save them but unconditional surrender and adoption of Islām. The conclusion at which Prince Caetani arrives, that they initiated a policy of calumnies and intrigues, is quite unjustified, and it is rather surprising that on this point he adopts the Moslim traditions without questioning. The expulsion of one Jewish tribe after another and the slaughter of the Banu Koreiza tell a different tale. To elucidate the truth in a subject concerning which one must rely solely on records strongly influenced by national spirit and theological zeal is a little short of impossible. Prince Caetani's work marks quite an epoch in the research on early Islām, and the volumes to follow will be awaited by historians of all classes with the keenest interest.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

DIE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ, aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt, mit einer Einleitung über ihre ursprüngliche Gestalt, ihre Lehren und ihr Alter, von RICHARD GARBE. (Leipzig : H. Haessel, 1905.)

Not only the author's name but also the contents of this little volume will excite fresh interest in the great religious New Testament of the Hindus. Sanskrit scholars will study the fresh interpretation herein offered, and students of religion will be attracted anew by the question whether India has given Christianity its emphasis on "loving faith," or whether the work that first sets forth this Hindu doctrine is later than the Christian era. If it cannot be expected that Professor Garbe has answered definitely some of the most perplexing questions in the province of literary historical criticism, it may at least be assumed that he has not touched upon them without throwing light upon the darkness, and such will be found to be the case. But in order to understand the author's chief contention, it is necessary to formulate the usual view in regard to the age and origin of the Bhagavad-gītā, and above all in regard to its original character.

Apart from that native view which is shared by no European scholar of repute, and which teaches that the Gītā

is of an antiquity reaching far back of the Christian era, to be measured only by many centuries, current opinion may be said to regard this tract as one of the older parts of the mediæval Indian epic, and its motif as the inculcation of the divinity, as All-godhead, of Krishna, who is in the epic at one time a man and at another time a god, but who in this part of the epic is identified with Brahman. Further, the Gītā, in thus identifying Krishna with God, changed, in the course of time, its original pantheistic Brahmanism to a personal theism.

Professor Garbe enters the lists against this popular conception. His claim, as here set forth, may be stated in brief in the following words. The Gītā is not originally a pantheistic poem, but a theistic ethical tract, rather pedantic than poetical. The identification of Krishna with the All-soul belongs to a late period, and is due to syncretizing tendencies. The poem is not, therefore, Vedāntic in origin, but in its philosophy it is originally an exponent of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga, and all the Vedāntic portions, sometimes single stanzas, sometimes long passages, are to be excised if the pure primitive Gītā is to be found. The theistic, or rather monotheistic, religion inculcated in this primitive Gītā arose in this way. About two centuries before Buddha, the warrior chief of the Yādava clan, who was also a religious teacher, but not of the Brahmanic schools, founded a moral religion of monotheism, God being in his system called simply Bhagavat. This religiously-minded chieftain was the 'son of Devakī,' and his religion was at first confined to his own clan. But as time went on, the teaching of Krishna extended beyond tribal limits, and at the same time the founder of the religion was himself identified with the God he taught, so that the 'son of Vāsudeva' became God by virtue of the same euhemerism that changed Buddha into God. This was the form of the Vāsudeva religion recognized in the fourth century B.C. by Pāṇini, and the doctrine of *bhakti* belonged to it as early as this time. But for a century or more after this Krishnaism still lay outside the pale of Brahmanism. During this period, till c. 300 B.C., the religion

of Krishna was united with Sāṃkhya-Yoga philosophy. After this, in the second period, from 300 B.C. till the Christian era, Krishna was identified with Vishnu, as the religion became Brahmanized, and in this same period arose the original Gītā. The third and fourth periods are reckoned as extending from the end of the second period to *c.* 1200, and from that term onwards, respectively. They are characterized by the identification of Krishna-Vishnu with Brahman (the All-soul) and the 'working-over' of the old Gītā into its present shape, as marks of the third period, and the adoption of this religion by Rāmānuja, as mark of the fourth. The first Gītā belongs, in still closer reckoning, to the first half of the second century B.C. The 'working-over' may be referred to the second century A.D.

As to the dates assumed, they coincide closely enough with the results given in the reviewer's recent discussion of the date of the epic, which the author regards as "*für mich in der Hauptsache ganz überzeugend*"; but in the interpretation of the character of the primitive Gītā, as opposed to that of the 'worked-over' poem, Professor Garbe opposes the view generally held by Sanskrit scholars. As an advocate of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga's priority to the Vedānta he may perhaps be prejudiced in his effort to show that the Vedānta portions of the Gītā are all posterior to the early form of the work; but since he does not argue from any such point of view the critic will be concerned only with the arguments advanced by him as cogent.

When these are carefully weighed, it will be seen that the whole history of the Krishna religion, as distinguished from the literary product embodying that religion as now extant, the Gītā, derives its greatest probability from the assumption that the Vedānta portions of the Gītā are late additions. It is only by excluding these that we can reconstruct an original monotheistic religion based on Krishna as God and not yet a pantheistic All-soul. Krishna has often enough been hesitatingly referred to 'Devaki's son Krishna,' and this and the reference to Pāṇini can be explained without the assumption of a great moral monotheistic teacher. But

these, at best vague references, are incapable of supporting the thesis that there was for three or four hundred years before the *Gītā* was first composed an essentially ethical religion rivalling Buddhism in its own locality. The note of Megasthenes does nothing to support this claim, for it indicates only that there was a local Krishna worship, of what character we can guess only by comparing the Greek parallel. If, on the other hand, we are obliged by the character of the primitive *Gītā* to assume that there was an ethical monotheistic religion c. 700–400 B.C. as a background to that *Gītā*, then what is said of Vāsudeva and Krishna may be expanded into the historical sketch here presented without great violence to inherent probability. In a word, Professor Garbe's case rests on his being able to prove that the Vedāntic portions of the *Gītā* are extraneous to the primitive poem. Without this proof, the remaining arguments have, in the reviewer's opinion, only questionable weight. At the same time, no one can demand that proof as here used should be more than the strong probability which must constitute all the proof in similar cases.

The notes to the (excellent) translation are to furnish this proof. The author lays especially stress on four passages which seem to him to demonstrate his theory. The passages, iii. 9–18, vi. 27–32, vii. 7–11, viii. 20–ix. 6, if omitted, leave the connection unbroken, and therewith show that they have been interpolated. Such, for example, seems truly to be the case in the first example, though in the second the interruption may as reasonably be regarded as an extension; but in the third example, what reason is there for excluding vii. 7–11 except the reason that the verses set forth Vedāntic opinions? That they 'interrupt' an exposition of Sāṃkhya with a non-Sāṃkhya view can be shown only when it is shown that this 'Vedāntic interpolation' is not compatible (to a Hindu) with the former. But if one were to treat other parts of the epic thus? Is not a great part of epic philosophy a combination of incompatible views, which interrupt each other continually? Also, in the last example, viii. 20–ix. 6, the only objection, apart from the Vedānta

character, to the originality of the passage seems to be its extent and minuteness, though the author claims that ix. 7 resumes the thought of viii. 18–19. The thought thus taken up is that of the day and night of Brahman, which is ‘resumed’ in the statement that all things are loosed in Prakṛti at the end of a Yuga, and are let out again by Krishna without cessation. But although there is here a verbal resumption (of *bhūtagrāma*), and though the metre of viii. 20 may well suggest an interpolation as beginning here, yet the *sarvabhūtāni* of ix. 7 seems as naturally to be connected with *sarvāṇi bhūtāni* in 6, and this, with its *matsthāni*, to be yoked to the *matsthāni bhūtāni* and *matsthāni sarvabhūtāni* in 5 and 4, respectively (which latter Vedāntic verses are rejected by Garbe).

But these are only four examples, the most striking, selected out of over twenty by the author to establish his contention. Several other cases, such as ii. 72, iv. 35, v. 6, 7, 10, 16–22, 24–26, are rejected simply because they are Vedāntic, without any attempt to show that they are otherwise interpolations, save as their presence interrupts the author’s scheme of the primitive work.

It cannot be denied that a division of the Gītā into different philosophical entities produces the effect of clarifying the work, and if that work had been produced anywhere else than in India at the date assumed, the conclusion drawn by Professor Garbe in this case would appeal strongly to every reasonable person. Perhaps even in this case the author’s clear argumentation will have the effect of convincing some scholars. Alluring the thesis certainly is, and could one believe that the logical clearness of the religious authors of the Gītā was ever as great as Professor Garbe’s, one would no longer hesitate to adopt his view. But—the reviewer has worried over the philosophical inconsistencies of the Hindu epic for many years without coming to this conclusion. To him it seems as if, after all, the Gītā were but a part of the epic, alike in philosophical contradictions, and as indivisible as incongruous, except where other criteria than logical continuity can be applied. That the Gītā was

not at first what it is now, may safely be stated; that a prevailingly Vedāntic interpretation of life has left marks upon it, may well be the case; but that it was originally throughout theistic, and was afterwards remodelled by means of intruded Vedāntic stanzas, does not seem to be capable of proof, not through any fault of Professor Garbe, but because the Hindu tolerated inconsistencies in popular presentations even more than in strictly philosophical works, where (in the Upanishads, for example) the same heterogeneous views may be found, though in less striking form, and where, above all, the same tendency appears to monotheize (if the word may be allowed) the colder belief which pleases only the philosopher, but is incapable of affecting the heart. Such a belief, though not pantheistic, was the older Yoga, which both in philosophical and in popular circles demanded ere long a personal God. Buddhism, too, invents a god little dreamed of in the philosophy of Buddha. There is, then, nothing improbable in the current opinion that a pantheistic tract has been made theistic, thus being supplied with that personal object of devotion which no Hindu religious system can afford to disdain if it is to live in the hearts of the people.

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THE SUN AND THE SERPENT: A contribution to the history of Serpent-worship. By C. F. OLDHAM. 8vo; pp. 207, with 33 illustrations. Price 10s. 6d. (London: Constable, 1905.)

This work, based upon papers contributed to this Journal in 1891, was intended at first, according to the preface, to refer only to Indian serpent-worship. But it was found that this cult was, in fact, a branch of the combined worship of the sun and the serpent, which was once well-nigh universal. The author has therefore set himself to collect evidence of serpent-worship also in other countries. The