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SYRIA - PALESTINE

EDITED BY

A. T. OLMSTEAD

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THE NEW ORIENT IN BOOKS

The Spirit of World Politics: With Special Studies of the Near East; By William Ernest Hocking, Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University, MacMillan Company, New York. Pages 570. \$5.00.

History of Palestine and Syria By A. T. Olmstead, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Pages 694, Illustrations, 194, Maps and plans 18. \$7.50.

Awakening Japan, The Diary of a German Doctor By Franz Baelz. Edited by his Son Toku Baelz and Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. The Viking Press. New York. Pages 403. \$5.00.

America in the Pacific, A Century of Expansion, By Foster Rhea Dulles, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York. Pages 314. \$3.50.

The Political Philosophy of Confucius. An Interpretation of Social and Political Ideas By Leonard Shihlien Hsü, Dutton, New York. Pages 252. \$3.75.

The Legacy of Islam, By Sir Thomas Arnold and Others, Illustrated by 92 beautiful pictures of Arabian Islamic Art and Sciences. Oxford University Press. Pages 416. \$3.50.

The Book of Tea, By Okakura Kakuzo With an Introduction By Tsuneo Matsudaira, Ambassador of Japan to the United States. Duffield and Company, New York. Pages 165. Leather boxed \$2.50, cloth \$1.50.

My Chinese Marriage, By M. T. F. Duffield & Company, New York. Pages 171. \$1.75.

* * * * *

THE trend of events as mirrored in the books and current histories of to-day recalls the prophecy of William H. Seward, Secretary of State in Lincoln's time: "This ocean (Pacific) is destined to become the chief theater of events in the world's great future."

Men and women who keep abreast of the times are not unprepared to find this an accomplished fact.

America, even more than Europe, is vitally concerned in the far-reaching changes now taking place in every part of the world, even the most remote and isolated. It is in the very air itself. Age-old traditions and social customs are disappearing before the advance of modern Western ideas of progress. The result is a conflict of culture that should be carefully studied as more important to the masses than is the struggle for supremacy between the leaders of economic and financial control.

THE NEW ORIENT IN BOOKS

This thought is well stated in *The Spirit of World Politics* a study of the relationships of the powers to the so-called "backward" peoples. The author upholds the rights of dependent nations, giving as examples Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, where he has traveled extensively. He admits injustice, but writes:

"So long as principles are confused, the egoisms of national conduct... take advantage of the obscurity. If we can effect valid definitions of the nation and its rights, of backwardness and its implications, of the world-order and its universal requirements, the Western world will compel itself, however reluctantly, to take the consequences. And we may be in time to save new life of the ancient East! To contribute to that end, through clarifying the principles of the world-order, is the object of this book."

* * * * *

The History of Palestine and Syria is a companion volume to Professor Olmstead's "History of Assyria"—and to Breasted's "A History of Egypt," Rogers' "History of Ancient Persia," and Means' "Ancient Civilizations of the Andes"—has the same universal appeal as the earlier books. It is exhaustive and scholarly, yet continuously interesting to a general reader who likes history for the sake of the narrative and for the men and events that move across the scene.

Professor Olmstead goes back to the geological ages for the opening pages of this authoritative work on the biblical lands and their peoples in a thorough description of prehistoric civilizations in Syria, and of Syria and Palestine since the dawn of history. The empires of the past march through the pages—Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Persia, Macedonia—all had their effect on Syrian culture. There are chapters on the Philistines—who brought the remnants of the magnificent Minoan culture—on David's Empire, on Solomon, on the revolt of Jeroboam, and on the colorful but tragic history of Palestine to the time of the Macedonian conquest.

* * * * *

Awakening Japan is a fascinating picture of Japan in transition which treats of swiftly moving events with the fine discrimination of a keen, intelligent, and well-informed observer... Its permanent and unique value to students of Far Eastern affairs rests upon the author's close personal contact, over a long period of years, with the most influential men in Japanese public life, and upon the exceptionally frank and well-balanced judgment he brought to bear upon everything he saw and heard.

* * * * *

America in the Pacific, in the light of current events in the Far East, is of extraordinary interest. It is especially important in the light it sheds upon three conspicuous and timely matters: our ambition to dominate the Pacific as a background to our present insistence upon our rights in China and to our rivalry with Japan; our early relations with the Hawaiians and their bearing upon present conditions in Honolulu; and the history of our relationship with the Philippines in connection with the present Congressional hearings on Phillipine independence.

THE NEW ORIENT IN BOOKS

* * * * *

The Political Philosophy of Confucianism by Leonard Shihlien Hsü, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Professor of Social Theory and formerly Dean of the College of Applied Social Sciences, Yenching University; Barrister-at-Law; Political Secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nationalist Government of the Republic of China.

The author's challenging thesis in this book is that Confucius' teaching is relevant, here and now, not only for China but for the Western World also. He outlines the great teacher's attitude toward the State, the principles of government, law and justice, democracy, social evolution and political progress. Not on law imposed from without, but on *li*, or the inner code of men strengthened by wise education, did Confucius base his entire political philosophy. His ideals have persisted for 2500 years and are still valid for China and the rest of the world today.

* * * * *

The Legacy of Islam contains chapters by each of the following, Sir Thomas Arnold, Ernest Barker, A. H. Christie, H. G. Farmer, J. H. Kramers, R. A. Nicholson, Alfred Guillaume, M. S. Briggs, Carra de Vaux, H. A. R. Gibb, Max Meyerhof, D. de Santillana, J. B. Trend.

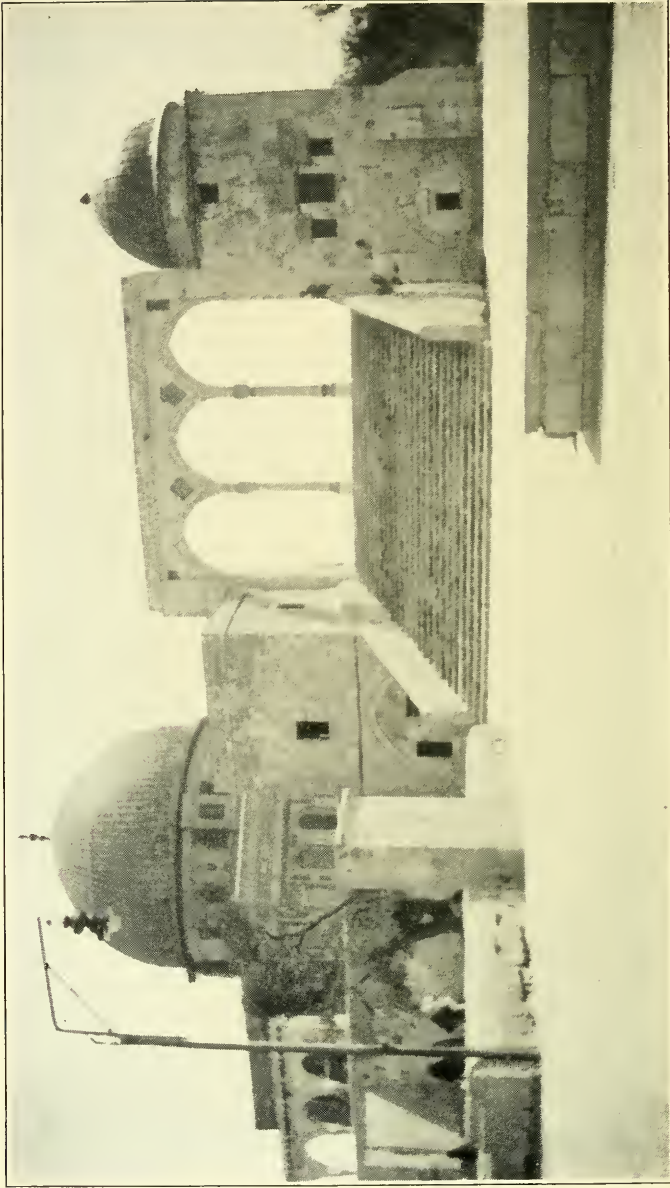
It describes what has been bequeathed to Europe by the arts, the thought, and the sciences which flourished under Moslem rule, from Central Asia to Spain. The great names of Avicenna and Averroes will occur to every one, and the Arabic origin of words like 'lilac' and 'admiral' is well known; but the influences of the Islamic world were far-reaching and complex, and are to be found where they might be least expected—in our commercial vocabulary, which has taken 'cheque', 'tariff', 'douane', and many other terms from medieval trade with Arab merchants; in music, with its Arabian lute and guitar, and its Morris or Moorish dancers, besides a vast legacy of theory; in architectural ornament, with arabesque patterns and bands of ornament based on Kufic script, as on the retable of Westminster Abbey.

* * * * *

The Book of Tea by Okakura-Kakuzo. Leather (Boxed) \$2.50, Cloth, \$1.50. The most illuminating expression of the Japanese attitude towards life as symbolized in the philosophy and etiquette of tea drinking, by Okakura-Kakuzo, the greatest modern critic of Japanese art and literature. The 10th edition of this charming classic contains a frontispiece in color of a rare and beautiful print by Tori Kiyomasu.

* * * * *

My Chinese Marriage by M. T. F. This true and fascinating story of a marriage between an American college girl and a Chinese student, is not only a charming idyll, but an authentic picture of Chinese life and feeling today, as seen through American eyes. It is a remarkable revelation bound to create more sympathetic understanding between the two nations.



NEW AND OLD JERUSALEM

The Dome of the Rock, a Mihrab or Prayer Niche toward Mecca,
and modern lighting

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

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THE NEW ORIENT SOCIETY MONOGRAPH SERIES

NUMBER FOUR

THE LAND AND ITS PAST

BY A. T. OLMSTEAD

NO land can escape its past. That far distant past we call geologic has laid down its foundations under the seas and has raised them above the waves, has crumpled them into mountains or depressed them into plains, has determined the flow of the rivers or barred whole regions from the life-giving rains, has determined its climate, soil, and possible products, and has fixed its position in respect to the world at large. Earliest man invented technologies whose descendants aid the present-day world, he followed trails through forest and over wastes where modern world routes converge, he picked the choicest locations for future villages and cities. With the introduction of agriculture he changed the landscape, cut down the forests or planted orchards, made green the slopes with grain and also eroded the soil and drained it of vitality. Cities long since dead dot the hills and plains with their mounds, whose secrets of the past are now being laid bare by the excavator; above ground may be seen houses, temples, castles, synagogues, mosques to witness a later period of history.

Such relics of the past are material and obvious; often they are important to the present, but they yield in importance to the immaterial. Means and methods of life are enforced by the land, but the land also has an unsuspected influence on thought. No land is ever depopulated suddenly or completely. After conquest the earlier inhabitants remain as slaves, serfs, or subjects. In lack of wives, the conquerors take the native women in more or less legitimate marriage, from them they learn how to make pots or war, how to till the soil and how to propitiate the divine powers of the newly won country. Whatever their own cultural level, they inevitably take over such earlier cultural elements as are superior to their own

or are better adapted to the new environment. It is especially in the realm of thought that such transfers are made, the more compelling because they are the least conscious. Thus there is an under-surface continuity which may easily be missed by the superficial investigator.

No people is so emphatically the product of its history as is the one we are to study. Only in the Near East do we have a written history extending over five millennia. Compare this with the two and a half millennia of classical history, the still lesser range of European history, or the short period since the discovery of America, and we realize that in the Near East we have a unique opportunity to investigate historical continuity.

Did we wish, we could not ignore the reviving nationalism of Egypt, of Persia, of Iraq, or of Turkey; it is impossible to deny their significance in world affairs, their promise of a New Orient; we must also admit that their present is by no means so tightly bound into their most ancient past, their aspirations are far less based on the actualities of ancient historic precedent, at most that past is Islamic, while their most obvious characteristic is a determined modernism which at times seems actually to deny their past. In our region, past and present are inextricably bound together, we cannot understand the hope of the future without understanding activities of the past.

Our region is, first and perhaps most important of all, unique in its position. The Near East is the center of the Old World on the map and it is the center in reality. Here the great world routes, by land and sea in the past, by air in the future, actually do cross. Furthermore, while the Near East is the center of the Old World, our region is the center of the Near East; if the Near East is the crossing point of world routes, these routes pass through or are commanded by Syria and Palestine.

Thus throughout all history the power which controlled our territory controlled the paths of trade. The Great Road traversed by Egyptians and Hittites, Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Persians, is now closely paralleled by a railway. The road from the sea at Gaza to Petra in its rock-hewn fastness and so deep into the wastes of Arabia is made easier by the round-about Hejaz railroad, whose feeder from the sea to Damascus is but the successor of routes to that desert-edge oasis from Sidon, Tyre, or Accho. Once the



ANCIENT TRANSPORT

short route from the sea to Babylonia was by aid of camels hired from merchants of Palmyra; now the desert caravan has been replaced by the automobile striking straight across the desert. The North Syrian route across northern Mesopotamia just south of the mountain outliers is partially repeated by that Baghdad Railroad of which we heard so much in pre-war times.

All these ancient routes were improved in classical days. The roads were paved by the Romans and one may still follow, literally day after day, that great road which paralleled the desert from north to south, or pick out bits of other roads in the country with more constant occupation. Eastward the routes now run to Persia, to India, and even to China. With the discovery of the monsoons and the increased ease and safety of the sea route, the northern land routes declined, but it was still true that this monsoon route, the predecessor of the route by the Suez canal, could be threatened as seriously from Palestine as was the Suez route during the Great War. The fall of Parthia, the break-up of the Roman Empire, the coming of the Arabs, did not snap these connecting threads between the nations, their trade filtered through the ring of Crusading castles, the Turkish inroads found them still flourishing.

Only the discovery of the route around the Cape of Good Hope for the moment seriously threatened their supremacy, for we in America take far too seriously the effect of our country's discovery.

Before the first permanent settlement in the future United States, French diplomats and English merchants were contending for a trade by no means dead, as the English cemetery in Aleppo is witness. Early in the nineteenth century came a renewed interest in our region as a gate to the Farther East. The Euphrates expedition headed by Chesney was but the most spectacular of the attempts to find a way to this Farther East through our territory.

The physical problem was solved when de Lesseps cut through the Suez Canal, but the political problem remained. Acquisition of stock in the new canal was followed by British occupation of Egypt, but it was soon recognized that this was not enough. Before the Great War, the canal was protected by the bridge-head in Sinai and Sinai now included the ancient Rhinocolura and the Biblical Kadesh Barnea; the Great War permitted the extension of the bridge-head into Palestine itself. Now the automobile dominates the routes but already it is coming to be realized that for the future of the great airways, our region is even more strategic. A country in so central a position must always be a bone of contention, and we may be sure that the future historian will have many more such struggles to chronicle.

Unfortunately for its inhabitants, nature, while granting this supremely important central position, has denied them the opportunity to make good this position for their own advantage. Our land is sufficiently a unit to deserve a separate history, but it is surrounded on all sides by potential enemies. To the southwest was Egypt, strong in its isolated valley, but forced by its own limitations to seek foreign resources. From the First Dynasty onward, Egyptians invaded the southernmost extremity of our region, the Sinaitic Peninsula, in search of turquoise for adornment and copper for its handiworkers; from that early age to the present, the connection between Nile and Jordan has been close. Like their immediate predecessors and successors, the kings who built the great pyramids retained a grip on the Phoenician harbors. Under the Twelfth Dynasty, Egypt was in control of the southern half, under the most famous of all, the Eighteenth Dynasty, virtually the whole of our land consisted of Egyptian dependencies. Egypt had little power in Bible days, yet the lure of Syria was always strong, and whenever an Egyptian monarch like Shishak was in the mood for foreign war, it was Palestine he invaded. When there was nominal

peace, the Egyptian monarch intrigued with rebels against their Assyrian or Chaldaean or Persian lords; it was vain promise of Egyptian help which led first the Northern Kingdom and then Judah to their fate.

Alexander put an end to the older Orient, but did not change this situation. On his death and the break-up of his empire, the wisest of his generals took possession of Egypt, but Ptolemy had no illusions; Egypt could be safe only with a bridge-head in Palestine. Those who would understand the history of inter-testamental times must remember that when western culture appeared to be sweeping everything oriental before it, Greek culture was directed upon the Jews in Palestine, not from Antioch, much less from Athens, but from Alexandria.

Egypt and Syria alike paid Roman taxes, but the situation returned to normal with the Arabs. Muslim governors seeking a specious autonomy by the Nile or princes fighting for independence did not feel safe unless Palestine at least was theirs. Fight as they would, the Crusaders never could wrest the last bit of the Holy Land from the determined resistance of Muslims from the Nile. After the Holy Land was lost, crusaders attempted to win it back by first securing Egypt. When Ibrahim Pasha was thinking of independence from Turkey, the acquisition of Palestine and Syria was the most important article on his program. Now we have the Suez Canal guarded from Palestine.

Syria was equally open to attack from the northwest corner. North Syria is in fact geologically a part of the Anatolian plateau rather than a section of Syria proper, and this has always been reflected in its history. At various times, its culture and its political connections have been closely related to Anatolian. One of the earliest Hittite records shows them already bringing Aleppo under their rule. Henceforth, Hittites and Egyptians struggle for suzerainty over North Syria until both empires disintegrate, and North Syria is divided among petty states whose religion, art, and even writing cannot be distinguished from that found in southeastern Asia Minor.

Since early Hittite times, army after army has marched down from the Anatolian plateau, through the narrow Cilician Gates which Ibrahim Pasha first made passable for wheeled vehicles by his gunpowder, and then by either the Syrian or the Amanus Gates



MODERN TRANSPORTATION

into North Syria. This was the route of Alexander, Macedonians and Romans often traversed it in time of peace, of internal rebellion, or on their advance to more distant enemies in the east or south. On rare occasions, Byzantine armies pursued the same line, along this age-old path swept the most successful of the Crusaders. In our own day, peaceful penetration was attempted by the famous Baghdad Railroad.

No true frontier can be found at the northeast corner. Its only boundary is the Euphrates, already slacking its mad rush from the gorge at the mountain exit, so low in summer that at many spots it is fordable. Broad plains stretching from either shore invite the trader's progress, directly down the Euphrates or in the lee of the hills to the Tigris and so to the Persian Gulf or eastward into Persia itself. At least forty-five hundred years ago, the first great Semitic ruler of Babylonia, Sargon of Agade, reached by this route the Mediterranean and pressed on to Asia Minor. Whenever Egyptian armies could reach North Syria, the Euphrates was always crossed without difficulty. At its height, the Hittite empire stretched far into the Mesopotamian plains. When Assyria in its turn dominated the eastern world, the crossing of the Euphrates for the twenty-second time might be considered worthy of mention in a royal inscription, but it told of no frontier passed, and step

by step the later Assyrian kings reduced Syria and Palestine to the form of regular provinces.

Still less was the Euphrates a frontier under the Seleucid monarchs, nor was it ever a boundary under the Romans, despite books entitled the "Euphrates Frontier." The actual frontier wavered back and forth well east of the river through the center of Mesopotamia. Nor was it a cultural barrier, for the same peoples speaking the same languages and worshipping the same gods were on either side of the river.

It marked no frontier under the caliphs or their less powerful successors. The Crusaders found this equally true. Muslim Aleppo might throw back the forces of the nearby Christian count at Antioch, but for nearly half a century there was another Christian count at Edessa, far beyond the river. The same condition exists today, when French possessions to the east equal those to the west.

These are the obvious danger spots, inviting to the caravan in times of peace, only too inviting to the enemy in time of war. There were other frontiers, better marked by nature, but equally dangerous. The sea to the west was a barrier, but it more often barred in the inhabitants than it kept off the enemy. Early settlements are always some distance from the shore, for it has been a rare century when the sea has been completely free from the threats of the pirate. Philistines from the crumbling Minoan world came by sea as by land to settle the extensive plain to which they gave their name, and from which the whole land took its name of Palestine. By their control of the sea the early Ptolemies held Palestine against their Seleucid rivals. Palestine and Syria remained Roman because the Mediterranean was a Roman lake. Italian ships brought crusaders and permitted the retention of the seacoast long after the interior was lost. Modern sea power makes possible the present mandates.

From these three sides came frequent invaders, but yet more frequent caravans or merchant vessels. The fourth frontier has a different story to relate. Straggling lines of camels may occasionally bring in desert products or more rarely products from beyond the waste, the importance of the desert routes to commerce need not be minimized to prove that other desert influences have been far more significant.

Once in far distant prehistoric days, men of the old stone age flaked their flint implements along the banks of the great rivers

which then poured through what is now the North Syrian Desert. Not long after these men or their supplanters had progressed to the new stone industry, the rivers began to run dry, perhaps due to the shifting of the rain belts, perhaps to the sinking of the country a few feet, just sufficient to miss the clouds from the western sea. Whatever the cause, the country became desert. Many of the inhabitants, who sought their fortunes to west or to east, were the first of those migrants whose records fill our histories. The rest stayed at home, if home we may call those arid wastes through which they ranged in search of scanty pasture for their flocks. These were the nomad Arabs, whose descendants we have with us to this day, and whose peculiar virtues we have learned from an earlier number of our series.

Thus there came into being the desert and the desert nomad, whose influence on our country was to be out of all proportion to his numbers. For the settled inhabitant, the desert is a true frontier. Rarely does he penetrate its wild wastes, still more rarely do his rulers establish permanent posts in Arab territory. An occasional counter-raid with traitor guides to avenge nomad incursions is the best he can accomplish.

To the nomad, on the other hand, there is no frontier that is not held by armed force. So long as government is strong, as under the Roman empire, a line of occupied posts along the desert may hold back his incursions and allow him passage only for peaceful trade. The moment government weakens, the age-old process of infiltration begins again.

A true nomad dislikes and distrusts the settled country with its seductive vices, yet he cannot keep himself from them. He brings his beloved Arab mares, his scanty yield of wool, his clarified butter, or in ancient times his yet more prized aromatics; his caravans may transport goods from lands yet more distant. In exchange he receives what he may, grain, some dates, a little clothing, a discarded rifle. On his return, he may pick up something for which he longs but for which he has not the price. He discovers that the peasants hate and fear him, and he is encouraged to propose an arrangement which should satisfy all parties; brotherhood is established, he promises to protect them from all other raiders and in return he is fed and clothed. If this is not granted, he raids the peasants, for this is more profitable, though naturally far less exciting, than warring with a fellow tribe.



HALF-NOMADS

When the government is strong and remains constantly on the alert, the temptation may become overpowering. He occupies some land on the edge of the desert, raises a little barley or in these days a bit of rank tobacco, and then is again on his way; he does not realize it, but he is now a half-nomad, and the decline from the true desert ways has begun. Representatives of government descend upon him and demand taxes; he refuses and the border police seize his cherished foals. To prevent such disasters in the future, he consents to pay a minimum tax, and he is one step farther from the desert. In the end, he may sink to the status of a simple peasant.

The opportunity of those who have remained true nomads comes when government breaks down. Then he raids far and wide, and the destruction for which he must be held responsible is always great. In time he, too, cannot resist the lure of civilization. He is now lord over many souls, who as serfs till his soil as they tilled the soil of their former masters, enslaved they perform his menial labor, the merchants pay, and pay well, for his protection. Servile labor he still detests, but to fight he is always prepared, and soon the ablest warrior has built up a little kingdom which increases at the expense of other petty kinglets until it may end as a great empire.

Such is the story which has been repeated over and over again in history. Egypt gives us the very first glimpse of our region, and already we find the true nomad even to his tufted lance, his pointed

beard, and his love-lock, in the wastes of Sinai, while Semitic descendants of nomads are to be seen in Palestine. A thousand years later, there is a second wave from the desert, that of the Amorites, who found mighty kingdoms throughout the Fertile Crescent. Like their predecessors, they rapidly take over the culture of the peoples they have conquered, until their advancement culminates in Hammurabi's remarkable code of laws.

Five centuries later, there is a third wave, that of the Aramaeans. This, too, covered the Fertile Crescent, and its force was scarcely lessened for a thousand years. Among these were the original Hebrews and no better picture of such a migration may be found than in the Biblical records, which in turn are illuminated by the contemporary letters from Canaanite kinglets found in the Egyptian archives. They are divided into almost innumerable tribal groups but this lack of unity is more than compensated by the wild enthusiasm of men fresh from the desert. At first they occupy only the open country. This encourages them to attack the unwalled towns. Jericho's walls, so recently laid bare, fall before them, and every living soul dies under the sacred ban. The larger cities are abandoned by the Egyptian garrisons, but many of the walled Canaanite cities of the first class hold out until the first force of the wave has been broken.

Settled in Canaan as little more than half nomads, the tribes war with each other in never-ending internecine struggles. The shock of transportation lowers the standard of their desert morality, and we have stories of the savage days when "each man did what was right in his own eyes." Yet the desert blood was good, much of the brilliant Canaanite culture survived under cover or in the still unconquered great cities; with an astonishing rapidity assimilation took place. The results were not always good, for the less pleasant elements in Canaanite culture were often preferred. With full realization of these defects, it is nevertheless matter for astonishment that in one generation union was attempted under Saul, that in the second it was accomplished under David, that in the third under Solomon the Hebrew kingdom had made such advances in military power, wealth, and taste, as to place it in the front rank of the second-rate oriental powers.

Our Hebrews were not the only Aramaean migrants. The Bible tells of Aramaean states east of the Lake of Galilee; the Ara-

maeans first brought to importance Damascus in its oasis on the edge of the desert, there were equally important states in Hollow Syria and North Central Syria, while in time Aramaeans supplanted the Hittite rulers in the far north.

The last wave was that of the true Arab. Here again we must subdivide the various chronological divisions. True Arabs appear in the Assyrian annals of the ninth century before Christ. Two centuries later we hear of Arab queens like the Biblical Queen of Sheba. They appear in the later portion of the Biblical records. By the third century, the Nabataeans were in Petra, from which they controlled the main trade route deep into Arabia, they occupied the fertile grain fields of the Hauran, on occasion they reached Damascus where they were found by Paul. A descendant of one of these petty kinglets settled at Emesa, the modern Homs, ruled the Roman empire as Heliogabalus, an emperor from the Hauran was known as Philip the Arabian. We are more familiar with Palmyra, where the Arab Odenathus or Wahab-allat was a Roman senator until he assumed the imperial title and transmitted it to his widow, the more famous Zenobia.

Never until our own day was the desert border so well guarded as it was by the Romans, especially after Trajan had formed the Province of Arabia east of the Jordan. Magnificent ruins at Petra, Gerasa, Bostra, and many another site testify to the prosperity under Roman rule of regions not long before exposed to nomad raids. A great road, from Bostra to the Red Sea, as the inscriptions on the mile-stones proudly boasted, paralleled the desert frontier. Along it were strung Roman camps for the legions, whose memory is preserved by Lejjun in Moab, while beyond, where the land dips the few feet necessary to miss the clouds, on the actual frontier, was a line of strong forts. Nomads could pass this limes only under strict supervision.

As the empire weakened, defense of the frontier was more and more committed to the phylarchs, native "tribal chiefs." Chief of these were the rulers of Ghassan, who occupied the eastern borders of the Hauran. Opposed to them were other tribal chiefs, the Lahmids of Hira, who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sasanid Persians.

Thanks to these half-Romanized or half-Persized Arabs, civilization entered the desert. The art of the Sasanid Persians, itself

based on far earlier oriental predecessors, crossed the northern desert and appeared along the Roman frontier. While South Arabia, whose beautifully carved inscriptions and splendid monuments have been partially recovered only in our own day, was sinking to its fall, the north was becoming civilized.

Earlier Arab migrants had adopted the current Aramaic language as many of the Aramaeans had once adopted the Canaanite, but now we read Arabic which reminds us of the Koran. East of the Hauran in the early Christian centuries we find the scribblings of the Safaites, in characters taken from the South Arabic, not from the Phoenician. They are written in genuine north Arabic, they show the Arab's love of long genealogies, of war and of revenge under the protection of the same gods condemned by the Prophet.

To be sure, the men of the Safa ultimately abandoned good Arabic for outrageous Greek, but before this had happened kings of Hira were writing Arabic with Aramaean letters. Writing became familiar in Arabia in the sacred scriptures of numerous Jews and Christians, Greek and even Hebrew inscriptions are found well down the west coast, and there are inscriptions in Thamudian and Lihyanian characters evolved from the older writing of South Arabia. If the famous poets of the "Ignorance" were actually illiterate, they themselves were to blame. They spent such parts of their life as they could in the civilized courts of Ghassan or Hira. They drank the wine so abhorred of the true nomad, who worshipped the "good god who drank no wine," and they celebrated its virtues in their verses. They courted the city ladies or composed verses for or against the kings according as their pay was great or small. Thus much of their lives was spent far from the life of the ancestral desert which they celebrated with the same enthusiasm that Theocritus had devoted to his ideal shepherds and shepherdesses.

We must therefore recognize that the "Time of Ignorance" thus described by Muhammad was in reality a period when Arabia was assimilating the culture of the lands it was so soon to subjugate. Jews and Christians and Zoroastrians were preparing the way for the preachings of a Prophet who was to unite the Arabs in a desert outpouring such as the world had never before experienced. Syria fell in its turn before the Arab hordes and became Muslim, its true glory came when the hard-headed but magnificent Umayyads

made Damascus the capital of the far-flung caliphate and raised Syria to such heights as even the early Roman empire had not promised. The Ummayyads fell, the caliphate was transferred to Iraq, and the glory was no more, but the Ummayyads had once more proved that the Arab with little preparation can become a great ruler and an even greater patron of culture.

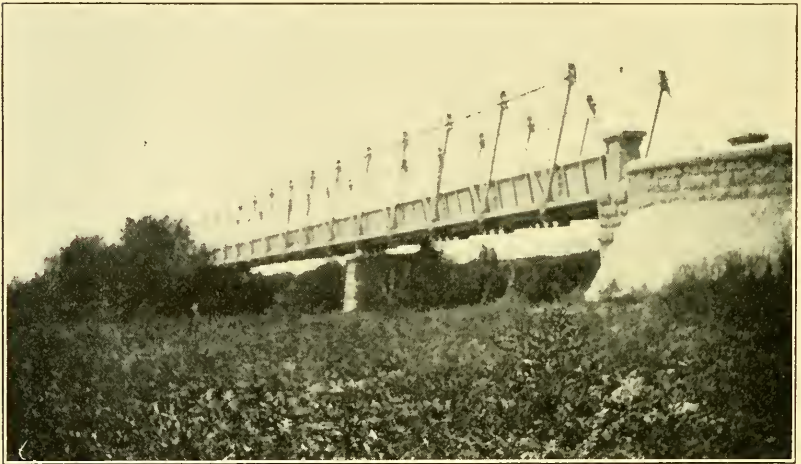
As the caliphate became more and more nominal in the control of its vassals, the title was finally transferred to the Turks, and the threat of the desert again was insistent. Many in the long line of cities along the desert border had been abandoned before the close of Roman rule, the remainder were now occupied only by half-nomads. Again the Arabs pressed in and again levied brotherhood on the peasants who still dared risk the border. Little more than a century ago, nomads ranged the plain of Esdraelon almost to the sea. Turkish recovery in the nineteenth century and the beginnings of European economic penetration expelled the nomads, the desert borders were patrolled and cultivation was renewed, a few of the tribes negotiated for the payment of taxes. The Hejaz railroad was the final step taken by the Turks in their attempt to tame the desert.

Under Lawrence, the nomads struck back during the Great War. Again the borders were raided, again and again the line of the railroad was cut, the breakdown of Turkish morale in Palestine may in some degree be attributed to the nomads, but even under European direction theirs was not the decisive stroke. The victorious advance was from the southwest corner, as has been so often the case in the past. Today, under French and British mandate, Syria and Palestine are safe. The northern desert is so tamed that the road is now passable for automobiles. Meanwhile, the desert waits in true oriental patience.

Peoples with barriers equally difficult of defense have nevertheless won their independence and then gone on to empire. Unhappy Syria has never accomplished this; a grudging nature has made union at home impossible. As a geographical and cultural unit, Syria is of unequalled significance; it has never been a self-contained nation.

Even when we speak of North Syria, Central Syria, South Syria or Palestine, these are once more but geographical expressions. The moment we commence to analyze the geography, the divisions and subdivisions at once demand our attention. In many respects, the

western corner of North Syria belongs politically and culturally with Cilicia in Asia Minor and the eastern corner with Mesopotamia, but the extreme north goes with the Anti-Taurus of which geologically it is a part, and geology is reflected in present-day ownership by the Turks. Central Syria is only the valley of the Orontes, for Lebanon, covered by dense forests of cedar in antiquity and now yet more divisive in its barrenness, shuts it off from the Phoenician coast lands, while even more barren Anti-Lebanon bars access to the desert oasis of Damascus and the desert border.



ALLENBY BRIDGE ACROSS THE JORDAN

Along the coast where we find the best harbors, such as they are, each Phoenician city is shut off from its neighbors by outjutting headlands which almost or quite reach the waters.

Palestine was in even worse case. We speak of Galilee as a unit, but Upper Galilee is a beautiful upland, out of contact with the world and unable to secure the coast it beholds from its hills. Lower Galilee is indeed lower and on the line of the greatest of ancient roads. The Great Road traversed the Great Plain, that of Esdraelon, where at Megiddo or Armageddon world conflicts were decided from the days of Thutmose III to those of Allenby. Yet just over the first hills was Samaria with its valleys only partially open to the world, though by no means so isolated as higher Judah, which to the south culminated in a true wilderness of rock and twist-

ing gorges. The fertile plain to which, when our history was half completed, was given the name of Philistia, was accessible enough to the outside world, but it was rarely in the possession of the men from the hills. The Negeb was the border of the desert, under the Romans filled with small but flourishing towns, otherwise it was only the abode of the nomads.

Palestine west of the Jordan was thus sufficiently divided, but that was nothing as compared with the divisive influence of the Great Rift, the line of the Jordan, Lake of Galilee, and Dead Sea, for the Dead Sea lies deep, farther below the ocean's surface than any other spot on the earth. Before Bible times, there were separate Amorite kingdoms east of the Jordan. Hebrew kings rarely conquered the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites who divided the country between them. During New Testament times, the East Jordan country was possessed by independent Nabataean kings. This situation is reflected today in an autonomous Trans-Jordania.

It is therefore clear that our land divides and divides again into the most minute subdivisions, which vary greatly in altitude, roughness of terrain, climate, fertility of soil, and access to water. The Dead Sea is nearly thirteen hundred feet below sea level, the Lake of Galilee nearly seven hundred, and the visitor appreciates at once the increased atmospheric pressure, the tropical climate, and the consequent lag of effort. Lebanon just misses two miles in height for its topmost spine, and heavy snows block the valleys in winter. Between these two extremes, there is every variation.

History shows the proper reaction to this geographical medley. The first Egyptian records picture innumerable petty "kings," each fighting his neighbor, and the cities torn by internal feuds. Egyptian empire gave a specious unity to the picture, but how false it was appears from the famous Amarna letters where the local princes are all on their thrones, nominally as officials of the empire, actually intriguing against each other in the good old fashion and all willing to come to terms with any hostile monarch who will promise them freedom from the Egyptian yoke.

It was this disunion which permitted the nomad Hebrews to conquer one by one the petty "kings" whose names fill the pages of our Bible. From their ancestral desert the Hebrews brought their nomad individualism, and there was nothing in the land they had conquered to weaken its force. Such intertribal wars as are pic-

tured in the book of Judges were the natural result of this individualistic heritage assisted by the divisive features of the land. Threat of an almost accomplished Philistine overlordship, aided by prophetic enthusiasm, did for the moment bring about another fictitious unity. David for the moment did make the fiction good, for he ruled all the Hebrew tribes, such neighbors as the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites, and a few foreign cities like Damascus. At that, he never controlled the whole of what we call Palestine, he saw his own tribe of Judah revolt under his son Absalom, and then the northern tribes raised the cry:

No portion have we in David,
No heritage in Jesse's son,
To your tents, O Israel!

In post-biblical times, the reigns of David and Solomon were viewed through golden clouds as Israel's most glorious days, but long before Solomon's reign was ended much territory was lost, and it needed only his death to topple the whole structure.

Once and again the Hebrews were united when the king of Israel forced the king of Judah to acknowledge his vassalage, but the two halves of the people still felt each other alien, and no Israelite monarch dared assume the actual crown of Judah. Even when Judah was an autonomous subject of Israel, all Palestine was not in its possession, the coast and much of the East Jordan country was as a rule independent. The whole course of Old Testament history is the reiterated tragedy of unsuccessful attempts at union, whether initiated by Israel or by Damascus.

Union came only with the rule of the foreign Persians, but it was a unity qualified by semi-autonomous Phoenician states and by incessant revolts. Once more Alexander brought foreign unity, but his successors could not hold it, and during the great period of the Macedonian monarchies the Seleucids whom we often think of as Syrians did not hold Palestine which belonged to the Ptolemies. When the Seleucids did win Palestine, it was only to lose it at once to the Maccabaeen rebels, and the Maccabaeen revolt preceded by but a few years the complete disintegration of the once mighty Seleucid empire into those numerous tiny states whose tangled relations makes deadly dull a detailed history of New Testament backgrounds.

Rome imposed another foreign unity which endured for centuries and this foreign unity continued under the early caliphs. Their power in turn declined and there arose semi-independent and independent rulers whose complicated story so baffles the student who is interested only in political history.

No antidote to their feudal particularism was found by the Crusaders in the Holy Land. Rather, it was here the feudal system flourished and reached its highest form of development, or more accurately its worst disintegration, in the well-known Assizes of Jerusalem. To be sure, there was a king in Jerusalem, a guardian of the Holy Sepulcher, but he was actually too weak to bring all of the Holy Land itself under Christian rule. Dangerous to his rule as were these natural and avowed Muslim enemies, they were not half so dangerous as his own feudal vassals, the great counts at Tiberias, Tripolis, and Antioch, the equally influential heads of fighting orders like the Templars and Hospitallers, the numerous barons who made their own alliances, fought their own wars, flouted his commands, and even appeared in arms against him. No wonder that the Crusades ended in failure!

Repulse of the Crusaders brought no unity to the land nor did the Turkish occupation. Books by travellers during the Turkish centuries speak repeatedly of local chieftains with almost if not quite complete local autonomy, who often refuse to pay their taxes and sometimes do not hesitate to make armed revolt against the forces of the far-off sultan. We find that they were generally subdued, not by armies but by trickery. Finally, after the "massacres of 1860," the Lebanon was made autonomous by the great powers; Turkish suzerainty was acknowledged only by an annual tribute and the approval of the governor, the local finances and the local police were under native control. Since the Great War, the French mandate runs in Syria; the British, in Palestine.

So much space has been devoted to political characteristics because they are the essence of Syrian history and without such knowledge the culture cannot be understood. We can understand the culture only when we realize that there too we can trace the same pattern, though more obscurely, and that this political history has constantly affected the culture and that it affects it unto this day.

Physical anthropologists have hitherto devoted little attention

to our country, strange as this may seem in view of its extraordinary interest, but this neglect is soon to be made good in part by one of Lebanon's own daughters. Gladly as we shall welcome the more precise data the physical anthropologists may secure, the most superficial observation is quite sufficient to prove that our land houses a medley of races. In the extreme north, we see men who are almost perfectly round-headed, as pure Armenoid types as we could desire. In the south and especially as we approach the desert, the men are at the other end of the craniometric scale, for they are long-headed. In the regions between, we have every form of transition, the harbor cities open to the sailors of the world, the sacred cities with pilgrims from every land, add to the confusion of physical types.

The original Hebrews were nomads from the desert, whom we may call Semites if we wish to employ that term in a racial sense, at any rate, the nomad has always been long-headed, a branch of the Mediterranean race. On the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, we are shown the Israelite Jehu bowing to the earth before his Assyrian suzerain, and he is an Armenoid! There could be no clearer evidence of the mingling of races which was taking place already in Biblical times.

Race is what the individual is, language is what he thinks he may be. Doubtless in some obscure fashion, racial characteristics determine the capabilities of individuals and of peoples, but there are few clear-cut illustrations of such determination, amuse ourselves as we may with conjectures. Language differentiations are obvious, and this obviousness should not prevent us from realizing that in history they are highly significant. Peoples who speak a common language may exchange their thoughts without difficulty, may easily exert influence one on the other, they feel a common bond of union, they present a common front against those strangers whose tongues sound so outlandish.

From the dawn of written history, a Semitic language has always been spoken in Syrian homes, and this common tongue has imposed a large degree of cultural unity, even when a non-Semitic language has been imposed by foreign masters. This is the undoubted truth in the oft repeated claim that there is a Semitic race, which speaks a Semitic language, follows Semitic customs, and worships by a Semitic religion.

It is wiser to confine the term Semite to the nomads of the North Arabian desert; here to our day we may hear Arabic spoken in its full beauty and closest to what was the original Semitic language. From there it was carried to the settled country, already occupied by men of different races and who seem originally to have spoken languages akin to those now preserved only in the Caucasus. On the lips of these men who knew not to speak aright, it was broken down and corrupted into dialects often far remote from the pure desert speech.



ARAB PEASANT

An attempt to trace the languages of the country as a cultural element is therefore fully justified. Our very first recorded place-name shows that Phoenician or rather Canaanite was already spoken. Egyptian or Hittite monarchs might employ their own language in the erection of bombastic inscriptions or in defining the treaty obligations of their vassals, the Akkadian of Babylonia might be the international language of trade and of diplomacy, but the native language was always used at home. When Syrian princes write letters to their Egyptian masters in the language of Babylonia, the native tongue shows through. It seems strange that they should use a foreign language and script, for long before, some thirty-seven centuries ago, an unknown genius at the Sinai mines had given the world one of its greatest blessings: he had invented a purely alphabetical method of writing. After mature deliberation, the Phoenician merchants come at last to realize what a convenience the alphabet might be. Rapidly the new invention conquered the Fertile Crescent, Phoenician merchants taught it to the Greeks, who in turn

passed it on to the Romans from whom we ourselves have learned its use. The very word alphabet is the best witness to the unparalleled debt we owe to this land; it does come immediately from the Greek alpha-beta, but this is only the Semitic aleph-beth, "ox-house," the names of the pictographs which represented the first two signs of the original alphabet from Sinai. This gift made possible the writing of that other unparalleled gift of our land, the Bible; it is owing to this gift that the present study may be printed.

Hebrew nomads spoke Aramaic in the desert, but when they had conquered the Promised Land, they adopted the "lip of Canaan." It was in this "lip of Canaan," virtually the same as Phoenician, and marred only by a few survivals of their ancestral Aramaic, that our Old Testament was written, though today we speak of it as Hebrew. Aramaic came into its own in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. Even among the Jews, it supplanted their sacred language. Almost driven from the field by Greek in the first enthusiasm for things Hellenic, it hung on and ultimately regained much of its older prestige. Would we understand Jesus, we must not forget that on the few occasions when we have quoted his actual words, they are not in Hebrew, much less in Greek, but in Aramaic.

What the Indo-European Greek could never bring about was accomplished by a sister dialect of the Semitic. Aramaic rapidly disappeared or lingered only in the ritual of Christian churches, and Arabic was the common language of the Islamic world. Men might read their Arabic Koran without full understanding in the far corners of the caliphate, but in Syria, Arabic was the universal language for school and for home.

Turkish rule did not impose its wholly alien tongue and today it is already forgotten, save in the small section of North Syria under Turkish control. French was as eagerly acquired by the higher classes as was Greek in Hellenistic and Roman times. English was taught by American missionaries and in American schools or was brought back by returned emigrants from America. A revived Hebrew unites Jews who formerly spoke Yiddish, Russian, French, German, Spanish, or Arabic. The language of the masses remains Arabic and there appears no indication that they will forget their native tongue.

Arabic is still the bond of unity. Much as the dialect of Le-

banon differs from that spoken in Jerusalem or along the desert border, it can be understood. Beirut is expanding its influence through well-edited newspapers and by books which have the right to be called literature. Men far distant from the Lebanons may not understand the spoken dialect, yet they can read without difficulty what is here presented to the whole vast Arabic-speaking world. Linotype presses such as that of al-Hoda in New York show how firm is the grip of the vernacular newspaper upon even the immigrant to America. This use of a common language and this rapid growth of a true literature is the best sign of a coming cultural unity. Best of all, it presages free exchange of thought and influence over that enormous section of the world where Arabic is still spoken, read, and printed.

Our land may boast of its literature. The whole world knows and admires our Old Testament. It is great in its religious value, it is equally great as pure literature. We need only recall its intriguing stories, that first modern historian who so objectively yet so vividly described David's career, the inspired and inspiring outpourings of its prophets, those psalms which yet suffice to express the most ardent hopes of the soul. That for sheer beauty the Bible has no equal in its own particular realm will be admitted by all. That its influence on every great literature of the western world has been equally potent should be quite as obvious.

But Syrian literature cannot be confined to one people and one time. We have declared in our ignorance that the Phoenicians were too mercantile-minded to have formed a literature, we have denied the authenticity of those fragmentary stories of Phoenician religious origins which the antiquarian Philo of Byblos compiled in Roman times. Just the other day tablets from Ras Shamra on the North Syrian coast have been discovered and deciphered; they are written in a new alphabet, formed on the model of the cuneiform but derived from the Sinai alphabet, and they provide us with Phoenician literature and even a long epic. Thus early Phoenician literature takes its place by the side of the other early oriental literatures, and from it we shall undoubtedly win many a new side-light on our Bible. Tablets and inscriptions from other sites in Syria and Palestine are being unearthed, and already we are beginning to understand that writing was employed not only for business documents

and letters. Even in the Amarna letters, we have quoted incidental bits of poetry which actually anticipate lines in our Bible.

There was a moment when the triumphant inroads of Hellenism seemed destined to destroy the vernacular literatures, but they came back. The greater part of the native literature produced in this period has perished and we have little hope that it will ever be recovered. We may at least form some conception of what it was from the survivals of the contemporary literature of Judaism. How men wrote and thought in Hebrew in those days may be learned from the recently recovered original of Ecclesiasticus, which we have long known in Greek translation. Just before the Maccabean revolt, Aramaic came back in the prophecies and stories of Daniel. The story of the Maccabees was twice set down, once in Aramaic, once in as good Hellenistic Greek as Macedonian subjects ever produced. About the same time begins that strange apocalyptic literature with Enoch as its prophet, whose future output was to be so enormous, though the Aramaic originals have perished and we know them only in translation.

Roman rule brought a new series of works. To win a wider hearing, one must write in Greek and many succumbed to the temptation. Histories of "classical" literature list name after name from our territory. Toward the end of the second century, the greatest Greek stylist was Lucian, and Lucian came from the extreme northeast corner of our region, from Samosata on the Euphrates. Lucian is known as the great satirist; he satirized willingly enough the gods of Greece and Rome, who long since had lost the reverence of their quondam worshippers, but when he came to write of his own local divinity, the Syrian goddess, he was utterly devout. Lucian indeed is no unworthy predecessor of the "westernized" oriental of our own day; beneath the superficial veneer he is a true son of the orient, and we respect him the more for his fidelity.

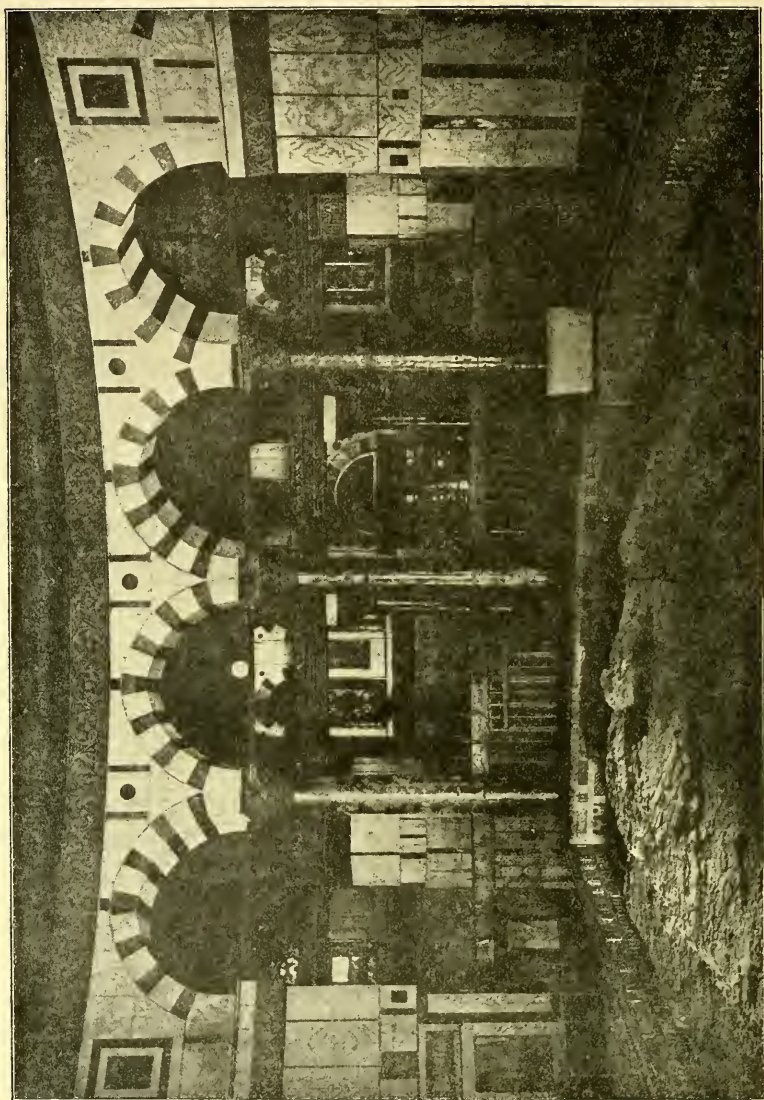
In Roman days as at present, men might reach a wider public by employing the foreign tongue but they spoke their own language at home and they composed books for those who could read only their native script. Josephus prepared his Jewish Wars for that wider public with the aid of Greek stylists, but he had already issued the volume in Aramaic for those of the Upper Provinces. Our New Testament is in Greek, and scholars dispute whether

there is any portion which was originally in Aramaic; no one dare dispute that Jesus spoke in Aramaic, that to understand his true teachings we must sometimes attempt to phrase them in the language they were originally given. This Greek New Testament was soon translated back into the local Aramaic, and from it was evolved that enormous oriental Christian literature whose value we are so lately coming to recognize.

Never can we understand certain elements of the present-day situation until we consider certain Jewish writings of this period. The destruction of the temple threatened the destruction of Judaism itself. In desperate haste, the Jewish scholars wrote down what was needed to preserve the faith inviolate. Oral translations of the sacred scriptures into the vernacular which had long accompanied the synagogue service were transcribed against the day when the interpreter might die. There had grown up a mass of legal decisions on the true meaning of the Mosaic Law and these were incorporated in the Mishnah, the "Second Law." Soon the pages of the Mishnah were annotated by new scholars, and thus grew up the Talmuds. By this time, the prestige of the Palestinian schools had been eclipsed by the newly risen academies of Babylonia, and today the Babylonian Talmud has far more influence than the one named from Jerusalem. It is quite impossible to understand the point of view of large and influential sections of the Palestinian Jews without some knowledge of this Talmudical literature.

If the supplanting of Greek by Arabic produced few Syrian writers of the first rank, there was, nevertheless, a very respectable representation. A geographer was named Muqaddasi because his home was al-Quds or Jerusalem. Abulfeda was a historian with some claims to eminence. Recently Professor Hitti has introduced us to Usamah, a gentleman if ever there was one, whose delightful memoirs picture the Crusaders with a skill which is as convincing as it is unflattering.

Another literary revival has marked the present. Curiously enough, much of its output is accessible in English. Kahlil Gibran as prophet and mystic, Abraham Rihbany as interpreter of the Syrian Christ, Ameen Rihani as commentator on world affairs, Philip Hitti as historian of his own orient, Salloum Mokarzel in his *Syrian World*—these are but examples of the continuance



INTERIOR OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK

of the great tradition by Syrians transplanted more or less permanently to American soil.*

For centuries it has been a commonplace that the Semites were incapable of pictorial or plastic art. Like most such commonplaces, it appears the less assured the more earnestly we study the facts. So far as earlier Syria was concerned, the impression was certainly due to dense ignorance. Now that this earlier period is being brought to the light through excavation, the impression must be abandoned. We marvel at Phoenician objects four thousand years old, in gold, silver, bronze, faience, and adorned with precious stones. In many respects it is a mixture, such as we should expect, of Egyptian, Babylonian, even Cretan elements, but it is no mere mixture, it is at last possible to isolate the essential elements which are new and national. With our newly won appreciation of oriental esthetics, we see that this is genuine art, despite its disagreement with canons we ourselves learned from the Greeks.

Egyptian reliefs and recent excavations show a material culture in Canaan quite the equal in most respects to the contemporary Egyptian. The wonderful dog and lion group from Beth Shan is sufficient in itself to refute the claim that the Semites had no art.

Art does seem to have declined in the Hebrew period, but it returns under the Macedonians and Romans. Syrian art is now and then in danger of becoming grotesque when it seeks for the grandiose, as in the huge temple at Baalbek, but it is at its best in the smaller objects. There are no finer examples of the arts in miniature than the wonderfully realistic portraits of the Hellenistic coins, unless it is to be sought in the gems. Equal praise must be given to the statuettes, whether in metal or in clay, though the gods to be sure are assigned attributes which eyes trained to Greek sculpture might consider monstrous. Phoenicia was the second home of glass making, and its artists were proud to sign their names to their masterpieces. Sarcophagus reliefs are sometimes quite as good as these produced in the classic west. Syrian art reaches its climax in those minute yet realistic and almost modernistic portraits of the New Testament authors on the Chalice of Antioch.

Purely classic elements lost their appeal through monotonous

*For further reference on this subject see the article "Michael Naimy and the Syrian Americans in Modern Arabic Literature" by Martin Sprengling in the August issue of *The Open Court*.

repetition, and their modification to those familiar with classical style seems barbarization. To students seeking to understand oriental esthetics, these apparent barbarisms represent only gropings for something more truly native, and indeed the older oriental elements were returning. Particularly is this true in architecture, as the Princeton University expeditions have so abundantly indicated. East of the Jordan and in Central and North Syria are temples, baths, and churches whose accompanying inscriptions date them to the later Roman empire, and here the new elements in form and in decoration are on their way west to Rome and to mediæval Europe. Paintings from the tombs at Palmyra, guard stations on the desert border, tomb reliefs from the whole land prophesy the new era. Far out in the desert, the fresco paintings of Kuseir Amra and the intricate fretwork of the Meshetta facade form a glorious transition to Saracenic art.

Islam, with its prohibition of the living image, threatened this development along certain lines, but the refusal was not always taken seriously, as witness those marvellous early Arab mosaics uncovered at Damascus, and it only intensified the devotion to other forms of art. Tourists often slight the Dome of the Rock as a late unworthy successor to Solomon's temple. How can they be so blind? Not only is the Dome of the Rock one of the earliest examples of the new Islamic art set free from the shackles of classicism, but it is one of the very greatest architectural monuments in our world. The soaring lightness of the dome itself, the uniqueness of the building plan, the grace of the details, the matched marbles, the stained glass windows, the Koran verses in multi-colored glaze, the very rugs which cover the floor—we find here a perfect epitome of those arts which the mediæval orient especially cherished and they are at their best. Equally graceful is the nearby Dome of the Chain. If the tourist will cease his hurried search for sites which commemorate more or less surely Biblical events, and will stroll casually through the winding streets of the older Jerusalem, he may chance on many a fine bit which cannot be associated with the Bible, but which is beautiful in its own right.

So it is with the whole land. There are mosques that even the most hasty visitor cannot miss, such as that at Damascus, but there is more reward for the patient investigator. Everywhere are mosques, some pleasing in their bare simplicity of lines, others



DOME OF THE CHAIN
Aqsa mosque in distance

more ornate but always with the saving grace. In the most unexpected corners one detects fine bits of old palaces, inns, baths, or some exquisite detail now torn from its original environment. Some day this Islamic architecture will be appreciated as it deserves.

Christian churches naturally could not vie with the mosques, but their story has much to interest the student of architectural history. To be sure, the most impressive were built before the Muslim conquest or by the Crusaders. The last are indeed foreign and so need not detain us here, but perhaps the Crusading castles are not so western as they look. Palestinian castles were so much better built, so much better defended, and so much more elaborate than the castles the Crusaders had left at home that we may be sure their owners learned much from their opponents. No Crusading castle vies with that tremendous fortification on the ancient mound at Aleppo, none is more beautiful in detail. Often only history can tell whether the castle is Christian or Muslim.

At home, the Crusader had lived in almost unimaginable simplicity. In Syria he found the art of living highly developed and all too eagerly he imitated its less pleasing characteristics. He found also a remarkable development of the so-called minor arts, weaving, rug making, beautiful glass, pottery, furniture, metal work, jewelry. Let us admit at once that not all the development of Europe in the later middle ages came from the Crusades, still there was enough

for the Crusader to learn and to carry home. Fortunately he left enough behind to permit an appreciation of the high state of the industrial arts in mediaeval Syria.

Mediaeval Islam might suffer artistic limitation from certain provisions of the faith, but this only the more concentrated its love in one direction. It is a fact of great significance that all this love and devotion was lavished on the book. Beautiful writing, calligraphy in the truest sense, was an art in itself, and autographs of eminent calligraphers were collected as objects of art, not as we collect the scrawls of the contemporary great. A beautifully written book was a prize in itself and needed no further adornment. Illumination was however often added to the book, not the pale illumination of pale monks in the west, but in a riot of color which, nevertheless, is always pleasing. Such treasures must be properly housed and thus grew up the art of bookbinding, splendid examples of which were recently exhibited at the Art Institute. No labor was too great for the honored book, particularly if it were *the Book*, the sacred Koran. For much of this art, the only permissible words are superlatives.

Syria has still to find herself in the arts, perhaps the time is not ripe. A true native architecture is yet to develop, painting and sculpture are in the future. Much of the older technology is lost, but much has survived. No tourist visits the Holy Land who does not return with at least prayer beads of glass, ivory, or olive, or with taborets, chairs, or tables intricately and beautifully inlaid with varicolored woods or mother of pearl. The silkworm is still bred on the Lebanon terraces, though much of the raw material is exported, but the women have not forgotten the art of embroidery. The once famed glass workers now make only rings for peasant women, but Damascus is yet famous for its brass work, of which every tourist bears home some sample. Recent years have witnessed a remarkable revival of the exquisite work of the silver- and goldsmith. Sometimes these industrial arts have been debased to meet supposed western taste, but there is hope that native modes will survive and evolve.

We all remember that the Phoenicians were the great merchants of the ancient world. There is no reason to assume that they were especially gifted at their first settlement, their merchandizing was forced upon them by the very nature of the land itself. It is in-



MODERN JERUSALEM
Mount of Olives and Dome in Distance



NARROW STREET IN OLD JERUSALEM

deed a poor land, a large part of its area hopeless desert of sand or rock, or filled with high mountains whose cliffs and ravines do not permit cultivation. There are indeed stretches of fertile soil, but they would be ludicrously small were they not tragic. One hears of the Great Plain, the plain of Esdraelon, and one thinks of the vast expanses of our own Middle West; unless the mud is too clinging, it can be crossed on foot in an hour or two, while in good weather its length can be traversed by car in not much more time. So it is with the other plains, they are fertile enough but small, just sufficient to encourage the beginnings of civilization; an increase of population forces out the surplus in search of life itself. Even less attractive to the cultivator are the mountain slopes and steep valley sides, and only the desert nomad could ever have thought of this land as flowing with milk and honey; to an American, it is a hopelessly barren land.

Throughout the ages, the industrious inhabitant has made such use of his resources as he might. Its scanty store of the useful metals has been exploited. The forests, especially those of the sweet-scented cedar, have been cut down, too often by the foreign invader. Today, there is a census of the few hundred surviving cedars of Lebanon. Deforestation has left its terrible mark on the country. Fuel is scarce, unsatisfactory, and expensive. In place of the cedars is now dull gray rock, forever denuded of soil possible of cultivation, unable to check the onrush of the winter floods or to store the precious fluid for the six dry months of the year. Impossible as the situation appears, men bravely struggle against the inevitable. With patience almost unimaginable, the peasants have heaped up stone walls to form terraces, sometimes actually twice as high as they are broad, for the mulberries which feed the silk worms, for grapes or fruits. Through such industry, where man's labor is of little value compared to the recovery of a few inches of soil, there are still lovely spots in the Lebanon.

Elsewhere, save only on the plains, there is nothing but thin worn-out soil, scratched by a crude contrivance scarce worthy the name of plow. The Zionists have introduced modern methods, have freed the plains from the malaria-breeding swamps and beat back the encroaching sands from the shore but there is always the problem of more land.

Biblical language may be quoted, though with a different interpretation from the original; the land does literally drive out its

inhabitants, to seek sustenance abroad. Fortunately, nature has compensated the inhabitants for its niggardly soil by granting them a superb position in the center of the Old World at the crossing of the great roads.

Early trade was almost exclusively land trade. Objects from



JACOB'S WELL SHOWING RUINS OF OLD CRUSADER'S CHURCH

far distant countries show that the Great Road existed before history was written. In every generation, that road has been traversed by caravans, and in every generation the end of that road has been Egypt. Caravan tracks across the eight-day desert have been supplanted by the Cairo sleeper; despite this new link, it is probable that never before in history have the two countries had so little of common economic interest. Despite the railway connections

with Anatolia and Mesopotamia, here, too, the trade relations do not compare with those of earlier times. Curiously enough, it is the desert, so often a threat, though its caravans at intervals added to Syria's wealth, which today is again making Syria a world center. Nascent routes by automobile and airplane across the desert to Iraq and beyond are improving Syria's position in the world.

The explanation is that in our centuries there has been a tremendous shift in world routes. Distant commerce now prefers the sea to the land. Here, too, the Syrian was the pioneer.

Not that the sea was inviting. Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod owed their first prosperity to the Great Road, not to the water. Along the whole Philistine coast there was not even the pretense of a harbor. Ashkelon made its own port, Gaza and Ashdod, some distance from the sea, built harbor towns. Jaffa, the seaport of Jerusalem, was nothing but a straight line of coast behind jagged rocks which afforded moderate shelter in moderate weather, but became an absolute menace when the sea was the least rough. Classical writers located at Joppa the story of Andromeda, bound to these rocks until rescued by the hero, Perseus; many a later traveller was less fortunate. Narratives of pilgrims and of Crusading warriors are filled with the terror of the disembarkation, and many a Christian perished on these rocks without beholding the Tomb of Christ. Down to our own day, the visitor from distant lands might watch from a hill near Jerusalem the steamer bringing the home letters which he could not read because the vessel dared not risk the rocks.

Herod built Caesarea farther north, and it became the Roman port of Palestine as well as the administrative center; the wondering account of Josephus concerning the massive harbor works testifies to the strangeness of an artificial haven on these inhospitable shores. Carmel's headland afforded some shelter when the wind was in the southwest, otherwise Haifa was an open roadstead. Accho on the other side of the bay was slightly better situated, and as the classical Ptolemais and the Crusading Saint Jean d'Acre had a long history. Today Haifa is coming to be the great port of Palestine but by the expenditure of huge sums to construct an artificial harbor.

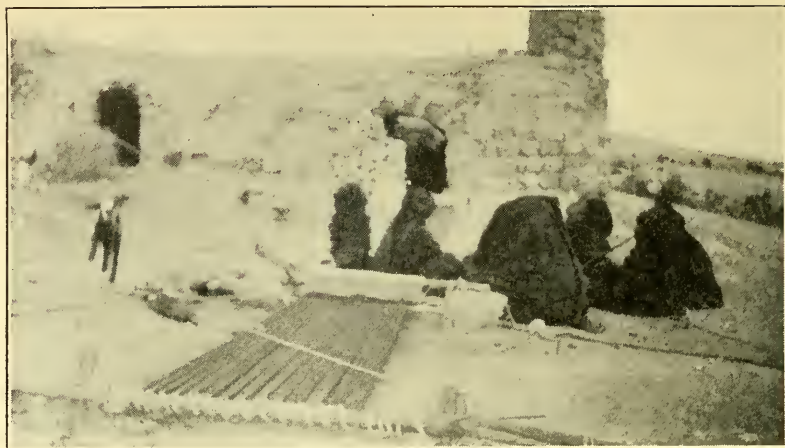
Phoenicia proper is a little, but only a little more fortunate. Old Tyre was on the mainland, by a sandy shore for the beaching of tiny ships, protected by a few rock islets in the open sea. Haven Tyre found a place on one of these islets until Hiram, friend of

David and of Solomon, united the islets into a still tiny island and moved the seat of rule into the sea. Harbors to north and to south were built, just sufficient to shelter a few ships of the size then employed. Temples and palaces usurped half the cramped space, tall buildings covered what was left. Alexander's mole joined Tyre to the mainland forever, but Tyre survived the Romans and Crusaders to sink to a modern petty village.

Sidon's history was much the same, an earlier site away from the sea, a pushing down to the shore when the sea recognized Phoenician lordship, the occupation of islet reefs, the use for shelter, a long prosperity under native rulers, a decline to our own day. The story of Beirut is the reverse. Though its headland gave protection from the southwest winds, it was after all only a wider open roadstead, and its prosperity dates from Roman occupation. Roman Berytus gradually usurped the place of Ptolemais, Tyre, and Sidon as the port of Damascus, and this position it has since maintained, though of late Haifa has challenged its right. Gebal boasted itself the oldest of Phoenician cities, yet its port was tiny; venerated for its Syrian goddess as Roman Byblos, its successor Jebil is visited only for the unearthed glories of a Phoenicia over two thousand years ago. An open bay similar to that of Beirut is north of Jebil, though not until Persian times were the three minute cities united into Tripolis, the "Triple City," the seat of a Crusading count and still a seaport of some importance. The most northern Phoenician city of any size in the earlier centuries was Amurru or Marathus; from the fifteenth century before Christ its place was usurped by Arvad on a rock well off the shore. It is difficult to recognize the famous Arvad of the Bible and the Aradus of classical historians in this bare rock, whose water supply must come from undersea springs closer to the shore, which has room for but seven hundred houses.

Even more inhospitable shores to the north were little occupied until Hellenistic times. A minute harbor sufficed for the Phoenicians who wrote the Ras Shamra tablets, Laodicea as its name indicates was a Seleucid construction, and engineering labors made a port for Antioch at Pierian Seleucia. One of the seventy Alexandrias founded by the great conqueror became Seleucia's successor, the modern Alexandrette.

Thus the Phoenicians were not urged to the sea by such natural



PRIMITIVE INDUSTRY

harbors as invited the Greeks. They took to the sea because they must. Tiny pockets of fertile soil between rocky headlands sufficed to start them on their march toward civilization, before long the soil did not produce enough to feed even these relatively small city states. Fifty letters of Rib Addi of Gebal to his Egyptian masters are filled with the need of buying food abroad, of complaints that his subjects are starving, and similar letters might have been written in any period of Syrian history. Mountains crowded the coast more seriously than today, for far down their slopes they were covered with forests. While Phoenicians were independent, their precious cedar was exported; the journal of the unfortunate Wenamon shows how hard a bargain a Phoenician king might drive with an Egyptian buyer when the buyer did not have an army at his back. Too often the scent of the precious cedar drew some warrior to attack Phoenicia in the hope that his temples and palaces could be roofed and panelled with the valued wood.

Foreign dominion was not entirely unwelcome to Phoenician merchants. Tribute it meant and often heavy tribute, but the shrewd traders knew how to retain their local autonomy and how to compensate themselves for their payments by securing the trade of the empires. A treaty of the Assyrian monarch Esarhaddon with king Baal of Tyre is illustrated by objects of Phoenician workmanship discovered at Nineveh or Ur.

Valued as was the trade of the oriental empires, it served merely as feeder for the overseas commerce. From the earliest dynasties of Egypt, ships of Gebal were familiar sights. An Egyptian tomb painting of the New Empire depicts Phoenician ships bearing Cretan vases and anchored at the quays of Thebes, far up the Nile. Their port to port trade was not unchallenged, and it was not until the downfall of the Cretan sea power that Phoenician ships commenced to creep westward. Cyprus, in sight from the Syrian hills, was the seat of their first colonizing activity, and here first they came into hostile contact with the Greeks, from that time forth their chief rivals for supremacy in the Mediterranean. While the Minoan world was recovering from the terrible barbarian invasions which brought south the true Greeks, the Aegean was transformed into a Phoenician lake, and from their Phoenician visitors the Greeks learned their alphabet and borrowed many another element of culture.

A race for the Mediterranean followed the return of the Greeks to the sea. Greeks monopolized the north shore to Italy and settled Massalia in Gaul; they occupied the Cyrenaica due west of Egypt. The remainder of North Africa fell to the Phoenicians, who founded Utica and then Carthage, henceforth the dominant Phoenician power of the west. Carthage won a large part of Sicily despite Greek opposition, and by treaty she denied infant Rome a place in the economic sun. Rome in turn deprived Carthage of her possessions in Sicily and Sardinia, only to find that Carthage had built up a new empire over the Spanish mines.

No longer could the narrow Mediterranean content the Phoenicians. Phoenician shipmasters circumnavigated Africa in Egyptian service, though their stories were ridiculed and their discoveries bore no practical result. Carthaginian Hanno explored the west African coast almost to the equator, and discovered gorillas; his report, still preserved, is a landmark in geographical exploration. The rougher North Atlantic could not deter the Phoenicians from pioneering to the Cassiterides Islands in search of the tin needed to complete their bronze.

Phoenicians manned the Persian navy and played a large part in the commerce of the Roman Empire. One of the earliest of mediæval historians, Gregory of Tours, tells of Syrian merchants in

France. Native Syrians played their part in the ventures of Genoese merchant princes.

Our own day has seen a renewal of mercantile activity by the descendants of these ancient Phœnicians. First they reached Egypt, and there did much for the new Arab renaissance. Soon they crossed the ocean. No Lebanon village but what has its returned emigrants from the Americas, to tell of experiences in Fort Wayne, Indiana, or Galveston, Texas, or it may be the Argentine or Brazil. Syrian merchants have moved from lower Washington Street in New York to lower Fifth Avenue; they monopolize the trade in Madeiras, they are winning the rug industry. Most significant of all, their success has not been due merely to sharp dealing; asked why Syrians were ousting certain rivals, one merchant on lower Fifth Avenue replied: "Americans like us."

Almost without exception, Syrian emigrants began their life in the Americas as pedlers or petty merchants; today the news pages of the *Syrian World* tell of college graduates and university professors, of physicians and clergymen and men of recognized literary attainments, of artists and singers, and naturally of bankers and great merchants. So well have the Syrians, three hundred thousand in number, but scattered over the whole country, been assimilated to American ways there is real danger they may forget their splendid cultural past. This, we cannot but emphasize, would be a terrible loss.

The Syrian homeland remains poor, but what may be done is being attempted. These new activities are fully discussed in the two articles subjoined, here it is but needful to refer to new methods, whether by returned emigrants from America or by returned Zionists. Water power, where possible, supplants the power based on expensive imported coal. The silk industry remains the backbone of the Lebanons. Fruits are being improved and the wine from the earlier Jewish colonies has long been famous. Manufactures are being developed. A new source of wealth has been found in the mineral deposits of the Dead Sea.

A single threat mars the happy picture, but it is portentous. During all its history, our land must export its products and its men to supply its own glaring deficiencies. As in days of old, international trade must pass freely if our land is to prosper. But that nationalistic movement which produced the Jewish common-

wealth, which has revived national consciousness throughout the Near East, has swept over the whole world and its first slogan is national self-sufficiency. The newly conscious nations plan for additional exports, yet deny their fellows the right of importation. Can our land continue to prosper or even to live at its present level under these adverse conditions?

David chose Jerusalem as the capital of his enlarged kingdom for purely military and political reasons. It was in neither the north nor the south, it might prove the bond of union between two sections still hostile. Its distance from the enemy seacoast and the Great Road along which armies pursued peaceful caravans was in his eyes a definite asset; its difficulty of access, its waterless surroundings have justified his choice in many a long-drawn-out siege. Solomon built his temple as a palace chapel, an upstart in the sight of priests at the older sanctuaries, a poor imitation of the more pretentious temples of Tyre from which it was copied, and not to be compared with the towering piles of Egypt or Babylonia.

Solomon's death brought the disruption of the kingdom. His successors must have regretted David's choice of a capital, so dangerously close to the northern border, so far from trade routes which might have increased its prosperity, too ambitious in extent for the shrunken state. From the Bible we learn that the temple actually was in a bad state of disrepair. In these depressing years, none could have guessed that David and Solomon had added to the resources of the land an economic asset no less real because so intangible.

This new aspect of Jerusalem and the temple first appeared when Cyrus gave his permission for the return of the Jewish exiles. Not many took advantage of the opportunity, for the nobility had found excellent opportunity, in fertile and wealthy Babylonia, but they sent rich gifts. The returned Zionists had their troubles, the native inhabitants, even their Jewish brethren who had not been deported, challenged their claims, but aid continued to pour in from Jewish communities now scattered over the whole civilized world. The temple was rebuilt, and thereafter this scattered Judaism possessed a religious center whose influence was out of all proportion to that exercised by the temple of Solomon. Josephus undoubtedly exaggerates when he speaks of a million Jews crowded together in Jerusalem for the Passover, but the influx of pilgrims did as undoubted-



PROCESSION OF ORTHODOX GREEKS

ly add enormously to Jerusalem's wealth, as did the payments of the faithful for the temple, the priests, and the Levites. Jerusalem had become a holy city, and economically that far more than compensated for its unfortunate location.

Destruction of the temple by Titus, establishment of a determinedly pagan Aelia Capitolina by Hadrian, checked for some years the growth of the Holy City, but a new impulse was given by Christianity. Even before its victory, Christian pilgrims were following Jewish to visit the sacred spot where Jesus had suffered, died, and risen. Christianity's triumph under Constantine was the triumph also of Jerusalem. Constantine's mother, Saint Helena, visited the Holy Land, the site of the true Sepulcher was discovered, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher began to take form.

Crowds of pilgrims returned home to set down in writing their experiences and thus induced yet greater crowds to visit the Holy Land. Jerusalem was not the sole beneficiary of this influx. From the Holy City they visited Bethlehem, the birth place of the Lord, Nazareth, where he spent his youth, the Lake of Galilee, where his disciples fished, even Sinai, where the law was given to Moses, or Antioch, where first the followers of Jesus were called Christians.

New discoveries of holy sites met the popular demand and the whole country benefited from the pilgrim throngs. Classic culture might be dying, economic conditions might steadily be growing



MUSLIM PILGRIMAGE TO THE SHRINE OF THE PROPHET MOSES

worse, invasion from beyond the borders might threaten, the stream of pilgrims continued unabated. To the pilgrims proper were added others determined to spend their last days around the holy sites and to bury their bodies in the sacred soil. There were hermits to live in the desert where once Jesus was tempted of the devil, monks and nuns to build houses where they might meditate among the holy scenes or shelter the pilgrim throngs or minister to their necessities. Scholars like Saint Jerome studied the Hebrew "truth" of the Old Testament in the cave at Bethlehem.

Muslim conquest made no end to these pilgrimages, it added a new source of revenue. Jerusalem was the home of Jesus, in Muslim eyes the predecessor of their own prophet. The Holy Rock received a new sanctity when it was found to bear the hoof print of Muhammad's steed who bore the prophet to heaven. Over it was built the Dome of the Rock, the Haram, the enclosure around it, was almost as meritorious for pilgrimage as the more famous Haram at Mecca.

Jerusalem profited indirectly from the Muslim pilgrims, the rulers levied direct imposts on the Christian. Extortions from Christian pilgrims played quite as large a part in rousing enthusiasm for the Crusades as did the complaints of personal indignities or the shame of seeing the Holy Land in the hands of the unbeliever. Crusading barons quickly lost their first fervor once the land was subdued

and the more arduous problems of administering and retaining it came to the fore, but their enthusiasm was constantly stimulated by new arrivals and they never forgot the economic value of the pilgrim visitations. Transport of pilgrims and Crusaders started the fortunes of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, trade privileges extorted from impecunious lords of the Latin Kingdom increased their wealth.

The fall of the Latin Kingdom slackened the pilgrim flood, the oriental reaction against western aggression made the lot of the pilgrim less and less enviable. Nevertheless, huge collections of pilgrim literature from every century show pilgrimage slackened but never stopped. Modern centuries have again seen the flood increase. Wealth was now in the west and improved means of communication brought a part of the wealth to Palestine. No clearer story could be told than by the first railroad to enter our land, for it ran from Jaffa to Jerusalem, not along the Great Road, to which it was indeed at right angles. Nothing could more clearly prove that Jerusalem as a holy place was the most important economic asset to the land.

Campaigns in Palestine during the Great War brought Jerusalem front page publicity. Allenby's victories, the freeing of the Holy City, thrilled every Christian heart. Under the mandate, the land has been opened up to the tourist, who no longer rush home from Egypt but take the sleeper to Palestine.

Before the Great War, there had been a trickle of Jews back to Palestine supported by European contributions, learned and pious men spent their last days reading the Talmud in the Holy Cities that their bones might at last rest in the home of their fathers. A few agricultural colonies tested Jewish adaptability to the soil. Then came the Great War, the Balfour Declaration, and the Jewish Commonwealth; the story is continued by Professor Marcus. So long as there are faithful Jews, Christians, or Muslims, so long the land will profit from their pilgrimages.

Pilgrimage is indeed an important source of revenue, but it would be a sad error did we look no farther. Pilgrimage is the outward sign of that inward grace which has been our land's greatest contribution to the world's good. Religion has colored the pages preceding, it is the chief reason why this bare land has a separate number in our series. It is the land which produced our Bible, but even this is not the full story.

We must begin this story with the neolithic or new stone age, when man, or rather woman, timidly began to cultivate the cereals and added a more tasteful and more certain staff of life. That Mother Earth continue fruitful, there must be ceremonies of fertility. Portions of these ceremonies were natural enough for primitive peoples, but highly obnoxious to a more developed moral sense. Studies of the last years have taught us that all early religion was filled with these ideas, and we appreciate the more the earnestness of Hebrew prophets who thundered against these abominations.

Primitive religion is not mere subject for learned essay. Marked traces of

the old fertility cults survive to our own day. Sites venerated from hoar antiquity are venerated this moment. Gods of the ancient times are revered as saints converted to Christianity or Islam. Some retain their ancient names, others their surnames, yet others conceal their identity under good Muslim appellations. Ladies of the spring or stream, sisters of the Biblical Baalaths, receive their gifts. The sick tie a rag from their clothing on the sacred tree and believe that the saint will heal their ills. Sheep are sacrificed for the good of the flock. Ashtart and the Lord, Venus and Adonis to Shakespeare, are revered in their sacred month of July near Tyre, though now he is the "Beloved Prophet" and she is his more powerful wife. We cannot understand the daily life of the modern peasant, that greatest of conservative forces in the Near East, un-



MONASTARY IN THE WADI KELT

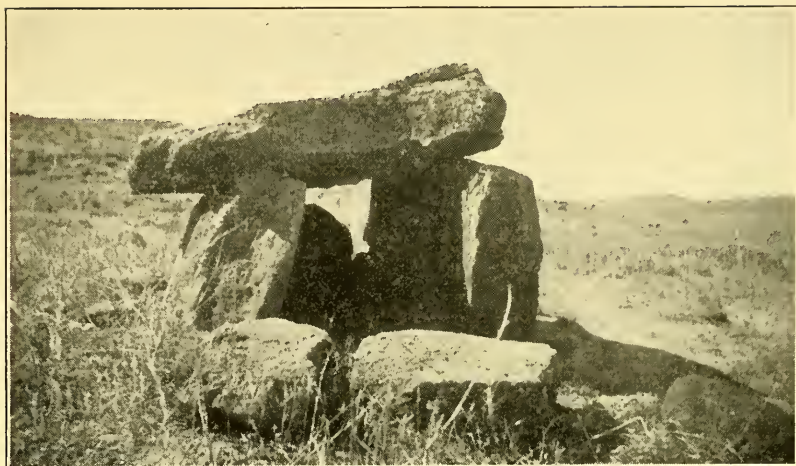
til we realize this underground survival of the most primitive beliefs.

We are all familiar with the story of Hebrew religion, how the nomads entered the Promised Land with a pure but hard and simple belief, how in taking over the higher material culture of the Canaanites they took over also the impure fertility worship, how prophets urged return to the old desert ways and preached love to one's neighbor, how priest and lawgiver and psalmist slowly produced our Old Testament. Even more familiar is the story of Jesus and his apostles, how from the tiny hamlet of Nazareth, an out-of-the-world corner to Roman nobles, but nevertheless within sight of the Great Road, Christianity soon conquered the whole ancient world. Had we time, we might consider the powerful rivals of Christianity, whose dogmas we must put together from chance references in classical literature, whose temples and shrines dot the land, whose influence is even now more powerful than we suspect. We must save space for later developments.

The destruction of the temple, the building of Aelia Capitolina, the triumph of Christianity, scattered the Jews more widely. Thereafter a few Jewish pilgrims form the only physical contact between mediaeval Judaism and their Holy Land. In all their sufferings, their faces were turned to Jerusalem and the nineteenth century saw the beginnings of a return which has been accelerated in the twentieth. Once more Judaism is an essential element in the religious history of our land.

Christianity triumphed but weakened its triumph by breaking up into more sects. East and west drifted apart and orthodox Christianity was divided between Latins and Greeks. New heresies and schisms continued to weaken eastern Christianity but all made pilgrimage to the Savior's tomb, not always remembering the peace he taught.

Upon this weakened Christianity descended the Muslims, and there were heretics who welcomed them as more truly brothers than Christians who called themselves Greeks. Islam itself broke up into sects, some which permitted deviations of opinion within orthodoxy, others which might be called Muslim only by courtesy. Islam was conquered but not exterminated by the Crusaders, who imposed



A REMINDER OF PRIMITIVE RELIGION, THE DOLMEN

the western orthodoxy for the moment on the Holy Places. Repulse of the Crusaders brought back Islam, but western Christians still occupied their homes at the various sacred sites while Christianity was continually upheld in the Lebanon recesses. In early modern times, these Lebanon Christians were reconciled to Rome, which wisely granted them a large autonomy in the use of their sacred language and ritual.

Thus today our land is a perfect museum of living religions. Everywhere the peasant reverences his ancient gods, converted to a modern faith. In the Ansariyeh mountains along the northern coast are followers of a religion more frankly primitive. Revived Judaism can show the most orthodox or the most modernistic refugees from Yemen in South Arabia or from Russia, hopeful Zionists from Germany or America. Whatever their actual belief, the peasants in the south generally call themselves Muslim; the nomads and half-nomads are Muslim if anything. Throughout a large part of the land, many of the notables are devout Muslims. The temple area is a Muslim Haram to which pilgrims flock from the whole Islamic world, and their presence convinces their Syrian fellows that they are supported by their co-religionists. In the Lebanon are the Druzes, an offshoot of orthodox Islam.

Christianity is equally well represented. There are Protestant missionaries from America and Britain, there are American schools and the American University at Beirut. Franciscan monks are guardians of the Holy Places for the Catholic faithful, Dominicans have a school where teach some of the greatest authorities in Palestinian archaeology, and other orders are well represented. Lebanon Christians are generally Maronite, adherents of Rome with their own local customs, and for their aid are other schools, culminating in the Jesuit University of St. Joseph at Beirut, another great center of Oriental scholarship. The Syrian Orthodox Church is in the north, the Greek Orthodox in the south. At the Sepulcher may be seen Copts or Abyssinians, for every division makes its pilgrimage.

Too much stress should not be laid on this disunity. It is a natural reaction to the disunity of the country, even more to its central position, most of all to its supreme position in religious history. Thanks to modern inventions, the world is becoming smaller, differences in location and character of country are in part overcome. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that under the impact of these new influences, religion in our land will find a new unity of heart if not of dogma, that once again our land may make its important contribution to world religion.