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THE LIBERATOR
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Uprisen from his fascèd chair of state,
   Above his riven people bending grave,
   His heart upon the sorrow of the slave,
Stands simply strong the kindly man of fate.
By war's deep bitterness and brothers' hate
   Untouched he stands, intent alone to save
   What God himself and human justice gave,—
The right of men to freedom's fair estate.
In homely strength he towers almost divine,
   His mighty shoulders bent with breaking care,
His thought-worn face with sympathies grown fine;
   And as men gaze their hearts as oft declare
That this is he whom all their hearts enshrine,—
   This man that saved a race from slow despair.

Chicago, 1899.
   — Horace Spencer Fiske.
ABRAHAM LINCOLN
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH OF ST. GAUDENS' STATUE OF LINCOLN
BY COURTESY OF MR. W. SCOTT THURBER, CHICAGO
THE REMAINS OF A PHŒNICIAN TEMPLE.

BY PROF. CHARLES C. TORREY.

It is surprising how few undoubted monuments of the old Phœnician civilisation have been preserved for us,—or, to speak more accurately, how few are now known to be in existence. For more than a thousand years the Phenicians were in many respects the foremost people of Western Asia. They were great builders, and all along the line of magnificent cities with which they had bordered the Mediterranean shore, from Carmel two hundred miles northward to Laodicea, great temples, palaces, and other monuments must have been conspicuous far and wide, as are the towers of Naples and Genoa, or the mosques of Constantinople, at the present day. But all these buildings have disappeared, and so completely as to leave hardly a trace behind. At Rome, Pæstum, Agrigentum, Athens, Ephesus, Baalbek, and many other cities of the Mediterranean lands, stately ruins, sufficient to give us some idea of the ancient splendor, are still standing; but on no one of the old Phœnician sites has there been found, hitherto, anything to correspond to the remains just mentioned.

The explanation of this fact is not far to seek. It lies partly in the character of the building material—soft limestone—chiefly used on the Syrian coast; partly in the terrible devastation of war followed by wholesale demolition and conflagration, to which these cities have been subjected in a degree rarely paralleled, Sidon and Tyre especially being reduced again and again almost to mere rubbish heaps; and finally, to the lack, thus far, of any systematic and thorough excavation in these regions. There is undoubtedly to be found, beneath the surface, much that will help to supply our sore lack of knowledge of the civilisation of this remarkable people.
The recent discovery of the extensive ruins of a Phœnician temple—the first of the kind which has come to light—is therefore a matter of no small interest; especially since inscribed stones, found in situ, tell us both the name of the king who erected the building, and that of the god to whom it was dedicated.

Less than two miles north of the present city of Sidon, the Auwaly river runs through an opening in the mountains into the sea. This is the river mentioned by several of the ancient geographers under the name Bostrenus. This chief passage is the oft-quoted one in Dionysius Periegetes (third or fourth century A.D.), who, in naming the principal Phœnician cities, speaks of Sidon in the following terms:

\[...\, καὶ Σιδώνα ἀνθριμόσαν\]
\[Ναυμένην χαρίστος ἑδ ύδατον Βοστρενοῦ.\]

"And blooming Sidon, situated by the waters of the beautiful Bostrenus."¹

The phrase "situated upon the Bostrenus" has caused some difficulty, to be sure. No one would think of describing the present city of Sidon as lying on this stream, though it might well be said to lie near by it. But there can be no question that the limits of

¹For the whole passage and the best-known Latin translations of it, see Reland's Palestina, p. 437.
the ancient city extended far beyond those of the modern village, and it is certain that no part of the adjoining territory would have been more likely to be thus occupied than this narrow strip of hillside and plain running northward to the "Bostrenus." The discovery about to be described must be admitted to furnish strong evidence that the statement of the geographer Dionysius was literally correct.

At all events, and whatever the territory included in old Sidon, it has long been known that great buildings must have stood in this particular district, where the Auwaly river breaks through the hills at the edge of the plain, half a mile back from the shore. The

stone bridge over the stream is built in part of huge squared blocks which travellers have recognised as the building-units of old Phœnician edifices. Dr. Thomson, for example, in The Land and the Book, speaks of noticing that many of these stones bore "the mark of the Phœnician bevel." Such stones as these have been found on both sides of the river, and no one place in particular has been known as the source of the supply.

In the fall of the year 1900, a number of these stones were uncovered, on the hillside just above the south bank of the river. The owner of the land had his workmen dig away the surface of
the ground at this point, with the result that they soon uncovered part of a large wall, built of limestone blocks nearly cubical in shape, the edges generally measuring from three to four feet. These blocks he proceeded to remove and dispose of in the usual manner, cutting them up to be used as building stones. A second similar wall was found near by, and this one also he began to take to pieces.

While this was going on, a workman who was removing the blocks from one of the walls came upon one with an inscribed face. On removing this, another, similarly inscribed, was found; then others, until five in all had come to light. In that region, every day-laborer, however ignorant, knows that a "hajar biktibi," or inscribed stone, is a valuable find, and also that it is a dangerous possession; so these were promptly disposed of, presumably to men who had had more experience in dealing with such contraband goods. The inscribed faces were sawn off and carried away by night on camel back. The price at which the workmen sold them, I was told, was a mejidi (less than a dollar) apiece.

Happening to be in Sidon not long after these events, I heard the news of the recent find, and lost no time in visiting the place. I had also the good fortune to get sight of one of the inscriptions.
As for the ruin which had been unearthed, it consisted, first, of a portion of a massive wall from which the earth had been partly cleared away on both sides. This was a double wall (and thus about seven feet in thickness), all of whose blocks were large, of about the same size, and nicely squared and fitted. It was found to run east and west. Then there was the second wall, about fifty yards further down the hill, in a garden, in which it formed the support of one terrace,—as it had probably served for generations past. This, being parallel with the other, and consisting of exactly similar blocks, was evidently a part of the same building, which must have had the form of a huge square, or rectangle.¹ This lower, or northern, wall was even more massive than its fellow, consisting apparently of three or more courses of stone throughout, and thus more than ten feet in thickness. It was in the core of this lower wall that the inscribed stones were found.

As for the inscription itself, it proved to be not the least important part of the find. Reduced to its simplest form, it runs as

¹ In the illustration which shows the whole hillside, the position of the upper wall is indicated by the arrow; the lower wall is some distance below the modern house. Some idea of the great size of the building can thus be gained.
follows: "Bod-Ashtart,\(^1\) King of Sidon, grandson of King Eshmun-azar, built this house for his god Eshmun." From the evidence of various kinds which I was able to collect, it appeared that all five of the stones above mentioned bore the same inscription, in somewhat varying form. That is, the King had caused a number of the stones of his new edifice to be suitably inscribed, and then had built them—like so many Babylonian stamped bricks, or the filled corner-stone of a modern public building—into one or more of the walls; not for men of his generation to read,—for the inscribed faces were all hidden from view, as I was repeatedly assured by those who found them,—but "for his god Eshmun" and for posterity.

This great building was a temple, then, and in its day it must have been an imposing edifice. It occupied an almost ideal site, standing just at the turn of the hill, in full view of the sea, and in the one spot near Sidon where a comparatively unobstructed outlook eastward is to be had. Just below, and in plain sight, is the rushing river; on the other side, perhaps two hundred yards away,

\(^1\) Sometimes written "Bad-Ashtart," which is (probably) the original and more correct form of the name. We know, however, from the Greek transliteration that the pronunciation "Bed" was current. The meaning of the name is "Member (branch) of Astarte."
is a magnificent spring—a rarity in that region. The cape where the present city of Sidon stands is just hidden from sight by a spur of the mountain. The view toward the East is especially fine, including the deep and picturesque valley, which seems to run back nearly to the twin peaks of the Taumât.

It remains to ask who this King Bod-Ashtart was, and at what time he lived. A Sidonian king bearing this name is known to us from at least one other source, namely, an inscribed stone now preserved in the museum of the Louvre. The inscription, however, presents no features of especial interest, nor anything by which it could certainly be connected with the builder of the temple on the Auwaly river; and as it is not dated, it may be dismissed from further consideration here. Another occurrence of the name is possibly to be recognised in the Greek "Strato" (Σπάτων), the name given by certain Greek historians to two different kings of Sidon; the one the well-known friend of the Athenians, who reigned in the first half of the fourth century, the other the monarch who was reigning in Sidon at the time when Alexander the Great invaded Phœnicia (333 B. C.). It can hardly be doubted that the Phœnician name of which "Strato" was the Greek representative was one which contained the name of the goddess Ashtart (Astarte); it may, however, have been "Abd-Ashtart" rather than "Bod-Ashtart;" in fact, there is evidence seeming to show that this was true in the case of the former of the two kings just mentioned. It must be remembered, furthermore, that the number of Sidonian kings bearing the one or the other of these two names was probably not small; it is useless to try to connect any one of them with our "Bod-Ashtart, grandson of Eshmunazar" without some further evidence.

By a piece of great good fortune, however, we are able to establish a sure connection between the inscription which our King put upon the stones of his temple and certain passages in the famous inscription of King Eshmunazar; and the result of the combination is to give us the information most needed, the lineage of this Bod-Ashtart, and the approximate date at which he lived.

The one Sidonian royal family with which students of Phœnician history feel somewhat acquainted is the "Eshmunazar dynasty," of which three successive members have heretofore been known. The first of these, Eshmunazar I., is known to us only through the inscriptions of his successors, who give nothing more than his name and title. His son Tabnit is a somewhat less shadowy figure, for his sarcophagus, discovered in the year 1887 and
now in the museum at Constantinople, bears an epitaph of considerable length, and when found contained the embalmed body of the King himself in a very good state of preservation. King Tabnit is styled a "priest of Ashtart," and appears to have married his own sister, or half-sister, who was a "priestess of Ashtart." His reign cannot have been a very long one, for the body found in the sarcophagus was plainly that of a man in the prime of life. Tabnit's son Eshmunazar II., the third in the series, inherited the kingdom in his youth—perhaps while yet a mere boy—and reigned fourteen years. The inscription on his sarcophagus, which was discovered in 1855 and is now in the Louvre, is the longest and most important of all the Phœnician inscriptions which have hitherto been found. The young King's mother, Em-Ashtart,¹ the wife of Tabnit and Priestess of Astarte above mentioned, seems to have composed this epitaph. She speaks of her son as "cut off before his time"; and in celebrating his deeds, and especially his building operations, she makes use of the first person plural, "we built," "we caused to dwell," "we added," etc. From these facts we may safely conclude that the queen-mother was the virtual ruler during the minority of her son.

Now it is in the record of the building operations ascribed in this epitaph to the reign of King Eshmunazar II. that the connection with the Bod-Ashtart inscription is to be found, in a series of striking coincidences. What comes to light as a result of the comparison is no less important a fact than this, that one of the buildings of which the queen-mother says, "We built it," was the temple on the Auwaly River which forms the subject of the present article. The identification is beyond question. In the Eshmunazar inscription, the building is described in the following terms: (1) It was a temple "to Eshmun, the Holy Lord." This striking phrase is exactly the one which is used in the Bod-Ashtart inscription, and it occurs nowhere else. (2) It was built "in the mountain." (3) It was by a "spring" (further designated by a Phœnician word whose meaning is uncertain). The fact has already been noticed, above, that the magnificent spring near the Bod-Ashtart ruin is the only one of any importance in all the mountain district immediately adjoining Sidon. (4) Still another coincidence lies in the use, in both inscriptions, of a certain peculiar expression which appears to be the designation of this same mountain district. The phrase is not

¹ The name means "Mother of Astarte." It may be that the first member of the compound should be pronounced Am (abbreviated from Amat), in which case the name would mean "Servant of Astarte."
exactly the same in the two inscriptions, to be sure; here the adjective "lofty" is used, there the adjective "mighty," the noun being the same in both cases; but it is sufficiently plain that the two forms cannot be separated from each other. Thus a slight addition is made to the already strong evidence tending to bring these two inscriptions very near together.  

Having established the fact that the temple whose ruin has been described above was the "house of Eshmun" mentioned in the Eshmunazar inscription, some important conclusions follow. It is of course beyond question that Bod-Ashtart was the builder of the house; or at all events, that he began the work and carried it on for some time, whether he finished it or not. His reign therefore came between those of Tabnit and Eshmunazar II., and was probably the only reign in that interval. The time during which he occupied the throne must have been brief, probably only a few years; for, as has been said above, Eshmunazar was very young at the time of his accession. It is most likely that Bod-Ashtart was the elder brother of Eshmunazar, though he may have been his half-brother, and possibly was not the son of Tabnit at all. As for Em-Ashtart's assertion, "We built" the temple, it may be explained in more than one way. This daughter of Eshmunazar I. and priestess of Astarte may well have co-operated with the young King Bod-Ashtart in this undertaking, or even have been the moving spirit in it. More probably, however, Bod-Ashtart died before the work was finished, whereupon the queen-mother and her son completed the building and inducted the god Eshmun into his new abode.

It is thus an established fact that the date of our temple-ruin is that of the Eshmunazar dynasty. Unfortunately, the latter has not yet been accurately fixed, but scholars are divided between the fourth century and the third century B. C. It would be a great gain to science if this all-important date could be determined; and it is quite possible that something may yet be found in the extensive débris of this temple which will give the desired information.

Thus far, no thorough work of excavation has been attempted, but the things which have already been brought to the surface give interesting promise of further results. The native workmen who made the discovery of the inscriptions found also fragments of marble columns and other similar objects, mostly unimportant in

1 For a full presentation of the argument at this point, as well as for an extended discussion of the inscription itself and of the problems which it introduces, I may refer to my article, "A Phoenician Royal Inscription," in Vol. XXIII. (1902) of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, pages 156-173.
themselves, but giving some hint of the former splendor. The one thing of more than ordinary importance which they unearthed from the interior of the ruin, so far as I could learn, was a fragment of a mosaic pavement made of glass. The pieces (now in my possession) were of different colors, dark blue, light blue, green, orange, and all of the same arrow-head pattern formed by intersecting parabolas. Each single piece was about two inches long, an inch and a quarter wide, and three eighths of an inch thick; not cut, but cast in a mould of a rather elaborate form. The pavement must have been a beautiful one.

The ruin has, however, been partially excavated by experts. The news of the discovery soon reached Constantinople, and in the latter part of April, 1901, Macridy Bey, of the Imperial Ottoman Museum, who was overseeing the German excavations at Baalbek, came down to Sidon to investigate. He saw the importance of making some further examination of the site at once; moreover, the Government officials were anxious to skim the cream of the find as soon as possible, for they had very good reason to fear that it might otherwise be lost to them. So in the early part of the summer work was begun with a good force of men, under the direction of Macridy Bey himself. Unfortunately, he had but a small sum of money at his disposal, and was pressed for time into the bargain. What he accomplished was hardly more than a skilful preliminary examination. He laid bare the whole of the upper wall, and nearly all of the lower; and followed both of the end walls for a short distance. He also cut two deep trenches through the centre of the ruin, parallel with the walls. In the course of this investigation he found one more inscribed block, similar to those previously unearthed and bearing the same legend. He also found a small and imperfect inscription on marble; numerous statues and statuettes (none larger than half life-size, and all more or less fragmentary), mostly terra-cotta, but some of marble; many specimens of pottery—lamps, jars, vases, household utensils, and the like—for the most part not well preserved.

It is very much to be hoped that some report of the excavation, with a full description of these objects, may soon be published. Our knowledge of Phœnician pottery and statuary is still very meager and inexact, to be sure; yet the expectation is not unreasonable that even here something may be found to aid us in
solving that perplexing riddle, the date of the Eshmunazar dynasty, of which Bod-Ashtart, the builder of this temple, was a member.

Of course, a very important work of excavation remains to be done. The greater part of the ruin is still unexplored; many more antiquities, large and small, and among them doubtless some of considerable importance, await discovery; much is yet to be learned about the most interesting object of all, the temple itself. It would be no small gain for our knowledge of Old Phœnicia if this great ruin could be thoroughly and carefully excavated, and measures then be taken to preserve intact all that remains of this sole monument of its kind. Possibly our own recently established American School of Research in Palestine may have the good fortune ultimately to perform this task; in any case, and by whatever agency the work is undertaken, it is to be hoped that it may be done soon. In the meantime, a good deal of digging is likely to be done in a more quiet way. Many of the natives of modern Tyre and Sidon are excavators, by birth and by choice, and treasures must be buried deep to escape their hands.