Baba, 238.
 Babylon, 24, 25.
 Babylonia—first triad of gods, 104; libraries, 24; number of gods, 144, 145.
 Baetyli, 179.
 Bahu, 104, 155.
 Balaam, 79, 185.
 Balak, 185.
 Balawat, 36.
 Bashan, 179.
 Bast, 262; called Pacht or Sechet, 280; festival, 279, 280; temple, 278-280.
 Bedad, 189.
 Beetle-god, 246, 247.
 "Beginnings of History," 55, 82, 150, 164, 194.
 Bel, 130; represented, 97.
 Bela, 191, 192.
 Bel-Merodach, 130.
 Belus, 147-149.
 Beni Egibi, 25.
 Bennu-bird, symbol of immortality, 243.
 Beor, 192.
 Berosus, 22, 23, 67, 98, 110, 146, 154, 188.
 Berytus, 172, 192, 195.
 Beth-Anath, 191.
 Beth-Dagon, 187.
 Beyrout, sepulcher at, 204.
 Bileam, 192.
 Birch, 214, 235, 239, 244, 297.
 Birs-i-Nimroud, 127.
 Black art, 41.
 Bœotia, 194.
 "Book of the Breaths of Life," 308.
 "Book of the Dead," 217, 247, 255, 282; Egyptian judgment, 219-227; revelation of Thoth, 217; sacred use, 217, 218; slow growth, 218.
 Borsippa, 24, 108, 128.
 Boscawen, 36, 38, 40, 85, 165.
 British Museum, 23, 214, 229, 230.
 Brugsch, 214, 277, 297.
 Bubastis, 262; temple, 278-280.
 Buru-Sin, 67.
 Byblos, 134, 186; temple, 200.

 CABALISTS, 46.
 Cabiri, 174, 175; character, 193, 194.
 Cadmus, 194.
 Calah, 108; library, 23.
 Canaanites, still in Palestine, 204, 205.
 Carteia, 195.
 Carthage, 176, 184, 190, 195; documents, 40; human sacrifices, 184, 206, 207.
 Casdim, 23.
 Caste, in Egypt, 300, 301.
 Cedar, used in magic, 81, 82.

- Chabas, 288, 302.
 Chafra, 294.
 Chaldean Hercules, 115.
 "Chaldean Magic," 44-48.
 Chaldean Noah, 22, 104.
 Chaldean priests, 39; color of garments, 87.
 Chambers, John David, 258.
 Champollion, 214.
 Chaos, 147-149; brood of, 67.
 Charms, 46, 91.
 Chem, character, 243, 244.
 Chemnis, 263.
 Chemosh, 204.
 Chemosh-Ashtar, 175.
 Chepra, 246, 263.
 Children, sacrifice of to Baal, 184, 185.
 Chiun, 184.
 Chnum, god of the cataracts, 264.
 Chonsu, 267.
 Christianity, 313.
 Chufu, 294.
 Church and State, 310.
 "City of God," 55.
 Clay tablets, 21, 22.
 Coins of Tyre, 182, 183.
 Conder, 205.
 Cook, 234.
 Cooper, 129.
 Coptic language, 215.
 Coptos, 263, 264.
 Corinth, 194.
 Cory, 99, 149, 150, 152, 184, 185, 188, 197.
 Corybantes, 193.
 Cosmogonies, Babylonian, 146.
 Cossyra, 193.
 Creation—account of Abydenus, 150; Berosus, 147-149; compared with Genesis, 149; Damascius, 149, 150; Sanchoniathon, 150-152; tablet from Cutha, 152, 153.
 Creation tablets, 152-164.
 Creuzer, 205.
 Criminals, cast into furnace, 91.
 Crocodile, 264, 265.
 Cronos, 22.
 Curetes, 194.
 Curse, importance of, 74.
 Cutha, 152; library, 22; necropolis, 121; tablet of the creation, 152, 153.
 Cybele, 179.
 Cyprus, 179, 189, 198.
 Cyropædia, 293.
 Cythera, 179.
 DACHE, 150.
 Dachus, 151.
 Dactyli, 193.
 Dad, 189.
 Dagon, 78, 187; meaning of the word, 188.
 Dalas, 187.
 Damascius, 143, 154.
 Daniel, 65, 91.
 Darius, 244.
 Davke, 150.
 Davkina, 37, 56, 81, 101, 130; character, 103.
 Deification of Egyptian kings, 294, 295.
 Delbat, 130.
 Delitzsch, 28, 157, 165.
 Denderah, 214.
 Derceto, 180.
 Deveria, 240.
 Dido, 190.
 "Die Keilenschriften und Das Alte Testament," 164, 165.
 Dilmun, 37, 126.
 Dirge, in memory of Mineptah, 234, 235.
 Discoveries in Assyria, 17, 18.
 Diseases, caused by demons, 76; punishments for sin, 76-79.
 Divination, 64-66.
 Divine name, 46.
 Dod, Dodo, 190; worshiped by Northern Israelites, 190.
 Dollinger, 178, 182.
 Dumuzi, 103, 104.
 Dur-Sargina, 108.
 EA, 37, 56, 70, 71, 83, 126; character, 101-103; creates the human race and raises the dead, 101-103; signification of the name, 100; representation, 67.
 E-Bábara, 109.
 "Ecclesiastical History," 187.
 Edwards, Miss, 299, 300.
 Efforts at Reformation in Egypt and Babylon, 310.
 "Egypt Exploration Fund," 240.
 Egyptian language, 213.
 Egyptian literature, 214-217; epistolary correspondence, 240; magni-

- tude, 216, 217; poetry, 216, 236; romances, 240; style, 216.
- Egyptian poetry, 216, 236.
- Egyptian proverbs, 239, 240.
- "Egyptian Religion," 227, 247, 248, 253, 260, 267, 289, 295, 307.
- Egyptian religion—animal worship, 212, 213; attempted reforms, 267, 268, 275-278; caste, 300, 301; ceremonies, 303, 304; degenerate, 283; deification of kings, 294, 295; dreams, 300; gave little to Moses, 307, 308; gods local, 282; holy of holies, 306, 307; ideas concerning held by Greeks and Christians, 212, 213; illustration of its mythology, 284, 285; infirmities of gods, 285; judgment, 219-227; lucky days, 300; monotheism, 282-284, 287; monotheism and polytheism at the same time, 283; morality in decline, 288; native and original, 308; number of gods, 282, 286, 287; oaths, 300; offerings, 304, 305; pantheism, 287, 288; polygamy, 301; processions, 303, 304; punishment of the wicked, 251; religion and state identified, 295; reward of the righteous, 254; sin, 301; sun, symbol of god, 282, 283; superstitions, 300; temples described, 303, 305-307; virtues enjoined, 301, 302.
- Egyptian romances, 240.
- Egyptian sacrifices to the *Ka*, 235, 236.
- Egyptian texts—destruction, 214, 215; preservation of papyri, 215, 216.
- Egyptian tombs—sepulchral chamber, 235.
- "Egypt under the Pharaohs," 277.
- Elagu, 126.
- Elam, 20, 90, 126.
- Elephantine, 264.
- Elijah, 177.
- Ellun, 174.
- Emesa, 179.
- Emu, 192.
- Enna, the poet, 230.
- Erebus, 151.
- Erech, 78, 90; library, 22.
- Eridu, 80, 82, 108, 119, 121, 130; a holy city, 101; worship, 97, 98; its totem, 69.
- Eritu, 116.
- Eru, 116.
- Erua, 116.
- Esarhaddon, 89; helped by Istar, 140, 141.
- Esau, 191.
- Eshmun, 175, 192; name in compounds, 194.
- Esmunazar, 170, 194; sarcophagus, 202, 203.
- Ethbaal, 177.
- Euphrates, 70, 83, 109.
- Eusebius, 147, 172.
- Evil eye, 45.
- Exorcists, 43, 57.
- Ezekiel, 66.
- E-Zida, temple of Nebo, 127.
- FAYOUM, 264, 265.
- Fellahin, 204, 205.
- Fish-god, described by Berosus, 188; form, 187, 188.
- Fradenburgh, 40, 80, 119, 142, 170, 171.
- Frazier, 294.
- "Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments," 198.
- "Friend of God, the," 312.
- "From Under the Dust of Ages," 36, 38, 40, 165.
- Future life, among the Chaldæans, 82.
- GADES, temple, 182, 183.
- Gasmu, 126.
- Gaulos, 195.
- Gaza, 187.
- Gebal, 134.
- Genea, 151.
- General Di Cesnola, 67.
- Genesis, 70, 82; compared with creation tablets, 165, 166.
- Genos, 151.
- George the Syncellus, 147.
- Ghost world, 83.
- Gigin, 45.
- Ginsburg, 204.
- Gizdhubar, 22.
- God, in Egypt, 283, 284.
- Goddesses of Accadians equal to the gods in power, 111, 112.
- Gods and No-gods, 95.
- "Gods of Our Fathers," 80, 119.
- Gods of the Phœnicians, 168.
- Gods—Semitic, representations, 67; Assyrian, animal forms, 68.

- Goodwin, 230, 238, 275, 301.
 Gozo, 198.
 Gubára, 119.
 Gudua, 121, 192.
 Gula, 104.
- HADAD, 119, 189.
 Hades, 83, 84, 104, 192.
 Halévy, 85.
 Hamilcar, sacrifices human victims.
 194.
 Hamiltonian method of teaching languages, 23.
 Hammon, 195.
 Hanno, 194.
 Hapi, 265.
 Haran, 108.
 Harmachis, 244.
 Hathor, 257.
 Heathen religions, difficulties in the study, 211, 212.
 "Heidenthum und Judenthum," 178, 182.
 Heliogabalus, 179.
 Heliopolis, 132, 241.
 Henotheism, 285, 286.
 Hermes, 104.
 Hermes Trismegistus, 258.
 Herodotus, 23, 88, 127, 179, 180, 193-195, 280; description of temple at Bubastis, 278-280: of temple of Merodach at Babylon, 33, 34.
 Hesiod, 154.
 "Hibbert Lectures, 1887," 34, 37, 40, 53, 54, 58, 61, 74, 76, 79, 80, 82, 84, 98, 100, 108, 109, 111, 115, 118, 120, 122, 127, 129, 133, 142, 164, 187, 191.
 Hiram, tomb of, 200.
 "History of Ancient Egypt," 216, 227, 244, 254, 292.
 "History of Rome," 206.
 "History of the Jewish Church," 178.
 Hittites, 265.
 Holy of holies, in Egypt, 306, 307.
 Homer, 134.
 Horace, 46, 194.
 Horemheb, 278.
 Hormuzd Rassam, 110.
 Horos, 238, 239; character, 256, 257; fights against Apap or Set, 257.
 Houghton, 31.
 Human sacrifices—Assyrian, 40; Carthaginian, 184; Phœnician, 183-185, 205-207.
 Hyksos, war against the Egyptian religion, 265, 266.
 Hymns—Accadian, 59-61; from the "Book of the Dead," 247; relations to magical texts, 62, 63; to Amon-Ra, 268-275; to Matû gods, 117, 118; to Merodach, 124, 125; to Nannar, 105-108; to Nebo, 129; to Nergal, 122; to Rimmon, 120; to Samas, 110, 111; to the Nile, 230-237; to the sun and sun-god, 114, 115, 229, 230.
- IDAËI, 193.
 Idpa, 45.
 Illinus, 150.
 Ilus, 151.
 Imhotep, 262.
 Im-Kharsag, 83.
 Immortality, Egyptian belief, 295, 296.
 Incubus, 45.
 Innin, 45.
 Innina, 128.
 Isis, 256; lamentation, 251, 252; names and temples, 255.
 Isis and Nephthis, lamentation, 227, 228.
 Israelites, fall into idolatry, 176, 177.
 Istar, 97, 109, 130, 131; better side of her worship, 140; character of worship, 131-133; descent into Hades, 133-139; genealogy, 131; helps Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, 140, 141; representation, 141; war-goddess, 140-142.
 Isun, 76, 78, 79.
 Itak, 76.
- "Jack and the Bean-stalk," 81.
 Jedidiah, 190.
 Jeremiah, 66, 127.
 Jeroboam, 192.
 Jezebel, 119.
 Jezreel, 119.
 Joseph, 241.
 Josephus, 44.
 Joshua, 169.
 Judgment, Egyptian, 219-227.
 Jumjuma, 24.
 Justin Martyr, 44.

- KA, 235, 236; enters the Osirid, 300:
 meaning of, 297-300; sacrifices to,
 297, 298.
 Kaleh-Sherghat, 142.
 Karnak, columns at, 303.
 Kenrick, 180, 183, 184, 186, 194, 195.
 Kharsag-Kurkúra, 83.
 Khammuragas, 24, 67, 152.
 Khorsabad, 126.
 Khuenaten—reformation of, 275-278
 his monotheism, 311.
 Khusareth, 171.
 "Kinship and Marriage in Early
 Arabia," 294.
 Kirjath-Sepher, 171.
 Ki-sar, 143.
 Kissare, 143, 150.
 Kolpia, 151, 155.
 Komana, 132.
 Kudur-Nankhunte, 90.
 Kundi, 91.

 "LA DIVINATION," 66.
 Lake Tritonis, 195.
 Lakhama, 158.
 Lakhmu, 156.
 Lamas, 000.
 Lamentations of Isis and Nephthis,
 227, 228, 251, 252.
 Lamma, 000.
 Language and literature, 211.
 Larsa, 109, library, 22, famous temple,
 109.
 Layard, 188.
 Laz, wife of Nergal, 122.
 Lebanon, 186.
 Lefébure, 239.
 Lehmann, 116.
 Lenormant, 20, 44-48, 55, 66, 82, 88, 94,
 113, 150, 164, 198, 203-207, 227.
 Lepsius, 214.
 Library—Calah, 23; Chaldæa, 22;
 Cutha, 22; Erech, 22; Larsa, 22;
 Nineveh, 23; Sippara, 110.
 Libyans, 280.
 Lil, 96.
 Lilith, 96.
 "Litany of Ra," 245, 246.
 Literature—its golden age in Egypt,
 266; of Babylonia, 21, 22.
London Times, 26.
 Lucian, 132.
 Lugul-tudda, 72.

 MA, 132, 247, 261.
Maabed, 199, 200.
 Mabog, 190.
 Magic, its home, 98.
 Magical texts, 62.
 Magic formulæ, 49-53.
 Magic knots, 45.
 Makhir, 36.
 Malevolent mouth, 45.
 Malta, 198.
 Mamit, 74.
 Marad, 72.
 Marathus, 199.
 Marseilles, tablet, 40, 170, 171, 197.
 Mas, 41.
 Maskim, 43.
 Maspero, 297.
 Matû, god of the tempest, 117, 118.
 Melchizedek, 22, 174.
 Melkarth, 182, 198.
 "Mémoires du Congrès International
 des Orientalistes," 187.
 Memphis, 241, 261.
 Mendes, 278.
 Mentu, 263.
 Meri, air-god, 118.
 Merodach, 70, 83; battle with Tiamat,
 157-162; character, 122-124; chooses
 Cyrus, 123; dogs of, 71; fights against
 the dragon of darkness, 124; hymns
 to, 124, 125; intercedes for Babylon.
 78; prayers to, 125, 126; raises the
 dead, 124; supreme god, 37; temple
 at Babylon, 32-38.
 Mesha, king of Moab, inscription, 170,
 204.
 Micah, 145.
 Milcom, 183.
 Min, 263.
 Minerva, 195.
 Moabite stone, 190, 204.
 Moloch, 183; form, 183; human sac-
 rifices, 183.
 Mommsen, 206.
 Moon-god, 104, 105; hymn to, 105-108;
 prayer to, 108, 109; temple at Haran,
 108.
 Moses, did not borrow from Egypt,
 307, 308.
 Môt, 151.
 "Mountain of the World," 83, 84.
 Mountains, worship of, 85, 86.
 Movers, 205.

- Moymis, 150.
 Mugheir, 101, 104.
 Müller, 175.
 Mul-lil, 56, 70, 77, 82, 83, 109, 130, 187;
 god of Nipur, 96; god of Semites,
 under name of Bel, 96, 97.
 Munt, 263.
 Mut, 266.
 Mummu-Tiamat, 156, 157.
 Mythology and magic in Egypt, 238,
 239.
 NABONIDUS, 89, 108; attempts a re-
 ligious reformation, 123; prayer to
 Samas, 111.
 Name, sacred, 62.
 Namtar, 45, 79, 97, 137, 138.
 Nana, 128.
 Nanak, 104.
 Nan-gar, 37.
 Nanmar, 104; hymn to, 105-108.
 Naram-Sin, 67.
 Naville, 246.
 Nebo, 34, 89; character, 127, 128; god
 of learning, 128-130; hymn to, 129;
 prayer to, 128; temple, 127, 128.
 Nebuchadnezzar, 32, 34, 39; high-
 priest to Merodach, 89; prayer to
 Merodach, 120; prayer to Nebo, 128,
 129; prayer to sun-god, 113; repairs
 temple at Sankereh, 113.
 Neith, 262; character, 280, 281; wor-
 shiped by Libyans, 280.
 Nephthis, 256; lamentation for Osiris,
 252.
 Neptune, 194.
 Ner, 121, 192.
 Nergal, 155; character, 121, 122.
 Neriglissar, prayer to Merodach, 126.
 Nerra, 79, 121; god of Gudua, 192;
 messenger of vengeance, 77.
 Neubauer, 192.
 "Neuer Commentar über die Gene-
 sis," 165.
 Nightmare, 45.
 Nin, fish-god, 188.
 Nina, 128; serpent-goddess, 70.
 Nineveh, 128; contents of library, 24;
 organization of library, 23, 24.
 "Nineveh and Babylon," 188.
 Ninip, 115.
 Ninkigal, wife of Mul-lil, 97.
 Nin-lil, 97.
 Nin-lilli, 84.
 Nipur, 70, 108, 109, 130; entrance to
 Hades, 82; local god of, 96; wor-
 ship, 97, 98; totem, 71.
 Nisroch, 142.
 Noah, 27.
 Nonnus, 194.
 Nu, 257; character, 259, 260.
 "Nuada of the Silver Hand," 119.
 Nuzku, 130.
 OANNES, 98-100, 188.
 "Observation of Bel," 86, 97.
 Odacon, 188.
 Offerings, Egyptian, 304, 305.
 Ombos, 255, 264.
 Omoroca, 147, 149, 155.
 On, religious cult of, 241.
 Onea, 194.
 Oppert, 113, 127, 144, 145, 203.
 "Oriental Records, Historical," 203.
 Orion, 253.
 Osiris—as Nile-god, 253; as sun-god,
 254; character, 253-255; figures
 placed in tombs, 296; has many
 names, 255; his worship, 254, 255;
 myth by Plutarch, 250, 251; wor-
 ship in Phœnicia, 195; worship re-
 vived, 278.
 PACTH, 280.
 Pantibiblia, 22, 110.
 Paphos, 179, 98.
 Pap-sukul, 137.
 Pa-ra, 241.
 Pentateuch, 40.
 Pessinus, 179.
 Phantom, 45.
 Philo of Alexandria, 212.
 Philo of Byblos, 150, 172.
 "Phœnicia," 180, 183, 184, 186, 194, 195.
 Phœnician language, 170.
 Phœnician religion—character of the
 worship, 196-198, 205-207; circum-
 cision, 196, 197; coins, 172; difficul-
 ties in the study, 169, 170; gods
 represented, 196; idols, 204; mate-
 rial for the study, 169-172; open-air
 worship, 188, 189; Phœnicians a lit-
 erary people, 171; possible primi-
 tive monotheism, 172-175; sacrifi-
 cial victims, 197, 198; temple,
 198-200; tombs described, 200-203.

- Phrygia, 132.
 Picture writing, 19, 20.
 Plautus, 171.
 Plutarch, 250.
 "Poenulus," 171.
 Polias, 194.
 Polygamy, in Egypt, 301.
 Poseidon, 104.
 Possession by demons, 44.
 Pothos, 151.
 Prayers—Assyrian, 84, 85, 128, 129;
 Egyptian, to Aten, 276, 277.
 Priests—Assyrian, 32; dress and reve-
 nues, 38.
 Primitive Assyrian monotheism,
 93, 94.
 "Proceedings of the American Ori-
 ental Society," 28.
 Protogonus, 151.
 Proverbs, Egyptian, 239, 240.
 Ptah, god of Memphis, 261.
 Ptolemy Epiphanes, 214.
 Purifications, 45.
 Pyramids of Egypt, 297.

 QURNA, 214.

 RA—battles with dark powers, 243;
 character, 241, 242; chief deity of
 On, 241; myth of, 249.
 Rameses II, 265, 278.
 Rassam, discoveries of, 24, 26, 28, 36.
 Rawlinson, 88, 127, 144, 178, 182, 189,
 194, 196, 200, 203, 206, 216, 227, 244,
 254, 292.
 "Records of the Past," 85, 88, 90, 104,
 113, 116, 124, 129, 142, 144, 145, 203,
 204, 230, 234, 235, 237, 238, 239, 244,
 246, 275, 301, 302.
 Rehoboam, 192.
 "Religion of the Ancient Egyptians,"
 214, 227, 228, 300.
 "Religions of the Ancient World,"
 178, 189, 196, 206.
 "Religion of the Semites. Funda-
 mental Institutions," 40, 175, 294.
 Renouf, 214, 227, 228, 283, 284, 297, 300,
 302, 308.
 Rhodes, 194.
 Rimmon, 118, 189; character, 118, 119;
 hymn to, 120; identified with Ha-
 dad, 119.
 "Rope of the great god," 128.
 Rosetta stone, 213, 214.
 Rouge, 214.
 Rude stone monuments, 179.
 Rule, 203.

 SABBATHS, 87, 88.
Sabattu, 88.
 Sacrifices—Assyrian, 38, 39; Egyptian,
 at tombs, 296-298; human, 40; rep-
 tiles unclean, 40; to the Ka, 297, 298.
 Sadyk, 174, 175, 192.
 Sais, 262; the goddess Neith, 280,
 281.
 Sala, consort of Rimmon, 119.
 Salamanu, 191.
 Salas, 187.
 Sallimmanu, 190, 191.
 Samas, 109; absorbs local sun-god,
 111; character, 112, 113; hymn to,
 110, 111; prayer to, 111, 113.
 Samlah, 192.
 Sanchoniathon, 172, 184, 185.
 Sanduarri, 90, 91.
 Sankereh, 113; library, 22.
 Sargon I, 22, 110.
 Sarrabu, 192.
 Sati, 264.
 Saul, a sun-god, 191.
 Savul, 191; fire-god, 112; absorbed by
 Samas, 112.
 Sawul, 191.
 Sayce, 19, 21, 34, 37, 40, 53, 54, 58, 61,
 74, 76, 79, 80, 82, 84, 88, 98, 100, 108,
 109, 111, 115, 118, 120, 121, 127-129, 133,
 142, 145, 164, 187, 191, 198.
 Scarabæus, symbol of Ra, 243.
 Schrader, 164.
 "Science of Religion," 175.
 Scripture and the monuments, 92.
 Seb, 259.
 Sebak, 264, 265.
 Sechet, 262, 280.
 Scelene, 148.
 Self-mutilation, 92.
 Semites, distinctions of gender in lan-
 guage, 112.
 Sennacherib, 24; extends religion, 89.
 Sepharvaim, 26, 27, 110.
Sepher, 110.
 Serapeum, 292.
 Set, 252, 278; character, 255, 256; god
 of Ombos, 255; god of the Hyksos,
 265, 266.

- Seti I, 278.
 Seven, sacred number, 45, 62.
 Severus, 182.
 Shalmaneser II, 145.
 Shamanism, 57.
 Shemesh, 109, 188.
 Shu, 238, 247-249; character, 248, 249.
 Shuities, 192.
 Sicily, 194.
 Sin, 108.
 Sin—among the Egyptians, 301; inherited, 92.
 Sinai, 108.
 Sippara, 24, 26, 109; different places, 28; library, 22; totem, 71.
 Sirius, 253.
 Sitzu, 91.
 Smith, G., 113.
 Smith, W. Robertson, 40, 176, 294.
 Sodom, 79.
 Solomon—introduced heathen worship, 183; original name, 190.
 "Song of the Harper," 236, 237.
 Sorcery, 48, 49.
 Sozomen, 187.
 "Speaker's Commentary," 176.
 Specter, 45.
 Spells, 48-53.
 Sphinx, 244, 257.
 Spirits—cause sickness, 44; fall in love with women, 55; good and bad in conflict, 54, 55; hierarchy, 41, 42; innumerable, 54; malevolent, 43, 44.
 Stern, 237.
 Stanley, 178.
 Storm-gods, 117, 118.
 "Story of Phœnicia," 178, 182, 200, 203.
 Strabo, 127, 142.
 "Studies on the Times of Abraham," 94, 108, 209.
 Succoth-Benoth, 127.
 Succubus, 45.
 Sumerian language, 23.
 Sun-god, 109; hymns to, 114, 115; local, absorbed by Samas, 111; opposed to evil demons, 114, 115.
 Sutech, god of the Hyksos, 265, 266.

 TAAUT, 171.
 Tabnit, 203.
 Talbot, 104, 113.
 Talismans, 46, 47.
 Talmudists, 46.

 Tammuz, 81, 103, 104, 186; cult, 130; temple, 130.
 Tanis, 278.
 Tanith, 195, 196.
 Tasmit, wife of Nebo, 127.
 Taurus, 71.
 Tauthe, 149.
 Taylor, Sophia, 165.
 Tefnut, 238, 247; representation, 249.
 Telal, 45.
 Telchines, 193.
 Tel-Ibrahim, 121.
 Temple—Egyptian, described, 305-307; only entered by kings and priests, 307.
 Temple mounds, 86.
 "Tent Life in Palestine," 205.
 Tertullian, 185.
 Teumman, king of Elam, 141.
 Thalassa, 148.
 Thalath, 148, 154.
 Thebes, 214, 263.
 Thera, 194.
 Thinis, 249; sanctuary, 250.
 Thoth, 171; character, 258; writes portions of the "Book of the Dead," 217.
 Thotmes III, 95, 191, 275.
 Thuro, 171.
 Tiamat, 47, 124, 154, 155; demon of chaos, 157; mother of the gods, 156; slain by Merodach, 157-162.
 Tiele, 227, 247, 248, 253, 260, 267, 289, 295, 307.
 Tiglath-Pileser I, 89.
 Tillili, 130.
 Tobit, 55.
 Tombs, Egyptian, 296, 297.
 Tomkins, 94, 108, 205.
 Totemism, 57, 69, 294.
 "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology," 26, 31, 300.
 Tree of life, 81, 82.
 Tum, 242, 244, 247; temple at On, 242, 243.
 Turin papyrus, 218.
 Tutu, 40.
 Typhon, 252; slays Osiris, 250, 251.
 Tyre, 198.

 UR, 89, 101; priesthood, 108; seat of worship of the moon-god, 104.
 Urania, 186.

- Uras, 115.
 Ur-Bagas, first monarch of Babylonia, 109.
 "Ur of the Chaldees," 105.
 Uruku, 45.
 Usertasen III, 264.
 Utica, 176.
 Utug, 45.
 Uz, 70.

 VAMPIRE, 45.
 Venus, 179.
 "Victoria Institute," transactions, 28.
 Voice, deification, 74.

 WARD, DOCTOR, 28, 110.
 Weidemann, 298.
 Whitehouse, 165.

 Winged disk, 93.
 "Witnesses from the Dust," 40, 142, 170, 171.
 Wolfe Expedition, 28.
 Writing, Assyrian, 18-20.

 XENOPHON, 293.
 Xisuthrus, the Chaldæan Noah, 22, 27.

 ZAGMUKU, 33.
 Zamâmâ, 32.
 Zarpalit, 116, 119, 126; character, 126; prostitution at her shrine, 126, 127.
 Zi, 54.
 Zibeon, 191.
 Zigarum, 155.
 Zikum, 80, 155.
 Zu, 72; stole fire from heaven, 72-74.

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