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THE CULTURE OF
ANCIENT ISRAEL

BY

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RISE OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL.

ANY one wishing to speak upon the history of the people of Israel must regard himself as particularly favored, from the very nature of the subject itself. To all of us Abraham and Moses, Saul and David, and the others of whatever name, are like dear old acquaintances. These, in fact, are among the first impressions which the susceptible minds of children receive, and the unique magic of religious poetry that clings to these legends always deeply and ineffaceably impresses itself upon their youthful hearts; and even he who has long since forgotten to look upon the Bible with the eyes of faith, nevertheless will not be able to wipe out altogether those tender youthful memories.

Accordingly, I may anticipate a general interest in and, at least in its broad outlines, assume a certain general knowledge of the subject to be treated. Still, on the other hand, this knowledge is not so complete that I may not hope to be able to show those old and well-known forms in a new light, and through the accumulation of various details and the revelation of a grand historical inward connection,

to work them into well-colored and realistic historical pictures.

Indeed, what an astonishing wealth and variety of separate material is here ready at hand! The history of the people of Israel, in fact, shares with the common and many-sided life of humanity the eminent quality of being interesting at whatever point we may touch it. We may turn our attention to characters more particularly belonging to political history and we shall behold Saul, David, Ahab; or to the heroes of the soul, and we shall encounter Moses, Samuel, Elijah. We behold the ruin of the people as a political nation through Babylonian conquest, and the resurrection of the people as a religious sect through Ezra and Nehemiah. The ideal heroic figures of the early Maccabees justly awaken our admiration, and even their degenerate descendants, during the period of the people's decadence, are themselves not altogether destitute of a certain attraction. The truculent grandeur of a King Herod, and the appalling extermination of the nation by the Roman sword—the most heartrending catastrophe, perhaps, that history ever has witnessed—fitly close this grand historical panorama, in which on every side and at all times we are confronted by entrancing phenomena, arousing all our interest.

From out of this superabundant wealth of accumulated materials I shall select particularly the rise of the people of Israel and of its national organization; and as legitimate ground for this preference of mine I may remark that it accords perfectly

with the predominant trait of our century and of its science, to investigate precisely the origins of organisms, and to explain all the most hidden processes in the life and action of nature; for the nations of the earth may likewise be regarded as organisms. Still, my principal motive in choosing this part of the subject was the hope of being able to contribute results regarding this very epoch which are least known. In fact, since the grand work of Heinrich Ewald, signaling an epoch in these researches, science has not achieved more for any era of the history of the people of Israel than for the history of its primitive existence. Our present subject, accordingly, expressed in popular language, will embrace the period from Abraham to David, as related in the Pentateuch and in the books of Joshua, Judges and Samuel.

The usual exposition is to the effect that Abraham went forth from the land of Haran into Canaan in order to settle there. In the fourth generation after him his descendants migrated to Egypt. In the latter country for a long period they led a quiet and peaceful life until the unbearable oppression of the Egyptians drove them out of the country. Their leader, Moses, by birth a Hebrew yet thoroughly imbued with Egyptian culture, led them through the desert and across the peninsula of Sinai, back to the land of their fathers. Moses conquered the land to the east of the Jordan, Joshua the land to the west of that river; the latter almost entirely exterminated the Canaanite population and allotted the land as un-

tenanted possessions to the Israelites. Thereupon twelve judges in succession wielded supreme power over the people, until finally the national kingdom arose in the person of the Benjamite Saul, and in the person of his successor, David, was transferred to the house of Judah.

It cannot be denied that this was the prevailing idea as early as the time of the Babylonian exile, when the historical books of the Old Testament were for the first time subjected to a comprehensive revision; and in fact to-day, upon the whole, the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings lie before us in this shape.

This version is a relatively recent one, having arisen at a period when living historical tradition no longer afforded information. The oldest written sources, having by a fortunate chance been only slightly digested and thus preserved in all substantial features, were incorporated in the great historical collection and give a widely different picture of the earliest history of the people of Israel.

At this point there arises the unavoidable question whether, generally speaking, we are permitted to regard these oldest traditions of the people of Israel as history in the strict sense of the word. Not before the exodus from Egypt can we speak in a strict sense of a history of the people of Israel. All that lies before this point of time may be characterized as prehistoric or primeval. Only in the first book of Moses, the book of Genesis, is information to be had of this prehistoric or primeval era.

Even if we regard Moses as the author of the five books that bear his name, yet concerning this remote epoch, separated from his own by a series of centuries, Moses himself would have had to resort to oral hearsay and tradition. It was impossible for him to report these things as an eye-witness. But it is now generally conceded that Moses cannot possibly be the author of the books ascribed to him. These books have rather originated from the comprehensive digestion of a whole series of independent written sources, of which the oldest cannot be older than King Solomon, nor yet much later, and which consequently were written between 900 and 850. Thus between them and Moses there is an interval of several centuries. Only a few scattered sections in the books of Judges and Samuel, and a few poetical fragments from the Pentateuch might be older. No comprehensive and coherent historical work earlier than 900 can be proved.

The memory of the past, accordingly, has been handed down substantially through the medium of oral tradition. The Israelitic nation itself is the author of these historical narrations, to which the biblical narrator, in giving them a permanent written form, has only imparted a finer psychological character and the magic of his unsurpassed art of presentation. The material contents, the ingredients of these narrations, must be regarded from the point of view of popular tradition, of legend.

What is legend? Its main characteristic, of course, is popularity. Legend is a natural product unaf-

fectured by tendencies, an unconscious poetry; and moreover it is characteristic of legend that it does not invent its material but embellishes extant tradition with poetic imagery. Legend winds itself like ivy about cold matters of fact, often resistlessly overpowering them and flourishing in rank luxuriance, yet not able to thrive without them and unsupported by them.

Legend and history, therefore, are not contradictions, but advance together in brotherly harmony; legend from its very nature presupposing an historical substratum. Only traditions that are attached to some definite locality, some definite monument or name, are to be regarded as exceptions to the truth of these remarks. Traditions of the latter kind adhere exclusively to the locality, monument, or name that they are intended to explain. Instead of an historical substratum they here have a material one, but even in these instances they still have a substratum. The legend always stands with firm, marrowy frame upon solid and durable ground, and not with uncertain foothold touching the stars, a sport for wind and wave. On this ground, precisely, in my opinion, we are altogether wrong in looking upon legend with an exaggerated skepticism.

Legend bears a resemblance to the youthful memories of man. The child will not retain everything, but only distinct events, and not always the most important; but what it does retain it retains firmly. And above all the child will never be mistaken as to the total character of its childhood. A man who

has spent a cheerless youth will never imagine that he has been a merry, happy child; a man who has been raised in a village or among the mountains will never believe that he was born in a large city or on the plain. The youthful reminiscences of nations must also be judged according to this same analogy. The ready-made, artistically complete, and finished shape that these reminiscences have assumed on the lips of the people, or of any great poet, is not to be called legend and as such the result of unintentional poetic creation; but, on the contrary, its historical substratum and the basic character of the whole must be regarded as authentic tradition.

It shall be my endeavor to sketch in brief outline the character of the historical substratum underlying the oldest traditions of the people of Israel, and to show how upon this basis may be erected the true course of the early history of this remarkable people.

According to established tradition the people of Israel were not native in the land that afterwards became their home, but had immigrated from the northeast of Mesopotamia. This tradition is all the more striking in view of the fact that the language spoken by the people of Israel could only have originated in Canaan itself. This linguistic difficulty was felt even in biblical times, as the remarkable forty-seventh verse in the thirty-first chapter of Genesis testifies. In this verse, which is plainly the product of a later learned interpretation, "Laban the Aramæan" calls the stone-wall which

Jacob in the Hebrew language had called Galeed, "Jegar-Sahadutha," a correct Aramæan expression.¹

According to the familiar tradition of the Hebrews themselves their primitive home was in the mountainous tract extending between the left bank of the Tigris and Lake Van, which separates Mesopotamia from Armenia, and by the Greek geographers is called Arrhapachitis. (Arphaxad, son of Shem, is the ancestor of the Hebrew people—Gen. x. 22-25; xi. 10). From the above-mentioned highlands there descended an emigration of tribes into the fertile plain of Mesopotamia. (Salah, Arphaxad's son, denotes "emigration," "emission." See Gen. x. 24; xi. 12.) They crossed (Eber, Salah's son, is "crossing," "passage"; Gen. x. 24; xi. 14) the Tigris, and then they separated, (Peleg, Eber's son, is "separation," "division." See Gen. x. 25; xi. 16). The main body advanced through the heart of the region and finally settled in and around the Haran, the Karrhae of the ancients, in the north-western part of Mesopotamia. A smaller band, including the ancestors of Israel, struck out in the opposite direction toward the extreme southeast, and at Ur in Southern Babylonia (Gen. xi. 28, 31) endeavored to obtain possession of permanent settlements; still in the end they preferred to follow the main body of their kinsmen to Haran (Gen. xi. 31). Here their migratory instincts awoke once more. Following the direction of the common highroad of

¹ All Hebrew words and names are given according to the spelling of the King James Bible.

the ancient world between Egypt and Babylonia they journeyed still further toward the southwest (Gen. xii. 4, 5). The great leader of this tribal migration was Abraham.

The most careful and impartial weighing of all adverse arguments and difficulties has not as yet been able to shake my faith in the genuine historical authenticity of Abraham. I regard Abraham as an historical personality in the strictest sense of the word, as really so as Alaric, the king of the Visigoths, or Rurik, the prince of the Varangians.

Egypt, perhaps, was the original ultimate goal of this Abrahamic migration, that same Egypt which time out of mind had exerted a kind of magic attraction upon all Semitic tribes, and which probably even during the very centuries of the Abrahamic emigration had on repeated occasions, and not always willingly, received and harbored Semitic guests on its fruitful soil. Still, the story purporting to be an account of Abraham's expedition into Egypt (Gen. xii. 10-20), is altogether a recent one and purely a luxuriant outgrowth from the stem of the original tradition. As a matter of fact the Abrahamic migration remained in Canaan. One division of this migration, the one personified in Lot, moved toward the eastern bank of the Jordan (Gen. xiii. 7-12), where comparatively early both nationally and politically it became consolidated as Moab and Ammon (Gen. xix. 37-38). Abraham himself settled in the west Jordan region, Canaan proper (Gen. xiii. 12).

Abraham and his tribal kinsmen were nomads, wandering shepherds, roaming peacefully about the country, whereas the aboriginal inhabitants of the land had long before attained the higher culture of city life. The immigrants borrowed their language from the latter, but at the same time guarded as before the primitive purity of their pastoral life, and their healthy, simple natural sense revolted above all against the religion of the Canaanites.

The religious character of the Canaanites particularly displayed two characteristic manifestations, namely, religious obscenity, and infant sacrifice. Abraham held aloof from both. In the touching and deeply poetical story of the intended sacrifice of Isaac for whom ultimately a ram was substituted, tradition has recorded Abraham's positive rejection of infant sacrifice (Gen. xxii).

In describing this predominant feature and in characterizing Abraham as a religious hero, tradition has, further, correctly interpreted the true state of things. The work of Moses was not absolutely new; it is linked to a popular initiative of the past, and there is no reason for entertaining a doubt, when tradition even in this most specific manifestation of the Israelitic popular spirit makes Abraham the patriarch of his race; although very naturally we now are unable to prove and correctly expound in all its details this "faith of Abraham."

The descendants of Abraham in the region west of Jordan, true to the usage and customs of their fathers, continued to be wandering nomads. Being

unable to wrest lands from the superior power of the Canaanites, they turned their eyes southward to the highlands about Mount Seir, where the primitive tribes of the Horites stood far below the Canaanites both in power and culture. The main body of the descendants of Abraham, accordingly, pushed forward toward the south, conquered the Horites, and settled down permanently on Mount Seir as Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 1; Deut. ii. 12-22) and soon effected their national and political consolidation. Edom thereupon remained in undisputed possession of the aforesaid territory.

The remnants of the descendants of Abraham, who had remained behind on the west side of the Jordan, would perhaps have been absorbed by the Canaanites, or would have been compelled to seek connection with one of the kindred tribes, if a new and considerable immigration from the common ancestral home of Haran had not brought them aid and reinforcements. This was the Jacobite migration, represented in the person of Jacob.

It is the merit of Ewald with subtle insight to have detected in Jacob the "after-comer," the "loiterer."

Jacob appears as the father of twelve sons. These are the twelve tribes into which in historical times the people of Israel were divided. The twelve tribes again became subdivided into four groups, by legend personified in four mothers, two legitimate wives and two concubines of the patriarch: a Leah-group, a Rachel-group, a Bilhah-group, and a Zilpah-group.

Leah and Rachel were the more considerable, Bilhah and Zilpah the inferior groups. The Leah-group surpassed all the others in number and importance, and the Zilpah division was connected with it; yet the Rachel-group was hardly inferior in power and nobility, and the Bilhah-group closely adhered to the latter.

The legend states that Jacob brought along with him his eleven sons out of Haran; only the youngest, Benjamin, was born in Canaan. Might we also from this draw certain historical conclusions? As regards the rise and growth of the tribes, we are confronted with the most obscure problems of the prehistoric period of the people of Israel, which perhaps will never be perfectly cleared up. Tradition is only in so far incontrovertibly right as it relegates the beginnings of tribal growth to pre-Egyptian times, while weighty reasons corroborate the truth of this fact; and we have likewise to regard as correct that the tribe of Benjamin branched off from that of Joseph at a comparatively late period. But nothing more definite than this can be asserted.

Ewald has given expression to a clear hypothesis, which, in fact, possesses a high degree of probability. He believes that in the Leah-group he can discern the remnants of the Abrahamic group that remained in Canaan; in the Rachel-group the auxiliary reinforcement from Haran, that is, the Jacobite migration—a statement that asserts much. At all events, the Jacobite migration certainly did join the remnants of the Abrahamic migration that had re-

remained in Canaan, and henceforth becomes the representative of the entire national and historical development. The Jacobite migration, however, entered not only externally but also spiritually upon the inheritance of Abraham. The faith of Abraham passed to Jacob and was perpetuated in him as the father's noblest legacy.

Yet at an early time there must have arisen contentions among the kindred tribes. Joseph, from whom Benjamin perhaps had not as yet branched off, boasting his power and noble pedigree, claimed the supreme hegemony, but was forced to yield to a coalition of the other tribes and went into Egypt, where the rich pasturages of the Asiatic borderland had been since remote antiquity the playground of Semitic nomads. The Leah-tribes at this juncture seem to have attempted to draw the Bilhah-tribes, Dan and Naphtali, into the sphere of their power, the latter subtribes having been deprived of their old support; and Reuben, particularly, seems to have intended to do them violence (Gen. xxxv. 22). But both those vigorous and valiant tribes were able to maintain their independence, and Reuben himself came out of this contention so severely damaged that henceforth and for all time to come he lost his "primogeniture," his old power and tribal prestige (Gen. xlix. 4).

Later there occurred events that forced them all to emigrate; but we are, of course, utterly unable to give a precise account of these events. On this occasion Joseph wreaked a noble vengeance, hos-

pitably receiving his brothers in the district in which he had settled, oblivious of former injuries and only mindful of the old relationship. And in this manner the sons of Jacob became inhabitants of the land of Egypt.

At first the Egyptian government seems to have assumed a well-meaning attitude of neutrality toward the strangers; but soon the situation became completely altered. The Pharaoh Ramses II happened, at the time, to be involved in a severe conflict with the populations and kingdoms of western Asia; Palestine, partly at least, being the theater of the struggle. The contest, as regards Egypt, ended, indeed, not in open defeat nor yet in victory; the ultimate result being a peace which nevertheless failed to warrant complete security to either side. The consequence was that henceforward Ramses naturally began to look with distrust upon the foreign population of alien blood that had settled on the Asiatic border, while at the same time he happened to be in need of laborers for his numerous public works. He, accordingly, resorted to the expedient of pressing into the service of the state all the Semites who were settled on the eastern border of Egypt on the isthmus of Suez, and under strict military supervision compelled them to perform toilsome villein-service.

In this manner, the Israelites had been turned from free nomads into Egyptian socage-serfs. So long as Ramses, one of the most warlike of the Pharaohs, wielded his iron scepter in Egypt with a

strong hand, the oppressed Israelites seem reluctantly to have borne up with their hard fate. But even chains of servitude availed not to break the stubborn, independent heart of these proud Bedouins. When the turbulent Ramses was succeeded by a son very unlike his father, the people of Israel again took heart. There only lacked a resolute leader who should guide the latent ferment to a definite goal; this leader was soon found.

Moses, a Hebrew of the tribe of Levi, had through a fortunate chance been received into the ruling caste of Egypt and thus found an opportunity thoroughly to acquire Egyptian training and culture; but the natural impulse of his heart drew him toward his own people. He preferred to be the brother of these despised serfs rather than live in the enjoyment of Egyptian splendor and magnificence. His keen insight soon discerned that the only way to freedom from the iron encompassment of Egyptian fortresses and military garrisons lay across the sea into the heart of the desert. It was a desperate undertaking. He obtained precise information concerning the topography and the political situation of the neighboring country, allied himself with kindred Bedouin tribes of the Arabian desert, and when dreadful scourges and visitations were terrifying the Egyptians, and had paralyzed their efforts, Moses thought the right moment had at last arrived. His fellow countrymen with many other kindred national elements in their train (Ex. xii. 38; Num. xi. 4)

assembled, and forthwith marched out from the land of bondage.

By well-devised marches and maneuvers they were able to deceive the Egyptian guards on the frontier; they soon reached the Isthmus of Suez, but there they were overtaken by a flying corps of Egyptian cavalry. Before them the raging sea, behind them their pursuers, panting for revenge. It was a moment of supreme anxiety! A violent northeast wind drove the shallow waters from the channel, and they marched through on the dry bottom of the sea into the desert, to freedom. The pursuing Egyptians were overwhelmed by the retreating flood; but Israel was safe.

The entire highway leading to Canaan being in undisputed possession of the Egyptians, and the latter by treaties with the neighboring kingdoms having stipulated the mutual extradition of all fugitives, Moses accordingly led his people into the narrow defiles of Mount Sinai, which were accessible indeed to a band of wandering nomads but could not be approached by a large army. Israel tarried for a long time in the region of Mount Sinai, and in this grandly impressive mountainous scenery tradition has located the scene of Moses's greatest work, his religious reorganization of the people. The entire tradition is agreed to the effect that Moses was the initiator, pioneer, and creator of that unique spirit which belonged peculiarly to the people of Israel, and through which it most radically differed from other tribes related by speech and descent. There.

upon Mount Sinai, Moses gave to Israel its national God Yahveh² (this is the original and correct pronunciation, instead of Jehovah), thereby making Israel a nation as the people of Yahveh. The name of Yahveh, in fact, cannot be explained from the Hebrew tongue, but seems to have been borrowed from Sinai; and, indeed, according to Israelitic tradition, Moses's adviser and assistant, his father-in-law Jethro, was a priest of Sinai (Ex. xviii).

Still, it remains utterly impossible to state precisely and positively of what the work of Moses really consisted, since — however unwelcome the truth may be—not even the ten commandments can be regarded as having been actually formulated by Moses; we have here only an inverted conclusion from effect to cause. Israel is the only people known to us that never had a mythology, not even making the easy step, by way of complement, of associating a female divinity with the highest divine being. Yahveh's unique nature must accordingly be a Mosaic idea. Yahveh alone is the God of Israel and this Yahveh is the origin and source of all divine and human law. This must be a thought peculiarly Mosaic. A lofty spiritualization of the divine idea and, as a direct result of this, a lofty spiritualization

² The word *Yahveh*, according to the traditional etymology, is derived from the verb *hajah*, "to live, to exist, to be," and signifies "the being, the living, the eternal one." So it is explained in *The Idea of God*, pp. 7 and 8. Professor Cornill in a private letter to the publishers, writes: "My reason for not considering Yahveh an original Hebrew word is founded upon the fact that *hajah*, in the sense of "to be," is not Hebrew. In a word originally Hebrew the change of *v* into *j* would be difficult to account for."—Tr.

of the Ethos are to be regarded the prominent features of the Mosaic Yahveh faith. We have, moreover, to attribute to Moses the creation of, at least, a very simple worship, since a religion without worship would be, with primitive nations, inconceivable. The institution, also, of a priesthood as the only legitimate mediator between Yahveh and Israel must be Mosaic; but the tradition that Moses entrusted his brother Aaron with this high office has not been found as yet among the oldest sources.

Sinai, however, was only a station and not the final goal of the migration. Soon after, the multitudes, strengthened by their rest, moved onward; this time to Kadesh-Barnea in the desert south of Canaan (Num. xiii. 27; xx. 1, 14; Deut. i. 19, 46; Judges xi. 16, 17). This locality, at least, seemed sufficiently adapted to receive the permanent colonization of frugal shepherds; it lay beyond the reach of the Egyptian arms, and yet on the very threshold of the coveted land itself. Here they might quietly await the development of things. According to all traces the sojourn in Kadesh must have been a rather long one. Moses probably died there. Tradition is constant in regard to the point that he never personally entered the land of promise; in fact, neither he nor any other of the emigrants that left Egypt. And this constant tradition is all the weightier if we recall to mind that here there is the question of a distance that under normal circumstances it would be easy to complete within a fortnight.

An external event finally brought Israel to the

goal of its wishes. The Canaanites, here called Amorites, under a king called Sihon, made an advance upon the eastern bank of the Jordan, drove the Moabites and Ammonites out of the most fertile parts of their territory and founded a new Amorite kingdom with the capital at Hesbon (Num. xxi. 26). Then Moab and Ammon remembered their kinsmen in the desert at Kadesh, and themselves, perhaps, on this occasion invoked the aid of Israel. At all events they were welcome allies, and the youthful and well-husbanded natural strength of Israel was able to achieve the proposed task. They destroyed the kingdom of Sihon of Hesbon, and Israel remained settled in the fruitful region, and kept for itself the prize of war and victory.

Yet soon the fertile valleys and meadows could not contain the ever-increasing number of men and flocks; they were urged resistlessly to cross the Jordan. There seemed to exist every possibility of settling down across the river. According to all accounts the Canaanites were scattered in numerous small isolated territories without internal connections or mutual sympathy. Moreover their energy had been relaxed by luxurious habits, and in valor they could not match the impetuous sons of the desert.

Judah was the first to advance (Judges i. 1-20; Gen. xxxviii. 1). They crossed the Jordan and turned toward the south where the mountain range that later bore the name of Judah, with its fruitful slopes, excited their covetousness. Judah doubtless suc-

ceeded in gaining a permanent foothold in this region, but only at the cost of severe losses which were made good by the amalgamation of Canaanite, Edomite, and Arabic elements; but after a hard and long struggle "the interloper" (Pharez) became the master of "the first begotten" (Zarah) (Genesis xxxviii. 27-30). In the time of David, when Judah stands in the broad daylight of history, the Israelitic part of the population is undisputed master of the country, and the latter throughout felt as Israelitic.

The tribes of Simeon and Levi made the second attempt, which turned out a complete failure. By means of treason they obtained possession of the Canaanite city of Shechem, commanding Mt. Ephraim; but Israel turned shuddering away from the nefarious deed, and Simeon and Levi were vanquished by the revenge of the Canaanites (Gen. xxxiv. 25-30; xlix. 5-7). Levi as a tribe was entirely exterminated, yet later through a most remarkable metamorphosis awoke to a new life as a sacerdotal caste, and the remnants of Simeon hid with the kindred tribe of Judah (Judges i. 3) by which they were absorbed.

The house of Joseph undertook the third and most successful expedition. Only Reuben and Gad continued to dwell in the district east of Jordan. The other seven tribes under the leadership of the Ephraimite Joshua combined in a common campaign against Middle and Northern Palestine. They gained a firm foothold in Gilgal on the other side of the Jordan (Josh. iv. and v.) and from that po-

sition they were able to conquer Jericho (Josh. vi.), Ai (Josh. viii.), and Bethel (Judges i. 22-25). Then at last the Canaanites were aroused into a determined and general resistance, but at Gibeon they were another time defeated by Joshua (Josh. x.) and thus Israel became the master of all Middle Palestine. In the north they were again confronted by a coalition of Canaanites under King Jabin of Hazor; but at Lake Merom this coalition also was vanquished by Joshua.

It would be erroneous to suppose that the whole land of Palestine, directly upon occupation, became the undisputed possession of the Israelites. In the first chapter of the Book of Judges—one of the most important and valuable historical documents extant—we possess a detailed enumeration of all the Canaanites whom Israel “did not drive out.” From this enumeration it appears that the best and most fertile parts of the country, and above all the majority of the cities—with their strong fortifications, at all times impregnable to the rude military art of the Israelites—remained in the possession of the Canaanites. Only the forest-covered mountain ranges of Middle and Northern Palestine were occupied by Israel; and a very long and obstinate work had still to be performed before the Canaanite population was finally subjugated; a task partly accomplished by force of arms and the imposition of tributes, and partly by peaceable conquest and absorption with the people of Israel.

It must be admitted that Israel was indebted to

Moses and his work for the power with which through ages it struggled victoriously in full consciousness of the high aim that was to be attained. Moses had given to the people a nationality and therewith an inalienable palladium, which, purified and strengthened by the power of religion, could not submit to oppression, but marched conquering onward. It was owing to Moses alone that in Canaan Israel did not become Canaanites, but, on the contrary, that the Canaanites were transformed into Israel.

Indeed, the actual outcome of the protracted conflict between these two peoples and different nationalities, had not, to human calculations, by any means been absolutely certain. In Canaan Israel passed from a nomadic to an agricultural life, and might not such a radical change of life and of its conditions easily have brought about a transformation of national character? Irrespective of the superior culture and number of the Canaanites, Israel certainly harbored within itself a very dangerous foe, and a living germ of disorganization; namely, the stubborn, stiffnecked feeling of independence and the strong family instincts, peculiar to nomads, that still clung to the national character after the people had abandoned nomadic ways of life. Even after the common effort under Joshua had partly laid the foundations of national organization, the people were once again broken up into families and tribes, who without concerted action, without discipline or plan, aimlessly sought local-

ities in which to settle. Tradition, also, has expressly handed down a number of peculiar features of this tribal and family history.

One fraction of the tribe of Manasseh,—the families of Jair and Machir—conquered the region to the east of Lake Galilee (Num. xxxii. 39-41; Deut. iii. 14-15; Judg. x. 3-5)—a fact of the greatest importance, because thereby there was reestablished a connection between the West-Jordan country and Gilead, as the Israelites called the East-Jordan region. The tribe of Dan in its struggle against the powerful and warlike Philistines, had failed to secure a permanent settlement in the fertile plain along the coast of the Mediterranean; but Dan thereupon conquered the city of Laish in the far-off north on the slopes of Mt. Hermon, and changed its name into that of Dan (Judg. xvii. and xviii.; compare also i. 34). Shamir, on Mt. Ephraim, was settled by the family of Tola of the tribe Issachar (Judg. x. 1-2); Pirathon, in the same locality, by the family of Abdon (Judg. xii. 13-15); Aijalon by the Zebulonite family of Elon (Judges xii. 11-12). This dispersion might have proved injurious and even ruinous, if over all of them, each family and each tribe, there had not reigned supreme one common idea; namely, Yahveh, the God of Israel.

Yahveh was the only national principle, the only bond that bound together all Israelites; in fact, as Yahveh's own people they were a nation. Only extreme emergency had been able to effect a national

union, and that not a general, but merely a transient one.

After Joshua's victories, the Canaanites, through the concentration and straining of all their resources, seem to have made but one single effort to overcome the invaders. Under the leadership of Sisera there was effected a powerful coalition of Canaanite kings, who undertook a war of extermination against Israel. This extermination threatened to be realized to the fullest extent. The Israelites were forced to seek hiding-places in the woods and in the mountains where they stayed until Yahveh finally brought assistance. At this critical moment a divinely inspired woman, the prophetess Deborah, aroused the discouraged Israelites. Under the leadership of Barak, of the tribe of Issachar, 40,000 Israelites of the tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh, Benjamin, Zebulun, Issachar, and Naphtali assembled together, and now the power of the Canaanites was unable to resist the ardent impetuosity of that great host, fighting for Yahveh. At Taanak, on the River Kishon, the Canaanite army was defeated and dispersed, and Sisera himself in his flight was slain by a woman (Judg. iv. and v.). After this battle we never again hear of resistance on the part of Canaanites.

Israel at last enjoyed rest from the Canaanites; but now there threatened still another foe. Kindred tribes looked with envy upon the success of Israel, and naturally coveted their own share of the Canaanite prey. Thus Moab even advanced across the

Jordan, and at Jericho, its king, Eglon, received the homage and tribute of the tribe of Benjamin, until the Benjamite Ehud stabbed Eglon and freed his people from the foreign yoke (Judg. iii. 12-30). Likewise Ammon advanced toward the Jordan, and the hard-pressed tribe of Gad was only saved through Jephthah's valor (Judg. xi.). At the very time when in Canaan Israel was becoming an agricultural people, the nation constantly suffered from the hostility and rapine of the sons of the desert. Amalekites, Midianites, Ishmaelites, all of them sought to enrich themselves at the expense of the Israelite husbandman, and to rob him of the fruits of his labor.

The fact that bands of Midianites advanced, killing and plundering, as far as Mt. Tabor, far in the north, in the vicinity of Lake Galilee in the West-Jordan region, is in itself a telling proof of how defenceless Israel remained through its unfortunate disunion against these predatory sons of the desert.

This invasion of Midianites, moreover, had certain important consequences. From sheer arrogance and wantonness the Midianites had on Mt. Tabor butchered a number of prisoners belonging to the noble Manassite family of Abiezer. Then Gideon or Jerubbaal, the head of the family, took to arms to wreak vengeance of blood on the murderers. He assembled his own household and retainers, to the number of 300, and with these went in pursuit of the departed Midianites, overtaking them far beyond the Jordan. He succeeded in dividing the forces

of the enemy, and took prisoners the two Midianite kings, Zebah and Zalmunna, whom he ordered executed to expiate the murder of his brothers. He thereupon punished the inhabitants of Succoth and Penuel, who had scornfully refused him their assistance in this expedition of revenge (Judg. viii.).

The conclusion of the narrative concerning Gideon has, unfortunately, been mutilated. It must have related that Gideon actually founded a tribal kingdom, erected in his ancestral city of Ophrah a golden image of Yahveh and held a regular court, with a number of female retainers.

Thus from the house of Joseph proceeded the first attempt at political concentration—the foundation of a dynastic kingdom; and perhaps from this dynastic kingdom there might have been developed a folkkingship—but the time for this had not yet arrived.

During his lifetime Gideon remained in undisputed possession of power over Joseph; but after his death the harem-regiment—that constant curse of all oriental dynasties—likewise effected the ruin of his house. Abimelech, the son of a woman of noble birth from the city of Shechem, which was at the time a thoroughly Canaanite city, with the aid of his Shechemite retainers, seized the supreme power, attacked Ophrah and slew his brothers—according to tradition, threescore and ten in number—upon one stone; only the youngest escaped. This event, naturally, was not of a kind to cause king-

ship to strike deep roots in the heart of the people of Israel.

Abimelech enjoyed the usurped power for only three years, when he became involved in difficulties with the men of Shechem. He also played the part of an Israelite king to the city of Shechem, which scarcely proved agreeable to the proud Canaanite nobles. They openly revolted against him, in consequence of which event he conquered Shechem and razed it to the ground. But fate overtook him at Thebez, upon which city he had wished to bring the same ruin. In the act of setting fire to a tower into which the inhabitants of Thebez had fled for shelter, a woman from the roof of the structure hurled a mill-stone upon his head, and he was killed (Judg. ix.). Thus the first attempt to found an Israelitic kingdom ended in murder and conflagration.

Again the old anarchy prevailed, the old lack of cohesion, which the Book of Judges describes in the following words: "In those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (Judg. xvii. 6; xxi. 25).

Incidentally, it may be observed that it is simply impossible to give even an approximate chronological statement and arrangement of the events between the exodus from Egypt and the reign of Saul. If Merenptah was the Pharaoh of the exodus, we may place them in the interval between 1300 to about 1030; the year 1017 as the year of Saul's death seems tolerably certain.

The kingship of Gideon had vanished from sight

like a will-o'-the-wisp, and was followed by utter darkness over the land of Israel. This darkness is only cleared up by the subsequent events that brought about the solid foundation of the national kingdom. The national kingdom had become an absolute necessity. An orderly government, popular feeling, and nationality could only be preserved through the concentration in some strong hand of all the scattered and, consequently, weakened national energies.

The notion that the creation of a purely human kingship would be a grievous sin, because an apostasy from Yahveh, the only legitimate king of Israel, is but a later assumption of Hebrew theological schools, and discoverable for the first time, with certainty, in the prophet Hosea. This idea was entirely unknown to the olden time. The oldest sources relate all these events with a rejoicing and thankful spirit. In the rise of the national kingdom they justly behold a signal proof of the grace of Yahveh, a direct, divine interposition of Yahveh for the redemption of his people.

On the present occasion, the troubles arose from a different direction, and were by far more serious than any former one had been. To the southwest of Mt. Ephraim, toward the Mediterranean, there dwelt the warlike and valiant race of the Philistines—the hereditary foe of Israel. Profiting by the helplessness of Israel the Philistines advanced toward the mountain and invaded the fertile plain of Jezreel. The first collision between the belligerents, at Ebenezer, proved calamitous to Israel.

Then Israel, in order to secure the assistance of Yahveh, brought out of the temple at Shiloh the Ark of the Covenant, the ancient and sacred war-symbol of the house of Joseph; but the second battle turned out even more disastrous. Thirty thousand Israelites covered the field of battle, the Ark of the Covenant was captured, and the power of Joseph was utterly broken (1 Sam. iv.). The Philistines dragged the Ark of the Covenant as a trophy of war into their own country, burned and destroyed the temple at Shiloh, and conquered the whole land of Israel to the bank of the Jordan; the people were disarmed and held in awe by Philistine viceroys and Philistine strongholds. Thus Dagon had triumphed over Yahveh.

But Yahveh had not forsaken his people. Through the trying fire of extreme need and suffering he wished to weld it together to a strong and united nation. An aged seer, Samuel by name, had discovered in the Benjamite Saul the man of the period, and had kindled in his heroic soul a spark of patriotic enthusiasm. Just at this time also the Ammonites insolently insulted Israel, and threatened the city of Jabesh in Gilead. Then Saul slaughtered a yoke of oxen and sent the bleeding pieces throughout Israel with the following message: "Whosoever cometh not forth after Saul, so shall it be done unto his oxen!" A desperate host then assembled around the bold leader. The enemies were taken by surprise and scattered to the winds.

The people, exultant over this first victory after

long servitude and shame, bore the fortunate general in triumph to the ancient sacred spot of Gilgal, there to place upon his head the royal diadem (1 Sam. ix.-xi.).

Saul owed his crown to his sword, and his whole reign was one uninterrupted strife; for the main point was to become master in his own land and to secure it against determined enemies and overweening neighbors. Saul at once addressed himself to the more difficult and important task of throwing off the yoke of the Philistines. His son, Jonathan, slew the Philistine governor, who held his court at Gibeah, and at this signal of revolt the Philistine armies again poured into the insurgent land of Israel. Saul could only muster 600 men who had remained with him; but the lofty consciousness of fighting for home and hearth, for freedom and honor, imparted heroic courage to the men of Israel. Jonathan, above all, performed wonders of bravery, and, after a hot contest, victory declared itself for the desperate little band (1 Sam. xiii.-xiv.).

Yet this success was only a transient one. Saul regarded it his main task to keep in constant readiness the fighting strength of his people, and to this end he assembled about his person a small standing army made up of 3000 of his boldest subjects. Thus the star of King Saul arose at the beginning, bright and brilliant, but very soon it was overcast by dark clouds.

An "evil spirit from God" suddenly saddened

the heart of the king. His attendants called to his side the Judean David from Bethlehem, a man of tried courage, a skilled performer on the harp, a knight and troubadour in one, who by his pleasant art was expected to dispel the melancholy of the king. This new actor on the stage of Israelitic history is, next to Moses, the greatest personage of ancient Israel. For him was reserved the glory of completing the work of Moses. What Saul began, David executed to its fullest extent; outwardly he made Israel free and independent, and inwardly united. The political and national consolidation of the people of Israel is the work of David. ✓

David was one of those divinely endowed natures that win the hearts of all—a born ruler, to whom all willingly submit, and serve with alacrity. He appears before the king as a highly attractive figure, graced with every ornament of mind and body—radiant with youth, beauty and strength, and by his bewitching amiability commanding the love of all. At first everything went well. Saul, too, could not resist the magnetism of his person; he made him his armor-bearer, his squire or “aide,” and while David became devotedly attached to Saul’s son, the king gave him his daughter in marriage.

This state of harmony, however, was not destined to last long. The Philistines again invaded the land, and during the war that ensued David distinguished himself to such an eminent degree that even the glory of the king was overshadowed. At that time of history kings had also to be the bravest of their

nation, and we therefore easily understand that gloomy jealousy now began to devour the melancholy heart of the suspicious monarch. Once in a fit of sullen dejection he even hurled a javelin at his son-in-law, and the latter fled from his presence. From that instant Saul's good genius forsook him forever, and the close of his reign exhibits a sad picture of civil strife and external troubles.

Despite the critical condition of his kingdom, Saul with an armed retinue pursued the fleeing David, and finally drove him out of the country. The hounded fugitive was at last compelled to seek refuge among the Philistines—the enemies of Israel. Within a year and four months from that time, fate had overtaken the Israelitic king. The Philistine host again combined against Israel. A decisive battle was fought on Mt. Gilboa, in which Israel was utterly routed. Saul, beholding the death of his three sons, fell upon his own sword in a fit of despair. Such was the untoward end of the first king of Israel.

Saul is a truly tragical figure. Although endowed with a grand and noble disposition, chivalrous and heroic, fired with ardent zeal, yet after all he had achieved next to nothing. At his death the condition of things had again become the same as at the time of his accession. Israel lay prostrate, and the power of the Philistines was greater and firmer than ever before. Saul's failures must be attributed mainly to his moral disposition. He was more of a soldier than a ruler. He lacked the com-

manding personality, the inborn power of leadership, and still more the versatile, statesmanlike talent that David possessed. Saul had performed his kingly duties honestly. When attacked, he returned blow for blow with telling vigor, but he was far from being a creative, organizing genius. Above all he lacked to a deplorable extent all sense and appreciation of the essential character and national *raison d'être* of the people of Israel. In this latter respect, tradition has handed down a clearly drawn portrait of Israel's king.

Saul was well on the way toward changing Israel into a secular, military state, and thus turning the nation from its true historical mission. A conquering kingdom of this world; perhaps, might have boasted a brief period of transient splendor and prosperity; but it would have disappeared, without leaving a trace of its existence, like Egypt and Assyria, Babylonia and Persia, Media and Lydia. King Saul is certainly entitled to our deepest compassion and heart-felt sympathy, but the fall of his dynasty was fortunate for Israel.

Yet not unavenged was Saul's blood shed on the heights of Gilboa. His avenger and the genuine performer of his life-work arose in the Judean whom he had attacked and persecuted. Cautious conduct was now necessary on David's part. It would have been worse than foolhardy with only 600 Judeans to open war with the Philistines. Above all David wished to save what still might be saved. He therefore caused himself to be anointed heredi-

tary king of Judah, under Philistine suzerainty; while Abner, Saul's general, assembled the scattered remnants of Saul's power in the East-Jordan country, and at Mahanaim made young Ishbosheth king, who was Saul's only surviving son, and probably not yet of age.

David resided seven years in Hebron, and Ishbosheth likewise seven in Mahanaim. Abner made an effort to subject David to the scepter of Ishbosheth, but in this attempt he was completely foiled by the bravery of David's Judeans. Shortly afterwards Abner, the only support of the house of Saul, was murdered and Ishbosheth himself fell a victim to the vengeance of blood. At this juncture the northern tribes agreed to confer upon David the government of the lands of Saul.

Even the first measure enacted by David as suzerain of Israel bears witness to his high statesmanlike genius. The city of Jebus remained still in the hands of the Canaanites; David conquered this city and made it the political capital of the new kingdom. Jebus was strongly fortified by its natural surroundings, situated rather toward the center of the kingdom, and being independent of any of the tribes and raised above and beyond their petty rivalries, it was better adapted for the purpose intended than any other city. As a characteristic contrast to this policy, Saul, even as king, had quietly continued to reside in his native village. The founding of Jerusalem, as David called his new "city of David," was a fact of the greatest historical importance when we

bear in mind what Jerusalem became to the people of Israel and later through Israel to humanity.

Next at last the eyes of the Philistines were opened at their former loyal vassal, and they endeavored to choke at its very birth the rising power of David—but in vain. The task upon which Saul had been wrecked was accomplished by David, and indeed definitely. David for all coming ages made the return of the Philistines an impossibility, yet, on the other hand, he did not molest them in their own country; he did not rob them of a single inch of land or take a single stone from their fortresses.

David figures as the greatest warrior of ancient Israel. Victory ever remained faithful to him. He humbled all the neighboring nations or conquered them, but we must particularly lay stress upon the fact that David waged all his brilliant wars only in order to repel unprovoked attacks and in defense of the most vital interests of his people. It cannot be proved, or even made to seem probable, that any of his wars were begun by himself personally. David was no greedy robber, no vulgar swashbuckler.

Yet even all these heroic deeds do not display the grandest trait of his character. What he achieved in the inner moral sphere is of infinitely greater importance. Above all, his heart beat high in unison with the national soul of Israel. As a true Israelite he was a faithful servant and worshiper of Yahveh, for whose sole glory and trusting in whose aid he wielded the sword. He wisely understood that a king of Israel must not only be a brave warrior,

but that in the Israelitic state there must also be a place for Yahveh. In conformity with this view David wished within the political center of his kingdom to create also an ideal, religious center. While Saul characteristically had allowed the Ark of the Covenant, the people's old-time halidom, to perish from oblivious neglect, David's earliest concern was to bring it back from the little village where it remained forgotten into the new political capital where it would occupy a more worthy station, just as Gideon once had inaugurated his tribal dynasty by the erection of a sanctuary in his native city of Ophra. David himself never undertook any important action without first consulting Yahveh through the priest.

The portrait of David is not wanting in human traits of the worse sort, and the books of Samuel with inexorable love of truth have not in the least tried to hide or mince the matter. Still, the fact remains that David stands forth as the most luminous figure and gifted personality in the whole history of Israel, in greatness surpassed only by the prophet of Sinai, by Moses, "the man of God."

What David achieved for Israel cannot be rated too high. Israel as a people, as a political factor, as a concrete power in the world's history, as a nation in the highest sense, is exclusively the work of David; and, although the kingdom which he built up through the struggles and anxieties of a long and active life, soon collapsed; although Israel itself, even a few generations after his death, was again

divided into two halves—still, the ideal unity long survived the division that had really taken place. The past grandeur of the Davidian epoch still became the haunting dream of the future days of Israel; and it is not through a mere chance that the wistful longing, and even the consolation of Israel, should reappear in the form of a returning ideal David, who should combine all the virtues and excellencies of the historical David without his foibles.

With David the people of Israel had once for all reached the acme of its national existence; his like never appeared again. After David, the history of the people of Israel changes into a continuous tragedy, pointedly illustrating the words of the Apostle Paul, that the misfortune of Israel enriched the world. The pearl is a disease of the shell, and kills that which creates it, and thus, also, the costly legacy bequeathed by Israel to the world, gushed forth from a well of tears. The worldly grandeur of Israel collapsed stone by stone, inch by inch, into utter decay; but the smaller it might appear outwardly the greater it became inwardly. In the downfall of Israel Yahveh triumphed, and on the ruins of Jerusalem, Jeremiah proclaimed the New Covenant.

Israel died as a political nation, but arose again as a religious sect, as a community of the pious, the Godfearing, who alone would be privileged and able from out of their midst to send forth another son of David, according to the flesh, and spiritually the performer of the work of Moses; greater than David, greater even than Moses.

MOSES, THE FOUNDER OF MONOTHE- ISTIC RELIGION.

ALL that is great and significant in humanity is accomplished by great and significant personalities. To be sure we have been warned against exaggerated personality worship or hero worship, and have been told that the so-called great men are nothing but exponents of mighty currents and tendencies of their time. In this thought lies a certain truth, in so far as great men do not fall from heaven but require some connecting links: the time must be ripe for them, must to some extent have need of them, and on closer inspection we will usually discover that the currents and tendencies of their contemporaries have met them half way. But that these currents attained their aim, that these tendencies were actualized, is due solely and simply to the merit of the great men themselves, and therefore has earned for them the gratitude of humanity and of history which associates these events with their names.

What is thus true in general of all great men and significant human affairs is also very especially true of religion. For religion is life, the most personal

life. It lives only in personalities and through personalities. All great and important events in the history of religion are ineradicably connected with the names of particularly favored personages who appeared to their contemporaries as prophets and apostles of God, who had himself taken possession of them and had become a living power within them.

Among these the founders of religion naturally stand in the first rank. They created something entirely new and consciously strove to lead their contemporaries on new religious paths and to bring them a divine truth which had previously been hidden from them. And as founders of world religions, Moses, Buddha, Mohammed and Jesus stand in the first rank.

The earliest of these is Moses. To him we stand in a very different relation from that in which we stand to Buddha or Mohammed. The latter men do not concern us directly and at best can have for us only a scientific objective interest. We are much more likely to see in them enemies and opponents of our Christian religion, its most dangerous rivals in the competition for the spiritual dominion of the world, while Moses and Jesus are in our minds inseparably connected. In Moses we see a direct predecessor of Jesus, the point of departure of the great religious movement which has found its historical conclusion and spiritual perfection in Jesus. Sufficient reason to devote to this man our particular attention, and indeed our task of sketching him

and his work is an especially fascinating and alluring one which will yield a rich reward.

Unfortunately, however, the undertaking is at the same time a very difficult one, and I must express myself with regard to it openly and without reservation. The difficulty lies in the nature of the sources at our command. Buddha and Mohammed stand before us in the full light of history in spite of the great amount of legendary material which attaches to their personalities. We can not say the same of Moses. But have we not the five books of Moses? Could we wish more or better material? It is only the German Bible that knows anything of the "Five Books of Moses." The Hebrew, Greek, Latin and even the English Bibles do not ascribe these books expressly and directly to Moses. And in the last century and a half, science has worked so vigorously and persistently on just this so-called Pentateuch, that we are justified in speaking here of positive results.

The Pentateuch originated from the combination of various documents, the oldest of which is perhaps half a millennium later than Moses, so that accordingly the earliest narratives of Moses and accounts of his work which have come down to us are further removed from him in time than we to-day are from Luther. But the Pentateuch, to be sure, contains not only narratives, but laws as well. Is it not possible that one or another of these legal constituents proceeded from Moses himself? In historical tradition he is, of course, the law-giver *par excel-*

lence! When it comes to an estimate of Moses's value for the history of religion, I must express myself frankly and honestly and must also substantiate statements which will probably seem most surprising to many of my readers.

It is my firm conviction that the science of Old Testament criticism of the last generation not only asserts but proves — proves positively — that the great coherent priestly code of the Pentateuch as it has found its characteristic stamp in the code of the tabernacle and in the so-called third book of Moses (Leviticus), is quite late, and does not belong at the beginning of the development as its foundation, but at the end as its culmination. That the coherent code presented in the so-called fifth book of Moses (Deuteronomy) originated in the seventh century was proved by De Wette as early as 1805, and this knowledge has become the common property of Old Testament science. We may leave out of consideration the three poetical pieces ascribed to Moses, his Song (Deut. xxxii. 1-43), his Blessing (Deut. xxxiii), and his Prayer (Psalm xc). Hence there are only a few pieces of legal import which come seriously into question. These are the so-called Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxi-xxiii) and the Decalogue, or Decalogues, and both are to be found in the earliest original documents.

The Book of the Covenant is old beyond any doubt. It is the earliest attempt in Israel at a detailed formulation of law, and it has acquired a particular significance by the fact that it is this very

code which shows most striking parallels to the famous codex, found in 1902, of the Babylonian king Hammurabi who dates back almost a thousand years earlier than Moses. But each closer investigation of the book of the Covenant makes it more impossible to assume that Moses himself was its author. The work and legislation of Moses were intended for nomadic hordes which were yet to become a nation for the first time, and in whom we may not assume a settled state of civilization founded on agriculture. The whole legislation of the Covenant, however, is calculated for a settled agricultural population, to some extent also engaged in commerce and living under a sort of juridical administration. In the first place, the very detailed regulations about goring cattle are significant. In the Semitic Orient, cattle never and nowhere belong to nomad tribes but are exclusively domestic and farm animals; Semitic nomads raise only sheep and goats. Laws like those regarding injuries to field and vineyards from unrestrained cattle or the ravages of fire, or requiring that fields, vineyards and olive groves should not be tilled the seventh year but should be left to the poor, have not Sinai for a background or the deserts of Kadesh, but the fertile land of Palestine. Then, too, when a regulation requires that the doer of a bodily injury which does not prove fatal must pay the injured one for the time he is bedridden, and also the cost of his recovery, we have a condition of society in which the daily wage can be calculated in money, and in which

professional physicians practise for money, which could never be the social condition of a nomad people even if it were no longer purely nomad but had already advanced to the most primitive agricultural stages. The book of the Covenant was certainly drawn up at a comparatively early date. In it we can see the codification of customs in practice in the time of the earliest kings in the manner of the oldest German *Weisthümer*; but Moses can not have given his contemporaries such a legislation.

We now come to the Decalogue, the Ten Commandments, in which we see the work which belongs peculiarly to Moses, and which occurs first to our minds when the name of Moses is mentioned. Because of the importance of the matter, I must here enter more into detail. It is first of all noteworthy that this Decalogue has left behind no traces whatever in the early and oldest literature. The earliest passage to be taken into account is in Hosea who says of his contemporaries that they swear, lie, kill, steal and commit adultery (Hosea iv. 2). But the prophet uses other words than those in the Decalogue, and furthermore the order of the sins is entirely different, so that this passage at least *need* not have reference to the Decalogue.

Moreover, it is well known that the Decalogue occurs twice in the Pentateuch in different forms (Exodus xx and Deut. v). The first, for instance, alleges as a reason for resting on the Sabbath, the rest of God on the seventh day after the six days employed in creating the world; the other, consid-

eration for servants, in order that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou (Deut. v. 14). Of course this difficulty is not insurmountable, for on two stone tablets we must think of the ten commandments as formulated in lapidary briefness, perhaps as follows:

“Thou shalt have none other gods before me.

“Thou shalt not make thee any image or any likeness.

“Thou shalt not misuse the name of God.

“Thou shalt keep the Sabbath holy.

“Thou shalt honor father and mother.”

But the gravest essential considerations arise against the possibility that even such a nucleus has come down directly from Moses. The Sabbath command and the image prohibition contain insurmountable difficulties. The biblical celebration of the Sabbath consists everywhere in rest and cessation from labor. It has therefore been designated as a rest offering. But as a matter of fact, such a cessation from work is actually possible only for agriculturists and never for nomads; for the work which the nomad has to perform can not be set aside at will. The flocks must be fed and watered, gathered together and milked on Sunday or holiday as well as on a workday. To attest this fact I will call no less a witness than Jesus, who says in the Gospel of Luke (xiii. 15): “Thou hypocrite, doth not each one of you on the sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to watering?” in which the impossibility of carrying out the Sabbath

command for the stock raiser is directly admitted. It is indirectly admitted in the fact that Mohammed, who otherwise borrowed everything from Judaism, did not adopt the Sabbath, because, opportunist as he was, he said to himself that the institution was not suited to his Arabians. In its biblical sense the Sabbath command is absolutely impossible as a fundamental law of a nomadic people. At the most Moses may have arranged some sort of a religious celebration for every seventh day. The suggestion which has been lately raised that the Sabbath in ancient Israel did not mean the seventh day and a rest day for every week, but the full moon in opposition to the new moon would overcome this objection, but its foundation is very insecure and its maintenance would develop immense difficulties.

In the same way, facts—undeniable historical facts—make it impossible to adhere to the image prohibition as Mosaic and as a fundamental command of the religion of Israel. In Dan, where calf worship was carried on officially as in Bethel, which the prophets later struggled against and denounced, a race of priests officiated which were descended from a grandson of the founder Moses; hence a direct descendant of Moses became the official priest of the Golden Calf! How could that be possible when every child of Israel (modernly speaking) in the Sunday school must know that Moses pronounced as his second commandment for Israel, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image or any likeness"? Yes, a notorious idol has even

been traced back in all naïveté to Moses himself. In the temple at Jerusalem at the time of the prophet Isaiah there was still a brazen serpent to which the Children of Israel offered sacrifices. Therefore it was not merely an historical relic from the years in the wilderness, but a representation of deity, which Moses was said to have wrought, and which King Hezekiah caused to be broken in pieces (2 Kings xviii. 4). These are undeniable facts reported in the Old Testament itself.

Further we must consider that we have no polemic from Elijah and Elisha against the calves of Dan and Bethel. If they showed zeal for the God of Israel against the Tyrian Baal, they also showed zeal for the golden calves as the official form at that time of the worship of God in the kingdom of Israel. Even the prophet Amos who appeared in the midst of Bethel and occupied himself in great detail with the cult there, finds no word of complaint for the Golden Calf there. Hosea who stigmatized that ancient and revered symbol by the disrespectful expression, "calf," was the first to engage in polemics against this and every image and symbolical kind of worship, but simply from reasons of good sense, and without any implication that it was a great sin which Moses had already forbidden. All of this would be absolutely impossible if the Decalogue of Exodus xx had been known to every Israelite as a fundamental command of the religion of Moses and was generally current as such. But if two of

the ten commandments are essentially untenable then the whole becomes untenable.

And to make the question still more involved, we have a second Decalogue in Exodus, an entirely different one which likewise was given to Moses on Sinai and reads as follows: (Ex. xxxiv. 14-26):

“Thou shalt worship no other god....

“Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.

“The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep....

“Every firstling is mine....

“Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks....

“Thou shalt observe the feast of ingathering....

“Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven;

“The fat of my sacrifice shall not remain until the morning.

“The first of the firstfruits of thy land thou shalt bring....

“Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother’s milk.”

These are the ten commandments on the basis of which, according to the oldest narrators, the so-called Yahvists, the covenant on Sinai was confirmed. In spite of the fact that the two first commandments are essentially identical, it is quite impossible to refer both Decalogues to one original form. This Decalogue of the Yahvist redaction characteristically contains no ethical prescriptions whatever except such as pertain to the religious service; and accordingly it finds the essence of religion in worship. Our own familiar Decalogue

bears the relation to this one that Amos bears to his contemporaries.

We must also grant that the tradition that Moses had made the covenant of Sinai on the basis of ten commandments is very old, but the commandments themselves are missing; for even the Decalogue of Exodus xxxiv can not have been formulated by Moses since it also rests upon the assumption of agriculture and festivals founded upon agricultural customs,—and if we are honest Moses loses nothing by our refusing to ascribe to him this Decalogue. If he had actually established the religion of Israel upon this foundation he would not belong to the greatest religious heroes of mankind.

Accordingly, then, the result of our investigation, which may perhaps seem destructive, is that we have no documents or authentic sayings of Moses, likewise no accounts of him which are even approximately contemporary. Under such circumstances can we dare after all to give a history of Moses and his work? But softly! If we have no historical documents in the usual sense we still have documents from Moses in a higher sense, not written on crumbling stone or moldering parchment, but in living men, as we might say with the Apostle Paul (2 Cor. iii. 3), “Not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone but in fleshy tables of the heart.”

Upon the character and history of the people of Israel the work of Moses has left such lasting and unmistakable traces, and tradition has retained for

us such a great number of highly significant unimpeachable facts that we need be in no doubt. To be sure, documents of this kind, not written with ink, are not always easy to read, and I shall surely not be misunderstood if I often express myself with a certain hesitation; but we shall and can enter upon our task comforted,—yes, I flatter myself, that my readers will feel even especial confidence in a representation of the work of Moses given from a standpoint which they will probably consider very radical, because they have the impression that the author has carefully guarded himself from every incidental illusion and has avoided every possible source of error in every way practicable.

There is an additional point which lightens our task with regard to Moses. This is the peculiar double position which he shares with Mohammed only of all the great founders of religions: namely, that his is a personality belonging to profane history as well as to the history of religion. He not only founded the Israelitic religion but he also created the Israelitic nation. In his own mind the two sides of his work could not be separated, for in the rôle of prophet he exercised his political activity, as we would call it, in the name of his God, as His representative with a definite mission. Of this fact tradition leaves us in no doubt, and in this particular it has certainly drawn his likeness with great accuracy. But we can consider historical facts apart from their religious character and motives, and it is easier to gain a picture of historical than

of religious facts. For instance, we can establish the historical facts of the crusades without regard to the religious character and the religious roots of the movement. If we do so we shall obtain only a one-sided picture of them, nor can we have a complete and accurate picture until we have established these historical facts objectively. According to my firm conviction it is also possible to establish the historical facts of the life and work of Moses objectively, and this must be our first task.

In the pages of profane history Moses stands before our eyes as the liberator of his people from Egyptian bondage, and as their leader and ruler in peace and war. The biblical accounts with regard to the fate of the fathers of Israel in pre-Mosaic times permit of the sharpest critique and become the more brilliantly verified according as they are the more exactly investigated and observed. I consider it as proven that Ramses II, the Sesostris of the Greeks, whose mummy was found a number of years ago, was the Pharaoh of the oppression, and his son and successor, Merenptah, the Pharaoh of the exodus. In Moses, the hero and leader of this expedition, tradition sees a Hebrew of the tribe of Levi. And just this fact is unquestionable because it alone offers us the key to one of the most puzzling phenomena in the history of Israel.

It is remarkable that the tribe of Levi appears in two forms which have nothing in common except the name. The earliest tradition describes it as a ruthless and violent secular tribe, who were cursed and

condemned to destruction by the patriarch because of a bloody crime, and were actually destroyed. In the later tradition the Levites appear as a purely spiritual race of priests, who from the beginning were set aside for the service of God. The event which resulted in the overthrow of the secular tribe of Levi can have taken place only when Israel came into possession of Palestine, that is to say, in the time after Moses. This event was the treacherous and barbarous capture of the city of Shechem, which brought no blessing to the wicked tribe and its accomplice, Simeon. They succumbed to the revenge of the Canaanites when Israel solemnly separated from them and left them to expiate their burden of sin alone. That tradition should of its own accord have made Moses out to be a member of this cursed tribe is simply unthinkable, whereas if he were really a Levite the riddle is easily solved. Those portions of the tribe of Levi which belonged to the family of Moses and which were very closely connected with him and had placed themselves at his disposal, took of course no part in the criminal undertaking of the rest and so were not entangled in the catastrophe in which it resulted. Thus it happened in fact that only the priestly families remained, and these could hardly have the ambition to reestablish themselves as a secular tribe.

This Hebrew of the tribe of Levi, however, found access by a happy chance to the civilization and culture of Egypt, and was educated entirely as an Egyptian. It is certain that his name cannot be

accounted for by Semitic derivation, whereas in the form *Mesu* it was a purely Egyptian name, which can be authentically proved to have been generally current at that time. Then too, Pinehas, a traditional name in the family of Moses, which we can not trace back to any Semitic root, is a purely Egyptian *Penehesu* which likewise may be authentically proved. According to the biblical narrative, Pharaoh's daughter found the child Moses in the Nile under circumstances familiar to us all, and adopted him as her son. The non-biblical accounts give her name as Termuthis, or Merris, and in fact we can point out the two names Tmer-en-mut and Meri among the the female members of the family of Ramses II.

The biblical account touches but lightly on the childhood and youth of Moses. It presents him to us at the first as a man and the champion of his people. This deficiency too has been supplied for us by non-biblical literature. According to Josephus the Egyptian priests demanded his death when he was first brought before Pharaoh, because a prophecy said that this boy would one day bring great evil to Egypt; but his foster mother protected him and bestowed upon him a careful education.

When Mōses grew up, Egypt was invaded by the Ethiopians, whom no one had been able to withstand. Then according to the instruction of an oracle Moses was placed at the head of an Egyptian army and performed his task with wonderful intelligence and power, won victory after victory, and

finally besieged the Ethiopians in their capital city, Meroë. There the Ethiopian princess, Tharbis, fell in love with him and on his promise to marry her surrendered to him the capital of the enemy, whereupon he returned in triumph to Egypt. We smile over such stories, but the fact remains authentically established that at the end of the reign of Ramses II and at the beginning of that of Merenptah a certain Mesu was the Egyptian viceroy of Ethiopia, "Prince of Kush," as he was officially styled. Even in the Bible itself we have a very remarkable and puzzling passage where Miriam and Aaron make accusations against Moses on account of an Ethiopian wife he had taken (Num. xii. 1). In any case the peculiar double position of Moses, Hebrew by birth but Egyptian by education, is to be looked upon as historical, and in this respect we are involuntarily reminded of Arminius, the Teutonic Hermann the Cheruscan, who likewise entered into Roman service and arose to the dignity of a Roman knight, but only in order to learn from the Romans how he might free his people from their yoke. The inclination of his heart led Moses likewise to his people; he would rather be the brother of these despised slaves than live in the enjoyment of Egyptian luxury and splendor.

If Moses had been born an Egyptian what could have induced him to place himself at the head of the Israelites with whom he could not even make himself understood because of the essential difference between their languages? Perhaps pity for the op-

pressed, who according to the Egyptian view were no better than the cattle which they herded? Or injured ambition because he did not rise rapidly enough in his career and so would rather be the first among the despised foreigners than to be second among the Egyptians? Neither can Moses have been a member of the Semitic tribes who led a nomad life around Sinai and with whom tradition has brought him in closest connection. The desert is egoistic. To but few does it give a scanty sustenance, so that every tribe would think well before inviting strangers to the table at which they themselves could hardly be satisfied even if they would have won additional strength and influence by such an increase in their numbers. In this point too the tradition holds its own and every attempt to depart from it causes only entanglement in unsolvable difficulties.

But Moses was above all a founder of religion, and therefore it becomes of very particular interest and the highest possible value for us to familiarize ourselves with the religious environment in which he developed. That the careful Egyptian education which fell to his lot was also a religious education, may be taken for granted. And the esoteric religion at least of the Egypt of that day stood upon a very high plane. Its belief was centered in a life beyond. The most important witness of the religious literature of Egypt is the so-called Book of the Dead which treats of the fate of the soul after death. When the soul escapes the fetters of the

body it comes before the judgment of the dead where forty-two judges examine its conduct, each with regard to some one particular sin. If these judges declare the soul to be pure it enters into the realm of light, it becomes God once more and returns to God from whom it came. Especially have the mysteries of Osiris this cycle for their object, and we know definitely that in the bosom of the Egyptian priesthood monotheistic speculations were customary, or those with a tendency towards monotheism. To be sure these speculations never led to a practical religious monotheism but at most to a philosophical pantheism. Heliopolis, the biblical On, had always been one of the main centers of the mysteries of Osiris; and yet it must arouse our attention when an Egyptian tradition, handed down to us from Manethos, says that Moses came from the circle of the Heliopolitan priesthood of Osiris, and when biblical tradition places Joseph in direct connection with them, since Pharaoh gives him to wife Asenath, the daughter of Poti-phera priest of On (Gen. xli. 45).

The attempt had even been made in Egypt once before to establish monotheism practically — not through the priests, it must be noted, but on the part of the state. Amenhotep IV, the last direct scion of the renowned 18th dynasty, the so-called “heretic king,” undertook to establish by the power of government the worship of one God whom he saw incarnate in the solar disk *aten*, hence a solar monotheism, beside which all other cults were to be pro-

hibited. That this remarkable man (who also took a fancy to have himself and his family portrayed in a repulsively ugly fashion), did not attain his purpose, and that the heresy of the heretic king died with him, may be taken for granted. Posterity has condemned him to non-existence, and his name was effaced from all inscriptions, but his attempt remains noteworthy for the history of religion, and there is no doubt that Moses knew of these things which took place perhaps a hundred years before his time. Thus by no means did he lack religious stimulation in Egypt.

Furthermore his must have been a pronouncedly religious nature, an innate religious genius, and with regard to this we must take into consideration certain influences of his own people. According to biblical tradition the work of Moses did not fall from heaven but had its point of contact in his own nation and found a prepared ground; neither did the religious history of Israel originate with Moses, but had its beginnings in an earlier time, closely connected with the person of the patriarch Abraham. In this important point too, it is my firm conviction that the biblical tradition is perfectly correct; namely, that we must assume the patriarchs of the people of Israel to have had before Moses a pronounced religious character which raised them above related tribes and which was a spiritual power ever against the Egyptians.

The decisive moment in Moses's entire life was during his sojourn among the Midianites in the wil-

derness of Sinai. There he had become the son-in-law of a Midianite priest to whom even the Israelitic tradition assigns a certain share in the work of Moses. Even the natives of this Sinai neighborhood we must not imagine as entirely, or even half, wild bushmen. On the contrary, Arabia was the center of an ancient and high civilization, although whether it really reached back to the times of Moses may well be questioned. But at least the Arabian borderlands were under the influence of Egyptian and Babylonian civilization and religious movements, since it is well known that Sinai bears the name of the ancient Babylonian moon-god, Sin. Accordingly here the religious soil is not fallow land. The biblical tradition itself says distinctly that the new name Yahveh, by which Moses designated the God of their fathers, originated from Sinai and was derived from there, that even before Moses a god Yahveh was worshiped on Sinai.

Here on Sinai took place the event which was for Moses what John's baptism in the Jordan was for Jesus, and the day of Damascus for the Apostle Paul; the biblical account describes it as the theophany of the burning bush (Ex. iii.). We can not explain or analyze it but must accept it as a fact—as the phenomena of the religious life do not upon the whole admit of demonstration and mock every rational explanation, but nevertheless are realities. Here God himself laid hold upon him and took possession of him. From this moment he knew himself to be called of God as the saviour of his people and that

he must plan his entire future life in the service of this God. He hastened to Egypt in order to call his people to freedom in the name of the God of their fathers who had appeared to him on Sinai. And here too the religious motive glimmers plainly through the oldest account, for they are to travel in the wilderness in order to celebrate there a great festival for their God. And the bold enterprise succeeded. Even in the most supreme extremity and in the greatest dangers in the face of the despairing and discouraged people Moses clung to the God who had called him, and his faith was not to be shaken. There, as the biblical account states briefly and strikingly, Israel saw the powerful hand of Yahveh which he had shown to the Egyptians. Then the people feared the Lord and believed the Lord and his servant Moses (Ex. xiv. 31). This triumphant moment made Israel into a nation and Israel never forgot it. Here Israel recognized the God of their fathers who with a strong hand and an outstretched arm had delivered his people and had led them forth out of the house of bondage, out of the land of Egypt. Here too we have a matter of fact to recognize; the deliverance from Egyptian bondage must have been effected by an extraordinary event in which those who experienced it could see nothing but the direct personal intervention of God himself.

At this point, very involved questions begin to arise for the historian which I will at least indicate briefly. It is well known that the mountain where

the law was given to Moses is sometimes called Sinai and sometimes Horeb. Are these only two different names or do they indicate two different mountains? And where may this Sinai, or Horeb, be found? Besides it is still maintained on reasons not to be despised, that the oldest narrative makes no mention whatever of this digression by way of Sinai, but had the people of Israel from the beginning wander directly to Kadesh. These are questions which may never be answered with certainty and which need not occupy us here any further. With Kadesh, surnamed Kadesh Barnea in distinction from other places of the same name and to-day the oasis Ain Qudês at the southwest extremity of the Plateau of Azâzime, we have absolutely firm ground beneath our feet. Kadesh is pointed out by tradition so consistently and so positively as the stopping-place of Israel after the exodus and as the scene of Moses's organizing and administrative activity, that any doubt of this fact would only draw a smile from a methodically trained historian. Now we shall advance to the investigation of his work.

However, there are two methodological considerations to be disposed of first. The man who wishes to influence his times and to direct them into new paths, must stand above them. Therefore even when we have become acquainted with the religious plane of his time we have not yet familiarized ourselves with his personal religious consciousness, for genius is an absolutely incommensurable quantity, and so likewise is religious genius. Furthermore it

is a matter of experience that after religious movements have entered into life they usually forfeit their original freshness and purity so that they become secularized and ossified. Supposing that we did not have the four gospels, or that Luther's writings were lost, who would be able to construct the Gospel of Jesus in its entire purity and splendor from the faith and life of the Christian communities of the middle of the fifth century? Or who, by considering the condition of the Lutheran church at the time of the Protestant scholasticism or the writings of Calovius and Quenstedt, could imagine that Luther had composed such a precious booklet as his "Freedom of the Christian"? This privilege, however, we must grant also to Moses, and the more since we possess actually no documents by him or about him. Yes, even the fact that we can not positively prove the existence of definite laws or even positively prove their non-existence proves nothing against Moses. As Jesus said to his disciples (John xvi. 12): "I have yet many things to say unto you, but you can not bear them now," so Moses too may have thought, and I am firmly convinced that such is the fact. I might make the statement that Moses shows himself to be a genius in pedagogy since he would not take the second step before the first, and promoted his work most emphatically by that which he did *not* give his people. He gave them no superfluous ballast but only what they could grasp and what they needed; not philo-

sophical speculations, nor dogmatic instruction, but life, the most vital life, religious life, moral life.

I will select two important points for the explanation of what I mean by the two methodological considerations. It may have offended many of my readers when I was obliged to declare that Moses could not have enacted a law prohibiting images and have made it a foundation stone of his religion; but does this prove, or do I mean by it to say, that Moses was a worshiper of images and thought it right and praiseworthy to worship God in images? The only object relating to worship which we can refer back to him with certainty is the holy Ark, a pure symbol which never misled the people to any idolatrous misuse; and at the same time the tribes and races in the midst of which Israel lived at the time of Moses were not idol worshipers in this sense, but they too had only religious symbols; so that Moses had no practical occasion for such a command, whereas he himself acted according to this knowledge, and his work lay entirely in this direction.

Now for the chief central question with regard to monotheism. That Israel did not possess a pure, clearly conceived monotheism for centuries after Moses, that in the eyes of Israel Yahveh was not the one God in heaven and upon earth, but that they saw realities also in the other gods, is absolutely certain. But what does this prove in regard to Moses? Can not Moses personally have held to a pure monotheism? Who will decide *a priori* the point beyond

which genius may not pass? Must Moses have confessed a religious perception inferior to that of the author of the ancient narrative of paradise and the fall of man, whose monotheism indeed leaves nothing to be desired? Could not Moses be content with what he actually accomplished, to bid Israel to worship its own God only and to forbid it to serve any other gods besides? If Israel was actually convinced that it had only its one God to serve, who laid claim upon it as his possession alone, and wished to be everything to it, that would be practically much more valuable than any theoretical doctrine about the nature of God, and Moses could confidently leave the rest to God and time.

So much is made nowadays of monotheistic currents in the religions of ancient civilizations. But however great we may assume the influence of the Egyptian esoteric doctrine upon Moses to have been, even if a pure monotheism was taught in these mysteries, still to Moses belongs the enormous merit that what was whispered about among the initiated in Egypt was now preached from the house tops and made more useful to humanity, and especially that he had drawn the religious consequences therefrom. These same Egyptian priests who in their esoteric teachings gave themselves up to the most profound speculations, prayed in public with the most earnest air of solemnity to cats and ibises, crocodiles and the "holy ox" as Theodore Momm- sen translates the "Apis," and rendered to them divine honors; but a purely theoretical monotheism

which exists in a brotherly fashion side by side with the grossest practical idolatry, is religiously not worth a farthing. In this respect Moses accomplished a sweeping reform and performed a complete task: such a double entry method of book-keeping was impossible in the religion of Moses. In all religions there have been monotheistic tendencies, currents and attempts, but only in the religion of Israel had monotheism become a power, and indeed a power determining the entire religion; and this is the work and merit of Moses. Nor did he hesitate to shed blood, as is shown by that remarkable story attested by the oldest tradition, in which he enlisted the tribe of Levi to aid in putting down a religious rebellion (Ex. xxxii. 26 ff., compare Deut. xxxiii. 8 f.). When Saul caused all the wizards and those who had familiar spirits to be hunted out and executed (1 Sam. xxviii. 3 and 9), he proceeded entirely in the spirit of the zealous God of Moses who permitted none other to rule beside himself. And this enormous energy which supplanted all rivals making it impossible for them to exist side by side with himself, the God of Moses manifested also in the spiritual realm. Israel is the only nation of which we have knowledge, that has never had a mythology, that never differentiated divinity according to sex—the concept “goddess” is so absolutely inconceivable to the Israelites that the Hebrew language never attempted to form the word “goddess.” This is a miracle performed by Moses which is greater and more incomprehensible than

the greatest and most incomprehensible which tradition has ascribed to him. A man who has exercised such an enormous influence on the entire thought and sensibility of his people and has modelled it so completely according to his own personal higher knowledge, such a one truly belongs to the greatest spiritual heroes of humanity.

We have repeatedly called attention to the fact that Moses aimed first of all to awaken religious life. Especially significant for this and of definitive importance for all later time is the form of his religious foundation. Yahveh alone Israel's God, and Israel Yahveh's people,—this is perhaps the shortest formula to which we can reduce the fundamental idea of Moses. But how came this relation to exist? All tradition united in agreeing that in its form the peculiar establishment of the religion of Israel consisted of a covenant between Yahveh and Israel, made through the intervention of Moses. By this means alone was this relation lifted out of the realm of nature into that of the moral decision of the will. This covenant was grounded upon experience of the power of Yahveh. He had made real that which appeared impossible, had freed Israel from the bondage of Egypt, had therefore shown himself more mighty than even powerful Egypt with all its many gods, and had also given further proof of his power to help. So the God to whom Israel in this covenant had vowed herself by a free act of will, was not an abstraction, not an unyielding destiny but the personal living God of history; the relation

to him was a personal ethical relation which as it was entered upon voluntarily could also voluntarily be broken. Whether Moses himself had already drawn this conclusion, and had it in mind, we know not. Later it gave the prophets a basis for their ethical preaching and their deepening of the religious relation.

That this relation of Israel to Yahveh was not purely theoretical but also manifested itself in a practical manner may be taken for granted. Its official manifestation, so to speak, was to be found in the religious worship. That Moses had regulated the religious service and standards for the worship of Yahveh is a matter of course. To be sure we can not reconstruct exactly this Mosaic order of service in detail, but we must assume that Moses inspired a new spirit into the worship which made it possible for it to keep the most important heathen abominations at a distance. Among the nations in the vicinity of Israel the customs of infant sacrifice and religious unchastity prevailed. These were proscribed by the religion of Israel and wherever they crept in were recognized at once as poison drops foreign to its blood.

Furthermore, the relation of Israel to Yahveh manifested itself in a moral life, according to the requirements of this God. Here we have the peculiar center of the activity of Moses whom tradition describes before all as the judge and organizer of his people. And right here has the consequence of his activity been visible and significant. In fact

Israel stood far higher morally than the neighboring peoples. It must have had a particularly pronounced notion of right and wrong, and the sphere of morals in a most special sense was peculiarly Israel's honor and renown. From the beginning Israel had abhorred unchastity in a manner that we do not find to be the case with other Semites. All of this is due to Moses, who silently and unobtrusively organized his people in Kadesh, moralizing, guiding, and sowing noble seeds, and who educated them religiously in the sense and spirit of the Decalogue, even if he did not himself formulate it, and so made it possible for them to become the nation of religion and in time to bring forth the greatest of all.

It is most probable that Moses also died in Kadesh. According to all indications Israel's stop there must have been a pretty long one, and it is an essential feature of the Israelitic tradition that neither Moses nor any of those who came out of Egypt was permitted to tread the promised land; and this is of greater significance if we consider that we are dealing with a distance which under normal conditions could have been easily passed in a fortnight. Of special importance for this question, however, is the explicit statement that nobody knows where Moses's grave is "unto this day" (Deut. xxxiv. 6). When we consider what an important part the grave, and especially the grave of a hero, played in the conception of ancient Israel, we must declare it to be absolutely unthinkable that the grave of Moses should have remained unknown if he had

died and had found his last resting place in a spot which Israel considered as belonging to its domain. But we must look upon this circumstance too as providential, for if the grave of Moses had been known, there is no doubt but a personal cult would have been connected with it which might have had evil consequences for the religion he founded. This was not to be. He was to live on only in his work.

There is a beautiful Jewish legend about the death of Moses. It is possible to translate the fifth verse in the last chapter of Deuteronomy relating to his death, "So Moses, the servant of the Lord, died there *at the mouth* of Yahveh." Therefore the Jewish legend tells how in the last hour of Moses's life God fulfilled his ardent wish to behold His face, which in life He was obliged to refuse him (Ex. xxxiii. 18-23) and so Moses died at the mouth of God who by a kiss took to Himself the soul of his faithful and trusted servant. A deep meaning lies in this story, for verily did Moses receive the consecration kiss of deity. Whoso recognizes in Jesus Christ the end and turning point in the history of humanity must also confess that before him no greater mortal trod this earth, and that to no second mortal does humanity owe more than to Moses, the man of God. The foundation of what in Jesus Christ has found its conclusion and its perfection, was laid by Moses, since he was the first to give to the world clearly and consciously as the foundation and basic principle of all religious life, the faith in the one, living, personal, holy God.

THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN IN AN- CIENT ISRAEL.

FROM the point of view of race psychology there is scarcely a more interesting or more profitable study than the examination of the way in which the various nations educate their children. Since education aims at the development of children into useful and independent members of human society and at giving them whatever they may sometime need in order to fill their place in life and to meet its demands, we can derive from the nature of their system of education perfectly reliable inferences regarding the views of life cherished by the educators and the ideal of man that hovered before them. And so from the beginning special interest is assured for the question, what a people of such importance for mankind as ancient Israel thought about the education of children and how they applied it.

True, what the Old Testament has to say directly about education is very scanty, but the subject itself is enough to spur us to further investigation. For in order to understand rightly and to estimate properly those scant direct utterances about children and

education, one must needs have a clear conception of the views of ancient Israel regarding the family and family life, and accordingly we must include also the main points of this latter important subject within the scope of our immediate consideration. In this study I shall restrict myself to the canonical books of the Old Testament, claiming outside that sphere only the right to be permitted to examine and use *Jesus Sirach* (*Ecclesiasticus*). For although the Jews never included *Jesus Sirach* among the canonical books—for reasons which it would lead too far to explain: not indeed from lack of appreciation or because it was considered unworthy of such an honor—yet it belongs in the period of the Old Testament literature. It was composed fully a generation earlier than the book of *Daniel*, which has been accepted into the canon, and is for us the most classic witness concerning the opinions of Judaism in the year 200 B. C. I shall also take the liberty of referring on occasion to the book of *Tobias*, which was written about the same time as the book of *Esther*.

Matrimony and family life are regarded in ancient Israel as unqualifiedly the normal, divinely established and prescribed state. On the other hand, to estimate voluntary abstinence from matrimony as an especial merit, and to ascribe to it a higher degree of divine perfection and even of holiness, was far from the thought of any one in ancient Israel. The saying: "The Israelite who does not take a wife is not to be regarded as a man," is indeed found only in

the Talmud, but certainly expresses the views of ancient Israel. "He who has found a wife has found a treasure and won favor from God," and "House and havings are inherited from one's parents, but a loving wife comes from God," are two among the Proverbs of Solomon, xviii. 22; xix. 14. Since matrimony is instituted in Paradise by God himself, it assumes a decidedly religious value. "God himself was the witness of the vows between thee and the wife of thy youth," says the prophet Malachi with touching beauty, ii. 14; and the faithless wife is branded, according to Proverbs ii. 17, as one who has "forgotten her vow to the Lord." In the Proverbs of Rabbi Eliezer this thought is expressed very ingeniously and drastically in that fashion so popular with Orientals, a play upon words and letters. Man is in Hebrew אִישׁ (*ish*), while woman is אִשָּׁה (*ishshâh*). Now these two words have two consonants in common א and ש, to which there is added in the word for man a י, and in the word for woman a ה; but these two letters taken together יה constitute the shortest form of the most holy name of God which it was forbidden to utter, while the two common consonants written and read together give the word אש (*êsh*), meaning fire. Now the Proverbs of Rabbi Eliezer have it: God himself has placed his name in the midst of the names of man and wife; if they hold fast to him he will himself dwell in the midst of them, but if they lose his most holy name there is left only fire; that is, a marriage where God is a party to the union

is heaven on earth, but a marriage where God is not, which is not entered upon in his name and has not the religious basis, is a hell on earth. One can scarcely imagine a more poetical and winning characterization of such a marriage formed with the blessing of God than that given in the 128th Psalm: "Blessed is every man that feareth the Lord, that walketh in his ways. Thou shalt eat from the labor of thine hands. Happy shalt thou be and it shall be well with thee! Thy wife shall be a fruitful vine in the innermost parts of thine house; they children like young olive plants round about thy table. Behold, thus shall the man be blest that feareth the Lord!" (Ps. cxxviii. 1-4.)

Let us now consider how such a marriage was brought about in ancient Israel. First of all we have to prove that opportunity was given the young people to get acquainted and to found a union upon personal attraction and mutual love, for even girls moved with freedom in public life. Indeed they were entrusted with all sorts of tasks which necessarily brought them into contact with young men: they had to fetch water, pasture the herds, and guard the vineyards; furthermore it is known that they went out to meet the returning victors in war and welcomed them with dance and song.

As to the circle from which the Israelite selected his life's companion nothing is definitely prescribed. In the older times at least the choice is regarded as unrestricted. Esau brings home to his parents highly unwelcome daughters-in-law from a foreign race,

and when Samson proposes to marry a Philistine woman his parents are not exactly pleased with the plan, but they do not regard it as anything wrong and they themselves conduct the suit for the hand of their son's chosen bride when they find that he insists on his desire. But this was not indeed the rule; on the contrary, a man sought his wife by preference in his immediate circle, that is, in his own family. Thus Laban says plainly to his nephew Jacob, when the latter asks for Rachel to wife: "It is better that I give her to thee than to a stranger," Gen. xxix. 19. And when Samson wishes to marry the Philistine woman, his father says to him: "Is there forsooth among the daughters of our kinfolk and in our own family no woman, that thou wilt take the Philistine woman to wife?" (Judg. xiv. 3). Cousins of opposite sex seem especially to have been regarded as predestined to betrothal, since the language calls them expressly "lover" and "sweet-heart," דור and דורה.

This is based upon the old notions which regarded the family distinctly as an ecclesiastical and legal unit, especially in matters of the law of property. From this point of view, therefore, the contraction of the marriage bond was not the establishment of a new family, but the expansion and perpetuation of the family of the father, for which reason it was the rule that the married son remained in the household of his father. If a young man had determined to enter into matrimony and made his choice either at the dictate of his affections or in accord-

ance with the wish of his father, or on some one's recommendation, then his father or some confidential friend sued for the maiden at the hand of her father or her brother: it was not customary for the wooer to conduct his suit in person.

And here we must admit that of the various forms of marriage contract enumerated and classified by ethnographers there existed in ancient Israel only the form of the so-called marriage sale. If the father of the maiden had given his general consent, it then became necessary to agree on the purchase price which was known by the distinctive name *mohar*; we have no direct account of the maximum value of this *mohar*, but from a comparison of Deuteronomy xxii. 29 and Exodus xxii. 15 we can infer that in the time of Deuteronomy, that is, toward the close of the kingdom of Judah, the average amount of the *mohar* was 50 shekels of silver. Since we have shekels still preserved, we can at least fix precisely the value of the metal in the same. The shekel of ancient Israel weighed 14.5 gr.: according to the present standard value of silver 14.5 gr. of pure silver would be worth \$0.635, and accordingly the normal price for a wife would have been \$31.75. And from the moment when the *mohar* was paid down and accepted, the marriage was regarded as legally concluded even when it was not yet accomplished in fact. But it is clearly to be inferred from the very vivid account of Eliezer's suit for the hand of Rebecca (Gen. xxiv.) that the maiden was not bartered like an article of com-

merce, but that her consent was necessary, and likewise that the father on the other hand could refuse to give his consent to a union. The first mention of the composition of a written marriage contract is found in Tobias vii. 13, and here the circumstance is involved of sending the daughter far away from home to a foreign country.

Legally considered, the wife was the property of her husband. The husband indeed bears the very name of "owner," *ba'al*, and the married woman is called *ish-shâh be'ûlath ba'al*, "a woman who has become the property of an owner." But the ultimate reason for this phenomenon we have not to seek in the fact that the woman was regarded as merely a thing, but in olden times the whole housework and all the domestic industries rested upon the shoulders of the feminine members of the family. A daughter, therefore, was a valuable laboring-factor in the father's house, of which he was deprived, and accordingly it was proper that he should be recompensed and that the family of the bridegroom should pay something in return for the new additional laborer. Accordingly the *mohar* is not much higher than the average price of a slave, which was, according to Exodus xxi. 32, about \$19. And thus also we explain the fact that the bridegroom can offer his own personal services instead of the *mohar*. If he is unable to raise the amount of the *mohar*, he becomes the slave of his father-in-law and thus works it out. Thus, as is well known, Jacob, who as an orphan and a fugitive was of

course unable to offer a *mohar*, served his father-in-law seven years for his wife, and I must not neglect to note expressly, if we propose to regard the marriage contract as really a commercial affair, that it was solely the labor of the bride which was the object of purchase. Marriage was never a speculation in ancient Israel, and there was no such thing as marriage for money, for the bridegroom had not only the *mohar* to pay, but had also to meet the entire expense of the wedding festivities from his own means. The bride received no money, neither a dowry for her matrimonial estate nor any outlook for the inheritance after the death of the parents, for according to the notions of ancient Israel the woman is never a claimant of rights but only the object of legal claims, and has accordingly no right of inheritance. What is regarded as a matter of course among us, that the widow shall be the heir of her husband and that the estate of the parents shall be divided equally between the sons and the daughters, the Israelite of old would not have understood at all, but would simply have regarded as demented any one who said and claimed such things. Neither the widows nor the daughters received anything, but on the death of the father the estate was divided among his sons, the first-born receiving double the share of the others, but to offset this he had to assume the obligation of caring for and supporting his mother and his sisters.

Hence the Israelite maiden never had ground for suspecting, when she entered upon matrimony,

that she was being married on account of her money, as a perhaps unwelcome appendage to her property, and thus one of the chief causes of unhappy marriages was removed.

But the question will be asked: What if there were no sons, but only daughters, or perhaps no children at all, and only a widow? In such cases, indeed, the widow and the daughters received the estate, but in this case they had not the free disposal of their own hand. The widow had to marry the brother or the nearest elder kinsman of her deceased husband, and the daughter some member of the father's family, so that the property always remained with his line.

Now, if the negotiations had reached a successful termination, so that nothing more stood in the way of the union of the couple, the marriage feast was celebrated. And here again a very surprising but unquestionable fact is to be recorded. Despite the thoroughly religious character of ancient Israel, despite all the recognition of the religious character and the religious foundation of matrimony, the Old Testament does not contain a hint of any religious consecration of the matrimonial tie, or in modern phraseology, of any ecclesiastical ceremony. And so at the time of the establishment of the civil statutes when the clerical party especially protested so vigorously against the recognition of civil marriage, while the Catholic church even to this day refuses to recognize the civil wedding alone as a valid marriage, they have the direct testimony of at least

the older portion of the Bible against them. Ancient Israel recognized only the civil marriage, and indeed, strictly speaking, not even this; for the state, so far as we may speak at all of a state within the borders of ancient Israel, paid absolutely no attention to the matrimonial relations of its subjects. The marriage contract was purely a family affair, involving only private rights. Corresponding to the decisive factor from the point of view of private rights that the bride was transferred from the family of her father to that of the bridegroom, the essential part of the marriage ceremony was the fetching and the solemn home-bringing of the bride from the house of her father to that of her future husband. This home-bringing was accompanied by songs and ceremonies of all sorts, but by nothing in the nature of religious rites. The wedding festivities lasted seven days and were at the expense of the bridegroom: in the book of Tobias the wedding celebration at the house of the father-in-law in Ecbatana lasts fourteen days (viii. 18), and after the arrival of the young couple in Nineveh a further celebration of seven days takes place in the house of the father (xi. 17).

To have children was regarded among the ancient Israelites as the greatest good fortune that God can grant to men; this view is probably expressed most concisely in the beautiful saying, "Behold, sons are a gift of God, and children are the reward of grace" (Psalms cxxvii. 3). On the other hand, childlessness was regarded as a punishment from God, and

a reproach in the eyes of men. There is no indication in the Old Testament that any sort of symbolical ceremony was necessary on the part of the father whereby he recognized and accepted the newborn child as his own, as we know to have been the fact among the Romans and the early Germans,—not even in Job iii. 12.

If the wife herself is regarded in law as the property of her husband, the same is still more the case with the children. In law the relation of wife and children to the husband and father is the same as that of slaves, and accordingly the apostle Paul is thinking and speaking in strictly Israelitic spirit when he says in the familiar passage of Galatians (iv. 1): "So long as the heir is a child, he differeth nothing from a bondservant, although he shall one day be the master of all." So the father had the right to sell the children, under the single limitation that it be not to tribal aliens. And so also he had the right to dispose at will of the right of primogeniture, that is, to divert the right of the first-born to one who was not actually the first-born; at least this prerogative is expressly abolished by Deuteronomy xxi. 15-17. Indeed the father had the right of life and death in connection with the child, that is, he could punish the child, and under certain circumstances (Gen. xxxviii. 24) the daughter-in-law, with death, of course in cases prescribed by custom.

The way in which the book of Deuteronomy disposes of these paternal rights is very character-

istic. We read there (xxi. 18-21): "If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, who will not obey the voice of his father or the voice of his mother, and will not hearken unto them though they chasten him; then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and bring him out unto the gate of his place to the elders of his city, and shall say to them: This our son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice, he is a riotous liver and a drunkard. And all the men of the city shall stone him to death; so shalt thou put away evil from the midst of thee; and all hear it and fear." We do not find that the parents first accuse the son, and that afterwards the elders investigate the case and then punish him. No, the parents are both accusers *and* judges: only the execution is withheld from them. At their request and upon their simple notification the inhabitants of the city must execute the penalty of death against the rebellious son. This is a consistent development of paternal authority similar to that which we see executed by Roman law.

The first care of the new-born child seems not, or at least not always, to have been performed by the parents. But as the Greeks had a *paidagogos*, that is exactly, a children's guide, a slave who was charged with the special attendance and care of the child, so in ancient Israel we hear of something similar. Here too we are told repeatedly of attendants and nurses, male or female as the case may be, who looked after the care of the child. They carried the child especially in their bosom, that is

in the folds of the garment over the breast and above the girdle, and later probably taught the child to walk. In the case of royal children they probably remained about the young princes as tutors (2 Kings x. i ff.). Thus in a familiar passage Moses says to God: "Am I then the mother of this whole people, that thou sayest to me, Bear it in thy bosom, as a nursing father bears his nurseling, into the land which thou hast promised unto their fathers!" (Num. xi. 12.) And in the book of Isaiah, the future glory of the people of Israel is depicted in the words: "And kings shall be thy nursing-fathers" (xlix. 23). And so, when the son of Jonathan was made lame by the carelessness of his nurse, who at the news of the defeat in battle at Mt. Gilboa, let the five-year-old boy fall in her hasty flight (2 Sam. xlix. 23), as well as in the book of Ruth, which is so full of charming and poetic touches, where we read that Ruth's mother-in-law, Naomi, nursed the son of her daughter and Boaz (iv. 16). And on the subject of learning to walk also we have a picturesque verse. In one of the most touching passages of the book of the prophet Hosea we read: "When Israel was a child, then I loved him and called my son out of Egypt.—Yet I taught Ephraim to go; I took them on my arms" (xi. 1-3).

But in order to enjoy children as a gift of God, they must turn out well and be well trained. "A wise son maketh a glad father, but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother;" "The father of the righteous may greatly rejoice, and he that hath a

wise child may have joy of him;” “He that hath a fool for a son, the same hath sorrow, and the father of a fool hath no joy;” “A foolish son is a grief to his father, and bitterness to her that bare him,”—thus speak the Proverbs of Solomon, x. 1; xxiii. 24; xvii. 21 and 25. And: “A reproach to a father is an ill-bred son, and such a daughter is to him a great evil”; “Cherish no longing for a multitude of useless children, and take no pleasure in godless sons;—for one is better than a thousand, and better it is to die childless than to have impious sons,” says Jesus Sirach, xxii. 3; xvi. 1-3. From such utterances we may fairly conclude that the training of children was regarded as something very important in Israel and that great value was laid upon it. It was expected to begin at a very early age, for “What’s bred in youth is done in age” was surely a principle known in ancient Israel as well as elsewhere. “Train the child at the very beginning of his ways, and when he is old he will not depart therefrom,” we read in Proverbs, xxiii. 6, and “If thou hast children then train them from their infancy,” says Jesus Sirach, vii. 23.

Now the first thing that was demanded of the child was absolute respect for its parents. “Honor thy father and thy mother,” appears already in the Ten Commandments, and in Leviticus, xix. 3, and xx. 9: “Ye shall fear every man his mother and his father,—for I am the Lord your God;” and “Every one that curseth his father or his mother shall be put to death.” The Prophet Malachi says: “A son hon-

oreth his father, and a slave his master" (i. 6). "Be obedient to thy father and despise not thy mother when they have become old"; "A generation that curseth its father and blesseth not its mother,—an eye that mocketh at its father and that despiseth to obey its mother, the ravens by the brook shall pick it out and the young eagles shall eat it," are utterances of Proverbs, xxiii. 22; and xxx. 11 and 17. And on this very point there are some beautiful passages in Jesus Sirach: "Honor thy father with thy whole heart, and never forget what thy mother had to suffer for thee. Forget not that thou owest to them thy life, and how canst thou repay them for what they have done for thee?" (vii. 27-28). "Hear, O children, the commandments of your father, and walk therein, that ye may prosper. For the Lord has made honor of the father a duty of the children, and the commandments of the mother hath he made a law for her sons. He who honoreth his father maketh atonement for sins, and he who honoreth his mother gathereth a good treasure. He who honoreth his father will have joy of his own children, and when he prays his prayers will be heard. He who esteemeth his father will enjoy long life, and he who obeyed the Lord will be a comfort to his mother. He who feareth the Lord will honor his father and will serve his parents as though they were rulers. Honor thy father both in word and in deed, that a blessing may come upon thee from them. For the father's blessing buildeth houses for the children, but the curse of the mother destroyeth

them. Seek not thy glory in the dishonor of thy father, for his dishonor can never be a glory to thee. For the glory of a man is the honor of his father, and a mother dishonored is a reproach to her children. My son, care for thy father in his age, and grieve him not so long as he liveth. And though he become childish, have consideration for him and despise him not when thou art in thy full strength. For compassion upon thy father will not be forgotten, and instead of the punishment of sins thou buildest thine house. In the day of need thou shalt not be forgotten, and like ice before the sun thy sins shall melt away. He who leaveth his father in need is no better than a blasphemer, and he who grieveth his mother is accursed of God" (iii. 1-16).

One particular sort of respect is especially commended. It seems to have been customary among the ancient Israelites also that the parents withdrew to the old folks' apartments and lived on an allowance. Jesus Sirach gives a most energetic warning against this: "Give not to thy son, thy wife, thy brother or thy friend power over thee so long as thou livest. As long as a breath of life is in thee leave not thy place to another and surrender not thy money to another, lest thou be compelled to beg for it of another. For it is better that the children beg of thee than that thou be compelled to look into the hand of thy son" (xxx. 28-30). In the same category belong two sayings in Proverbs: "He that wasteth his father and chaseth away his mother, is

a son that causeth shame and bringeth reproach" (xix. 26), and "Whoso robbeth his father and his mother, and saith, It is no transgression, the same is among the worst criminals" (xxviii. 24). As a matter of course, along with respect for parents the child was trained to all other moral obligations and virtues.

And what sort of pedagogical principles did they have in ancient Israel? That can be told in a single word: the rod. Discipline was indeed very severe.—to our modern humanitarian views absolutely tyrannical. The foremost demand of our theory, that the individuality of the child must be allowed to develop, would have been as incomprehensible to the ancient Israelite as would have been the claim of woman to be an agent of the law. Obedience was the end and all. And since this is not apt to come of itself, it was necessary to resort to drastic measures. When we hear the proverb, "My son, despise not the chastening of the Lord; neither be weary of his reproof; for whom the Lord loveth he reproveth, he chasteneth the son in whom he hath delight" (iii. 11-12), we need not wonder if the earthly father also lays ungentle hands upon his child for his own good. For "he that hath been delicately brought up from childhood will become a servant and end in misery," say Proverbs xxix. 21. (Such is probably the sense of the corrupt and difficult passage.) On this particular point the book of Proverbs and Jesus Sirach express themselves with all desirable distinctness. "He that spareth

the rod hateth his son; but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes." "Foolishness is bound up in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him." "The rod and reproof give wisdom; but a child left to himself causeth shame to his mother." "Correct thy son and he shall give thee rest; yea, he shall give delight unto thy soul" (Prov. xiii. 24; xxii. 15; xxix. 15, 17). "As is music in the midst of mourning so is a reproof out of place; but chastisements are always proper in discipline" (Jesus Sirach xxii. 6). But here again the most characteristic expression is an extended disquisition in Jesus Sirach: "He who loveth his son letteth him taste the rod continually that he may have pleasure in his conduct thereafter. He who chasteneth his son will have pleasure in him, neither will he be ashamed of him before his friends. He who instructeth his son, giveth offence to his enemy, and will rejoice over him in the presence of his friends. And if his father die, it is as though he had not died, for he leaveth his like behind him in his place. So long as he liveth he has his pleasure in him, and when he cometh to die he is untroubled. He leaveth behind him an avenger against his enemies, and to his friends one who will remember their kindnesses. But he will spoil his son who takes every blow to heart and who is distressed whenever he weepeth. As an untamed horse is rebellious, so a spoiled son is uncurbed. Treat thy son with delicacy and thou wilt afterwards fear him; play with him and he will afterwards grieve thee. Jest

with him and he will cause thee trouble and thou shalt be called to account for his evil deeds. Give him not much freedom in his youth and excuse not his follies. Bend his neck the while he is young and bruise his back while he is small, that he may not become stubborn and disobedient to thee and thou have sorrow because of him. Bring up thy son to labor, lest he give offence and become a disgrace to thee" (xxx. 1-13).

But the strongest, and absolutely shocking for our present feeling, are two sayings from the Book of Proverbs, which for this reason I have saved to the last: "Chasten thy son, seeing there is hope; thou wilt not beat him quite to death" (xix. 18), and "Withhold not correction from the child; for though thou beat him with the rod yet will he not die of it. Thou shalt beat him with the rod and thus deliver his soul from hell" (xxiii. 13-14). For easily conceivable reasons the attempt has been made to eliminate this unmerciful beating from the text by ingenious interpretation of the death as a spiritual death: Chastise thy son, seeing there is hope, lest thou be guilty of his death, inasmuch as he would become the prey of death if he grow up without virtue; or again: Withhold not correction from the child; if thou strike it with the rod it will not die but through severe discipline will become a pious man who will escape the judgment for sin. But this seems to me to be wholly contrary to the sense and spirit of the book of Proverbs. In fact, that which Luther so aptly translated from Jesus Sirach

as "beat his back blue" is literally: "break his ribs." The Oriental is fond of drastic and hyperbolic expressions, which of course must not be glossed over. That the Old Testament does not regard the father exclusively as the tyrannical administrator of chastisement is sufficiently proven by the familiar passage of Psalms: "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear Him" (ciii. 13), and that the rod was only the last resort, and that they could get along very well without it, is sufficiently shown by the Proverb: "A rebuke entereth deeper into one that hath understanding than a hundred stripes into a fool" (xvii. 10). But all the preceding evidence shows us clearly this: That the family according to ancient Israelitic notions was an absolute monarchy, with the father as absolute monarch at the head. Authority and obedience are its foundation-stones.

But while what we have thus far been considering constitutes what may be called moral education, we must now proceed to inquire regarding intellectual education. What did the child have to learn in ancient Israel? Jesus Sirach speaks, xxx. 3, of instruction given to the son: what may have been the topics of this instruction? Here too the Old Testament leaves no room for doubt on the point that the first and most important thing that the father had to teach his son was religion, that religious instruction was the basis and the starting-point of education. "Abraham will command his children and his household after him that they may keep

the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment, that the blessing may come upon them" (Gen. xviii. 19). "They shall learn to fear me all the days that they live upon the earth, and that they may also teach it to their children" (Deut. iv. 10). "And these words which I command thee this day, thou shalt take to heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently to thy children" (Deut. vi. 6-7). The father is directed to use every opportunity in order to give his son religious instruction. On the occasion of the feasts especially the opportunity presented itself as a matter of course. "And when at the feast of the Passover thy son shall ask thee, What mean ye by this service? ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of the Lord's Passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses.—And thou shalt tell thy son in that day: Thus did the Lord deal with me when I came up out of Egypt" (Exod. xii. 26-27, xiii. 8). The same directions are given in connection with the pillars of stone that were set up at Gilgal in memory of the miraculous passage of the Jordan. "When your children shall ask their fathers in time to come, What mean these stones? then ye shall let your children know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on dry land" (Josh iv. 21-22).

A classic testimonial of this religious chain of instruction as the center of all domestic training and instruction in Israel is the beginning of the 78th Psalm: "I will proclaim to you the mysteries of old,

which we have heard and learned, and what our fathers have told us. Their children did not hide it, but told to the generations to come the great deeds of Yahveh and the wonders that he did for Israel; how he commanded our fathers to instruct their children in the same, that the generation to come might know it, even the children which were yet to be born and these in turn be zealous to tell it to their children, that they might set their trust in God and not forget the mighty deeds of the Lord" (lxxviii. 2-7). It is the first and most essential element of the instruction to train the children to be pious, orthodox and well-grounded Israelites, and to this end is employed first of all instruction in *Bible history*. According to a familiar passage in the "Sayings of the Patriarchs" the instruction in Bible history was to begin in the child's fifth year.

But what was the status of the proper topics of education? Writing, reading, and arithmetic are things which do not impart themselves, and yet they are indispensable in daily life. Now we have definite evidence that reading and writing were widely known in Israel even in the earliest times. Gideon wishes to punish the elders of the city of Succoth for their unpatriotic conduct. "And he caught a young man," so the book of Judges tells us, "of the men of Succoth, and he was compelled to write down for him the chiefs and the elders of the city, seventy and seven men" (viii. 14). This narrative gives us, to be sure, no evidence regarding the time

of Gideon, but it does for the time when it was written: it is a part of the oldest historical tradition of Israel, and in this it is taken as a matter of course that the first comer picked up from the field can write. Or, to take another case, David's captain Joab was by no means what we would call an educated man, but yet he knew how to read and write, as is shown clearly enough in the incident of the all too famous Uriah letter (2 Sam. xi. 14). The same is true in the time of Isaiah, as indicated in the passage, speaking of the condition of Assyria after the divine judgment, "And the remnant of the glory of Assyria shall be small, that a little child might record it" (x. 19), that is, make a list, an inventory of it. And the fact that the judicial procedure at the time of this great prophet was documentary, as is the case in the Orient at the present day, is proved by the circumstance that Isaiah characterizes unjust judges as "writers that write perverseness" (x. 1). At a peculiarly important crisis of his prophetic activity he is required to take a tablet before witnesses, on which he is to write "with human pencil," that is, in the common cursive hand, the mysterious words "The spoil speedeth, the prey hasteth." And along with this, the oldest monument of Hebrew writing known to us, the Mesa stone of Dibon, erected by a contemporary of the prophet Elijah, exhibits so distinctly and perfectly the characteristics of cursive script as to demonstrate the existence in Israel of a long-practiced art of writing.

But the Old Testament nowhere gives the slightest

hint of public schools or of professional teachers. The attempt has been made to find in a very obscure passage of Isaiah, xxviii. 9-13, an allusion to instruction in reading of written characters imparted by a teacher. The defiant and conceited princes of Jerusalem are not willing to be treated like school-boys by Isaiah, as we would express the idea, but Isaiah has nothing to say of a public school and of methodical instruction in the reading of manuscript imparted there. Hence we must assume, since the art of writing was widely cultivated, that writing reading, and reckoning were taught in ancient Israel at home and by the father alone, that no school interposed its disturbing and hostile influence between the child and its parental house; nevertheless they thrived excellently without it, and it is easy to imagine how such a close association of children and parents, to whom the parental house was everything, must needs bring to family life a warmth and to the feeling of solidarity a permanence, of which we people of modern times have as yet no notion, for the dominant tendency of our time is to reduce the sphere of home and family bit by bit and to make of man nothing but a mere figure in the census reports and the tax rolls.

And now I must give answers to two questions which have perhaps been busying the attention of my readers, and especially the ladies, for some time: What of the mother and what of the daughters? Hitherto only son and father have been spoken of. What position in the education of the children and

what influence upon it did Israel ascribe to the mother? And what did they think of the education of girls? First of all we must frankly admit that the mother appears in only a single, and that a very obscure, passage as consciously participating in the education of the children. In the Proverbs of Solomon, there is to be found near the end of the book a little collection of sayings, xxxi. 1-9, with the special heading: The Words of Lemuel, the King of Massa, Which his Mother Taught him. Otherwise the mother is indeed mentioned along with the father, but always in the second place. "Listen to the commandment of thy father and despise not the instruction of thy mother" (Prov. i. 8). And the following passage in Proverbs is especially characteristic: "When I was a son unto my father, tender and only beloved in the charge of my mother, then *he* taught me and said unto me" (iv. 3-4). Here, in poetic parallelism, the mother is mentioned first, one may say for propriety's sake, but after that she is utterly ignored: it is the father alone who teaches and educates. That this is nothing accidental is proved by the comparison of two very similar poetical passages, one German, the other Israelitish. We have a eulogy of the virtuous housewife in *The Song of the Bell*, and we also have one in the Proverbs of Solomon, xxxi. 10-31. Now in our Schiller we find directly that

"She ruleth wisely
Her sphere of home,
The maidens training,
The boys restraining."

In the much longer biblical eulogy of the virtuous housewife we find no word of this: she is depicted as one who takes excellent care of her husband and his household and keeps everything in the best condition,—but of the children and of her domestic control as mother, not a word! Toward the end, indeed, there is found the very beautiful expression: “She opens her mouth with wisdom and understandeth kindly instruction” (xxxix. 26), but this is put in very general terms and comes in quite accidentally. We meet here an undeniable and very surprising fact. Not, indeed, that the Old Testament is altogether lacking in appreciation of mother love. When, for instance, we read in the First Book of Samuel how Hannah, the mother of the prophet Samuel, visits her son, who is dedicated to the sanctuary, once a year at the time of the harvest festival in the temple at Shiloh, and brings to him a suit of clothing made by herself, it moves our heart to its depths. To express the highest degree of sadness the Psalmist says (xxxv. 14): “Like one who is mourning for his mother.” Repeatedly the love of God is compared with the love of a mother, and perhaps nothing more beautiful and touching was ever written than the word of the prophet: “As a man whom his mother comforteth” (Isaiah lxvi. 13). It is not, “As a son whom his mother comforteth,” but “As a *man*.” For even a man, proud and conscious of his strength, has moments when only a mother can restore and comfort him.

If then, despite this warm appreciation of mother-

love, the mother is slighted in comparison with the father in the very realm which our modern notion regards as her peculiar domain, we must assume that it was a conscious purpose in Israel that placed the education absolutely in the hands of the father, and we can, moreover, recognize this purpose elsewhere. It was desired that the training should be serious and severe, not the coddling of a "mother's pet," but a school for life, and this they felt could be better given the child by the father who knew life because he stood in the midst of it.

And certainly it would be very salutary for the present day if fathers devoted themselves more to their children and their children's education, and we must surely hold to this as an ideal requirement. At the same time we will not forget that such conditions are possible only in a patriarchal state which knows nothing of special callings and professional work. It is a matter of course that we cannot demand of a modern father who labors day after day in his office or his counting-room all that was done and could well be done by the father in ancient Israel.

And what of the daughters? First of all I must discuss some passages of Luther's Bible translation where "daughters" are mentioned. In the so-called Sayings of Jacob, Genesis xlix., where Luther translated in the sayings about Joseph, "His daughters go about the management" (of the house?), (*"Seine Töchter treten einher im Regiment"*), this is simply a very queer misunderstanding of what is to be sure

a very difficult passage, which is speaking of grapevines and not of daughters. And in the famous parable of the Prophet Nathan regarding the one lamb of the poor man, where it is said, "It did eat of his own morsel and drink of his own cup and slept in his bosom, and was unto him as a daughter" (2 Sam. xii. 3), this gives us the impression that it is intended to express a greater degree of tenderness than if it had said, "It was unto him as a son." But the lamb is in Hebrew of the feminine gender: the passage is strictly: "She was unto him," so that there was nothing to do but to add, "a daughter." For our sense of language the only correct translation would be, "And it was unto him as a child." And when Luther translates in the eulogy of the virtuous woman, Proverbs xxxi. 29, "Many daughters bring wealth," many a Bible reader with a wealth of daughters may have shaken his head incredulously over the passage and thought to himself: that relentless realist Jesus Sirach certainly knew life better. For in an exceedingly drastic disquisition, much too drastic for our sensibilities, he shows that a daughter is a very questionable treasure which keeps the poor father awake of nights with anxiety (xlii. 9-14). Now the passage in question in Proverbs of the many daughters who bring wealth, should read, "There are indeed many excellent maidens."

As to the education of daughters, there is in the entire Old Testament only a single utterance, and that in Jesus Sirach, but a very striking one: "If

thou hast daughters, train them to walk virtuously, and regard them not too tenderly. If thou dispose of a daughter in marriage, thou hast done a good work, but give her to a man of understanding" (vii. 24-25¹). That is all that we have on the subject. Of course the religious instruction was given to the daughters also, yet in addition they received instruction in domestic work, which of course was taught by the mother.

But as for education in the special sense of the word, viz., writing, reading and arithmetic, we have neither direct nor indirect information on the subject. For even though Queen Jezebel in the familiar account of Naboth writes a letter to the elders of Jezreel and seals it with the seal of King Ahab (1 Kings xxi. 9), we cannot conclude from this alone that girls in general could read and write. And we have a classic illustration of the view of the later Orient on this subject. An exceedingly popular variety of literature is what is known as the literature of apothegms, in which are collected maxims, opinions, sententious sayings of famous men, chiefly Greek philosophers. These apothegms are found throughout the entire Orient in translations and the greatest variety of versions, so that we may fairly regard their contents as typical. And among these apothegms the following story is told of the philosopher Diogenes: One day seeing some one teaching a girl to write, he said, They are dipping her arrows in poison! That means a vigorous and thorough-

¹ In Luther's Bible verses 26-27.

going hostility to all feminine education, and this the Oriental clearly regarded as wise and correct. For the Oriental has never been able to rise to the recognition of the equal rights of man and woman, or even of an equal humanity in them. And in this respect the Israelite is Oriental. In the Talmud we find three times the saying: "Well for him whose children are boys; woe to him whose children are girls!" In the Old Testament there is indeed nothing like this directly expressed, but without doubt this is what the Israelite of old thought.

The Koran also furnishes instructive material on this point. The heathen Arabs worshiped chiefly three feminine divinities, who are called daughters of Allah; for they were fond of conceiving all higher powers as feminine. Mohammed attacks this habit of thought with the following drastic *argumentum ad hominem*: "Is it not true that ye wish to have sons; and should God have daughters? And if the birth of a daughter is announced to one of you, then his face is o'erclouded with trouble, and he suppresses his desperation only with difficulty, and hesitates to appear in public because of the bad news that has come to him, and he is in doubt whether to bring her up to his own disgrace or rather to bury her in the earth!" (Sûrah 16, verses 59-61). The exposure and murder of newly-born girl children is of course a widespread custom, of which the prophet Ezekiel must have known, for in the famous sixteenth chapter of his book he describes Jerusalem as a new-born, castaway Bed-

ouin girl, that lies moaning and weltering in her own blood by the wayside, where God finds her and takes her up, and then tends lovingly and rears to maturity. Not that Ezekiel meant to ascribe such an abominable practice to the ancient Israelites, for he also says expressly, "Thy father was an Amorite and thy mother a Hittite."

But in the passage cited, Mohammed speaks of burying in the earth, and on this point our information about the ancient Arabs furnishes us a horrible illustration, for there was among them a custom which is even not lacking in a certain grim humor and probably presents in its unqualified brutality the most peculiar of all solutions of the woman question. If casting away in infancy did not accomplish the desired result, and if there were still too many girls in the community, then the fathers took the unmarried daughters, decked them as brides and buried them alive. That is the Oriental conception of the inferiority of women, who were really regarded merely as a necessary evil. And in this point Israel did not wholly break down the Oriental barrier, and indeed it did not actually accept the complete religious equality of men and women.

Attention has often been called to the fact that in the priestly regulations of Leviticus the priest is forbidden to defile himself by contact with the corpse of his wife; that is, to perform the funeral lament for her; at least, in the evidently very accurate list of the persons for whom he may perform this service the wife is lacking (Lev. xxi. 2-3). Judaism also

regarded the man as the sole bearer of religious worship. The main space of the synagogue is used exclusively by men, while the women, concealed in the balconies are spectators rather than participants in the worship. The obligation which rested upon every mature male Israelite of reciting twice a day the so-called *schema*, the elemental confession of Judaism, is expressly designated as not valid for women in a Mishnah of the treatise *Berachoth*, and since the man thanks God expressly in the daily prayer that he was created a man, of course man and wife cannot even pray in concert. Hence we need no longer be surprised if we find in the Old Testament nothing of the education of girls.

Let me sum up. The ancient Israelite family was an absolute monarchy based upon obedience, and the father the absolute monarch in it. The education of the children also lies entirely in his hands. Training is strict, even harsh, the fundamental element of it being religion and its principal aim the development of a religious personality. Even the school instruction was given at home and by the father; whether the daughters received any share of it we do not know.

These views precisely reverse everything that we regard as natural and a matter of course. What then shall we think of them? They are certainly not the final word on the subject; the gospel of the freedom of the children of God, in which there is no distinction of male and female, is higher. But let us not on that account despise them; for they

served their purpose, they stood the fiery test in a very literal sense. If Israel has successfully out-lived all its persecutions and all the blows of fate, this has been possible only because every individual household constituted a compact unit, which might be destroyed but not broken up. And although much about this institution, even perhaps the whole of it, fails to secure our approval, yet I would like to call attention to one very cogent fact. Our kindred nation in distant South Africa, whose heroic struggle for its freedom and existence for nearly three years kept the whole world that has any heart in a fever of hopeless hope, is a shining illustration of the Old Testament sort of education. The Boers, with their childlike trust in God and their naive belief in the Bible, with their patriarchal conditions and their old-fashioned institutions, are in the very depths of their nature Old Testament people. And what applies to the Boers holds good for Israel. The Old Testament sort of education trained men and heroes, perhaps not always lovable and sympathetic, but whole men, armed for the battle of life and steeled for martyrdom, greater heroes perhaps in suffering and enduring than in action. An education that can show such results and upon which the blessing of God rested evidently for so many thousand years, may certainly command our admiration.

MUSIC IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

MUSIC belongs to the inalienable rights of man. It is the effort to make oneself intelligible to his fellow men by means of the stimulation of sounds of all kinds. Music exists wherever men are found upon the earth, and everywhere they show a genuine refinement in the discovery of means by which to originate sounds. There is hardly anything which can not be brought into use for its purposes.

We do not intend to lose ourselves here in speculation upon the psychological reasons for this demonic impulse; we will be content simply to establish the fact and will not enter into it with regard to humanity in general, but only in so far as the people of Israel is concerned. Even with reference to the Old Testament we will limit ourselves to what the Old Testament itself can tell us about music and musical things.

Many passages have proved very puzzling to Bible readers. For instance when we read in the heading of Psalm lxxx, "To the chief Musician upon Shoshannim-Eduth, A Psalm of Asaph"; or in the heading of Psalm lx, "To the chief Musician upon Shushan-eduth, Michtam of David, to teach";

or in the heading of Psalm lvi, "To the chief Musician upon Jonath-elem-rechokim, Michtam of David"; or when Psalms viii, lxxxi, and lxxxiv, bear the inscription, "To the chief Musician upon Gittith"; or the three, xxxix, lxii, and lxxvii "to Jeduthun"; we may certainly assume that we have an explanation for these hieroglyphics in considering that they possess some kind of a musical character.¹ Accordingly it will be our task to gather together and to sift out the information given by the Old Testament itself upon music and musical matters and then to see whether we can unite and combine these scattered and isolated features into one comprehensive picture or at least into a comparatively clear idea. It is only scattered and isolated features which the Old Testament offers us and not very much of them nor very abundantly. Not perhaps because music had played a subordinate and inconspicuous part in the life of ancient Israel,—on the contrary they must have been a people of an unusually musical temperament whose daily nourishment was song and sound. On this point the Old Testament itself leaves little room for doubt.

¹ Luther in his translation makes an attempt to translate these "hieroglyphics," but the above quoted meaningless combinations of letters from the King James version hardly convey less significance to the reader of to-day than his sentences: "*Ein Psalm Assaphs von den Spanrosen, vorzusingen*" (lxxx); "*Ein gülden Kleinod Davids, vorzusingen, von einem gülden Rosenspan zu lehren*" (lx); etc. Professor Cornill considers the English translation "To the chief Musician" as preferable to Luther's *vorzusingen*. The Polychrome Bible translates this word "For the Liturgy," and interprets the succeeding clauses as "the catch-word of an older song, to the tune whereof this Psalm was to be sung."—Tr.

Everywhere and at all times were song and music to be found in ancient Israel. Every festival occasion, every climax of public or private life was celebrated with music and song. Just as Homer called singing and string music "the consecration of the meal,"² so also in ancient Israel no ceremonial meal could be thought of without its accompaniment of either vocal or instrumental music. Marriage ceremonies took place amid festive choruses with music and dancing, and at the bier of the dead sounded the wail of dirge and flute. The sheep were sheared and the vintage gathered to songs of joy and dancing and tambourine playing. The same was true in public life. The election of a king or his coronation or betrothal were celebrated with music; the victorious warriors and generals were met upon their return home by choruses of matrons and maidens with dance and song. So Miriam spoke from among the choruses of women who after the successful passage through the Red Sea went out "with timbrels and with dances" (Ex. xv. 20); in the same way too, David was received by matrons and maidens after his successful battle with the Philistines (1 Sam. xviii. 6); and upon this custom is founded the frightful tragedy of the story of Jephthah, whose daughter hastened in the joy of her heart to offer greeting and praise to her victorious father, only to be met by death as the fulfilment of his vow (Judges xi).

How great a place music occupied in the worship

² ἀναθήματα δαιτός.

of ancient Israel is universally known. The entire Psalter is nothing else than a collection of religious songs which were sung in the temple worship where the priests with their trumpets and the choruses of music-making Levites stand before the eye of our imagination. Especially by typical expressions do we learn what a significance music had for the life of the Israelitic nation. There is in Hebrew a saying which characterizes what we would call being "common talk," "the object of gossip," "on everybody's tongue," in such a way as to indicate ditties sung in ridicule. The Hebrew expression *neginah*³ means "string music," being derived from the word *nagan*,⁴ "to beat," "to touch," with special reference to instruments, as in striking the chords. In Psalm lxix. 12, this word *neginah* is used in a passage which literally reads: "I am the lute song of drunkards." The Polychrome Bible translates the passage: "I am the subject of wine bibbers' ballads." In the same sense the word is used in Job xxx. 9, with reference to the frightful fate that had befallen him: "And now am I their song, yea I am their byword." And in Lamentations we find (iii. 14, 63), "I was a derision to all my people; and their song all the day. . . Behold their sitting down, and their rising up; I am their music." Here the word translated "song" and "music" is the same in both instances. When Job's fortune changes to evil he says (xxx. 31), "My harp also is turned to mourning, and my organ into the voice of them

³ נגינה

⁴ נגן

that weep." The dreadful desolation of Jerusalem after its destruction is described in Lamentations with the words: "The elders have ceased from the gate, the young men from their music" (v. 14).

Ancient Israel must have been recognized among outside nations as well, as a particularly musical people whose accomplishments in the art comprised a definite profession. For this view we have two extremely characteristic sources of evidence, one from Assyrian monuments and one from the Old Testament. In his account of the unsuccessful siege of Jerusalem by the Assyrians in the year 701 B. C. Sanherib tells us, according to the translation of Hugo Winckler, that Hezekiah, king of Judah, besides all kinds of valuable articles sent also his daughters and the women of his palace together with men and women singers to the great king at Nineveh, while in the touching Psalm cxxxvii we learn that the Babylonian tyrant demanded songs of the Jewish exiles, to cheer them up: "Sing to us your beautiful songs of Zion."

Jewish tradition has given expression to the fact that music belongs to the earliest benefits and gifts of the culture of mankind by establishing Jubal as the inventor of music and father of musicians as early as the seventh generation after the creation (Gen. iv. 21). An important influence on the human heart was ascribed to music and it was employed to drive away the evil spirit of melancholy when David played before the sick King Saul (1 Sam. xvi. 23). It was also used as a spiritual

stimulus by which to acquire prophetic inspiration. In Samuel's time companies of prophets traversed the land to the music of psalter and harp (1 Sam. x. 5), and so the Prophet Elisha to whom the Kings Jehoshaphat and Jehoram applied for an oracle from God, sent for a lute player, saying (2 Kings iii. 15): "But now bring me a minstrel. And it came to pass, when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him."

An art to which such a powerful influence was attributed and to whose most famous masters the greatest king of Israel belonged, must have been zealously practised, and we will now undertake to gain some idea of the cultivation of music in ancient Israel. To this end it will be most useful if we will begin our investigation with what the Old Testament says about musical instruments, of course with express exception of the book of Daniel which in its third chapter mentions a large number of instruments, using their Greek names as naturalized words;⁵ for these prove absolutely nothing with regard to ancient Hebrew music which at present is our only consideration.

We may with equal propriety exclude singing from our investigation. Song is such an especially instinctive and spontaneous expression of the human soul that its presence is established *a priori*. In this connection the question might be raised with regard to the construction of the tone system, but this can not be answered without knowledge of the

⁵ σῦριγγε, σαμβύκη, κίθαρις, ψαλτήριον, συμφωνία.

instruments employed. Only I will not neglect to mention that as early as in the time of David professional male and female singers provided music during mealtime. David wished to take with him to Jerusalem as a reward for fidelity the faithful old Barzillai who had protected him at the time of Absalom's rebellion. There he would be the daily guest of the king; but Barzillai answered (2 Sam. xix. 35), "I am this day fourscore years old; and can I discern between good and evil? Can thy servant taste what I eat or what I drink? Can I hear any more the voice of singing men and singing women? Wherefore then should thy servant be yet a burden unto my lord the king?" Solomon, the Preacher, also delighted in "men singers and women singers and the delights of the sons of men, as musical instruments and that of all sorts" (Eccl. ii. 8).

* * *

Musical instruments are usually divided into three classes, percussive instruments, stringed instruments and wind instruments, and we shall also follow this division. Of these three classes the percussive instruments are the most primitive. They can not be said to possess any properly articulated tones but sounds only, and their single artistic element is rhythm, which however is certainly the foundation and characteristic of music according to the witty utterance of Hans von Bülow, "In the beginning was the rhythm."

Among percussive instruments the one most fre-

quently mentioned is the timbrel or tabret (in Hebrew *toph*⁶) which corresponds exactly to our tambourine. Often they were richly ornamented so that they were frequently referred to as decorations. In one of the most splendid passages of the prophet Jeremiah we read: "Again I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel; thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry" (Jer. xxxi. 4). This passage is particularly characteristic of the nature of the tabret in two respects; first, it usually appears in the hands of women (in all passages where tabret players are expressly mentioned they are matrons and maidens); and secondly it almost always appears in connection with the dance, as being swung in the dance and marking its rhythm. We can suppose it to have been undoubtedly played by men only in connection with the music of the companies of prophets in Samuel's time, for if we read that these prophets came down from the sacred highplace with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp before them (1 Sam. x. 5), we would hardly think of the musicians who accompanied these wild men and played the tabrets before them, as women.

The second percussive instrument is the familiar cymbal, which comes next to our mind in thinking of the music of the Old Testament. With regard to the nature and character of this instrument we can gather all that is essential from the Bible itself. In

the first place the cymbal must have been constructed of brass, for in the familiar passage, 1 Cor. xiii, 1, the Apostle Paul writes according to the Greek text, "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." The Hebrew root *tsalal*,⁷ from which both words for cymbal are derived, means "clatter," to give forth a sharp penetrating sound; and the word most frequently used, *metsiltayim*,⁸ is in the dual form which is never used in the Hebrew language in its purely grammatical sense, but only in the logical sense of things which occur in nature only in pairs. Now since a penetrating and loud tone is repeatedly attributed to the cymbals we may consider them as two metal plates to be struck together (Fig. 4); that is to say, they are the instruments which we know as cymbals and which are known in German as *Becken* and in Italian as *piatti*, and which are most familiar to us in military music in combination with a bass drum.

Two other percussive instruments are mentioned of which one is still doubtful. The one which is undoubtedly certain, *mena'an'im*⁹ (2 Sam. vi. 5) evidently comes from the root *nua'*,¹⁰ "to shake," and corresponds exactly to the Greek *sistrum*¹¹ consisting of metal crossbars upon which hang metal rings that are made to produce their tones by shaking (Fig. 6). Accordingly in current language it is the Turkish bell-tree, the *cinelli*, with which we are familiar also through German military music.

⁷ צלל ⁸ מצלתים ⁹ מנענעים ¹⁰ נוע ¹¹ σείστρον.

Then too an instrument called the *shalish*¹² is mentioned in the hands of women together with the tabret at the triumphal reception of David upon his return from the conquest of the giant Goliath (1 Sam. xviii. 6). The word *shalish* being derived from the same root as *shalosh*, the number "three," we have been accustomed to identify it with our modern triangle, but it is a question whether we are justified in so doing. With this instrument we have exhausted the number of percussive instruments mentioned in the Old Testament.

* * *

It might perhaps be more logical for us to follow the percussive instruments at once with the wind instruments, inasmuch as they are the most primitive next to the percussive instruments because horns of animals and reeds are nature's own gifts to men, while strings made from catgut are a purely artificial product. But as far as ancient Israel was concerned the stringed instruments were by far the most important. I will remind my readers once more of the proverbial application of the word string-music above mentioned.

Accordingly I will next consider the stringed instruments, of which the Old Testament mentions two, the *kinnor*,¹³ and *nebel*.¹⁴ That both were composed of strings drawn across wood (Fig. 9) may be proved, in so far as it needs proof, by the fact that according to 1 Kings x. 12, Solomon ordered certain instruments of this class intended for the

¹² שליש

¹³ כנור

¹⁴ נבל

temple service to be made out of sandal wood, which he had obtained during his famous visits to Ophir. Of these two instrument the kinnor is the most important, but I will begin with the nebel because we have the more definite tradition with regard to it. When Jerome tells us that the nebel, whose name became *nabla*¹⁵ and *nablium* in Greek and Latin, possessed the form of a Greek Delta Δ, we thus have the triangular harp indicated as plainly as possible (Fig. 1). The only objection that can be brought against this view, namely that we repeatedly meet this instrument in the hands of dancers and pilgrims, is not sound. In representations of ancient Egypt, we also have harps so small that they could easily be carried (Fig. 2), and the best commentaries have lately shown us Assyrian representations where pointed harps with the points at the top and fastened with a band were likewise carried in the hands of dancing processions (Fig. 10). If the points of these Assyrian harps were regularly at the top, this will explain to us better St. Jerome's comparison with the Greek Delta which of course has the point at the top.

Especially noteworthy among others is an Assyrian representation (Fig. 15) in which three prisoners are being led into exile by an Assyrian king, and all three are playing four-stringed harps on the march, but the harps are so turned that the broad side is on top. It is quite possible that these figures may represent captive Israelites.

¹⁵ νάβλα.

There must have been several varieties of nebel (e. g., Fig. 8). A harp of ten strings (dekachord) is repeatedly mentioned¹⁶ in clear distinction from the usual ones which accordingly must have had fewer than ten strings, perhaps four as in that Assyrian sketch. An instrument of six strings is the interpretation of many exegetists of the word *shu-shan*¹⁷ which Luther translates by *Rosen* in the headings to Psalms xlv, lx, lxix and lxxx. When we read in Luther's Bible in the headings to Psalms vi and xii, "to be rendered on eight strings,"¹⁸ this is hardly an accurate translation of a musical term with which we shall occupy ourselves later.

By far the most important stringed instrument, on the other hand, is the kinnor. Its invention is ascribed to Jubal, and we meet with it on every hand in the most varied occasions. The exiles hung them on the willows by the waters of Babylon (Ps. cxxxvii. 2) and according to a passage in the book of Isaiah, which to be sure comes from a much later date, probably the Greek period, they are used by harlots for the public allurements of men (Is. xxiii. 16).

For us the kinnor has indeed a conspicuous interest and a particular significance in that it was the instrument of King David, by which the son of Jesse subdued the melancholy of King Saul, and

¹⁶ Ps. xxxiii. 2; xcii. 4; cxliv. 9.

¹⁷ שושן

¹⁸ The Polychrome Bible here understands "in the eighth [mode]" or key. The authorized version again resorts to a transcription of the Hebrew, "On Neginoth upon Sheminith." Dr. Cornill's view is given on page 123.—Tr.

which he played when dancing before the ark. We are particularly fortunate in possessing an authentic copy of this instrument on an Egyptian monument. On the tomb of Chnumhotep, the Prince of Middle Egypt at Beni Hassan in the time of Pharaoh Usurtesen II of the 12th dynasty, which can not be placed later than 2300 B. C., a procession of Semitic nomads is represented which Chnumhotep is leading into the presence of Pharaoh in order to obtain the royal permission for a dwelling place in Egypt. In this procession a man who comes immediately behind the women and children is carrying by a leather thong an instrument which we can not fail to recognize as the kinnor (Fig. 3, cf. also Fig. 5). It is a board with four rounded corners and with a sounding hole in the upper part over which eight strings are stretched. The man picks the strings with the fingers of his left hand while he strikes them with a so-called plectrum,¹⁹ a small stick held in his right hand.

That the Israelites also played their stringed instruments partly with their fingers and partly by means of such a plectrum we might conclude from the two characteristically different expressions for playing on strings: *zamar*,²⁰ "to pluck," and *nagan*,²¹ "to strike." All antiquity was unacquainted with the use of bows to produce sound from stringed instruments of any kind.

Hence the kinnor may first of all be compared to our zither, except that it apparently had no hollow

¹⁹ πλῆκτρον.

²⁰ גמר .

²¹ נגן

space underneath and no special sounding board. The stringed instruments as they are represented in countless different varieties on Jewish coins (Figs. 13 and 14) do not correspond either with the *nebel* or the *kinnor* but much more closely resemble the Greek lyre²² and therefore have little value with reference to the Old Testament.

We might also consider the *gittith* a stringed instrument where the headings to Psalms viii, lxxxix, and lxxxiv, read "upon Gittith."²³ But it is very doubtful whether the word *gittith*²⁴ translates a musical instrument and not rather a particular kind of song or melody. In either case it will be better not to confuse the temple orchestra of ancient Israel with the *gittith*.

* * *

We have still to consider the wind instruments. One of these whose invention is likewise ascribed to Jubal is called the '*ugab*.'²⁵ Besides in Genesis iv. 21, it is mentioned twice in the book of Job, and once in Psalms cl, in which all instruments and everything that hath breath are summoned to give praise and thanksgiving to God (Ps. cl. 4; Job xxi. 12; xxx. 31). This '*ugab*' has been regarded as a bag-

²² *λύρα*.

²³ The Polychrome Bible comments: "We do not know whether *Gittith* means 'belonging to the city of Gath,' which probably had been destroyed before the Babylonian Exile, or 'belonging to a wine-press' (= Song for the Vintage?), or whether it denotes a mode or key, or a musical instrument."—Tr.

²⁴ גִּתִּית

²⁵ עֹגֶב It is translated in the authorized version by "organ," but in Ps. cl. 4, in the margin, as "pipe."—Tr.

pipe and we may be assured that it was a very primitive instrument. It has been customary to translate the word by "shawm"; Luther calls it "pipes" (*Pfeifen*). But Mr. Phillips Barry²⁶ proves to my satisfaction that the traditional rendering of *'ugab* as "bagpipe" rests upon an error. Just what the *'ugab* is, however, Mr. Barry himself is not able to say.

The most important reed instrument, the flute, we find referred to as *khalil*,²⁷ only in five passages: with the thundering music of the prophets (1 Sam. x. 5); at the proclamation of Solomon as the successor of David (1 Kings i. 40); twice in the book of Isaiah, in connection with the dinner music of the rich gluttons and winebibbers at Jerusalem (v. 12), and also "when one goeth with the pipe to come into the mountain of the Lord" (xxx. 29); and finally once in the book of Jeremiah as the instrument of mourning and lamentation, where we read (xlviii. 36), "Therefore mine heart shall sound for Moab like pipes." In this connection we are reminded to some extent of the awakening of Jairus's little daughter. When Jesus reached the house of mourning he found there before him flute players and weeping women²⁸ (Matt. ix. 23; Mark v. 38).

²⁶ See his brief article entitled "The Bagpipe not a Hebrew Instrument" in *The Monist*, XIX, July, 1909, pp. 459-461.

²⁷ כִּלְכִּיל Translated in the authorized version by "pipe."—Tr.

²⁸ The English version speaks simply of "minstrels and the people making a noise," without translating the kind of instrument used.—Tr.

Of the construction of these flutes the Old Testament tells us nothing and leaves nothing to be inferred, and yet we imagine that the khalil was not a transverse flute but probably a sort of beaked flute, thus corresponding much more closely to our clarinet. We find the transverse flutes only in very isolated cases on Egyptian monuments, while on the other hand we find the beaked flutes regularly in an overwhelming majority with the Assyrians, and indeed often composed of two tubes as was the common form among the Greeks (Fig. 11). But nearer than this we can not affirm anything with regard to their use in ancient Israel.

We find animal horns mentioned twice among wind instruments, as ram's horns, once indeed in connection with the theophany of Sinai (Ex. xix. 13) and once at the capture of Jericho (Josh. vi. 5). The term "horn," *qeren*,²⁹ for a musical instrument comes under Greek influence again in the book of Daniel. On the other hand in Old Testament times only the two forms *shofar*³⁰ and *hatsotserah*³¹ were in common use. On the triumphal arch of Titus (Figs. 16 and 17) and on two Jewish coins (Fig. 18) we have esthetic representations of the hatsotserah which was peculiarly the instrument of worship and was blown by the priests. According to Num. x, two hatsotseroth (the word always occurs in the plural in the Hebrew with one exception) were to be fashioned out of silver by skilful handiwork and there the priests made use of them to call

²⁹ קרן³⁰ שופר³¹ חצוצרה

together the people and to announce the feasts and new moons. That these instruments in the ancient temple were indeed of silver we learn also from an incidental notice in 2 Kings xii. 13, in the reign of King Joash. According to many pictures they are rather long and slender and perfectly straight, widening gradually in front into a bell mouth, hence the very instruments which the pictures of ancient art used to place in the hands of angels, and which may best be compared with the so-called clarion of ancient music, a kind of clarinet made of metal.

The wind instrument which is second in importance, the *shofar*, still plays a part in the worship of the synagogue, but in the Old Testament, as far as religious use is concerned it is far behind the hatsotserah. According to Jerome the horn of the shofar is bent backward in contrast to the straight horn of the hatsotserah. It is especially the instrument for sounding signals of alarm, for which purpose it was widely used. According to law this trumpet was to be sounded on the day of atonement every forty-ninth year, the year of jubilee (Lev. xxv. 9). There is a noteworthy passage in the book of Isaiah where it says that on that day at the sounding of the great trumpet (*shofar*) all the Jews scattered and exiled throughout the whole world shall come back to worship in the holy mount at Jerusalem (Is. xxvii. 13); and this eschatological and apocalyptical passage has also become significant with regard to the New Testament, for from it the Apostle Paul takes the trump of the last judgment by

whose sound the dead will arise according to 1 Cor. xv. 52, and 1 Thess. iv. 16. (Cf. also Matt. xxiv. 31.) According to the prophet Zechariah the Lord of Sabaoth himself shall blow the trumpet (*shofar*) at the last judgment (Zech. ix. 14).

Whether the ancient Israelites really played melodies or signals in the natural tones of the bugle or the signal trumpet we do not know. We have only two characteristically different expressions for the blowing on the shofar and hatsotserah, viz., "blow"³² on the instruments and "howl"³³ on them. By the first word is meant to make a noise by short sharp blasts and by the last, by long drawn out ringing notes. This is what we learn from the Old Testament about musical instruments of ancient Israel and their use.

* * *

The character of the music of ancient Israel we must consider in general as merry and gay, almost boisterous, so that it seemed advisable to refrain from music in the presence of men who were ill-tempered or moody. In the Proverbs of Solomon xxv. 20, we have the expressive simile, "as vinegar upon nitre so is he that singeth songs to an heavy heart." Music served most conspicuously and was of first importance in the joys of life as, for instance, dinner music, dance music, and feast music, so that the prophet Jeremiah speaks of it as the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness (Jer. vii. 34; xvi. 9; xxv. 10; xxxiii. 11). Even ritual music

³² תקע *taka'*

³³ הריע *heri'a*

seems to have borne a worldly character in ancient Israel, so that through the prophet Amos, God addresses the nation in words of wrath: "Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols" (v. 23). Amos uses here exactly the same strong expression with which Ezekiel (xxiii. 42) describes the singing of abandoned women in Bacchanalian orgies, and (xxvi. 13) the sound of harps in the luxurious commercial center of Tyre.

Since in all ancient reports men and women singers are named together, it is therefore most probable that women took part in the ritual service of ancient Israel. A doubtful passage in Amos should according to all probability be translated "Then will the women singers in the temple howl" (Amos viii. 3), and this circumstance may have especially aroused the anger of the puritanical and untaught herdsman of Tekoa. But that Amos may have had a justifiable foundation for his repugnance to the singing of women became clear to me when in the spring of 1905 I attended the International Congress of Orientalists at Algiers as official delegate of the Prussian Government and had an opportunity for the first time to hear modern Arabian music. On the second evening of the Congress a lecture was offered to us on "La musique arabe" illustrated by concrete examples. At the left of the lecturer was a group of male, and on the right a group of female musicians, which at his signal performed their corresponding parts. But since no provision

was made for reserved seats, then or at any other session of the Congress, there ensued a battle of elbows in open competition, and the hall was much too small for all the members of the Congress, which seemed to be the chronic state of things in Algiers. Hence with my particular gift always and everywhere to get the worst place, I was pressed against the farthest wall, where it was necessary in this instance to stand for two good hours wedged in a fearfully crowded corner, and so, greatly to my sorrow, many occurrences escaped me.

Still the impression of the whole was decidedly striking, presumably because of the difference between male and female singing. Never did both groups perform together in a mixed chorus (just as Orientals do not recognize a dance between men and women) but each group sang by itself. The song and music of the men was very solemn and dignified, in slow time without a distinct rhythm or melodious cadence, but in a sort of recitative (*Sprechgesang*) which is now in vogue in the latest music. The music of the women was very different. In their performance all was fire and life. They sang in pronounced melody with sharply accentuated rhythm in a passionate *tempo*, and they treated the instruments upon which they accompanied their singing with incredible expression. Not only throat and fingers but the whole person in all its members was engaged in making music. If we may imagine the women who sang in ancient Israel entirely or approximately like their modern feminine counter-

parts, it is easy to understand how a man like the prophet Amos at the outbreak of such a band in the temple at Bethel might have received the impression of a "variety show" in church. And another thing occurred to me in connection with the songs of those women, that according to the language of music they are all composed in minor, and indeed only in the two scales of D Minor and A Minor, which with their characteristic intervals in the case of the so-called "church" keys have been named Doric and Aeolic,—so then we see that just as a deep meaning often lies in the games of children, the familiar German pun that the trumpets of the Israelites before the walls of Jericho were blown in the key of D Minor (*D moll*) because they *demolished* those walls, was not made entirely out of whole cloth.

This brings us quite naturally to the question whether or not the music of ancient Israel had a tone system and a definite scale. When even on the earliest Egyptian and Assyrian monuments the pointed harps have strings of constantly diminishing length and the flutes have soundholes where the players manipulate their fingers, it is absolutely necessary for us to investigate this question, for these pictorial illustrations testify to definite tones of varying pitch and in that case a fixed scale must have previously existed.

To be sure I must at the outset abandon one means of determining this scale, and that is accent. Besides the vowel signs our Hebrew texts have also so-called accents which perform a threefold func-

tion; first as accent in its proper signification to indicate the stress of voice, then as punctuation marks, and finally as musical notation. This accent also denotes a definite *melisma*, or a definite cadence according to which the emphasized word in the intoned discourse of the synagogue (the so-called *niggun*³⁴) was to be recited. The learned bishop of the Moravian Brethren and counsellor of the Brandenburg consistory, Daniel Ernst Jablonski, in the preface to the Berlin edition of 1699 of the Old Testament made under his patronage, undertook to rewrite these accents according to the custom of the *Sefardim* (that is, of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews) in modern notes and has thus rewritten in notes one long coherent passage in Genesis (xlviii. 15, 16), which I sometimes have occasion to sing to my students at college. But this *niggun*, as evidence has lately been found to prove, is of Christian origin, an imitation of the so-called *neumes*,³⁵ used in the Greco-Syrian communities of the Orient in reciting the Gospels, and accordingly has been handed down from the church to the synagogue, and so for ancient Israel and its music has no meaning;—at least directly, for the church was essentially under Greek influence, and Greek music must not be identified with that of ancient Israel, nor must the latter be constructed according to the former. The only trace, although an uncertain one, in the Old Testament itself appears in the expression which I have already mentioned, and which Luther translates “on

³⁴ נגן

³⁵ νεύματα.

eight strings" (*auf acht Saiten*). But in Hebrew the word is *sheminith*,³⁶ meaning "ordinal number" so that we must not translate "on eight" but "on (or after) the *eighth*." Accordingly a musician can hardly do otherwise than insert this "eighth" in the familiar *octave*, the foundation of our tone-system, and assume that the ancient Israelites also had a scale of seven intervals so that the eighth becomes the same note but placed an octave higher. And this interpretation has also a support in the Old Testament. Our principal source for the music of ancient Israel is the biblical book of Chronicles which has evidently been written by a specialist, a Levitical musician of the temple, who offers us a complete series of technical statements with regard to ancient musical culture. So we read in one of the most important passages (1 Chron. xv. 20, 21) that a circle of temple musicians played upon the *nebel*, the harp, *al alamoth*,³⁷ literally translated "after the manner of maidens," and another on the *kinnor*, the lute, *al hashsheminith*,³⁸ literally, "after the eighth." By the designation "after the manner of maidens" can only be meant the high clear voices of women, that is to say soprano, and then it is of course natural to see in the "eighth" the deeper voices of the men an octave lower. If this combination is correct, and it is at least very promising, we see clearly proven in it the existence of a scale of seven intervals, even if we know nothing about the particular intervals and their relation to each other.

³⁶ שמינית³⁷ על עלמות³⁸ על השמינית

Another characteristic of the music of ancient Israel is that it does not take into account pure instrumental music, the so-called absolute music, but on the contrary regards instruments simply as accompaniment for singing. The usage of the language is significant with regard to this point. The Hebrew calls instruments *kele hashshir*,³⁹ "instruments of song" and calls musicians simply "singers"; for it has long been observed that in the passages which treat of singers in the proper sense a particular form of the participle is always found, the so-called *Kal*,⁴⁰ while another participial form of the same root, the so-called *Polel*,⁴¹ designates musicians in general. Accordingly Israel considers the essential nature and the foundation of all music to be in song, in *Melos*. And what an ingenious instinct, what an artistic delicacy of feeling is given utterance in this designation! The end pursued by modern music is to compress the living human voice into a dead instrument, while the great musicians of all times have considered it their task rather to let the instruments sing, to put a living human soul into the dead wood, metal, or sheepgut. Such was the case with the people of Israel.

Likewise the music of ancient Israel knew nothing of polyphony which is an abomination to Orientals in general. And to be sure must not polyphony be designated as a two-edged sword? For counterpoint is commonly understood to come in exactly at the point when the musician lacks melody and con-

³⁹ כלי השיר⁴⁰ שר⁴¹ משורר

ception. And what is even the most artistic polyphony of a Richard Strauss or a Max Reger compared to the heavenly melody of the larghetto in Mozart's clarinet quintet! What the chronicler considers an ideal performance is stated in a characteristic passage: "It came even to pass, as the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord" (2 Chron. v. 13). Hence a single powerful *unisono* is the ideal of the music of ancient Israel.

* * *

The passage of Chronicles above quoted, leads us to the dedication of Solomon's temple. And since Israel is the nation of religion, and as we are moreover best informed by the chronicler just about temple music, we shall in conclusion make an attempt to sketch a picture of the temple music of ancient Israel.

With regard to the orchestra of the temple, the lack of wood-wind instruments is noteworthy. Even the flute is mentioned only once in connection with a procession of pilgrims (Is. xxx. 29),⁴² but never in connection with the worship proper.

Since the trumpets were reserved for the use of the priests in giving signals at certain definite places in the ritual, the temple orchestra consisted only of stringed instruments, harps and lutes, so that the

⁴²The Polychrome Bible reads "Joy of heart like his who sets forth to the flute to go to the mountain of Yahveh," but in the authorized version the instrument is called "pipe" and not "flute."—Tr.

music of the temple is repeatedly called simply "string-music," *neginah*.⁴³

And to these stringed instruments cymbals also may be added. These three instruments, cymbals, harps and lutes, are always mentioned in this order as played by the Levites.

The Levites were again divided into three groups after David's three singing masters, Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun (sometimes Ethan). Since these three names always occur in the same order we are led to combine the corresponding systems and to give to Asaph the cymbals, to Heman the harp, and to Jeduthun the lute; and for the first and third of these combinations we have corroborative quotations: Once in 1 Chronicles xvi. 5, it is expressly mentioned as a function of Asaph, that he "made a sound with cymbals"; and again in 1 Chronicles xxv. 3, Jeduthun is mentioned as he "who prophesied with a lute."⁴⁴ This shows us how to understand the heading of the three Psalms xxxix, lvii, and lxxvii, "To Jeduthun."⁴⁵ These evidently are to be accompanied only by Jeduthun with the

⁴³ נְגִינָה. In the headings of Psalms iv, vi, liv, lv, lxi, lxvii, and lxxvi. Cf. also Is. xxxviii. 20; and Hab. iii. 19.

⁴⁴ The English version translates this also as "harp."—Tr.

⁴⁵ Wellhausen in his Notes to the Polychrome Edition of *The Book of Psalms* thus explains the word which he translates as "for (or from) Jeduthun." "*Jeduthun* like *Korah* and *Asaph*, was the name of a post-Exilic guild of temple-musicians. . . . Hence the Psalms may have been attributed to them originally in just the same way that many German hymns are attributed to the Moravian Brethren: they belonged originally to a private collection, and subsequently found their way into the common hymn-book."—Tr.

lute, and this agrees with the grave and somber character of the three psalms.

This indicates that even in the most primitive beginnings there was an art of instrumentation which took into consideration the timbre of the instruments, and as a modern analogy we might point out certain priestly passages in "The Magic Flute." The wonderful effect of these passages rests on the fact that Mozart neglected the common usage (which would have combined two violins with a tenor and bass viol in the string quartette) and left out the violins, assigning the quartette exclusively to the viols. But just here in this division of instruments is a point expressly handed down by tradition, which must appear strange to us: to Asaph who is always mentioned in the first place and apparently acts as the first orchestra leader, is assigned only the ringing brass of the cymbals. But these cymbals apparently served the purpose of a baton in the hand of a modern orchestra leader marking the rhythm with their sharp penetrating tone and so holding together the whole. The trumpets of the priests were to serve the people as "a memorial before God" (Numbers x. 9-10). Hence they are in some measure a knocking at the door of God, and apparently have the same function as the bell at a Catholic mass in giving the people the signal to fall upon their knees (2 Chron. xxix. 27-28). The supposition has been expressed that the puzzling *selah* in the Psalms, which undoubtedly had a musical liturgical sense and indicated an interruption

of the singing by instruments, marked the places where the priests blew their trumpets—an assumption which can be neither proved nor disproved.

What now is the case with regard to the temple song which of course was the singing of psalms? We learn from Chronicles that the later usage removed women's voices from the service and recognized only Levitical singers. In a remarkable passage (Ps. lxxviii. 25) which describes a procession of the second temple the women still come into prominence as "damsels playing with timbrels" but ordinarily only male singers and lute players are mentioned. But if Psalm xlvi, for instance, were sung according to its inscription "after the manner of maidens,"⁴⁶ we must assume that the men sang in falsetto, just as not so very long ago when women's voices were in the same manner excluded from the service of the Evangelical church, falsetto was regularly practised and belonged to the art of church music.

With regard to the melodies to which the Psalms were sung, here again, as it seems, we have the same process as in the German church songs. When we find ascribed to the Psalms as melodies the words "To the Tune of the Winepress,"⁴⁷ Psalms viii, lxxxii, lxxxiv; "To the Tune of Lilies,"⁴⁸ Psalms

⁴⁶ This part of the heading to Psalm xlvi, Luther translates, "*Von der Jugend, vorzusingen*"; the authorized English version gives "a song upon Alamoth"; and the Polychrome Bible says "with Elamite instruments."—Tr.

⁴⁷ על הגתית if derived from גת winepress.

⁴⁸ על שושנים

xlv, lx, lxix, lxxx; "To the Tune of The Hind of the Dawn,"⁴⁹ Psalm xxii; "To the Tune of The Dove of Far-off Islands,"⁵⁰ Psalm lvi; or according to the somewhat doubtful interpretation, Psalm v, "To the Tune of A Swarm of Bees,"⁵¹ we can not doubt that they originally were secular melodies, folk-songs which found admittance into the worship of the people.

With regard to the arrangement of the temple orchestra the chronicler is again able to give us information. The singing Levites stood at the east end of the bronze altar of burnt sacrifice (2 Chron. v. 12) opposite the priests who sounded the trumpets (2 Chron. vii. 6); that is to say to the west of them. This statement to be sure involves difficulties since the whole temple was oriented from west to east so that if the Levites stood before the altar they must have obstructed the approach to its steps and the priests were entirely concealed behind it. But we must not on this account doubt the definite statement of so competent an authority as the chronicler.

Of a musical liturgical service in the ancient temple we have two vivid descriptions: one from the chronicler and one from Jesus Sirach. The chronicler gives us the following description of a Pass-

⁴⁹ על אילת השחר

⁵⁰ על יונת אלם רחקים being regarded as an error in writing אים

⁵¹ אל הנחילות

over in the first year of the reign of King Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxix. 26-30) :

“And the Levites stood with the instruments of David and the priests with the trumpets.

“And Hezekiah commanded to offer the burnt offering upon the altar. And when the burnt offering began, the song of the Lord began also with the trumpets, and with the instruments ordained by David king of Israel.

“And all the congregation worshiped, and the singers sang, and the trumpeters sounded: and all this continued until the burnt offering was finished.

“And when they had made an end of offering, the king and all that were present with him bowed themselves, and worshiped.

“Moreover Hezekiah the king and the princes commanded the Levites to sing praise unto the Lord with the words of David, and of Asaph the seer. And they sang praises with gladness, and they bowed their heads and worshiped.”

And Jesus Sirach says in describing the installation of Simon, a contemporary, as high priest, (Ecclesiasticus 1. 15-21) :

“He stretched out his hand to the cup, and poured of the blood of the grape, he poured out at the foot of the altar a sweet-smelling savor unto the most high King of all.

“Then shouted the sons of Aaron, and sounded the silver trumpets, and made a great noise to be heard, for a remembrance before the most High.

“Then all the people together hasted, and fell

down to the earth upon their faces to worship their Lord God Almighty, the most High.

“The singers also sang praises with their voices, with great variety of sounds was there made sweet melody.

“And the people besought the Lord, the most High, by prayer before him that is merciful, till the solemnity of the Lord was ended, and they had finished the service.

“Then he went down, and lifted up his hands over the whole congregation of the children of Israel, to give the blessing of the Lord with his lips, and to rejoice in his name.

“And they bowed themselves down to worship the second time, that they might receive a blessing from the most High.”

Here we see art inserted organically in the whole of the service; music too, like the swallow, had found a nest on the altar of the Lord of Hosts (Psalm lxxxiv. 3).

From such descriptions we comprehend the enthusiastic love and devotion of the Israelite for his temple where everything that was beautiful in his eyes was consecrated and illumined by religion, where he “might behold the beautiful worship of the Lord,” as Luther translates Psalm xxvii. 4, incorrectly to be sure, but most comfortingly;⁵² and music has contributed the richest share in making this “beautiful worship of the Lord.”

⁵²The authorized version has simply “the beauty of the Lord.”—Tr.

Both the secular and temple music of ancient Israel have long since died out in silence. Not one tone has remained alive, not one note of her melodies do we hear, but not in vain did it resound in days of old. Without temple music there would be no temple song; without temple song, no Psalms. The Psalms belong to the most precious treasures among the spiritual possessions of mankind; these we owe to the music of ancient Israel, and in them the temple music of ancient Israel continues to live to-day and will endure for all time.

THE PSALMS IN UNIVERSAL LITERATURE.

PSALMS and universal literature!¹ Two great and significant expressions! Two mighty and heart-stirring facts! We Germans especially cannot fail to feel pride and joy when we speak the phrase "universal literature," for the phrase and the idea originated on German soil, are the fruit of the German mind. The phrase, as is known, comes from Goethe, the most universal genius of Germany and perhaps of mankind; but the idea we owe to Herder. Goethe himself frankly declared this in five fine stanzas composed in honor of Herder. I cannot forbear quoting them because they are among the less familiar of Goethe's compositions, and because they develop in a manner quite classic the idea of universal literature. In a masque for the 18th of December, 1818, the Ilm is represented as introducing the four literary princes of Weimar: Wieland, Herder, Goethe, and Schiller, and characterizes Herder as follows:

¹ *Weltliteratur*. The translation is not quite adequate; but the German has the advantage of us with his beautiful words: *Weltgeschichte*, *Weltgericht*, *Weltliteratur*.

A noble man, and eager to discover
 How everywhere the human spirit grows,
 Harks for the word or tone the wide world over
 That in its songs from countless sources flows,
 Through earlier and through later ages wending,
 His ear to every region's voices lending.

And thus he hears from nation sung to nation
 What has touched each man in his native air,
 And hears repeated in naïve relation
 What grandsires gave to sires of good and fair,
 Amusement and instruction both revealing
 As though 'twere all but one man's act and feeling.

Whate'er casts down the soul, whate'er upraises,
 Quickly confused and carelessly combined,
 One thought for each, a thousand words and phrases
 From Eden to the present have defined.
 Thus chants the bard, saga and song renew it,
 We feel it all as though we had lived through it.

If the black cliffs and overclouded heaven
 To pictures here of gloomy woe constrain,
 The sun-kissed vault by jubilant songs is riven
 Of rapt souls yonder on the open main;
 Their will was good, what everywhere should woo man
 They too desired: the universal human. .

Where'er concealed, his was the art that found it,
 In serious guise, or masked for lightsome game,—
 Humanity,² in loftiest sense to ground it
 For future times be our eternal aim!
 O would his spirit now might see them leave us,
 Healed by humanity,—the plagues that grieve us!

[Ein edler Mann, begierig, zu ergründen,
 Wie überall des Menschen Sinn erspriesst,
 Horcht in die Welt, so Ton als Wort zu finden,
 Das tausendquellig durch die Länder fließt;
 Die ältesten, die neusten Regionen
 Durchwandelt er und lauscht in allen Zonen.

² *Menschlichkeit* assumes here, of course, much of the second sense of humanity, i. e., humaneness.

Und so von Volk zu Volke hört er singen,
 Was Jeden in der Mutterlust gerührt,
 Er hört erzählen, was von guten Dingen
 Urvaters Wort dem Vater zugeführt.
 Das Alles war Ergetzlichkeit und Lehre,
 Gefühl und That, als wenn es *eines* wäre.

Was Leiden bringen mag und was Genüge,
 Behend verwirrt und ungehofft vereint,
 Das haben tausend Sprach- und Redezüge
 Vom Paradies bis heute gleich gemeint.
 So singt der Barde, spricht Legend' und Sage;
 Wir fühlen mit, als wären's unsre Tage.

Wenn schwarz der Fels, umhangen Atmosphäre
 Zu Traumgebilden düstrer Klage zwingt,
 Dort heiterm Sonnenglanz im offenen Meere
 Das hohe Lied entzückter Seele klingt:
 Sie meinen's gut und fromm im Grund, sie wollten
 Nur Menschliches, was Alle wollen sollten.

Wo sich's versteckte, wusst' er's aufzufinden,
 Ernsthaft verhüllt, verkleidet leicht als Spiel,
 Im höchsten Sinn der Zukunft zu begründen:
Humanität sei unser ewig Ziel.
 O, warum schaut er nicht in diesen Tagen
 Durch Menschlichkeit geheilt die schwersten Plagen!]

Herder, you know, was an East Prussian, and since I have become acquainted with East Prussia through my own observation, I am inclined to regard it as not a mere matter of chance that it was an East Prussian mind that first developed the idea of universal literature. For East Prussia has peculiar ethnographic conditions such as are found nowhere else in Germany. Here, among and along with the Germans, dwell two other races of distinctly marked individuality and of great poetic endow-

ment, the Poles and the Lithuanians, and Herder's native town, Mohrunge, is situated in close proximity to the wholly Polish province of Ermland, which in his day still belonged politically to the kingdom of Poland. As a result of these early impressions, and of the similar conditions in Riga, where he spent the next five years after finishing his studies at Königsberg, his ear could not fail to become sensitive to the peculiarities of national tones, while his eye was opened to what was common in national characteristics, to the purely human.

Moreover, Herder had the gift of catching the utterances of nations in their most individual and at the same time most purely human manifestations, in the spontaneous expressions of their racial peculiarity. Herder has a marvelous eye and a unique sense for racial peculiarities; he is in truth the discoverer of the race-soul. Whether dealing with Esthonians or Persians, with Lithuanians or Spaniards, with Scots or Israelites, with equal insight Herder recognizes and understands their innermost emotions, and finds in their popular literature their poetic echo and their artistic self-revelation. All humankind is to him a gigantic harp in the hand of God, each nation constituting a string and producing a distinct tone, and all together, when touched by the hand of one divine master, joining in a jubilant accord of everlasting harmonies; for the same God enables them all to give utterance to their sorrows and their joys. This is all that they say, each in the tone given by God.

How Herder, through his way of looking at the matter, made an epoch in the appreciation of the sacred literature of Israel, I may assume to be generally known. While before it had been regarded solely as the supernaturally revealed word of God, the human factor wholly ignored, and while the father of the historical treatment of the biblical books, the aged Johann Salomon Semler in Halle, could see in the Old Testament nothing but the unedifying literature of an untutored people, Herder taught that it was the artistic product of the intellect of the Hebrew nation and at the same time a religious monument, and thus in a certain sense he re-discovered it for his contemporaries and for all succeeding generations and revealed its nobility. Whoever occupies himself to any extent with the sacred literature of Israel, and whoever loves it, owes to no one greater gratitude or sincerer admiration than to Johann Gottfried Herder.

A providential dispensation brought this seer and prophet into closest intimacy with Goethe at the most critical and important period for the latter, when the springtime of his life was expanding within him, "and all the buds were swelling." As a matter of course, in the case of Goethe's far richer and far more comprehensive genius, such suggestions fell upon fruitful ground. He could not fail to see in the poetic activity of the various nations "a dance of spheres, harmonious amid tumult," as he expresses it in the poem entitled "Universal Literature." He found for the fact the expressive name

“Universal Literature” (*Weltliteratur*). Whatever beautiful and permanent work a man or a nation has achieved has been wrought not solely for this man or that nation, but for humanity, for the whole world. Before the universal power of poetry and beauty all national barriers fall, the bounds of its influence extend as far as poetry and beauty reach, that is to say, wherever human hearts beat.

But this phrase coined by Goethe is used in a double sense, both as the confirmation of a fact and as a critical judgment. It is true that all the imaginative productions of mankind together constitute universal literature as the imaginative manifestation of the human mind. This imaginative manifestation is innate to it, is part of its very nature, blows whither it listeth, being restricted to neither nationality nor race. Yet only a small number of poetic geniuses, indeed, only certain of their works, may be said in a special sense to belong to universal literature.

And what do we mean when we pronounce such a judgment?

We mean that these works not only have a significance for their nation, but that they belong to the world. Of course these are only the most prominent productions of the individual literatures, the most immortal creations, in which poetic genius has, so to speak, excelled itself, just as in a mountain panorama to one standing at a distance the lower mountains combine and blend into a compact and formless mass, while plastic and individual effects

are produced only by the highest peaks, which tower like monarchs and in solitary majesty into the bright blue of the ether, kissed by the very first breath of the dawn while night still spreads her dusky pinions over hill and valley, and flushed by the last rays of the setting sun while deep twilight has already settled upon the earth. That is what we mean when we speak of universal literature, when we ascribe to a poetic product a place in universal literature.

And what are the claims that support this position?

That such works must be finished works of art is so much a matter of course that it need scarcely be said; for in every art only the finished has any claim to permanence. The essential qualifications for a place in universal literature have been shown plainly and clearly by Goethe in the already quoted poem to Herder,—

—“what everywhere should woo man
They too desired,—the universal human.”

The content of such works must be universally human. They must arouse in us feelings which appertain to every human being as such, no matter in what zone or among what people he was born; they must be international in the preeminent sense of the word. But Goethe mentions a second essential requisite in the words they sing,

“What has touched each man in his native air.”

Such works must also be national in the preeminent sense of the word, must be characteristic

of the nation which gave them birth, and must at the same time be the highest and purest artistic self-revelation of its special individuality.

There is scarcely anything on earth more sacred and divine than the individuality of man or of nation; it is the first and indispensable duty of either to live out and develop it. Just as, in Rückert's profound saying, the rose adorns the garden by adorning itself, even so with man. The individual and the individual nation become valuable members of humanity precisely in so far as they develop their own distinct peculiarities, which could be developed in just the same way by no other man and no other people.

Accordingly the intellectual products that belong to universal literature must be finished works of art, representing in a specifically and distinctly national form a purely and universal human content, so that such a work could be produced in this manner only by the very people from which it comes.

After thus surveying the ground let us approach the treatment of our theme. This will develop in two directions. We must ask (1) Do the Psalms belong to universal literature at all in the preeminent sense intended by us? And if we answer this question affirmatively, then (2) What is the significance of the Psalms in universal literature?

Pray do not consider it pedantry, or even quite superfluous, if I ask first: Do the Psalms belong to universal literature at all? Wide distribution alone is no criterion. The Koran, for instance, can rival

the Bible in the matter of wide distribution, for it is the bible of 200,000,000 human beings in Europe, Asia, and Africa; yet for my part I would never include the Koran in universal literature. True, it is national in a preeminent sense, a most typical expression of the peculiar combination of dry, sober reason and luxuriant, sensually glowing imagination which constitutes the national character of the Arab. But the Koran never got beyond the national, and rises to the height neither of the purely human nor of the finished work of art. The hopelessly dull prose portions and the over-ornate poetic pieces are unedifying to any but an Arab, unless he is constrained by religious considerations to regard this book as a divine revelation.

But the case is different with the Psalms. True, the one hundred and fifty different songs of which the collection consists are not all of equal value and significance. In the familiar expression of Horace, even Homer sometimes nods, and thus a weak verse or a dull episode creeps into his work. But we judge and estimate a poet or a literature by its best, and no competent critic who knows the Psalms will deny that among them are a considerable number of the finest and noblest things in all lyric poetry.

Moreover, almost any one will admit that the Psalms are products of the specific Israelitic intellect, and characteristic for the people of Israel. In what other literature, indeed, have we anything like them? True, poems have recently been found in cuneiform literature which have an undeniable re-

semblance to the Psalms. They are constructed with that peculiar parallelism of members, that thought-rhythm, which we know in Israelitic poetry, and even in the phraseology there is much that involuntarily suggests the language of the Psalms. But any one who should even remotely match these Assyrian and Babylonian psalms with the Hebrew, or undertake a serious comparison of the two, would thereby testify to his own literary incompetence. The very similarity of form and superficial features make us doubly conscious of the entire difference in spirit and content, just as one becomes fully aware of the whole greatness, nobility and incomparableness of Goethe's "Hermann und Dorothea" only by a comparison with Voss's "Luise."

But do the Psalms rise to the height of the purely human? Or must we not finally on the most important point judge them as we did the Koran? The Psalms are religious poems, the classical expression of the religion of Israel, and the question is finally reduced to the more important and vital one: Is the religion of Israel merely one conditioned and limited by its nationality, or has it a significance for the world, for mankind?

There are not a few, especially in our day, who unqualifiedly deny it this importance, and propose at the best to let it stand as a more or less interesting curiosity which belongs entirely to the field of history. And they offer reasons for this view. The sacred literature of Israel is said to contain unworthy conceptions of God. Certain it is that the

Old Testament speaks of God in a very human fashion, when it tells how God walked at eventide in the Garden of Eden, how he closed the door of Noah's ark with his own hands, how he visited Abraham under the oaks of Mamre, and showed only his back to Moses, since the sight of his face is fatal to man. It attributes to God human form and human emotions, and in one passage of the Psalms we even read the unparalleled figure: "Then the Lord awakened like one out of sleep, like a mighty man that shouteth by reason of wine." (Psalms lxxviii. 65.) But one who takes offence at such expressions and regards them as demeaning to God only proves thereby that he lacks appreciation for religion and poetry. What appears to our local prejudice a defect in the Old Testament is in truth its chief strength and its highest claim to fame; for this is only a consequence of the fact that the religion of Israel took seriously the fundamental requisite of all religion—the requisite of a personal God.

Religion is the most personal matter in the universe, the surrender of one's own self to a higher being, not in order to lose oneself, but to find oneself, in order to receive oneself again from this higher being in the transfigured and more perfect form which an inner voice tells us corresponds to the deepest and truest essence of our self. Such a reciprocal giving and receiving, such a mutual relationship, is possible only between persons. We can just as little enter into a personal relation with

a mere abstraction, a pure idea, as the feeling of love in the highest sense, such as pervades a man with irresistible power, lends wings to his soul and lifts him out of himself, is conceivable toward a statue, be it ever so true to life, or even much more beautiful and noble than any earthly being of flesh and blood. The famous phrase of the poet:

“And full of bliss or full of sorrow,
Each heart needs a companion heart,”

applies not only to the relation of man to man, but also to that of man to God.

Religion requires a God with whom man can enter into a personal, loving relation of heart to heart, to whom he can pour out his heart, to whom he can pray. It is not merely accidental but very significant, that David Friedrich Strauss, in his *Old and New Faith*, having once surrendered the personality of God, answers the second question, “Have we still a religion?” no longer unconditionally, but with “That depends on how you understand it.” The center and soul of all religion, the belief in a personal God, is the pillar of the religion of Israel. And it fathomed this truth with incomparable and triumphant energy, and expressed it with incomparable poetic power.

But how is one to describe a personality or speak of it otherwise than in the forms and according to the manner of the only personality known to us, the human? It is the wonderful secret of the Old Testament, that, speaking in such a human fashion of God, it simply brings him nearer to us without

detracting in the least from his divinity. One may apply here the words of the poet :

“’Tis bliss in his demesne to dwell
And every heart near him doth swell,
But loftiness and dignity
Forbid familiarity.”

Yes, ’tis bliss in his demesne to dwell, and every heart swells. He appears to us as a dear saviour and helper, as a trusted friend and counsellor; but familiarity, all irreverent approach is excluded, for even in this dear and intimate form he remains God, enthroned above this earthly sphere, to whom its inhabitants are as grasshoppers, to whom the nations are esteemed as a drop in the bucket and as the fine dust of the balance. Thence it comes accordingly—for me one of the strongest proofs of the divinity of the religion of Israel—that all who have broken with the belief in a personal God honor the Old Testament with their especial dislike, for the God of Israel is not to be mocked; there is no treating and bargaining with this mighty personality; he cannot be dissolved in any philosophic *aqua fortis* or vaporized in any pantheistic retort; he is the great I Am, the same yesterday, to-day and forever, who speaks and it is done, who commands and it comes to pass, who made the heavens by his word and all the hosts thereof by the breath of his mouth, who looketh on the earth and it trembleth, who toucheth the hills and they smoke, who withdraweth his breath and they perish and return to the dust of which they were made.

But does not the Old Testament represent its God as too human? Does it not ascribe to him unattractive human qualities? For among them wrath plays a part, and there has been a great deal said about the wrathful God of the Jews, and this meets one constantly where the purpose is to disparage and discredit the religion and the sacred literature of Israel. True, the Old Testament speaks much and often and not infrequently in very strong terms of the wrath of God. In one Psalm it is said:

“Then the earth shook and trembled, the foundations also of the mountains moved and were shaken because he was wroth. There went up smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured: coals were kindled by it.” (Psalms xviii. 7-8.)

This, to be sure, seems more like Moloch than Yahveh. But let us look more closely. There is nowhere such a multitude of errors as concerning the wrath of God. What is wrath anyway? We think we have an example of it when we see any one scolding and ranting, railing and tearing, but such a person is simply in a rage, and rage and wrath are two different things. Genuine righteous wrath is one of the divinest passions of which man is capable, for it is the primal revolt of the divinity in man against all that is low and mean, because in this it perceives the degradation and desecration of his true nature. It is well known that great and superior men never appear greater and more superior, that their greatness and superiority never come more

directly in evidence than when they are wroth with this genuine righteous wrath; how the figure seems to tower, the eye flashes lightning to consume what is mean with atoning and purifying flames,—a spectacle as grand and impressive as that of a thunder-storm, in which man has always believed that he heard most directly the voice of God. Wrath, in fact, is one of the most essential qualities of the divine image after which man was fashioned, and can we expect it to be absent from the archetype? The wrath of God is nothing else than the reaction of the divine holiness against all that is unholy and ungodly. For, as a passage of the Psalms has it: “Thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness; the evil man shall not sojourn with thee.” (Psalms v. 4.) A God lacking in this trait would be like a man lacking in conscience. And to ascertain the true opinion of the Old Testament of the relation of this one trait to the complete conception of God, we need only to consider the verse of the Psalm (xxx. 5): “For his anger is but for a moment. His favor is for a lifetime; weeping may come in to lodge at even, but joy cometh in the morning.”

Those that are so stirred up over the wrathful God of the Jews either do not know, or forget, that the divine wrath is not only a Jewish but also a Christian doctrine, so that all the stripes and kicks bestowed upon the Old Testament on this account fall equally upon the New Testament. And when those that fancy themselves to have a monopoly of Teutonic race consciousness, who hold up Sieg-

fried and Wotan against David and Yahveh, and, impelled by their Teutonic race conscience and sentiment, testify against the wrathful God of the Jews, we are really at a loss what to make of it. For the wrath of God especially is a genuine and distinctly Teutonic conception, for which the religion of the Teutonic races coined a special word, calling the wrath of the gods *ásmôdr* (*áss*, a god, and *môdr*, wrath). The primitive Germans were far too keen and vigorous in their feeling, too genuine and noble children of nature not to conceive a militant and triumphant idea of moral and ethical power.

When we read in the Edda how Thor, in order to destroy the powers of darkness and give victory to the good,

“When he saw the heavens with wickedness heavy,
Seldom he lingers when the like he looks on,”

now, as the Voluspa says, seizes his fearful hammer in godlike wrath (*ásmôdi*) and bravely smites the terrible dragon, no one will deny that these are similar views to those in Isaiah, where we read: “And the Lord saw it, and it displeased him that there was no judgment. And he saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was none to interpose: therefore his own arm brought salvation unto him, and his righteousness, it upheld him. And he put on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet of salvation upon his head; and he put on garments of vengeance for clothing, and was clad with zeal as a cloak. According to their deeds accordingly he will repay, fury to his adversaries,

recompense to his enemies. . . . So shall they fear the name of the Lord in the west and his glory from the rising of the sun." (Isaiah lix. 15-19.)

This too shows what a decided kinship there is between the feeling of the Teutonic soul and that of Israel, a fact that was first pointed out, so far as I know, by a man whose name no one can mention any longer in certain quarters without danger of being stoned,—I mean Heinrich Heine, who, however, was right in this as in many other things. And if in spite of all this the enemies of the Old Testament should insist upon their case—for with unreason and unfairness the gods themselves contend in vain—and grow indignant still in their Teutonic race temper at the wrathful God of the Jews,—well, then I profess myself on this point frankly and unreservedly a Jew, and dwell in the serene confidence that I am no worse a German and no worse a Christian for all that.

II.

But the contemners of the Old Testament discover in Hebrew literature, and especially in the Psalms, not only theological defects but profound ethical faults. On the one hand, where Israel is concerned, an arrogant, impious self-righteousness which approaches the Lord and demands reward of him, on the other hand, where non-Israelites are concerned, an inhuman, bloodthirsty temper which knows only feelings of hatred and revenge, and

expects and even implores of God for this portion of mankind only wrath and damnation.

First let me make a general prefatory remark: that Israel also incurs the wrath of God and stands in constant expectation of it, is expressed in the Psalms themselves most clearly and most impressively. And the judgments which the Psalmists hope and expect are aimed in very considerable measure not at the heathen, but at impious and apostate Israelites. As for the undeniable expressions of self-righteousness, if we are to judge justly we must not forget that they are balanced by at least an equal number of descriptions of the sinfulness and corruption of the people, painted in the very highest colors. So Israel did not flatter itself, nor try to delude itself as to its own condition; indeed, we cannot but admire its unsparing devotion to the truth in this respect. And in this matter of self-righteousness it should be observed further that such expressions are not intended in a personal and individual sense, but refer to Israel as a congregation, for the Psalms are the hymns of the congregation, and the "I" which speaks in them is the congregation. And was not Israel justified, when it considered the night and darkness of the heathenism round about it, in feeling a glad and grateful consciousness of the gift of grace which it had received in its revelation of God? Was it not actually justified, in view of the abominations of heathendom, in speaking of its righteousness and declaring that it had kept the commandments of the

Lord? Even the Christian church, in the so-called Apostles' Creed, characterizes itself as the "Communion of the Saints," and no Christian takes offence at this, although he knows that this communion by no means consists of saints alone, indeed that there is not in it a single one who could be regarded as a saint when measured by the standard of divine holiness.

Further there is absolutely no denying the expressions of unfriendliness toward others. For instance, the sixty-ninth Psalm, and still more the one hundred and ninth, contain a series of imprecations upon the enemy which are surely not exemplary, and which we cannot wish to be the expressions of the feelings of all men; and when at the close of the one hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm, which begins so nobly and very impressively, the wish is expressed that the enemy may seize the children of the Babylonians and dash them to pieces on the stones, we must see in this an animosity which no one will venture to defend or excuse. I would gladly have my right hand cut off if this one verse were not in the Psalter. Later prophetic literature, too, furnishes disagreeable things in this respect, and even the Jews themselves have justly taken serious exception to the Book of Esther.

But here too it is after all but a matter of isolated instances and tendencies which are offset by equally strong ones of the opposite sort. How many Psalms speak of the godless and the enemy with solemn ethical earnestness, but without passion and ani-

mosity, wishing only that they may be confused and brought to a recognition of their wickedness! Indeed, can this unrighteous zeal for God be rebuked better and more pointedly than in the precious words of the thirty-seventh Psalm, which our glorious Felix Mendelssohn used in his *Elijah* in order to check the fiery zeal of Elijah by the mouth of an angel: "Be still before the Lord and wait patiently for him; and he shall give thee the desires of thy heart. Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust also in him and he shall bring it to pass. Cease from anger and forsake wrath: fret not thyself, it tendeth only to evil-doing"? (Psalms xxxvii. 7, 4, 5, 8.) Indeed, even those undeniably offensive and painful expressions, examined in the right light, are only the defects of virtues, excesses and excrescences of qualities in which the strength of the religion of Israel consists. This staking of the whole person for the cause of God, this complete surrender to it, is the mighty power of the religious sentiment.

The Israelite sees his God persecuted, hated, oppressed, assailed, when he himself thus suffers, and sees in the success of the wicked the failure of the sacred cause of his God.

"Should not I hate them that hate Thee, O Lord? I hate them with perfect hatred: I count them my enemies," the language of the one hundred and thirty-ninth Psalm, must be taken as the motto of all this sort of expressions. It is never a matter of personal hostility, but of the holy cause of God, in the feelings of these singers, and even the evils which

they call down upon the enemy are only his own sins which God is asked to let fall back as misfortunes upon his head. Even where this judgment of God appears in the form of the victorious wars of Israel, it is never their own glory or their own honor which they seek: "Not unto us, Lord, not unto us, but unto thy holy name give the glory." (Psalms cxv. 1.) "I will not trust in my bow, neither shall my sword save me; but Thou savest us from our adversaries and putttest to shame them that hate us." (Psalms xlv. 6, 7.) And what the singers have to suffer they are conscious of suffering for the sake of God and their faith: "For thy sake are we killed all the day long; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter," laments the singer of the forty-fourth Psalm (verse 22), and in the much-quoted Psalm of vengeance, the sixty-ninth, we read: "O God, thou knowest my foolishness, and my sins are not hid from thee. Let not them that wait on thee be ashamed through me, O Lord God of hosts: let not those that seek thee be brought to dishonor through me, O God of Israel! Because for thy sake I have borne reproach; shame hath covered my face. For the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up; and the reproaches of them that reproach thee are fallen upon me" (verses 5-9). Their cause is also God's cause, and their honor God's honor. Were the heathen, then, to be suffered to shout continually in mockery, "Where is then your God?" Often the singers express most touchingly how difficult it is to restrain themselves and keep

still in the presence of this apparent defeat of the cause of God, and amid the arrogant sneers of the ungodly victors.

No, here too the root is not evil; we have here only the ferment of an unclarified vintage that has been pressed from noble grapes. We all know that even the sun has spots, and yet it is and always will be to us the symbol of brightness and purity. So we may admit that there are some dark spots in the Psalms, and yet we may justly hold to their predominantly sunny quality; they offer us relatively so much more that is purely and truly human that even from this standpoint we need not feel compelled to surrender their claim to a place in universal literature.

But what, then, is their significance in universal literature?

They are for the world what they were for Israel, the prayer-book and hymn-book. In fact we have in the Psalms the purest expression of the religious sentiment in the artistic form of the lyric, the crown of sacred poetry. Their wealth, like life, is inexhaustible; all the situations and events of life are viewed in the light of godly meditation and consecrated and ennobled by piety, so that they are transfigured into prayers and hymns. In them we hear every chord struck, and all with equal purity and strength: lamentation and mourning, confession and penitence, prayer and praise, thanksgiving and adoration. There is scarcely a situation or a mood

imaginable which has not found its classic expression in the Psalter.

John Calvin, probably the greatest of all commentators upon the Psalms, calls the Psalter for this reason an anatomy of the soul, saying that the human soul knows no mood nor impulse that is not mirrored in the Psalms. And Martin Luther, spiritually the most closely akin to the Psalmist, says in his preface to the Psalter: "Thence too it comes that the Psalter is the book of all the saints, and that every one, whatever his business may be, finds in it psalms and sayings which are adapted to his affairs and fit him as if they had been composed expressly on his account, such that he himself could neither compose nor invent nor wish them better." Shall we test this utterance of Luther? Certainly, for after having said so much about the Psalms, we surely shall wish to hear something from the Psalms themselves.

Let us begin with pleasant pictures. "O taste and see that the Lord is good" (Psalms xxxiv. 8), thus the Psalmist himself invites us. "Oh how great is thy goodness, which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee, which thou hast wrought for them that put their trust in thee before the sons of men!" (Psalms xxxi. 19) thus another cries in adoration. "The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage" (Psalms xvi. 6), we hear a third one sing.

"Thy loving kindness, O Lord, is in the heavens; thy faithfulness reacheth unto the skies. Thy right-

eousness is like the mountains of God; thy judgments are a great deep; Lord, thou preservest man and beast. How precious is thy loving kindness, O God! And the children of men take refuge under the shadow of thy wings. They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy house; and thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures. For with thee is the fountain of life; in thy light shall we see light. O continue thy loving kindness unto them that know thee, and thy righteousness to the upright in heart. (Psalms xxxvi. 5-10.) And this feeling has found its classic expression in the universally known twenty-third Psalm, "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want," and whenever the heart feels constrained to offer its gratitude to the giver of all these good gifts, how can it be done more briefly, more simply, and yet more expressively than in the words of the Psalm, "Oh give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, and his mercy endureth forever"? (Psalms cxviii. 1.) And where is the sacred duty of thanksgiving brought home to the heart of every man more touchingly and more impressively than in the words of the Psalm: "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits"? (Psalms ciii. 1-2.) And where is there a more forcible expression of the feeling of security in the strong hand of God and of his mighty protection, than in the words of the Psalm: "The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? The Lord is the stronghold of my life; of whom shall I be afraid?" (Psalms

xxvii. 1.) "The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge" (Psalms xlvi. 7); "God grants that I praise his word; in God have I put my trust, I will not be afraid; what can flesh do unto me?" And the repose and the peace which then enter the heart are depicted in the saying: "My soul waiteth in silence for God; from him cometh my salvation. He is my rock and my salvation, he is my high tower; I shall not be greatly moved." (Psalms lxii. 1-2.) And the mighty "Nevertheless" of faith, which hopes even where it cannot see,—with what invincible power we hear it in the words: "Nevertheless³ God is good to Israel, even to such as are pure in heart." For no one is disappointed who waits upon God, and the faithfulness of God is far above the faithfulness of the most faithful men: "My father and my mother have forsaken me, but the Lord will take me up." (Psalms xxvii. 10.) The sense of communion with God overcomes all grief and sorrow; it outweighs a world, and nothing can deprive us of this highest of possessions. "If I have but thee I care for neither heaven nor earth. Though my flesh and my heart fail, yet is God the strength of my heart and my portion forever." (Psalms lxxiii. 25.) Where was ever the longing for God expressed more powerfully and more effectively than in the forty-second Psalm: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God. When shall I come

³ The English version has here "Surely."

to appear before God?" (Psalms xlii. 1-2.) And where shall we find expressed more concisely and more movingly the anxious waiting upon God and the longing watching for him amid feelings of temporary desertion by him, than in that sighing aspiration, only a breath as it were, of the sixth Psalm: "My soul is sore vexed. And thou, O Lord, how long?" or in the question filled with mortal anguish, of the twenty-second Psalm: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" And just here I must not fail to point out a characteristic fact. It is well known that lamentation occupies much space in the Psalter. But with the single exception of the eighty-eighth Psalm not one of these hymns is all lamentation. They all overcome the sorrow and grief and wrestle their way out to hope and faith so that the lamentation finally ends with praise and thanks. We find the most touching and stirring example of this in the recurring verse of the forty-second Psalm, where we can still see in the confidently hopeful eye of the singer the gleam of the tear which his grief has forced from him: "Why art thou cast down, O my soul, and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God; for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance and my God" (verse 5). That is the manly and heroic trait in Israelitic piety, which is one of its most precious treasures and a model to the whole world, the "universal human, which everywhere should woo man."

And in the Psalter, too, as every one knows, we

find the profoundest and most heart-stirring tones of sin and penitence, as well as the clearest and most uplifting language of mercy and forgiveness. "If thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?" (Psalms cxxx. 3.) "Mine iniquities are more than the hairs of my head, and my heart hath failed me." (Psalms xl. 12.) "Who can discern his errors? cleanse thou me from secret faults." (Psalms xix. 12.) And then: "He deal-eth not with us after our sins nor rewardeth us after our iniquities. For as the heaven is high above the earth, so great is his mercy toward them that fear him. As far as the East is from the West so far hath he removed our transgressions from us. Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him." (Psalms ciii. 10-13.) And lest in the light of the mercy of God the solemnity of his holiness be forgotten, we read in the one hundred and thirtieth Psalm the profound saying: "For there is forgiveness with thee that thou mayest be feared" (verse 4).

And now a few sayings of the Psalms for human relationships. Can peace and harmony be commended more simply and more urgently than in the language of the singer of the one hundred and thirty-third Psalm: "Behold how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" And can domestic happiness and the blessings of family life be depicted more delightfully and in a way that goes more to our hearts than in the language of the singer of the one hundred and twenty-eighth Psalm:

“Blessed is every one that feareth the Lord, that walketh in his ways. For thou shalt eat the labor of thine hands: happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee. Thy wife shall be a fruitful vine in the innermost parts of thy house, thy sons like olive plants around thy table. Behold, thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the Lord.”

And yet one more glance, this time at the nature poetry in the Psalter, which was admired and praised by no less a master than Alexander von Humboldt. The earth is the Lord's and all that is therein, the world and they that dwell thereon, and so the Israelite sees God everywhere in nature; he does not make nature God, but it is to him a revelation of God. “Nature,” says Humboldt, “is not described as something existing independently and glorified by its own beauty; it always presents itself to the Hebrew singer as related to a higher, overruling spiritual power. Nature is to him a work of orderly creation, the living expression of the omnipresence of God in the elements of the world of sense.”

I will only refer to the splendid Psalm of thanksgiving for harvest, the sixty-fifth: “Thou crownest the year with thy goodness, and thy paths drop fatness;” to the magnificent twenty-ninth Psalm, which depicts with sublime majesty the glory of God in the thunder-storm, and above all to the one hundred and fourth: “O Lord, how great and manifold are thy works; in wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy goodness”—a hymn which has not its equal in all literature. “One is disposed to

say," as Humboldt puts it, "that the picture of the whole cosmos is presented in this one psalm, the one hundred and fourth. . . . We marvel at seeing the universe, heaven and earth, depicted in a lyric composition of such slight compass with a few great touches. Contrasted with the animated primal life of nature, we have here the noiseless, toilsome labors of man from the rising of the sun to the close of his day's work in the evening." And where else is man more profoundly comprehended and depicted as but a tiny atom in nature, and yet in accordance with his royal mastery in it, than in the eighth Psalm? Where is the whole creation as a thousand-voiced proclamation of the glory of its creator better depicted than in the nineteenth Psalm, in which the heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth his handiwork, the sun rises as a bridegroom cometh forth out of his chamber and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race!

And of still another sort of poetry, the didactic aphorism, do we find in the Psalter matchless jewels. A considerable number of the Psalms are like necklaces, where the most profound sentences, the most glorious thoughts are strung pearl on pearl. Wherever we turn our gaze, a rich canopy, star after star, an inexhaustible treasury!

Permit me in closing to mention a recent personal experience of mine, illustrating the manner in which the Psalms give us the fitting word for every situation in life. One who for days and weeks has watched in anguish over the life that is dearest to

him on earth, when he has already prepared to surrender it, there comes a turn for the better, and the angel of death who has already spread his dark wings over the victim, departs, and life returns,—who could express what overwhelms his deeply stirred heart in such a moment save in the words of the Psalm: “God is unto us a God of deliverances; and unto the Lord belongeth escape even from death.” (Psalms lxviii. 20.)

The Psalms are the prayer-book and the hymn-book of Israel; and as Israel is preeminently the religious race, they are the prayer-book and the hymn-book of the whole world, or at least deserve to be. Of all the precious things which Israel has given mankind they are perhaps the most precious. They resound, and will continue to resound, as long as there shall be men created in the image of God, in whose hearts the sacred fire of religion shines and glows; for they are religion itself put into speech. To them applies what one of the noblest of them says of the revelation of God in nature: “That is neither speech nor language, the voice of which would be unintelligible. Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.” (Psalms xix. 4.)

Religion itself put into speech for all mankind,—that is the significance of the Psalms in universal literature.

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PLATE I.

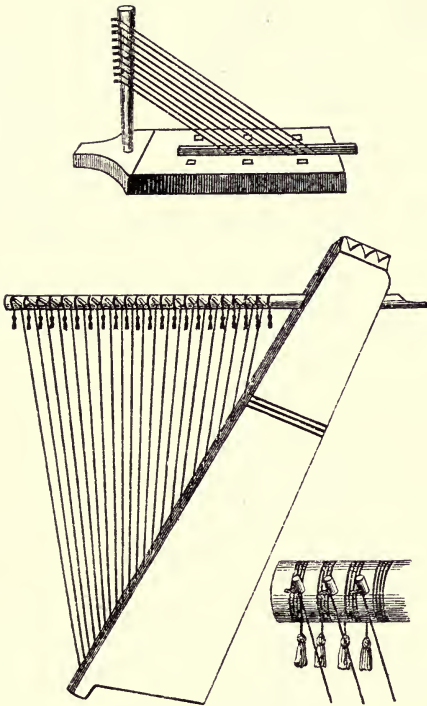


FIG. I. EGYPTIAN HARPS.

PLATE II.



FIG. 2. EGYPTIAN HARP CARRIED IN PROCESSION.



FIG. 3. EGYPTIAN PICTURE OF A BEDOUIN WITH KINNOR.



FIG. 4. AN ASSYRIAN CYMBALIST.



FIG. 5. ASSYRIAN LUTE PLAYERS.

PLATE III.

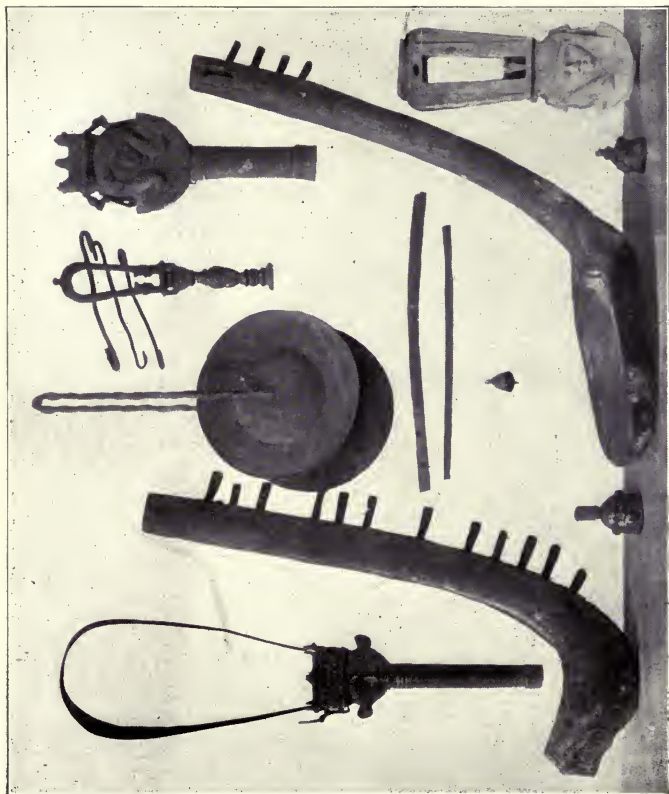


FIG. 6. SISTRUM AND OTHER ANCIENT INSTRUMENTS.
(British Museum)

PLATE IV.



FIG. 7. RELIEF FROM SENDSCHIRLI IN NORTHERN SYRIA.



FIG. 8. AN ELEVEN STRINGED HARP OF ANCIENT BABYLON.

PLATE V.



FIG. 9. ASSYRIAN HARPISTS.
(British Museum)

PLATE VI.



FIG. 10. ASSYRIAN PROCESSION OF MUSICIANS.

PLATE VII.



FIG. 11. ASSYRIAN HARP AND FLUTE PLAYERS.



FIG. 12. ASSYRIAN QUARTETTE.

PLATE VIII.



FIG. 14. LUTES ON ANCIENT COINS.
(After Madden.)



FIG. 13. LYRES ON ANCIENT COINS.
(After Madden.)

PLATE IX.

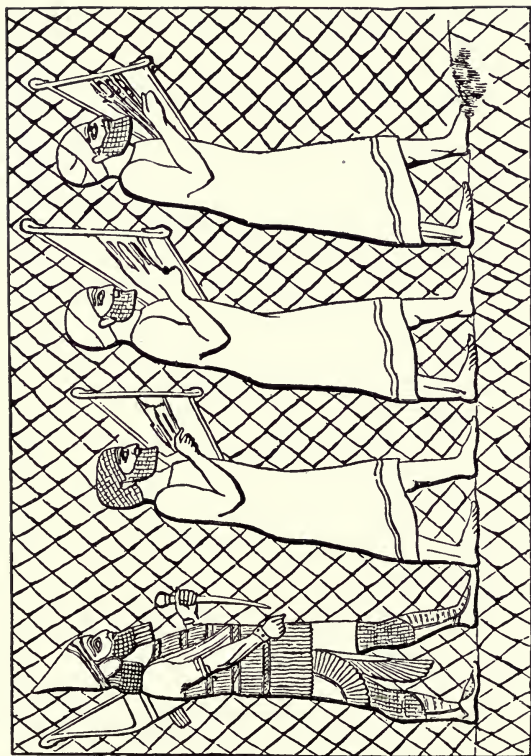


FIG. 15. SEMITIC CAPTIVES PLAYING ON FOUR-STRINGED HARPS.

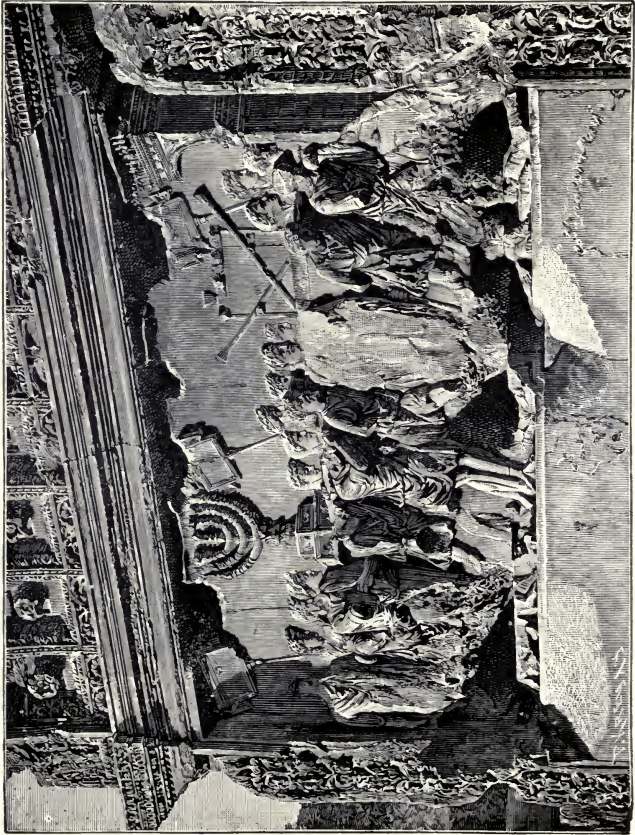


FIG. 16. RELIEF ON THE ARCH OF TITUS.
Showing the Trumpets (*hatsozeroth*) taken from Herod's Temple.

PLATE XI.

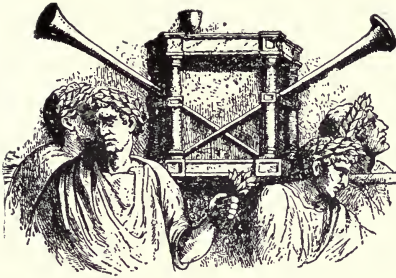


FIG. 17. DETAIL FROM FIG. 16.

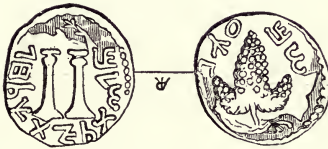


FIG. 18. TRUMPETS ON ANCIENT JEWISH COIN.
(After Madden)



FIG. 19. ASSUR NASIR-PAL GREETED BY MUSICIANS ON HIS RETURN FROM A BULL HUNT.
(In the British Museum)



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