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GOD IN HISTORY.

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GOD IN HISTORY

OR

THE PROGRESS OF MAN'S FAITH IN THE
MORAL ORDER OF THE WORLD.

BY

C. C. J. BARON BUNSEN, D.Ph. D.C.L. & D.D.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

SUSANNA WINKWORTH,

AUTHOR OF 'NIEDER'S LIFE,' 'TAULER'S LIFE,' ETC.

WITH A PREFACE BY

ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D.

DEAN OF WESTMINSTER.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

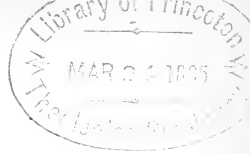
VOL. I.

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PREFACE.



*To the Rev. Henry George de Bunsen,
Vicar of Lilleshall.*

MY DEAR HENRY,

When first you asked me to write a preface to the translation of your father's book, I hesitated, amongst other reasons, because it relates, in so large a measure, to philosophical and abstract questions on which I do not feel myself competent to enter. But when the subject presented itself to me, not so much in relation to the work as to its lamented author, I felt myself no longer able to decline a request coming from such a quarter.

As I turn over the pages which are intended to track the mysterious course of "God in History," they do indeed recall the privilege enjoyed by those who had the rare happiness of knowing your dear Father personally.

I have elsewhere indicated my own obligations to him for the light which he has thrown on many a dark corner of Biblical Science. But no mere literary acknowledgment of others, may I even add, no writings of his own, can do justice to the lucid exposition of those subjects in his brilliant conversation, poured forth as it was for the benefit of the humblest student fresh from the University, as freely as for the highest dignitary in Church or State.

How well do I remember the vivid representation, which has never since failed me, of the relation of St. James to St. Paul—that occupied a long journey from Sussex to London in the old days of posting, in a carriage filled to the brim with books and despatch-boxes! How I seem still to see the flashing eye, and kindling brow, with which he described, as if he himself had witnessed it, the advent of Cyrus, as it was caught above the horizon by the Evangelical Prophet in the second portion of the Book of Isaiah, and giving to that series of prophecies a force and a meaning which they had never had before! How cheering it was for a young English clergyman to drink in his thoughts on Christian Liturgies!—how new a sense from his explanations has been breathed into some of the most characteristic parts of our own English Prayer Book which had no truer interpreter than that “thoroughly Liturgical Christian,” as I remember hearing him called by his venerable friend Professor Nitsch! How gratefully I look back to the day when he first introduced me to the works of Ewald, then almost unknown, or known only to be spurned in this country—now studied and honoured even in quarters which then condemned the faintest allusion of praise!

But other and more personal thoughts recur as I recall those hours of happy and fruitful intercourse. You know that in those earlier Roman days, which endeared him to so many of our countrymen, I could not have seen him. Only the recollection of the glowing descriptions which I had heard of the Palazzo Caffarelli always have hung over it, whenever in later years I have stood at that well-known doorway, and felt that the remembrance of the former inmates of that house was no unworthy associa-

tion even on the Capitoline Hill. But many are the scenes which come back to me from Berne, from Carlton Terrace, from Heidelberg, or from Bonn—each place, as he used to say, enjoying the most splendid views which the situation could command,—the Alps of the Oberland, the towers of the Abbey above the verdure of the Parks, the Castle of the Palatinate, and the Seven Mountains. How thrilling was the moment in which I first saw the beloved friend of Arnold, of whose gifts and graces we had been taught to expect so much! How rare a sight were those singular reunions of all that was most distinguished in London society! There was to be met the young Sanscrit scholar, introduced to the English world under his fostering care, to accomplish the mighty work of editing the Veda, and (as he has himself reminded us), stimulated by the same genial encouragement, to give us also the precious fragments and chips of his German workshop. There was more than one rising and wayward genius, then lingering in the outer courts of the Church or world, who seemed, in the sight of that benevolent and beaming countenance, to understand how devils could, by a mere look, be cast out and flee away. There was the ever-flowing fountain of knowledge, old and new, the story of many a stirring incident in foreign lands, the anticipation of many a prospect, bright or dark, which coming events have realized. How deeply was that morning of July 14, 1842, engraven on my recollection, when, on the day after the sudden death of the Duke of Orleans, as I entered his library, he exclaimed, with a sad prophetic utterance, “Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin—the Orleans Dynasty has fallen!” How many a time, in the theological struggles of later years, have pregnant sayings of his returned to me, like stars in the darkness! How often does one remember,

with something of almost incredulous wonder, the time when this oracle of Christian learning, learned in all the wisdom of Germany, was heard, without offence, by prelates and by the religious world, both at Lambeth and at Exeter Hall!

If it be impossible to recall this remarkable phenomenon of our ecclesiastical history without something of a painful longing and regret, as for a golden opportunity lost for ever, yet there is a brighter and more cheering thought, with which I would conclude these scanty reminiscences. He remains in our memories a lasting and living witness, not the less because he is gone from us, of the possibility of the influence of a Christian layman or statesman on the highest questions which can occupy the heart and mind of man. His lifelong labours in the cause of truth, and freedom, and charity, whether we agree or not in his particular conclusions, bear an unflinching testimony to the value and the reality of that union of devout reverence with fearless inquiry which we so often hear decried as worthless or chimerical. His death, with a solemnity unusually impressive from the circumstances of his end, put a crowning seal on the strength of those hopes which had animated him through all his conflicts and researches. In those extreme moments it was evident, as he himself said, that amidst the calm of his approaching end, he yet retained to the last his intense interest not only in his family and numerous friends, but in Germany, Prussia, England, Italy. And his sense of a higher world, though expressed with an ever deeper and deeper earnestness, was but the same in thought and word as it had been in the midst of his life and activity. "Notwithstanding all my weaknesses and shortcomings, I

have desired, I have sought for, what is noble here below. But my best experience is that of having known Jesus Christ. . . . Upward—upward, it becomes not darker but always brighter. God is Life, Love: Love that wills—Will that loves. *Christus recognoscitur Victor, Christus est Victor.* With Him to be, is to conquer . . . I see Christ, and I see God through Christ. . . . I commend myself to the recollection of every good man, and I beg him to recollect me with kindness. I offer my blessing, the blessing of an old man, to all who desire it. . . . We only exist in so far as we exist in God, and have eternal life. We have lived in this eternal life, in proportion as we have lived in God. All else is nothing. “Christ is the Son of God, and we are His children only when the Spirit of Love, which was in Christ, is in us.”

Such were some of the utterances which, as you well know, summed up on his deathbed the aspirations of his life. They are the keynotes of the following pages, which perhaps, more than any single treatise that he has left, endeavour to express that which was the central idea of all his various works—the development of the revelation of God through all the various phases of human history.

No theologian of this generation had a truer reverence for the Bible, both in the Old and New Testament. Whilst others talked of their admiration of it, he proved it by his untiring labour to bring out its meaning, to apply its lessons, to illustrate its truths and its history, from the resources of a knowledge unusually vast and varied, from the devotion of a heart and life of unusual depth and experience. This is one side of the book which is here translated. But not the less clearly does it bring out his equally strong conviction that the course

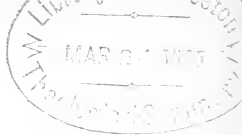
of Providence was to be traced in other lines than that of the Jewish people, and that (to use the strong language of the prophet) "God was found of them that sought Him not, and made manifest to those that asked not after Him." To mark (as he used himself to express it) the points of human history when the Semitic and the Japhetic elements crossed each other—to translate the truths of Shem into the language of Japhet—was the central object of all his labours. In this enterprise, although he was doubtless stimulated to it by his long connexion with England, yet he never ceased to be a German, and it always must be a difficult task to render accessible to English readers forms of thought and speech which to a German have been familiar from childhood. Success in such an attempt, if it be sought anywhere, may be expected from the accomplished hand that has brought within the reach of English readers the once famous and still interesting pages of the "Theologia Germanica," and of "Tauler's Sermons."

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR P. STANLEY.

DEANERY, WESTMINSTER :

Dec. 31, 1867.



TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.



THE WORK now presented to the English public, was the last that its author lived to complete. It was begun in 1856, and concluded in 1859, the year before his death. It may thus, I think, be said to contain the most matured and concentrated expression of his views on the great topics of which it treats, that he ever gave to the world. Had he lived to carry out his intentions, he would have followed it up by a more strictly philosophical treatise, for which he had prepared some portion of the materials, entitled "Beiträge zu einem Organon der Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit," or "Essays towards an Organon of the philosophy of the History of Mankind." In the present work, he deals chiefly with the facts which are to form the ground on which to erect the subsequent philosophic superstructure. He himself describes it as an¹ "attempt to place such a collection of facts before his readers as shall enable them to attain by the inductive method to a recognition of the spontaneity of the religious intuitions of mankind, and a comprehension of the stages through which those intuitions have passed in the course of the history of our race." The audience to which he desired to address himself was the general cultivated public and not the learned exclusively. "Hence," he says:² "The philosophical ideas which

¹ See "Gott in der Geschichte," B. I., Vorrede, s. xxi.

² Ibid. xxi. xxii.

we shall have occasion to submit will not be deduced from the formal laws of thought, nor from transcendental metaphysical formulas, nor even established by an array of philological and empirical arguments. But neither, on the other hand, will our historical inquiry take its stand on the propositions of dogmatic theology, nor the positive religious doctrines traditionally accepted; still less will it mix itself up with philosophic systems, and least of all will it tacitly assume the latter. On the contrary, we shall endeavour, leaving all these on one side, to frame our philosophical definitions out of the idea of the class of phenomena of which we have to give an account, and treat these phenomena themselves as facts (either already critically established, or hereafter to be established) bearing on the historical development of mind. Even our introductory exposition of the philosophic terms we have occasion to employ in the course of this work is but provisional. It is borrowed from the current philosophical terminology of our present stage of thought, and scarcely goes beyond those definitions which the existing German and Scottish schools, though differing in their respective starting-points and methods, concur in adopting when attempting to give expression to the deeper philosophic and religious consciousness of our times."

Baron Bunsen had composed his "God in History" with a view to the English no less than to the German public, and in an early stage of the work requested me to translate it, expressing, however, in the conversations I had with him on the subject, his intention of making in the English edition some modifications in the arrangement and subject-matter, leaving out some portions which were more especially adapted for the horizon of Germany, and

adding in the third volume two chapters which he proposed to write on the various theories of the moral government of the world, that have been propounded by the leading German philosophers and poets. The details of these modifications, however, were never precisely discussed between us, since his health had given way before the work was concluded, or I had been able to visit him for the purpose of receiving his final instructions. Thus the translation which was to have been executed beneath his own eye, has had to be performed without his help and guidance, and has become in consequence a far more onerous and responsible undertaking than I originally dreamt of attempting, or should have attempted, could any of Baron Bunsen's well-qualified learned friends have been found able and willing to take it in hand. Baron Bunsen's sons have, however, given me the benefit of their counsel and sanction with regard to what alterations of arrangement seemed advisable.

The portions of the German work which have been omitted are : First, a "Dedication to the Reader," and a long preface in which the author discusses the state of German theological and philosophical parties at the date when it was composed, at greater length than would be generally interesting in England. The quotations already made give the substance of the more strictly prefatory part of it.

Secondly : the "Address to the Reader" (*Gott in der Geschichte*, B. I. s. 77-134), which appeared to have more relation to German than to English wants, and in the opinion of Baron Bunsen's sons was intended mainly to prepare the way for his projected Translation of and Commentary on the Bible. It is, in fact, an eloquent

exhortation to his countrymen to read the Scriptures, an admonition by no means superfluous in Germany, where even cultivated persons are often but slightly acquainted with the Old Testament, but scarcely needed in England, where we all do read our bibles, though it may be often very unintelligently. The third portion which has been omitted, is the Appendix to the first volume of the German edition, containing essays on various topics mooted in the preceding chapters on the Hebrew beliefs. These essays, it is thought, would find their place more suitably in a collection of the most valuable portions of Baron Bunsen's contributions to biblical criticism.

The remainder of the German work has been given entire, with the exception of two of the notes to the Chapter on India, considered to be now superfluous by Professor Max Müller, and of two or three paragraphs which, apparently through inadvertence, occur twice over all but word for word, and are not in both places necessary to the argument. Only two, however, out of the three volumes are now published. The third will, I trust, appear in the course of next year, but as various circumstances have greatly delayed the progress of my translation, it has been thought best not to wait longer for the appearance of the two former volumes, especially as they almost constitute a whole by themselves, independently of the third volume.

It is to be regretted that the conditions under which this book was written have occasioned a want of finish in some minor particulars. Nearly the whole of it was composed by Baron Bunsen amidst rapidly failing health, with his two immense works, "Egypt" and the "Commentary on the Bible," in hand at the same time, and

under the presence of the sense that he could scarcely live to finish more than a small part of that which lay complete before him in thought. Under these circumstances it is scarcely surprising that various errors of the press and deficiencies in the references should have escaped his notice. The former are easily discovered and corrected with a little care, but the fragmentary manner in which Bunsen constantly refers to the works which he has occasion to mention—sometimes only giving the name of the author instead of that of his work, sometimes only a part of the title, and not unfrequently the translation of that part into German, where the work itself is in some other language,—has given rise to much greater difficulty. In a few cases only have I been able to complete the references given by Bunsen. In the majority of instances I have been obliged to leave them as they stood, not having at my disposal the means of completing and verifying them. The want of a due revision of the work, however, occasions a still more serious difficulty for his translator, in the numerous sentences which have been left in an ambiguous form. This is the case in some important philosophical passages, where the grammatical construction admits equally well of two different renderings, and there is nothing but a consideration of the context and train of argument to determine our choice between the two. That choice has here in no case been made without care and thought, but it is only too possible that in some instances it may have been erroneous notwithstanding, and if any such errors can be pointed out to me, I shall thankfully avail myself of such correction, should the work reach a future edition.

My aim has been throughout to give as close a ren-

dering of my author as the respective genius of the two languages admitted, and where strict fidelity to the thought was not (at least in my hands) compatible with elegance of diction, to sacrifice the latter in preference to the former. This is especially the case with regard to the philosophic thoughts, which I have endeavoured to reproduce as literally as possible. That in so extensive and often obscure a work, I should not, after all, frequently have failed of my aim is more than I can venture to hope.

With regard to the numerous citations which Bunsen makes from classical authors, the principle upon which I have proceeded, has been to present Bunsen's reading of those authors, since that reading is a characteristic part of his own mode of thought. As a double translation, however, is doubly liable to error, I have consulted other translations of the works, where I have been able to do so, in order to check my version by theirs, and have sometimes borrowed their renderings, but have altered them where they differed from Bunsen's. This plan, of course, could not be followed in the quotations from the Greek poets, where it was necessary that the translation should be direct and poetical. With regard to these, I have selected among the various published translations I was able to consult, those which seemed to combine the two requisites of excellence in themselves, and of expressing the idea which Bunsen desired to bring out. Where they have failed me in either respect, Professor Conington has had the great kindness to supply me with original translations of his own, and thus rendered a highly important assistance to the work. With regard to the form of the Greek proper names, I have followed Bunsen's usage in the text, but where they are given dif-

ferently in the books from which I have borrowed poetical quotations, I have not generally felt at liberty to alter them, though I have made an exception to this rule in the extracts from Elton's Hesiod, in which all the names of the deities have been altered from the Latin form into the Greek, to make the quotations correspond with the text.

I must now return my thanks to the many friends who, during the progress of my work, have aided me by books or counsel, and in particular wish to acknowledge my obligations (besides those to Professor Conington, already named) to Professor Max Müller, who has revised the chapters relating to the Zoroastrian and Indian religions; to the Rev. J. Ll. Davies, who has compared the quotations from Plato with the original, and to the Rev. Professor Martineau, who, besides rendering the same service with regard to the quotations from Aristotle, has revised the chapters relating to both these philosophers, and has allowed me to consult him or some other of the philosophical passages that presented difficulties.

I cannot close this preface without expressing my pleasure that the Dean of Westminster has been able and willing to write the Introductory Letter which is prefixed to this book.

S. W.

CLIFTON, BRISTOL: *Christmas* 1867.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.



	PAGE
PREFACE, BY THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER	v
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE	xi

BOOK I.

GENERAL PHILOSOPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I. The Moral Order of the World, and a general view of the aspects under which it has presented itself to philosophers	1
SECTION II. The inadequacy of merely philological and historical investigations of the Moral Order of the World	7
SECTION III. Philosophical speculation on the law of the Moral Order of the World and of Progress	9
SECTION IV. The consciousness of Self and the consciousness of God	16
SECTION V. A consideration of the forms in which it has been attempted to deny the existence of a Moral Order of the World	20
SECTION VI. The various attempts to construct a Theodicy, or justification of the ways of God to Man	23
SECTION VII. An attempt to represent man's consciousness of God as the constant motive force in the history of nations	27
SECTION VIII. Personality the lever of the world's history, and the mutual influence of the Individual and the Community	29

	PAGE
SECTION IX. The reciprocal action and opposition of the intuitive and scientific theories of the world, and their reconciliation by means of literature and political institutions	38
SECTION X. The antithesis of the attestation and furthering of the religious consciousness by means of art and literature, or by means of the State	42
SECTION XI. The historical representatives of the ideal of humanity among the nations	45
SECTION XII. General survey of the following chapters	48
SECTION XIII. The relation of this work to the philosophy of history, and to the history and philosophy of religion	55
SECTION XIV. The import of our problem, and its solution for the circumstances and wants of the present day	57

BOOK II.

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF GOD AMONG THE HEBREWS.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE HEBREWS.

Their conception of Creation and the Law—Prediction and the Prophets—The necessity of recognizing the element of prediction or prevision in the prophetic books—The nature of prophetic vision—The necessity of recognizing a metaphysical element in the religious consciousness of the Hebrews

60

CHAPTER II.

THE FOUR LEADING PERSONS IN THE HISTORY OF THE HEBREW RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS.

Abraham, the Friend of God—Moses, the Lawgiver and Prophet—The Central Point in the Mosaic Theory of the Universe—The Humane Religious Consciousness in the Mosaic Ritual—Azazel and Satan—Elijah, the Seer and Prophet, in the kingdom of Israel—Jeremiah, the Prophet of the State in its decline and fall—Jeremiah and the Servant of the Lord—Baruch, the Disciple and Successor of Jeremiah

79

CHAPTER III.

THE LEADING IDEAS OF PROVIDENCE PRESENTED IN THE
HEBREW PROPHETS.

	PAGE
Prophetic Vision of the Divine Government—Destined universal reign of a spiritual religion—Overthrow of mere outward rites—Redemption promised from a scion of the house of David—The voluntary sacrifice of his life the characteristic of the Redeemer—The Lord Himself shall descend to earth to judge the world	135

CHAPTER IV.

THE THEORY OF THE UNIVERSE EXHIBITED IN THE PSALMS.

The unity of the human race—The apprehension of God the sole source of human consolation—Evil self-destructive—Goodness and truth destined to prevail and to reign over the whole earth	158
---	-----

CHAPTER V.

THE GENERAL THEORY OF THE UNIVERSE PRESENTED IN THE
PSALMS COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE BOOK OF PROVERBS

169

CHAPTER VI.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE HEBREWS AS MANI-
FESTED IN THEIR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND PHILOSOPHIC
THOUGHT.

Their Political Institutions—Semitic Art—Hebrew conception of conjugal relations	173
--	-----

CHAPTER VII.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE HEBREWS AS EX-
HIBITED IN THEIR PHILOSOPHY UPON THE ORDER OF THE
UNIVERSE.

The Book of Job—Its faith—Its philosophy—Ecclesiastes	181
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HEBREW THEORY OF PROVIDENCE DURING THE TWO CENTURIES BEFORE CHRIST; THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE OTHER SEMITIC PEOPLES—THE BIBLE.

PAGE

The Maccabees and the Book of Daniel—The Vision of the Four Kingdoms—Messianic expectations and hopes at the date of our Lord's birth—The religious beliefs of the Heathen and Mahomitan Semites—The fixing of the Canon of Scripture . . . 190

BOOK III.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE ARYANS OF EASTERN ASIA, PRIOR TO THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY OUTLINE OF THE FOUR LATER BOOKS OF THIS WORK.

The Aryans of Eastern Asia—The Ionians—Period occupied by the Greek development—Respective characteristics of classical antiquity and of Aryan Christendom—Questions for ourselves. . . . 204

CHAPTER II.

THE VESTIBULE OF THE ARYAN RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS IN EGYPT AND IN EASTERN ASIA.

The religious consciousness of the primeval period of Asia, among the Khamites, Turanians, and Chinese 221

CHAPTER III.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE EGYPTIANS.

The Osiris worship—The Metempsychosis—Political institutions—Plastic Art in Egypt 225

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE TURANIANS.

	PAGE
Enthusiasm the dominant characteristic of all Turanian tribes—	
Slight development of the ethical and political sentiments	
among them	236

CHAPTER V.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE CHINESE, OR SINISM.

The general theory of the Universe among the Chinese—The systems of Confucius and Buddha—The Shi-King, or book of Sacred Song—Doctrine of Immortality—Political sentiment among the Chinese—Chinese philosophy—Its rudimentary character—The worship of the dead—Philosophy of Lao-tse—Philosophy of Tshu-hi—Quinet on the Chinese characteristics—Present condition of the Chinese	243
---	-----

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF GOD IN THE UNIVERSE AMONG THE ZOROASTRIAN BACTRIANS.—ZOROASTER.

Nature-worship the primeval Bactrian religion—Advent of Zoroaster—His attempt to introduce a spiritual faith—Hymn containing the substance of his doctrine—The four Helpers of Man, Obedience, Power, Truth, Good Intention—General character of the Gâthâs—Later Zoroastrianism—Defects of Zoroastrianism—Fate of Zoroastrianism	273
---	-----

CHAPTER VII.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE ARYANS IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE INDUS AND GANGES.

SECTION I. The religious consciousness displayed in the Vedas—Aryan migration to India—Language of the Vedas—Life of the early Aryans—Nature-worship in the Vedas—Aspirations after a higher faith—Hymn to the unknown God—Hymn to Varuna and Indra—Hymn to Varuna—Funeral rites in the Veda—Widow-burning a modern corruption—Prayer for the departed spirit—Hymn to Yama, the God of Hades—Causes of Hindu retrogression—Early rise of Pantheism—Pantheistic Hymn—Rise of Brahmanism and inevitable decay of religion .	294
---	-----

	PAGE
SECTION II. The consciousness of God and of the Universe implied in Brahmanism and its philosophy—Transition from Vedism to Brahmanism—The Vedanta and Sankya systems—Brahmanic philosophy — Vedanta philosophy — Sankhya philosophy — Ethical deficiencies of this system—Hindu mysticism . . .	324

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF BUDDHA AND THE SYSTEM FOUNDED BY HIM.

Sākya-muni himself—Authorities on Buddhism—Was Buddha an Atheist?—The Thousand-Proverb—The Buddha-Proverb—The Brahma-Proverb—The Buddhist Commandments—The Sutra of Forty-two Sayings—Leading principles of Buddhism—The Nirvāṇa—The Metempsychosis—Buddha's own philosophy not nihilistic—The Nidānas, or Twelve causes of Existence—Theistic version of Buddhism—The Buddhistic Millennium—Defects of Buddhism—Contrasts between Buddhism and Judaism—Positive results established by the Aryan development in Eastern Asia	340
---	-----

APPENDIX.

NOTE A (p. 246).

THE POEMS OF THE SHI-KING	383
-------------------------------------	-----

NOTE B (p. 255).

THE EIGHT AND THE SIXTY-FOUR SIGNS OF THE I-KING, AND THEIR MEANING	384
---	-----

NOTE C (p. 261).

ON LAO-TSE	389
----------------------	-----

NOTE D (p. 276).

THE GĀTHĀS, OR HYMNS OF ZOROASTER	390
---	-----

NOTE E (p. 291).

	PAGE
THE MITRA OF ZOROASTER AND OF THE VEDAS	390

NOTE F (p. 298).

SUNAHŚÉPA AND THE SUPPOSED HUMAN SACRIFICES	393
---	-----

NOTE G (p. 313).

THE LAW OF INHERITANCE AND THE OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD	394
--	-----

NOTE H (p. 320).

THE NOTICES OF BRAHMA AND VISHNU IN THE VEDIC HYMNS	395
---	-----

NOTE I (p. 333).

THE ETHICO-METAPHYSICAL DOGMAS OF THE SANKHYA-KARIKA, OR A SUMMARY OF THE DOCTRINE OF KAPILA, THE ASCETIC, CON- CERNING THE ORIGIN, THE PRESERVATION, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF BEINGS	397
--	-----

NOTE K (p. 357).

THE SUTRA OF THE FORTY-TWO SAYINGS OF BUDDHA	403
--	-----

NOTE L (p. 357).

THE HALLELUJAH HYMN OF BUDDHA, AND THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA	406
---	-----

NOTE M (p. 368).

THE NIDĀNAS, OR THE MUTUAL CONCATENATION OF THE TWELVE CAUSES OF CREATURE EXISTENCE, ACCORDING TO THE BUDDHISTS	410
--	-----

FIRST BOOK.

GENERAL PHILOSOPHICAL INTRODUCTION.



IN the following Introductory Observations, there is no attempt at an exhaustive account of the systems that come under our notice, or the metaphysical ideas to which reference is made. They do not profess to be anything more than a preliminary explanation between the author and his readers: first, with regard to the philosophical postulates and definitions which he has occasion to employ in his account of the historical development of man's religious consciousness; secondly, with regard to the import of our problem and the method of its solution. All that lies beyond this is either beside the scope of the present work, or will find its place more suitably at the close of our enquiry.

ERRATA.

- Page 20, heading of section, *for* FORM *read* FORMS.
,, 23, heading of section, *for* THEODICEY *read* THEODICY.
,, 24, lines 1, 8, 11, *for* Theodicey *read* Theodicy.
,, 45, heading of section, *for* HISTORICAL REPRESENTATIONS *read* HISTORICAL REPRESENTATIVES.

GOD IN HISTORY.

BOOK I.

GENERAL PHILOSOPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

THE MORAL ORDER OF THE WORLD, AND A GENERAL VIEW OF
THE ASPECTS UNDER WHICH IT HAS PRESENTED ITSELF TO
PHILOSOPHERS.

THIS UNIVERSE is to philosophers—if we look rather to the essence than to the formulas of their systems, and try to express this essence in terms generally intelligible—ever one of two things: it is either a product of accident or an embodiment of thought. In the former case, the seething elements of matter have been gradually parted and sifted by attraction and repulsion; and no *Being*, or datum of existence, is admitted, beyond the *Becoming*, or Evolution, unconsciously pressing upwards under the operation of the blind forces of the assumed primitive matter. From this Evolution results a consciousness of the Universe as a Whole, in ever-growing distinctness. For such a consciousness is recognized by most of the philosophers of this School; although not as an original Causality, *per se*; but they cannot tell us how and why accident, or blind necessity, should give birth to it. According to this view, there is no self-contained and therefore primordial and indissoluble Whole or Unity. As little is there in Man a morally self-determining Personality.

Such, essentially, is the ATHEISTIC or godless view of

the Universe. To careful reflection it evinces itself untenable. In denying priority of place to the principle of Thought it not only opposes itself to the faith of all nations and the inmost feeling of mankind; but it flatly contradicts Reason itself. For in the very realm of Thought, it tries to prove that Thought is a product of chance [has no attribute of necessity]; but "*to prove*" presupposes necessity in the constitution of being; whether as primordial, or as inevitably sequent. To derive Reason from Un-reason is a contradiction in thought: to make God—the Soul of the world—a gradually resulting product of that very world, which, except as embodying Thought, could form no Whole, or object of systematic thought, is a still greater self-contradiction: to recognize a true Kosmos—an organic Whole in the order of Reason—and yet to explain its origin as a result of chance is the greatest of all.

Just as little can the consequence be averted, that the denial of the Divine Thought and Being in the Creation, necessarily involves the denial of a Moral Order of the world in History. A moral order of the world is inconceivable without the assumption of free self-determination according to moral laws; but on this system, there is no moral determination of the will, but men act and think by virtue of the irritation produced in their nerves and brain by the stimulus of the external world.

Among the adherents of this godless view of the world's history, we must class all who do not, consciously or unconsciously, adopt one or other of the following conceptions.

In general, we may first comprehend under the term THEISTIC, the theory which stands opposed to this comfortless no less than irrational view. Under every form, it assumes in the phenomena of all time, in continuous development, a Creative Idea, pervading and unifying the All. From this fundamental assumption, however, have

proceeded two doctrines which stand in irreconcilable antagonism to each other.

If, on the one hand, the development in Time and Space be placed in unconditional antithesis to the principle of Thought that transcends Time and Space, we are led to that theory which is commonly called the DEISTIC, and which might perhaps be most fitly designated as the *extra-mundane* or *unhistorical*. On this theory, God and the World are mutually exclusive opposites; equally so are God and Man. Consistently with this doctrine, there can be no real Immanence of God in the world; nor any cognizance of Him by us. For Time and Space, the mere forms under which finite phenomena present themselves to our sense, cannot possibly be media for apprehending the Divine, if the Immanence of God in the World be unconditionally negatived. So, too, the external Universe and History remain inexplicable, or take their place as one term of an irrational Dualism. God could not really *be* in the Universe; for He would have in the Universe no *Being*, but only the opposite of His own Being. Nay, in strictness, neither the Universe nor Man would be left to us. For, God being all in all, what room is there left for an effect absolutely alien in essence from—the unconditional opposite of—its Cause? To bridge over the abyss of this antithesis there is no resource but the *fiat* of omnipotence: and so the *dictum* of the theologian appears in the guise of a mandate of God. That is to say, since there is no denying the existence of the Universe, we cannot account for its essence being absolutely different from the Divine, except by an external act of incomprehensible Will on God's part: and then follows a wretched system of Eternal decrees and dispensations called Providence. In this way, God is indeed Cause of the world, but only so from without: and the lot both of the individual and of mankind is cut off by an eternal chasm from His living Will. Any qualification of this theory is only an abandonment of logical

consistency in concession to an unsatisfied feeling of human nature which is ever rising up in opposition to the system.

From this reproach the other theory which stands contrasted with the Deistic, is free; a theory which we must denominate the PANTHEISTIC or *All-God* philosophy, grossly as that term is misused and misapprehended. We hold, namely, that this term is by rights only appropriate to that theory, according to which God *is* the Universe, and the Universe God. Upon this theory, the Divine Reason and Divine Will do indeed manifest themselves in the Universe; but God in existing there is identical with the Evolution taking place in Space and Time; not a substantive, self-acting, eternal, and conscious Being, beyond Space and before all Time. Yet the Immanence, or indwelling, of God in the universe is by no means tantamount to Pantheism. For to think of God as living and abiding in the universe, does not oblige us to sacrifice, with the Pantheists, His Causality *per se* as the principle of Thought and Will in the Kosmos, or His Substantive existence in self-sufficing blessedness. The assumption of Rational Will as First Cause is, however, so deep-set in the nature of the human mind, that, in the long run, men cannot, under healthy and sober conditions of thought, take to this Pantheistic theory, any more than they can confute it argumentatively from the Deistic point of view.

Mightier because truer than the Deistic theory, Pantheism carries away deep hearts and poetic races and ages: nay, it is only by the recognition of that indwelling Divine element which Deism disowns in the world, that we can explain the origin and history of all religions and Divine worship. But as soon as Humanity awakens from the intoxicating dream in which God and the Universe are confounded together, and reflects upon the facts presented by her own self-consciousness, Pantheism exhibits its insufficiency. Reason detects a contradiction in the

theory by which Thought is assumed as present in the Universe and in History, and yet as having no existence and no permanence apart from the ever-changing and uncompleted series of phenomena. Moreover, Conscience, or the moral self-consciousness, finds within itself a struggle and breach produced by sin, or the evil dwelling within man's own breast. Thus both inward and outward experience raise their voices against this theory. Evil exists and has place in the world as well as Good; nay, Pantheism cannot help planting it in God Himself, or at least in Man, as the Conscious Mind. And then what room is there in life for Conscience and moral evil? In this contradiction no coherence of the system, no pious sentiments of his own, will induce the thinker to acquiesce.

Thus on this system, Reason and Conscience has each its own insoluble discord. Insoluble above all is the discord between these two elements themselves; between Will and Cognition. The moral perception of evil, with its resulting consciousness of sin, is the rock on which Pantheism suffers inevitable wreck in practical life. Can the conscience which demands a pure morality be a delusion? Is it possible that what contradicts it, should not also contradict Reason—the truth of Thought?

To escape from the contradictions of two equally one-sided and inadequate systems, to remove the fundamental principle of Atheism, and at the same time, to apprehend truly the import of Christianity in the world's history, and from this centre, to work out a science which shall not only rightly construe historical facts, but take due account also of the Philosophy of Mind—this is, speaking in general terms, the affirmative result which it has been the common object of German philosophers to establish. First in the writings of Leibnitz, then with greater soberness and freedom of thought in Lessing; and afterwards in a strictly dialectic form in the various systems from Kant to Schelling and Hegel, we find this as the ultimate aim, to which all else is subsidiary. We must, however, confess,

that in these writers, the speculative side predominates and is worked out to a one-sided excess; stiffening in the Hegelian school, into a method, barren for history and for practical life.

To what extent German philosophy has left the great problem unsolved, and wherefore, will come under our consideration in a subsequent chapter of our historical survey; for that attempt at solution was a great historical fact, not only in itself, but also in the success and the influence that it has already enjoyed. So much, however, may be said here. All that has risen to historical importance in Europe in the domain of thought, since the revival of its populations from the scenes of bloodshed and misery, of fraud and lawlessness, that marked the seventeenth century, belongs exclusively to that mighty and meritorious uprising of Reason, which Bayle and Voltaire ridiculed and denied in its outset, and which, as it spread through Protestant Germany, was as violently denounced for heresy by the Götzes and Wöllners of the last century, as it is by the Stahls and Hengstenbergs of the present.

If we now, with those great German philosophers, regard God as Creation's eternal, undisturbed, self-adequate Will and Thought, then the universe—reaching its climax in the human mind as the end and goal of all—is the unfolding of God's eternal Thought. Thus are we enabled to hold fast the distinction between the Eternal and the Temporary, the Unconditioned and the Conditioned; between Real Being, transcending all changing phenomena on the one hand; and on the other, those phenomena themselves, taking shape according to the laws of the Finite, and in this their finite evolution, progressively revealing God—the Infinite.

That which we have here maintained to be the common substratum of the various scientific systems enunciated by the heroes of German philosophy, is the same in which the great twin stars of the Hellenic firmament coincide—Plato and Aristotle. Finally, we encounter it again in the

records of the ancient world, as the foundation of the faith of all civilized peoples; in its purest form, however, in the Bible;—that is to say, in the Sacred History that culminates in Jesus of Nazareth, and concludes with the dawn of the new life enkindled in Humanity by His complete and perfect Personality.

SECTION II.

THE INADEQUACY OF MERELY PHILOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE MORAL ORDER OF THE WORLD.

After what has been said above, we may assume it as conceded by those who dare to think and to investigate for the Truth's sake, that God does reveal Himself in the history of the world. God's Eternal Being in itself remains unchanged. But that which discovers itself in History and in Nature as the plastic and motive force, is nothing else than the Divine, only with the difference of the Finite and the Infinite. From this postulate, it necessarily follows that such a revelation will take place in accordance with the laws of reason; above all, in accordance with those laws whose essence and aim is ethical. For God and Law are one and the same, so soon as we acknowledge Him to be the principle of Order in the universe; the harmonizing element of its discords, the inspirer of its progressive likeness to Himself, the Supreme source of all blessedness. The problem presented by the antagonism of Necessity and Free-Will, which our reason finds it so hard to solve, does not here come under consideration, and so we may for the present leave it on one side.

It may be assumed as self-evident that in the unconditioned Will of the unconditioned Reason, such an antagonism is not cogitable. The world is created, and God's Essence lives in it: this is the point upon which everything turns. Now if even the visible universe appears as an ordered Whole, which reveals eternal laws, still

more must Thought itself, of whose finite unfolding the visible world is an embodiment, exclude all that is capricious, disorderly, lawless. The phenomena of history, the facts of human development, must therefore be reasonable in themselves, and capable of being recognized as such by us. On the sense of this is based the science which teaches us to winnow the individual fact from the rough external husk of appearances, and distinguish the corn from the chaff: the science of philology in its highest aspect. But equally inevitable is our second corollary; namely, that these facts of human development have an internal correlation which constitutes them at once a Unity and a gradually evolving Series. The Infinite is the eternal Present, the undivided Totality of the Essence; but its unfolding in Time is the manifestation of the single members or moments of this Essence.

Now the evolving Series must have an inherent principle of progress; for a Divine development can neither be a repetition, nor a retrogression. In the one case it would be no development, and in the other not a Divine one. For the Divine is the principle of ever new causation. The essence of the Divine must therefore develop itself in ever-widening spheres and higher stages; therefore, of course, according to a law grounded in the Idea of God and of Humanity. Consequently, for every phenomenon, there must be a law which determines its individual existence, and a law which fixes its place in the series of phenomena, which form the mutually completing links of one chain.

In applying this idea to the History of the world, to Philology will appertain the former function—that of investigating the facts of existence as such,—to History, that of investigating the succession of phenomena presented by their evolution in Time, such as origin, progress, decline, and fall. But it is clear that neither the one nor the other is capable of discovering a law in the succession of events without the aid of Philosophy. History presents

us with facts, which without philology—without linguistic knowledge of antiquities—cannot be examined and sifted. Yet the most extended comparative philology—or research into the language, religion, art, science and political conditions of antiquity—no less than our general knowledge of the course of history, is, and must ever be, fragmentary. Still less can philological or historical representations, even though spiced with casual philosophical remarks, yield us true knowledge.

Who will tell us what in those facts is essential or non-essential, necessary or accidental? Who shall determine that, wherein progress really gives evidence of its existence? Clearly it is philosophy alone which can do this; but it must be philosophy in organic combination with philology and history.

Now what has the Philosophy of History done for us hitherto in these respects?

SECTION III.

PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATION ON THE LAW OF THE MORAL ORDER OF THE WORLD AND OF PROGRESS.

Our astronomy first rose out of the astrology of the Middle Ages, through the observation of the solar system and the other heavenly bodies. Observation started from preliminary notions and assumptions, some of which were confirmed by it, and some confuted or supplemented. Thus groups of well-attested and reasonable facts were obtained; but their laws only revealed themselves through the philosophical contemplation and generalization of the individual details supplied by those observations. Finally, the theory thus attained furnished at once the impulse and the means to far more extended observations, by which in turn it was extended. Thus the full recognition of the laws governing the motions of the heavenly bodies resulted from the mutual reaction of facts and thoughts.

What observation and chemical experiment are in physical science, that research and inquiry are in the domain of History. It seems, therefore, strange enough, yet it is unquestionably the case, that no method similar to that of physical science should have been discovered, far less applied, by which to reach the laws governing the development of the human mind in the march of history. It is easy to see from the history of theology, that its disciples were as far from attaining to the perception of those laws (therefore also those of Christianity itself) as the astrologers were from divining the laws of astronomy, or the alchemists those of chemistry. Still less can we be surprised that none of the philosophers of antiquity—not even Plato and Aristotle—ever set themselves to the investigation of the laws of human history; for they possessed neither the necessary facts, nor a definite idea of Humanity; the course of development that lay before their eyes was too brief, the peoples were sundered too far apart, their conception of the unity of the race was too feeble. From the Middle Ages nothing was to be expected, notwithstanding the presence of the Teutonic mind and Christianity. The predominantly hierarchial tendencies of the times deadened the natural sense of reality both in the physical world and in history. The Reformation, with the great discoveries and researches that stood in an organic relation to it, first opened out a new path; but the war of extermination so long waged against the new doctrine, soon covered that pathway with ruins, or paralyzed the effort to pursue it. This great war was followed by a period of exhaustion everywhere, of despair and dissolution in many countries. German philosophy at its rise, found on the Continent a state of mental death whose deepest source was unbelief in Mind itself.

Such was the state of things when Leibnitz appeared; but he not only recognized, like Bacon, what was wanted for historical science; he also laid the foundations of this

science in all three departments, philological, historical, and speculative. Kant, however, set this problem still more definitely before himself, and endeavoured to solve it by means of his fundamental Theory of Ethics, starting from the political, cosmopolitan point of view, as Herder, in his "Ideas towards a Philosophy of the History of Mankind," started from the anthropological and humanitarian. Lessing's scattered but pregnant hints first bore fruit in the writings of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. Fichte, like a Titan, only touched history on her mountain-summits, but Schelling's mighty utterance in his "Orations on Academic Study," kuit for ever the bond between Idea and History. It is, however, generally acknowledged that Schelling occupied himself but little with the actual details of history, and not at all with the method of its organic connection with pure speculative thought. Hegel, on the other hand, has indeed contemplated such a method, but from the one-sided, logical point of view; he has linked the construction of scientific history to universal formulas, at which he arrived without paying due regard to the process of the mind's evolution in history. In admitting this, however, we by no means detract from the glory and the merits of those heroes of science; nor contradict our assertion that each of them has, after his own fashion, and according to the stage which human knowledge had reached in his day, placed this problem before himself, and laid or strengthened the basis for its solution in the domain of pure speculation. The only cause for regret is that those who have succeeded to the schools of these masters seem to have given up their problem and lost sight of the goal. Some disciples of Schelling and Hegel have indeed formularized the speculative ideas of their respective masters, and applied them positively to Law and Polity with their kindred ideas. But it appears to me that at present those are not the points at issue for us, either theoretically or practically. Little aid is thus afforded to the great problem of human his-

tory: practical life is not wedded to Thought, and consequently science is not fertilized by contact with realities. Philosophy and philology—speculation and fact—nay, even history and philology, are once more divorced in our schools of learning, while the exigencies of the times imperatively demand their reunion, by which alone we can come to an understanding upon the practical questions of the day. Meanwhile it has come to this, that the “turning back of human research,”¹ *i.e.* a return to its mediæval rules and principles, has been openly preached by apostates, sciolists, and hypocrites, at the very moment when our most pressing need was the reception of present realities into its domain. The exceptions to this reactionary tendency among us are all the more brilliant from their rarity, but they are only exceptions. The attention and the affection of the public at large have withdrawn themselves from the field of speculation; and empiricism, commonplace, and priestly arrogance are in the ascendant.

Just as logic has hitherto been handled without the philosophical investigation of the phenomena of language, so the philosophy of history has been presented without the theory of that great development which, as the story of Humanity, forms to a philosopher the pendant to the Natural Creation. But if there be a Moral Order of the world—a Kosmos of mind, which corresponds to the Kosmos of the visible world—it must necessarily, as we have said above, have cognizable laws. For if the laws of nature, uninformed by mind, have been discovered, the laws of the development of mind itself must be much more discoverable. If the observation of a portion of a planet’s course, enables the astronomer to draw the whole curve of its orbit, ought not so many thousands of years of human development to enable us to recognize the laws of the orbit of

¹ “*Die Wissenschaft muss umkehren*”—“Science must retrace her steps”—are words first used by Stahl, Bunsen’s antagonist, in one of his speeches in the Prussian Parliament, and echoed by his followers. They are now a kind of party-watchword in Germany.—*Tr.*

humanity ; to understand the present ; dimly at least to forecast the future ? If geology has explained to us the succession of the earth's strata, ought not scientific history to give us still more intelligible answers as to the successive deposits of language and religion ? Should not some method be sought by which philosophy and the history of mankind may be brought into organic reciprocal action upon each other ? For we cannot doubt that the philosophy of mind is destined to become the history of Humanity in a yet higher degree than the philosophy of outward nature is the history of this our earth. The deposition of strata shows us the order in which the crust of our planet has been formed ; with the succession of the past forms of organic life, in the days of the pre-historic, primeval world. The strata of man's consciousness of God during the successive ages of humanity, reveal to us with equal certainty a process of development ; but more than this, they present to us the reflection of our own inner nature in the mirror of all time ; the unfolding of the conscious, finite mind, on the scale of universal history.

The course of Nature's development lies completed before us ; that of Mind in Humanity is not yet closed. But may not the analogy of the two series of evolution be already clearly discernible ? May we not be able to foreshadow the final issue of Man's history, from the already completed history of his dwelling-place ? And again ought we not to be able to penetrate the leading idea of Nature's development, by means of the all-pervading analogy between Nature, as unconscious Mind, and Mind, as Nature which has risen into consciousness in Man's personality, and so become a revelation of the Infinite itself ?

Thus we need an effectual, fruitful application of the German philosophy of mind to historical realities, and we shall find no other method avail us, but that which is essentially the Baconian. We must seek the fundamental conceptions of these laws of evolution in the historical phenomena lying before us, by a gradual process of

analysis and synthesis of our materials. These laws, however, cannot be in essence anything but an application of the universal Reason and the universal Conscience to the great world-wide facts of Man's consciousness of God in history. But it is the consciousness of the Race in its purest and most earnest forms which we must take as our clue, not the formulas of the Schools.

Such an organon cannot of course be given here, neither is it at all requisite for the justification of our historical delineation. The practical results of such an instrument of research into the realities of spiritual phenomena, will be most properly stated, or at least indicated, at the close of our historical survey, as flowing naturally from the facts presented to our contemplation. For the present, we will only turn our readers' attention to a few points which no one acquainted with the present state of the world will seriously dispute.

Religious feeling in Europe has died out, so far as it can die out, under the double pressure of political absolutism and of a theological system which has broken with reason and science. Yet the nations desire freedom of conscience, not from unbelief, but from a yearning after belief. They desire law and freedom, not in order to lead sensual, godless lives, but in order to be able once more honestly to believe in the Gospel. For this freedom of conscience they will know how to act and to suffer, to live and to die, and the death of their martyrs will be the spark to rekindle the dying embers of faith, by the Divine energy which it reveals.

The superstition and scepticism, whose seeds have long since been sown and diligently fostered among us, will unite their forces to perplex men's minds. When, with the Bible in her hand, and Jesus as her archetype, the Rational Conscience is seated on the throne, there will be also revealed worse and worse abominations of superstition and scepticism. Our age is that of a great and general culture of the understanding; it is needful that

an honest and generally intelligible philosophy should be associated with our faith to defend it from the sophists and materialists, when the rotten system of the Scholastics shall have crumbled to dust, and all that was erected upon it is threatening to follow in its overthrow. The only personality which remains an object of faith, and the only record of Man's consciousness of God, which concedes alike their rights to God, the Universe, and Humanity—namely, Christ and the Bible—must be brought into harmony with the Science of the Positive in nature and in history, and in the fatal severance of Faith and Reason must cease. Now if the Atheistic theory stands in opposition both to reason and to morality; the Deistic, to Reason as directed on the Divine element embodied in Reality; the Pantheistic, to our consciousness of free-will and of sin; then the following questions inevitably present themselves:—

Can the knowledge we seek, be found in anything but the connecting of thought with facts, by testing and classifying the latter according to the universal and particular categories of the *Being*, and the *Coming-to-be* of all phenomena?

How shall men conquer and maintain their freedom, in alliance with law and order, unless they have reverence for Man as God's image, and for Humanity as the aim of God's thought, the copyist of the Divine in History?

How shall our science conceive aright of the nature of Christ without understanding at once the degradation and the elevation of human nature? How shall we conceive aright of the Eternal Spirit of God, without the recognition of the Church, which is called to be His representative in the Finite? How shall we conceive aright of God's eternal, loving, and productive thought of Creation, except through a Humanity that in faith and gratitude strives to imitate His work?

This is our problem. We are seeking after the holiest verities of history, not alone or chiefly in order to extend the domain of philosophy, but that they may help to heal

the deepest wounds of our present social state and satisfy the highest aspirations of humanity. In the first place, we have to come to an understanding with each other as to the primary definitions and their simplest mode of statement.

SECTION IV.

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF SELF AND THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF GOD.

Man finds in himself a sense of good and evil, of right and wrong, which we call conscience; and a power of distinguishing the true from the false, the cogitable from the incogitable, which in a broad way we denominate as Reason. Both claim implicit obedience, as much as the natural impulse of animals, which we call instinct; and men continually refer their disputes about the practical application of reason and conscience back to the tribunal of reason and conscience themselves. Thus both challenge universal trust, and the man who doubts of either, falls a prey to insanity or to brutish stupidity. All Man's intelligent intercourse with himself and the outer world rests upon this faith in Reason and Conscience; all language, art and science, as well as all political and ecclesiastical order among men, have issued from it. But this faith is at bottom a belief in the unity of Conscience and Reason; therefore the belief that Conscience is reasonable, and Reason moral; or, in other words, that the Good is true, and the True good. And it is this instinctive assumption—this faith—which binds together the Divine and the Human, links the Finite to the Infinite, and reconciles the world with God.

In the antithesis between God and the Universe, lies the ground of that duality which we find in the expressions of this great fundamental consciousness of a moral Reason. For, according to the prevailing tendency of a

particular race or age, it meets us, now as a consciousness of God, *i. e.* of the Eternal Thought and Will, from which the objects developed in space and time have proceeded;—now as the consciousness of human historical facts. These are the two starting-points, or poles of Consciousness. On the human side, the dominant idea is that of Humanity as an organized Whole, as a moral Kosmos; in which is involved the assumption, that all the constituent parts of this Whole are moulded and developed, are born and die, according to the same laws. But since our mind is so constituted, that we become conscious of the Infinite only through the Finite, while the Finite is only intelligible to us through Thought and Will, which belong to the region of the Timeless and Infinite; it follows that our consciousness of God and our consciousness of Humanity mutually presuppose each other.

Thus the conscious, moral, rational personality of the individual man finds itself placed midway between God and Humanity. The union of both, and the essential connection of his conscious personal identity with both, is the necessary presupposition of all his reflection upon either. As a man cannot consciously act contrary to his moral sense without unreasonableness, nor contrary to his reason without impiety in the deepest sense, so he cannot love God without loving Humanity, or love Humanity without loving God.

Both historically and psychologically, our consciousness of God is not in the first instance awakened by the metaphysical conception of God, as the first and eternal Cause of the Universe and Man, although it rests ultimately on the existence of the Infinite and our apprehension of it. The original object of the religious faith of mankind is not God in Himself, but God as manifested in the Creation and in Humanity, of which he is at once the Cause and the Uniting Element. Let us call the former manifestation God in Nature, and the latter, God in History.¹ It is

¹ It is with the sanction of the Author's son and literary representative that I have thus briefly rendered the meaning of a sentence which I subjoin

clear that the pure ideal consciousness of God is no more excluded by our consciousness of God's manifestation of Himself in the history of Mankind, than Deity parts with self-subsistence through the unfolding of the Divine in the Universe and in History. On the contrary, our consciousness of God as revealed through Humanity might not unjustly be regarded as our fullest and highest consciousness of the Divine; for it can no more exist divested of the consciousness of the Infinite, than of the consciousness of the Finite; it presupposes the ideal consciousness of God, equally with the consciousness of the physical Kosmos. But on the other hand these two do not necessarily involve the consciousness of God as present in the facts of history. Thus our fullest knowledge of God, that which must be at once the most operative and really practical, rests on our recognition of the Infinite in the Finite, of the Ideal in the Actual, and moreover in its conscious, not merely its unconscious realization. It shows us God in the Kosmos; that is to say, in an ordered whole. Within the limits of this finite world, the finite Reason is developed by the germinating energy of the Eternal Reason, Human Freedom by the Divine Freedom, and thus the Eternal Thought shapes itself into Finite Being, in Time and Space, with ever wider unfolding of the Divine in the Universe. To speak with Jean Paul, "the Eternal Reason mirrors itself in the world-stream like the sunlight in the waterfall";—as the eternally unchangeable in the ever-changing phenomena. Now, since we are compelled to recognize *our consciousness of the Divine activity in the History of Mankind*, to be our fullest consciousness of God's presence; that which necessarily presupposes the other modes in

for the benefit of the German reader, but which I have not literally translated, as it contains only the definition of certain compound terms invented by the Author, which must always be rendered by a paraphrase in English.—Tr. "Man könnte nun das Bewusstsein Gottes in der Natur, **WELTBEWUSSTSEIN**, oder **GOTTWELTBEWUSSTSEIN** nennen: das **BEWUSSTSEIN** Gottes aber in der Geschichte der Menschheit, das **MENSCHHEITLICHE GOTTESBEWUSSTSEIN** oder, mit einem Worte, **GOTTMENSCHHEIT-BEWUSSTSEIN**."

which we are cognizant of Him, we shall for the future throughout this work, denominate this simply our *Consciousness of God*. This consciousness is therefore to us the inmost ground of all religion, that is to say, of all worship and of all knowledge of Divine things; but its present aspect for us is, more especially, the apprehension that the Divine develops itself in the history of Man, according to eternal, cogizable laws.

Now this historical religious consciousness reveals itself in the progress of Mankind, sometimes as intuitive; *i.e.* not obtained through the conscious recognition of its laws and cause; sometimes as knowledge worked out dialectically, and deduced with more or less completeness from its appropriate arguments. The former is what we simply term our consciousness of God, or our religious consciousness; the latter, in so far as it exhibits the reasonableness of the Historical Kosmos, we should be inclined to call *world-wisdom*, or the *Philosophy of History*. The difference between the popular religious consciousness and that science which gathers up historical materials into a free philosophical form, we shall express by the phrases the *Moral Intuition of the Universe*, and the *Moral Contemplation of the Universe*.

Lastly, that Order itself, which we hereby recognize as actually existing, nay, assume as that, in virtue of which, all human things subsist and develop themselves, have their beginning and their end, we term the *Moral Order of the World*. The faith in this, which is sometimes called faith in Providence, sometimes faith in the moral government of the world, is as old as Humanity. All revealed religion, *i.e.* all historical religion derived from the teachings and experience of men of God, rests on this primary faith of Mankind. Its antithesis—Natural Religion—is the consciousness of God which is awakened in us by Nature, or the visible Creation. Christianity presupposes a faith in the presence of God in Nature and in History, but does not set herself to demonstrate that presence.

SECTION V.

A CONSIDERATION OF THE FORM IN WHICH IT HAS BEEN ATTEMPTED
TO DENY THE EXISTENCE OF A MORAL ORDER OF THE WORLD.

Before we proceed to consider the application of the fundamental principles we have stated, it will be well for us to examine somewhat more closely the methods in which it has been attempted either to deny or to demonstrate the Divine Order of the World.

The first commencement of dialectic thought, the transition from the mere contemplation of the Universe, to the philosophizing upon its phenomena, is usually accompanied, both in individuals and in nations, with a weakening of the former implicit belief. The faith of childhood is at an end, while Reason has not as yet attained either the freedom or the strength requisite to replace it by knowledge. At this stage, three questions suggest themselves :—

Does there really exist a Moral Government of the world? If there be one, does it only regulate the Universe as a whole, or does it also concern itself with the life of the individual? Do we find any actual foundation in the experience of life and in the conclusions of reason for the general moral and religious beliefs of nations?

These questions are the mightiest which Man can propose to himself; and the answers to them are as old as conscious reflection in Humanity. At a certain epoch in life, they must inevitably receive some answer: and on the nature of this answer—the extent to which doubt is met by truth—depends whether the future progress of the moral nature shall tend towards inward estrangement from God or towards a true wisdom.

If there be no moral government of the world, then that feeling of the immediate relationship of each man to a conscious Thought and Will is also a delusion. So too are those fundamental assumptions, upon which repose all historical religions, all public worship, all ennobling

and sanctifying rites, all festivals or solemnities among mankind. In this case, the culture and enlightenment of mankind is supposed to consist in the gradual enfranchisement of individuals and nations from the errors of superstition. Efforts to this end have, in fact, been made by sceptics from very early times, and almost always in periods when the proper historical life of a nation was dying out, and a superficial, essentially negative, cosmopolitanism was striven after as a compensation for departed vitality. So it was in Greece and Rome; such was the case, too, among ourselves at the close of the seventeenth, and during the first half of the eighteenth, centuries.

The object of these efforts has been to replace the former faith in a moral government of the world, whether that government be conceived as an intervention of many gods, or as the providence of One, by a belief either in an inflexible Fate, or in a blind, unintelligent Chance. With the former, is usually allied a stoical, with the latter, an epicurean, view of life. But both agree in stipulating for a State-religion in addition to their philosophy, as an instrument of government, and a convenient compromise with the confessedly ineradicable superstition of the masses. Thus worship, from being the symbolical language of an inward spiritual act, becomes something purely external, having no connection with the sentiments or the acts of real life. The religious rule of conduct becomes a mere injunction to perform good works, and moral aspiration is evaporated into simple obedience to an external precept; while Dogma, which following an innate plastic instinct, had clothed a common faith in formulas felt to be true, becomes a conventional falsehood.

But of all systems the most destructive in its tendencies is that of the Doctrine of Chance. Its disciples set aside as pernicious presumption all questioning after the universal Cause of human things; the Useful and the Agreeable are alone to be striven after. All history, however, shows that this system works only destruction,

and ends by destroying itself. While the theory of an Inflexible Fate only at first intoxicates and then paralyzes the mind, and is always at war with the indestructible sense of inward moral freedom in the human breast; the philosophy of the Useful and Agreeable, whether in alliance with, or hostility to, an external religion, tends to annihilate everything that is noble or elevated in Man. If the external practices of religion accord with the artistic taste of the age, they serve for a time as amusement for the women and upper classes, and as mental *pabulum* for the populace; but as soon as critical emergencies arise, either in personal or national life, they prove themselves as powerless to curb the passions, as they have been all along to satisfy the aspirations of the nobler class of souls. All the nobler natures that have adopted the theory of the Useful and Agreeable, become unfaithful to it in actual life. They find in themselves something that in critical moments impels them to sacrifice even life itself—which is to them as the necessary condition of all besides, the Highest Good—to something higher, whether it be called Country, or Freedom, or Honour. Selfishness, sitting on the throne of Reason, even if she adorn herself with the sentiment of honour as a substitute for virtue, works nothing but ruin; even for the Individual. The Useful often turns out to be injurious to him, the Pleasant, painful; while both are inimical to the welfare and happiness of the Community. A society can as little be constituted and preserved out of a mass of conflicting selfishnesses as a body out of mutually repellent atoms. The whole human order which we call State and Church, rests on mutual, sincere, self-renunciation of the individual for the common weal. The tyranny which tries to avail itself of the religious sentiment for its own ends, brings about its own overthrow, as surely as the anarchy which refuses to recognize any authority above itself; and falls into yet more flagrant self-contradiction; for all government and

law rest upon nothing else than reason and conscience as their ultimate resort, and can have no permanence except so far as they accord with the moral order of the world, of which reason and conscience are the exponents.

Thus, in all ages, the course of events has itself proved the utter futility of both these substituted theories of life; and all attempts of the kind have resulted, the more conspicuously in proportion to their energy, in evoking against themselves the spirits of the eternal constitution of things, which reside in the conscience and reason of man with a truly Divine Right; and even though they may seem to slumber, yet sooner or later awake and prove themselves avenging demons. And then Humanity returns ever again to its original faith in a moral order of the world.

SECTION VI.

THE VARIOUS ATTEMPTS TO CONSTRUCT A THEODICEY, OR JUSTIFICATION OF THE WAYS OF GOD TO MAN.

Noble and enlightened minds have from early times sought to justify the Moral Order of the world, according to which all evil is self-destructive and is finally doomed to perish, but not until after apparent victory and lengthened domination; while the Good prevails at last, but only after an arduous struggle, and often after a long period of misconception and oppression. This justification may either seek its ground in fact or in thought.

The conception of the Divine Providence as consistent with human conscience and reason, is presented among the Semitic peoples, in the history telling how from Abraham to Moses God delivered His people with a strong hand, and again in the book of Job, as the lesson of submission to His mighty arm. Among the Hellenes, the triumph of Divine Justice was celebrated in Epos and Drama. The exhibition of the Divine Nemesis in the destruction of Troy is the immortal type of the former kind—the epic

Theodicey; the vivid representation of an avenging Fate in the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles is an equally immortal hymn to the moral order of the world. Finally, in the historical work of Herodotus, the same circle of ideas is exhibited in contact with the actual destinies of nations and their leaders.

Leibnitz was the first to attempt a philosophical Theodicey. An attempt to reach the same goal by other paths was made by Lessing and Herder without a philosophical system, and by Kant, Schelling and Hegel, with one. Leibnitz sought after a Theodicey in order to bring some consolation to the human soul at an epoch when it was exhausted and disheartened by the bloody religious and political wars which had ended with reducing the whole Continent of Europe (with the exception of Holland) under the sway of barbarism and absolute despotism: a period when the mind needed some such cordial to save it from sinking under the scepticism of mere negative research, and the sentiment of national despair. Towards the end of the same century, Lessing and Kant strove to counteract the growing materialism which had sprung up, more especially in England and France, by a faith in Reason itself as a Moral Force. Even at that period, philosophy had advanced so far that it no longer occurred to any one to write an apology for the Moral Order of the world, any more than for Reason itself. This modern German school was also the first to apprehend in all their depth, the questions which Mankind in our late age must naturally propound to itself:—is there such a thing as Progress in the history of the human race? If so, wherein is it visible? What is its formula?

These questions are only capable of a real solution if we start from the assumption of a Moral Order of the World, and the essential Unity of the Human Race. For a Progress presupposes something that can advance, and that bears within itself the law of its own advance. But this is the case only with mind conscious of volition

and cognition, and therefore any intelligent idea of progress presupposes, equally with religion, a Divine Government.

Now, in order to answer these questions respecting Progress and its laws, whether for the whole course or for the separate events of history, it is clear that neither a purely speculative nor a purely historical inquiry will suffice by itself. The former does not bring us in contact with the actual facts; the latter does not show us the law of their development. It was certainly, therefore, a brilliant flash of inspiration which impelled Herder, the philosopher of Humanity, to combine both methods. But it must equally be acknowledged, that even if he had not left his treatise unfinished, it would have been far from satisfying the requirements of the case. For, beside the inadequacy of its philosophical as well as its historical substance, Herder does not so much as set before himself the aim which is most important of attainment; namely, to interpret and to justify the political and religious conditions both of the past and of our own age. It is not enough that we should recognize them to be capable of being brought into combination with our philosophical ideas, but they must be seen and shown to be the realization of some essential element of the Idea of Humanity; in fact, in so far as they are true and genuine, as its necessary realization, at the given epoch of time. Is Leibnitz's "*Best possible World*" really nothing but a dream? Is his leading idea, that evil exists only for the furtherance of good, worthy of the ridicule which has been poured upon it, and the oblivion into which it has sunk? Is there anything to hope from Voltaire's view of the world, or from the delusion into which it led the educated classes of his day, that Christianity and Christian civilization are subjects of toleration only, or at most, that Philosophy may, on confession of their poverty, contemptuously bestow on them some crumbs from her table? Or can we hope more from the modern romantic philosophy now in vogue, which

indeed recognizes Religion to be a power, and to have certain claims upon us, but gives up all idea of coming to an understanding with it? Leibnitz's theory of a "*Best possible World*" was misunderstood, as much through the actual moral corruptness of his age, as because it was associated with speculative premisses and formulas which proved untenable. But the French philosophy of the eighteenth century is, even in its more recent forms, a complete breaking with fact in history and in life; the offspring of a grandiose despair. Bossuet's apotheosis of Absolution, or the modern development of his hierarchical philosophy is no better. In both, historical truth is trodden under foot, and the idea of Humanity entirely ignored. The actual state of things around us is regarded as hopelessly abandoned to irrationality and caprice, and only made for women and children. Such a theory of the world, opposing as it does a mere negation to the ideas on which the popular moral sentiment is built, shrivels into a dry Deism, when it does not issue in a despairing Atheism that believes in nothing noble whatever. The innate belief in some order of the world degenerates into an Ethic of enlightened self-interest; and civilization must in such a case become that merely external polish, which is sure, sooner or later, to fall a prey to barbarism.

Surely there must be some other philosophy of history, and of the present political conditions that are fast turning into history, or else Humanity has been insane for six thousand years, only to fall into idiotcy in its old age, while it tries to forget, but really aggravates, its misery by brandy and gambling in the Stock Exchange! Will metaphysical formulas or new-fangled superstitions avail to raise it from this abyss? Yes, when bayonets avail to heal its wounds—and no sooner!

Is there not a possibility that the train of ideas suggested in our opening remarks may lead us to the desired goal, if we endeavour in all earnestness to apply them to

the facts of our social state? We propose to undertake this task neither according to the formulas of any speculative system, nor yet in an arbitrary and fragmentary manner; but in combination with the acknowledged fundamental beliefs of mankind and following the order of universal history. We invite the closest consideration and scrutiny of the statements we present, from the sound common sense and the general conscience of the cultivated public. But, undoubtedly, we must bespeak, especially for the sections immediately following, their most serious attention.

SECTION VII.

AN ATTEMPT TO REPRESENT MAN'S CONSCIOUSNESS OF GOD AS THE
CONSTANT MOTIVE FORCE IN THE HISTORY OF NATIONS.

If our consciousness of the oneness of Nature or of Humanity is but the application to earthly Realities of our consciousness of God, a progress in this consciousness presupposes the progressive realization of the Divine Thought; that is, of God's Eternal Idea of Humanity. If the fundamental assumption of the peoples be true, then the development of the Idea of Humanity must be the governing principle in History itself. The progress of Humanity will consist in this; that the eternal principles which are being realized in the Finite, and are its germinating forces—that in fact which is truly of the Essence of Humanity—should be transfused out of the thought, the works, and the life of Individuals, into the life of the Peoples, and at last become the possession of the entire human Race.

All that constitutes the historical vitality of Humanity takes its source from Individuals; but before it can become ripe to influence the Race, it must be elaborated and assimilated by the nation to which the Individual belongs. But the individual and the nation must pass away, that the truly human element may have unchecked

development. To any single human life must ever adhere the limitations of the individual idiosyncrasy, at least in its external manifestations and the expression of its ideas. In fact, without these limitations, the man could not make himself understood by those around him. But when the Thought of an individual comes to embody itself in the national life, even still more of what is transitory, local, and partial, comes to be engrafted on it. All this mortal part must die; and in proportion as it perishes, is the immortal principle set free, to become the possession of all Humanity. Unceasingly is this process going on through death to life.

Now, since no integral element of Humanity can perish (for else man's history would stop short, and the world would come to an end), the successive revelations of the Idea of Humanity which have attained to historical prominence—including the deeds, monuments, and institutions to which they have given birth—must constitute the main stream of the world's history. It must be possible to show by facts, that the genealogy of the Ideas of Humanity answers to the epochs of actual history. That which is common to human nature must more and more predominate in history. If it does not do so, then the faith of all peoples is a delusion, and our fundamental postulate an error. But if it really do so, then not only is the existence and progress of a Moral Order of the world proved, but also the reasonableness and substantial truth of our own civilization, worship, and mental culture, which are founded upon those ideas. Thus we shall have found the touchstone for the value and significance of all existing institutions. This knowledge, our true wisdom, is alone competent to guide us in the work of gradually eliminating the accidental accretions from the essential substance on which they have engrafted themselves; the transitory adjuncts, from the imperishable principle which they are selfishly seeking to involve in their own dissolution. Thus a true, world-wide presentation of

the guiding principles that have determined the course of events, would supply us with the means of showing how the overthrow of existing institutions might be averted by their regeneration; revolution by reform. For the world's history exhibits to us a continuous process of reform; but revolutions and violent changes are the judgments of God upon arrogance or abuses.

It is plain that the view which we have endeavoured to set forth in universally intelligible language, starts from the fundamental idea, that Humanity, considered as a whole, not only represents a Kosmos in the coexistence of its phenomena, but still more in their succession. Humanity is to us the *Macrocosm* of the Spirit, as the individual soul is its *Microcosm*. The spiritual universe moves on according to eternal laws, as a progressive unfolding of the Divine Idea. That such laws exist, is the belief of all nations; to render these visible by works of art, is the endeavour of all the nobler peoples; to prove them as demonstrably true, is the aim of all veritable philosophy.

The great antithesis which meets us in reflecting on this subject, is that between the Individual Personality and the Collective Community. Here we touch on the vulnerable side of the modern German philosophy since the days of Kant and Fichte.

SECTION VIII.

PERSONALITY THE LEVER OF THE WORLD'S HISTORY, AND THE MUTUAL INFLUENCE OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMUNITY.

All that among us is called culture, among the Romance peoples civilization, arises out of the reciprocal action of the Individual on the Community, and of the Community on the Individual. Culture is the result of the individual's living for the community in which he is placed. The condition of this reciprocal influence is

voluntary self-limitation ; the barbarian, the uncivilized man, is he who recognizes no restraining limits. The real living root of all voluntary self-limitation is the principle which we call *piety* ;—the practical recognition that the True, the Beautiful and the Good ought not to subserve us, and our selfish ends, but that they stand above us, demanding sacred reverence ; reverence in their Ideal, that is, in God ; reverence in their manifestation, that is, in every human soul wherein He has implanted them.

The history of mankind is, therefore—in so far as it is fruitful of results ; in so far as it presents a spectacle of creation, preservation, and renewal—the result of the harmonious action and reaction of two poles ; the life of the individual and that of the community in which, and for which, it is his vocation to live. \ Thus the consciousness of the race resides only in individuals, but exists in them in proportion as the true collective consciousness of Mankind at large is revealed in them. All that is great takes its rise from the individual, but only in proportion as he (whoever he may be) offers up his individual Self to the Whole ; therefore, only becomes perfect through death. This highest attestation of a devoted will is the noblest deed possible to the human Will ; the renunciation of life for the sake of mankind. The corn of wheat must die, ere it can bring forth fruit. Only through a life of self-devotion, is the Self, which is originally the vessel of selfishness, transformed into the image in the Finite, of the Divine Love ; and not until it has passed through the process of death, does it become a fruitful seed-corn and imperishable germ of life for all Humanity.

The world's history is therefore in this sense the product of individuality purified from egotism. But, again, personal influence is imprisoned within the narrow limits of the duration and energy of a single human life ; the question, therefore, is, how are the ideas and purposes of the Individual to be carried into effect by the Community ? The community grows up, expands from a family

into a tribe, from a tribe into a nation, from nations to Humanity. In this process of development there is necessarily formed a massive external embodiment, and therefore an increased resistance of inert matter to the indwelling spirit, that is seeking to transform it. The collective body degenerates, as the idea and purpose of the individual that inspired it become carnalized; and either declines again towards barbarism, or stiffens into dead formalism. Such a decline can alone be arrested by the advent of a new Individual, who renovates what is capable of life, and destroys what is doomed to death. Thus every step of progress is a return to the Ideal of the Existing; and in this Ideal lies necessarily the element of progress, because each special realization is but one of its phases. The new life, which the new Individual evolves in himself, is planted as a germ in the renovated Humanity around him. Thus the various Individuals, who from time to time have imparted fresh life to Humanity form a progressive series. There must, therefore, once in the ages, appear one who should exhibit in His own Person not this or that divine quality, but the Eternal Thought and Loving Will of God Himself, comprised within the limits of the Finite; not in behalf of a tribe or a people, but for all Humanity—God's final Thought of Man. Such a Person cannot point us on again to a Higher than Himself, but only to the realization of His life in the Community. That life itself does not even chiefly direct our eyes upon itself in its mere transitory manifestation, but upon the Spirit of God, Who wrought in it, and radiates vivifying influences from it. Thus alone can it be intelligently apprehended.

The individual for the nation, the nation for Humanity, Humanity for God; but each individual in God, and God in each individual: this is the supreme Law of Existence in this tidal wave of the Collective Race. The mystery of Humanity, as of the Universe, is *personality*; that is to say, the existence of a Being possessed of con-

sciousness and volition, having his place in the great Whole of which he is part, and yet forming an antithesis to that Whole. In other words, the coexistence of the free self-determining moral Will, on the one hand, and of External Necessity on the other.

This Moral Personality is the mysterious element in human history. On the consciousness of the originating power of the moral will, and its ability to deliver itself from the egotism of an insulated existence, rests the most precious article of human faith: the belief in the immortality of the soul. The divine, immortal element exists in every human being as a seed, which may dwindle for lack of nourishment, nay, may even be destroyed, but may, on the contrary, be developed, and bring forth divine fruit. Hence the belief in immortality dies out or becomes in effect inoperative, whether in philosophers or ordinary practical men, so soon as the belief in a moral self-determination becomes obscured.

With good reason has the Platonic Socrates in the *Phædo* based the philosophical belief in immortality upon the *self-moving* power of the soul. This celebrated demonstration stands and falls with the assumption, that the rational consciousness—the proper essence of the Psyche—cannot perish; because else the ground of all Being would perish,—the Eternal Thought, which has created and is creating the world, and of which the human soul, and it alone, is conscious. This self-moving power is the Moral Will.

The belief of all the noblest races and greatest sages is one and the same; the whole history of the world is inexplicable without this assumption; with it clear and intelligible. For by its light, the conscious reason of the individual is seen to be the eternal Thought of the Universe, mirrored in the stream of Time; not as a mere shadowy phantasm, but as a substantial reflex, an essential, indivisible element of the Great Whole, out of whose infinite Fulness the world is created and sustained.¹ On

¹ If the reverse of this view has obtained acceptance in a certain recent German School, we can but see in that circumstance—where the opinions

this point, there is a unanimous consent of all nations, who have recognized the eternal significance of this earthly life, and of moral personality in it; especially of all Jewish and Christian nations. Even now all believing Jews look for their salvation from a Person divinely enlightened to be a Restorer. Nothing but their prejudice and pride hinder them from submitting to the Divine decree, according to which their nationality is to be absorbed into Humanity as it becomes Christianized. But the Christians recognize that the Highest and Holiest Person has come, with His redeeming act of voluntary self-sacrifice, and His consciousness of the Spirit; and that He has in the face of the whole world, bidden us to look up for all future time to that Divine Spirit, Whose working was revealed in His earthly life. But this conception of humanity has sunk overpowered in the struggle with Oriental corruption, and exults in the judgments which are to annihilate this earthly state of existence. Very different is it with the Iranian intellect of the Persians, converted to Mahomedanism by the sword, whose highest organ is Jelal-eddeen-Rumi. The votaries of annihilation make no appeal to him, for they lack what the Persian seer makes the basis of the higher life, after the annihilation of Self has been consummated—namely, LOVE:—

Death ends the woes of Life, yet still
Life shudders at Death's icy chill.

For Life the gloomy Hand beholds,
But not the golden cup it holds.

And so, as Love itself draws near,
The heart shrinks back in deathly fear.

in question are seriously maintained and not merely stated in the paradoxes of an Idealism exaggerated into Cynicism—the crudity of a materialism that denies Thought and Will, or the delirium of a Pantheism which has surrendered itself to the sensuous impressions of the mere creature life.

[In a conversation held with the Author, he told me that he here alludes to that original but very paradoxical thinker, Schopenhauer, whose ideas he did not wish to be confounded with the materialism of Carl Vogt, and begged me to insert a note to that effect.—Tr.]

For where Love into life doth rise,
 The Self, the gloomy tyrant, dies.
 So let him die away in night,
 And thou walk forth in joyous light.

But this is not the place to pursue these reflections further. Here we have only to indicate facts. The visible Creation is there with its laws; Mankind do not need that we should prove to them the existence of the Universe. So, too, Human History is there with its illustrious individuals; we do not need a proof that there is a personality, a divine principle in man; at least none do, who look at man as he is mirrored in the Bible. For the Bible testifies of personality, and so does the not inconsiderable section of our eternal orbit, already traversed in that portion of time historically known to us.

According to the foregoing, it will therefore be our task to show, from that which has incontestably been the consciousness and belief of the nations, how the whole course taken by human events, but especially the development of man's leading ideas respecting God and Humanity, has been the result of the deeds and sufferings of individual persons in their relations to God and their fellow-men. In other words, the history of human consciousness has to demonstrate the reciprocal action between the Individual and the Community, between inward intuition and outward fact. In nothing is this reciprocal action so conspicuously manifest as in language and religion. Language and Religion, however, are but the two mutually interdependent poles of that which is man's primal endeavour; namely, to understand the objects around as a Whole, according to their properties, and to recognize God in all objects as the efficient Unity of all that is separate in the phenomena. Thus it holds good of the vivifying of that which we call man's consciousness of God, more than of any other human phenomenon, that all the life of history springs from the

conscious self-determination of Individuals; and that all that is truly creative, conservative, propulsive in the life of the individual flows from the Idea of Humanity incarnated in that individual.

The individual man is placed in the midst of this infinite electric current whose two enkindled poles radiate through him vitality or destruction; God and Humanity, the Eternal Thought and its finite realization in Time and Space. Now in so far as the individual does not resist being made the organ of the Divine Thought—and in this possibility of resistance lies what men commonly call free-will, *i. e.* the freedom to be un-free—he becomes a spiritual power for the whole Community, for which he feels, thinks, acts, writes, creates. The individual who is penetrated by a great human idea is an organ of the Deity, a physical voice, so to speak, to the Eternal Spirit; but to his fellow-men the representative of the conscious finite Mind striving to embody itself in Humanity. His family, his household, his tribe, his nation, his proselytes become his adherents and make him the centre of a common principle. This common principle is invisible, as is the Spirit working in the individual man; but it is equally real and operative, nay, the highest of all forces.

The history of all religions and of all political constitutions, of all precepts and all laws, and all human culture, proceeds incessantly from this divine action and reaction. But this interplay is not one of thought alone, but also of deed. With man's perception of the Universe as a Whole is ever associated the artistic impulse to embody the Spirit of the Universe in material forms. As Nature is ever striving to become Spirit, so is the indwelling spirit ever striving to embody itself in outward form. When this ceaseless aspiration takes the direction of religion, it gives birth to worship and mythological legend, sacrifices and holy rites and art; when it is directed towards the outer world, it gives birth first to language, then to polity and law and science. The artistic impulse is

awakened on the religious side by the sense of the Eternal Love ; on the secular, by the apprehension of Truth in the temporal acting out of this Love. Thus nourished by the contemplation of objective realities, and quickened by the Divine Goodness, the Human Mind brings forth the True and the Good in a form corresponding to their real essence. This Form is the Beautiful, and its highest manifestation is the art of life. In this, too, the essence and the form are to be distinguished ; the essence of Beauty is eternal like the Divine Goodness, its form is true like Nature. In its perfection, Art speaks the language of the Universe, *i. e.* of all Humanity ; all that falls below this, serves its turn and passes away. The two ever-active poles destroy all that is not conformable to them, and a new mode of life enters on the arena of the world.

All that is permanent and objectively true in the working of the human mind we regard as in the highest sense revealed. The unfolding of this revealed truth among the various races and peoples is due to the reciprocal action of the individual and the community. What has once become the common property of Humanity,—that is to say, any visible presentation of a principle that has come to be universally recognized and universally operative—cannot perish, but has life in itself ; generates fresh life ; and stands as a witness to the Spirit amidst the wreck of politics and institutions, till the time comes for the advent of a new and higher life. But that which is capable of death, does die, so soon as it has fulfilled its purpose of serving as the temporary sheath and husk of a particular growth. If the letter set itself up against the Spirit, it pronounces its own condemnation which events execute. This is the death without resurrection, the true Divine ordeal.

Thus all turns upon that mysterious action and re-action between the individual and the community. Thought is assimilated and becomes common property. Now inas-

much as this common heritage of ideas works on and on through the action of a number of individual minds, who are bound together by its power, it stamps its mould on the individual of a succeeding generation as truly as it received its own impress originally from one great Personality. Thus in after ages, the mind of the individual finds itself, from childhood up, floating in an atmosphere of received traditions, and apparently enclosed within boundaries that it has not set up for itself. Thought that has thus come to be a natural atmosphere imposes its conditions upon the mind of the individual. He again is able to recognize in this very embodiment of the thought of past ages, the realization of his own thought, and hence he devotes his voluntary efforts and his life to its progressive working out. In a normal state of things, the individual thus helps forward the community and the community the individual. All tragical interruptions of this natural order are owing either to the degeneracy of the community, to which the individual opposes the unconquerable freedom of a moral will that fears not death, or else to the error of the leading minds of the age, who from lack of resignation turn their energies to the destruction of existing institutions. But the divine energy in Man ever afresh reasserts its claim, goaded on the one hand by the destructive and disintegrating forces of evil, and impelled on the other by love to suffering fellow-men. And thus sooner or later some creative Personage appears upon the scene, who renews the unspiritual and corrupt community inwardly in thought and will, and inaugurates a new unfolding of the Spirit in human history. But his path leads him for the most part to a martyr's death, and ends with the subversion of States.

What perishes in this great struggle that throbs through all history, is the limitation of the individual, and the limitation of the tribe or the nation. This limitation ought properly to be nothing but self-limitation; for only thus does it consist with moral freedom, or rather is the

rationale of this freedom. All life can alone act through this self-limitation, and within the restraints which it imposes. But the egotism of Nature desires to burst these bonds and be itself the Whole. It is destined to rise into a Whole, through self-sacrifice. Each individual, and each nation ought to be a representative of Humanity, but at the same time ought to serve her, set her above itself, recognize her to be its aim and end. Man has the freedom not to do this, but in so far as he opposes himself to the Will manifested in the Divine Order of the World, he evokes the Divine energy of that Will against himself, and, as a reluctant victim, serves to promote the progress of that Humanity of which he ought to have been a willing servant, and by so serving would have become truly free and "a Ruler in the Kingdom of God."

SECTION IX.

THE RECIPROCAL ACTION AND OPPOSITION OF THE INTUITIVE AND SCIENTIFIC THEORIES OF THE WORLD, AND THEIR RECONCILIATION BY MEANS OF LITERATURE AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

The intuition of a Kosmos is found in the very cradle of the human race; when man is a child gazing on childish things. Philosophy, or the Science of the Kosmos of Mind, springs up from the grave of the past, having its root in the soil fertilized by the sweat and blood of departed generations and peoples, and being propped and trained by the Spirits of those devoted heroes of Humanity.

The former is the original endowment of the human race, and the special patrimony of its noblest tribes; philosophic speculation and science is the hard-won conquest of individual minds in later ages, the glory of the highest type of national life, by which life is begotten and nurtured and sustained.

In the great Epos of human history which arises out of the reciprocal influence and conflict described in the last

Section, we distinguish among every people two epochs. The first is that of the formation of language and myths. During this epoch, phenomena are coined into sounds, as symbols of ideas, and man's consciousness of God is expressed in sacred legends and rites. It is in so far necessarily the age of the Gods and Heroes. The monuments of the construction of language are the languages themselves; in the growth of a religion, its monument may be simply a word,—the name of the object of worship—or a rite; or side by side with the name and rite, there may exist a tradition, or revelation, teaching its significance. The aim of the tradition is to explain the meaning of the object or phenomenon in which Man's consciousness of God has mirrored itself. This object is either a natural or an historical phenomenon. In the former case, in the mirror of Nature is formed the *Nature-Mythus*. Heaven and Earth, Æther and Light and similar phenomena are invested with a semi-divine, semi-human personality, and the sentiments, actions, and passions appropriate to this personality are ascribed to them. All this is originally mere symbol, generated by the religious sense and shaped by the artistic impulse. Where, on the other hand, the tradition rests on an historical phenomenon the *Historical Mythus* is formed; but in this case, too, it is no more than a riddle; the symbolical language of the religious consciousness. The person around whom the tradition centres is conceived in a purely ideal form, and the historical element is converted into a legend, in which the ideal conception reflects itself.

During the second epoch, the same impulse which has laid the foundation of the common religious worship, and in language created the means of a mutual understanding about men and things, unites into nations the families that have ripened into tribes, and forms States, which are the highest expression of the spontaneous reunion of the scattered members of Humanity. The same impulse next inspires men to creations of art and science; that is to

say, the shaping out of the True and Good into the Beautiful, and the recognition of the unity of these three Ideas in God.

In the former period, the half-unconscious intuition of the Kosmos, working in the mind of the Community predominates; in the second, the conscious intelligence and creative action of the Individual. The innate intuition of a Kosmos gives the impulse to a philosophy of the history of Mankind. But in the attempt to carry this out, the childlike intuition comes into collision with the awakening consciousness of the individual. For the speculation of the understanding begins with doubt; it puts the question whether faith and the instinctive presentiment do not deceive? whether there really exists a Divine order of the world? Such doubts can only be solved by the further progress of philosophy, but such a progress is inevitable. Intuitive apprehension must grow into knowledge; presentiment into consciousness. The history of mankind starts with intuition, it must end with intelligent apprehension. This is the way, and philosophy is our guide along this heavenward path.

During the centuries occupied by this process of development, these two—the intuitive apprehension, and intelligent reflection—the popular religious consciousness, and the philosophical investigation of the same—are often brought into tragical conflict with each other. At such times, the religious consciousness seems the waning, and philosophy the waxing power in the strife, inasmuch as the latter strenuously denies much that the former confidently affirms. Nay, the two often assume so hostile an attitude towards each other, that they wage a war of life and death, since each challenges for itself the universal consent of mankind, and each perceives the weaknesses and shortcomings of the other. This discord is one element of the tragical destiny of man; but like every truly tragic complication, it has its solution. For in all ages, the pious man who is wise, and the wise man who

is pious, finds the reconciliation and harmony of both in life, in moral action.

But besides this, there is also a reconciliation with faith by means of art and science ; and this is of the greater importance both for the individual and for the community in proportion as intellectual culture increases. He who is beloved by the Muses beholds the solution also in representative art. For as in life, so in art, there reveals itself that unity which the human heart demands and seeks ; that primal sense that the Good is True, the True Good, and the Beautiful, the divine revelation of both—the true representative of the Good. The perception of the reasons of this truth is the highest philosophy, and its most perfect form the picture of universal history.

The intuitive apprehension of the Kosmos is consequently the product of the common consciousness of the popular mind, and its organs are seers and poets. The intelligent contemplation of the Kosmos is, on the contrary, the work of the individual mind, which deliberately investigates, and strives to make itself aware of the grounds of its belief. The former recognizes three ages of the world, the middle one of which has many subdivisions. Its earliest song is the echo of that which the tribes have saved from the wreck of the primeval epoch, and treasured up with the sense of the one undivided Humanity that ever survives within their heart. Its middle period is the hymn of worship, and the lays of sorrow and rejoicing with which the nations wander to and fro over the battle-fields and seed-fields of life. Its latest song announces dimly the remote destinies and ultimate end of the existing human race. The intelligent contemplation of the Kosmos knows only one of these periods, the middle one ; but for her, too, its image is framed by the first and the last ; and thither it equally directs thought and inquiry.

SECTION X.

THE ANTITHESIS OF THE ATTESTATION AND FURTHERING OF THE
RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS BY MEANS OF ART AND LITERATURE,
OR BY MEANS OF THE STATE.

In the preceding pages we have intimated that the divine artistic impulse, innate in man, impels him to affirm and to realize in his social relations his inward sense of God's presence in the course of human events. This he does first through art and literature; secondly through the State.

The artistic impulse may assume three forms, according as it strives to realize the Beautiful, the True, or the Good; and there are two stages in the process by which the human mind accomplishes this work. In the earliest ages, the formation of language and sacred rites attests the existence of a religious consciousness in the world. Language is itself primeval art and science. Religious cultus is the climax of this earliest art and science, and at the same time the expression of the primeval ethics. Language takes up the multifarious objects of the outer world and classifies them under their respective definitions, *i. e.* according to their qualities, and thus constructs an instrument in which the mind itself may be reflected. This process takes place in accordance with Man's innate sense of Beauty, whether that of relation, or that of plastic form. It is, therefore, the primitive germ of architecture and music, and equally of painting and sculpture.

A similar process takes place also with the products of the religious instinct, whether they refer to the universal origin of things, or to the special origin of a nation or tribe. It is the Unity of the Kosmos which is represented by the cultus; and it is the postulated First Cause of the phenomena which man is attempting to name and to understand and to declare. In this effort, the artistic no less than the intellectual faculty is called into play. But the deepest root of this primary cultus lies in Man's sense

of the Moral Order of the world, and of his own relations to the Cause of that Order.

From the very commencement of this process, various special features present themselves, which in the progress of development assume historical prominence. Especially conspicuous is the antithesis between Thought and the energetic Will; or the contrast between the preponderance of the intellectual or of the practical side of human nature.

One portion of the nations dives with wonderfully deep insight into the essential ideas of the Causality of the World's Order, which they set themselves to represent. Such is the case in the primeval epoch with the originators of deep-thoughted and poetical mythologies, who invest with personality the conceptions of the religious consciousness, and attribute actions and passions to the forces which are supposed to be at work in natural phenomena.

Other nations, again, direct their attention less to the varied play of natural phenomena, than to the expression of the ethical element, the moral intercourse of the human spirit with the Deity.

In the second epoch of the world, the nations of the former class appear pre-eminently as those who by means of art, literature and science reveal, and stamp into a current coinage for all humanity, Man's sense of Natural Religion; the nations of the second class, as those who embody the ethical principle in the State, in the form of Law and Order. The former represent after their fashion the physical Kosmos; the latter the moral and spiritual; the former excel in intelligence, the latter in practical achievement.

It would be extremely one-sided if we were to recognize the development of the religious consciousness only in knowledge, art, letters, and science, and not equally in the act of its realization in the life of society, therefore in the State as the Supreme organized and legal Society. Nowhere does the true consciousness of God in History appear in a nobler aspect than in the free moral practice

of Goodness, and in the wisdom and courage which erect good institutions, and then support, promote, and defend them to the death. The whole course of history testifies as loudly against such a one-sidedness as against its opposite, and condemns every putting asunder of that which rightfully belongs together.

Both in the life of the Individual and the Community, nothing is perfect in conception till it has been realized in action, and nothing can be perfectly realized in action without an intelligent apprehension of its Idea. Never yet has a philosophy of Humanity, except in prophecy and presentiment, outstripped what has been realized in practical life; only that which *is*, can be satisfactorily reduced to formulas. Divinely-inspired personages, who shine rather by their life than by their thought or its expression, and valiant nations filled with zeal for right and justice, who act without philosophical system, are not only the luminaries of actual history, but also as archetypes, constitute the grand lever and incentive to the faculty of scientific apprehension. But the highest object of all is Thought that has become flesh and blood, the conscious moral act.

The abstract idea does not exhaust the self-motive force of personality, welling up from the fulness of moral freedom; no more can any personality in its outward manifestation correspond absolutely to its animating idea. For personality cannot transcend the limits of the finite so long as it wears the servant's form of its visible manifestation; whilst Thought can pursue the Ideal unchecked, and attain in Humanity at large its perfect unfolding and accomplishment under temporal conditions. No reality can be understood apart from its idea, but equally no idea can be fully apprehended apart from its realization in History.

SECTION XI.

THE HISTORICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE IDEAL OF HUMANITY
AMONG THE NATIONS.

The antithesis which we have been expounding between the realization of man's sense of the Infinite, on the one hand by thought, art, and science, on the other by the moral act of its affirmation in law and polity, appears to run through the whole course of history; not, however, that its terms are antagonistic, but mutually supplementary. As in the life of the individual there is always a preponderance either on the side of the intellectual or the practical faculty, so it is also in history, and especially in the development of the human side of religion, of Man's consciousness of the Divine agency in human affairs. It will not be contested that the Ideal of this consciousness has found its three great historical depositaries in three nationalities: in the Hebrews during the earliest epoch; in the Hellenes during the second; in the Germans during the third. But it is likewise an historical fact, that in each of these three epochs, these three depositaries of the leading thoughts of mankind have been confronted by three great historical representatives of action. Side by side with the Semitic Hebrews, advance, through the successive stages of their national development, the Zoroastrian Iranians; first as Bactrians, then as Medes and Persians. Semitism, for the first time, takes the shape predominantly of action in that offshoot of Semitic intuition, the world-conquering Arabian Mohammedanism. By the side of the Hellenes, with their intellectual creativeness, and their devotion to liberty, stand the Romans, with their genius for legal organization and for universal government; finally, by the side of the Germans, we behold, first, the cognate Romanic races, and then, the kindred English.

On this subject, another remarkable fact immediately forces itself on the eye. All the chosen vessels of *thought* have been federal nations; all the chosen vessels of *act*

have been nations of a single polity; in accordance with a law of universal history which will find its full accomplishment only in the true Federal State.

If now, secondly, we consider the relation between the form assumed and the stage reached by the religious consciousness, we find that it has only developed itself organically as a pious intuition of the Kosmos in its full spontaneity and richness among these three nations—the Hebrews, the Hellenes, and the Germans. But the philosophy of history has been received as a divine seed from the Hellenic nature, born into humanity in Christianity out of its rude Jewish husk, nurtured and trained more especially by the Teutonic intellect.

Christianity restored to the elect among the nations of antiquity the conception and the sense of the One undivided Race of Man. Thereby it became a mirror in which human history can reflect itself, as the Kosmos of the tangled and apparently aimless movements of the nations, and as the harmony of the jarring discords of their varied destinies. Christianity found the Jews “enemies of mankind,” and averse to the blending of things divine and human—consequently to progress; it found the Greeks sunk in the idolatry of their own intellect and sense of beauty; the Romans petrified in the contemptuous pride of their egotism. Not until these had all met as brethren in the darkness of the catacombs, and in an open yet secret covenant consecrated themselves as children of God to the liberty of the Spirit, by vows resting on thankful faith in the self-sacrificing Divine Love, did the Teutonic mind awaken with all the vigour and energy of youth to the first sense of a renewed Humanity. It accepted the new doctrine with childlike faith, and founded on it a Christian polity. The genuine Germanic life of the free cities released this polity from the chrysalis of feudalism. Thus nurtured, the human mind attained to a consciousness of its high destinies through the influence of two great events, viz. the rise of Astrology into Astronomy, and the establish-

ment of intellectual freedom by the Reformation of the Church in the sixteenth century. To Astronomy it owes the perception that this earth is only one part of a whole, which moves and is sustained by identical laws; to the Reformation, the consciousness that there is no consolation save in conscience, and no conscience apart from the moral responsibility of a personal faith. But the human mind attained its majority only by means of the philosophical investigation of fact, and the reflection of man upon his own history and the eternal laws of his development.

Thus, as regards the great ideas that have inwrought and moulded humanity, their organs, as we have said, are the kindred races of Shem and Japhet whose union Christ of set purpose accomplished, Paul confirmed, Christian Greeks and Romans, and above all Germans, have sealed with their testimony. But the constructing of a philosophy of the religious consciousness in man has been successfully attempted only by the Japhetic intellect.

Finally, the philosophy of History as a science first came into being at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and hitherto has been almost exclusively pursued by Germans, from Leibnitz first to Lessing and Kant, then by Herder, and lastly by Schelling and Hegel. Its realization in the freedom of religious cultus, of the Church and of the State, is the prerogative of the Dutch and, to a still higher degree, of the Anglo-Saxon British race. In our view the true Christian polity is the embodiment of the Divine idea of Justice and Freedom wrought out into the life of a people. This realization has been effected with such pre-eminent energy and typical completeness by the English people, that it would be absurd at the present day not to acknowledge freely the leadership that this people has thus attained in the great race of nations.

SECTION XII.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE FOLLOWING CHAPTERS.

The history of Man's theories of the universe, considered in its purely spiritual aspect, falls into two great divisions: that before, and that since the introduction of Christianity. Of the former, the chief representatives on the one side are the Hebrews, on the other the Greeks and Romans; of the latter the Christian nations, whether Romanic or purely Teutonic. In the midst, between these two courses of development, stands the divine Personality of JESUS OF NAZARETH;—no *product* of the ancient world, yet its *consummation*; no mere *herald* of the new world, but its abiding Archetype; the perennial well-spring of life to Humanity through the SPIRIT. In our delineation, therefore, we shall set this unique personality in its true place in the world's history, namely between the two halves of which it is the connecting link. We shall, moreover, be led to take this course because, both at the opening and conclusion of our whole historical survey, we shall have to fix our reader's eye on the Book of Humanity; I mean the Bible, of which Christ and the founding of His Church, form the climax and termination. As with Jesus himself, so with the Bible, the clue to its deepest significance is not to be sought within the Jewish horizon where its scenes are laid, but in the broad horizon of Humanity. This significance is manifested personally in its highest completeness in the "*Son of Man*," nationally in that central portion of the Hebrew conception of God which has become typical for mankind. The possibility of the Bible exerting a practical influence on the spiritual and intellectual conflicts of the present and the future, whether for individuals or for nations, depends on the recognition and establishment of this principle.¹

¹ The following paragraphs in the original contain a sketch of the plan of the work; but as the division here indicated was not followed out in the

Our second Book will exhibit the leading features of the religious consciousness of the Hebrews; the third will be chiefly devoted to that of the pre-Christian Aryans of Eastern Asia, introduced by a survey of their precursors in the primitive Asiatic world—the Egyptians, Turanians, and Chinese; the fourth, to that of the pre-Christian Aryans in Asia Minor and Europe, including the Hellenes, the Romans, and the Teutons. In the fifth Book, we shall consider the religious consciousness of the Christian Aryans; and in the sixth, take a general retrospect of the results to which our investigations have conducted us. In our historical surveys we shall, as far as possible, adopt the following method.

Our delineation of each national type of religious consciousness will begin with the *popular intuition* of the Kosmos, and end (so far as this point may, in fact, be reached in the particular instance) with the *philosophical speculation* which discusses in a more or less strictly scientific method, the universal questions that present themselves to our intellect, and the primary grounds of all our knowledge. But between these two, comes the consideration of the political institutions, the artistic creations, and the cultivated literature, whether that of speculation, poetry, or prose. In literature, philosophical speculation appears rather as expository and tentative than as scientifically demonstrating. However, not only the artistic and literary, but also the purely philosophical aspect in which human history presents itself to any people rests on an earlier, more or less unconscious, theory of the universe, common to the particular race or nation, which theory manifests itself first as the formative principle of language and cultus, and subsequently in the shape of tradition. To have shown this to be a Law in the history of the human mind, and thereby to have laid the foundation for

later volumes, which were in great part written after this volume was already published, the translator has substituted a sketch of the work as it stands.—TR.

a true philosophy of the world's history, is the greatest merit of the German critical School, whether philosophical, historical, or philological.

Less fully, however, has this School developed a second Law, by which the first is limited and supplemented; namely, that as all history, so likewise does all tradition and mythology take its rise from certain great Individuals. The fountain-head of all life and the only possible human cause of any development is Conscious Personality. The eternal law of every effect in history as in nature, is the preponderating efficiency of its cause. The effect could not exist without the cause; but the personal cause is not merged into its effect; the essence of the causal personality is not exhausted by any imaginable portion of its impersonal embodiment. Abraham was not the cause of Christ; but Christ is the cause of every Christian development, more especially of those of the Apostolic age; yet that period no more exhausts His agency than any later age. To have neglected this law in philosophy, and to have overlooked it in their researches, is the greatest defect in the German School.

Each of our expository Books will therefore, like the course of history itself, begin with the religious consciousness of great individuals, and end with the exhibition of its practical embodiment and its philosophical treatment. In carrying out this plan, we wish to make it evident in the first place that the philosophy of history rests upon that primeval consciousness of Mankind, which reveals itself in the earliest history of each aboriginal nation as an intuition of the Kosmos. For that intuition starts from a sense of the Moral Order of the World, in which Order the individual and the whole human race have their place, and which is recognized or vaguely guessed to be the eternal ground of the destinies of men and nations. We wish, therefore, to demonstrate by facts that language and mythology, the deposit of the first great period of humanity, and subsequently poetry and plastic art and the organiza-

tion of social life in its religious and political relations—the monuments of the second period—are nothing else than the earlier forms of the philosophy of Humanity, and that the true philosophy will attest by fact and explain by reason the dim notions which have preceded it.

At the same time, we desire to point out that those earlier phases of thought retain their rights upon their own peculiar domain, after knowledge and science have appeared upon the field. The type is there for the fulfilment; the unconscious creative effort tends ultimately towards that conscious apprehension, which itself is destined to pass into a higher stage of creative effort. In both these epochs, the popular representation of human conception is the prophetic voice of Humanity, and that which it predicts is science. But the men of science have no higher goal than to become once more the priests of Human Consciousness; as those illustrious historical Personages were in their day, who stand at the summit of all the national development to which they gave the original impetus. The priests of science cannot speak without words, and words are but the myths of ideas. They cannot create without art, and it is art which has lent form and independent vitality to the flower of these myths. Finally, they cannot themselves lead a life worthy the name, without religious and political vitality. Religion, that is to say, prayer, is the converse of the soul with her Creator, the pulse-beat of the Infinite Being in Man, the tidal beat of Eternal Life in Humanity; while the political organization of the community is the practical attestation of the religious sentiments, the fulfilment of the vows uttered in worship.

All this we shall strive to render visible by exhibiting the pith of the oracles and traditions of the most enlightened nations; so far at least as they have expressed in those utterances their belief and knowledge with regard to the moral order of the world, and its eternal laws. Such a representation of actual facts must, it seems to us,

carry the test of its correctness within itself. If our fundamental assumption be true, the eternal truth of the Idea in History will not be found to be something isolated, and, as it were, accidental, like a chance vein of gold in a barren ore, still less as a mere semblance of gold to deceive the searcher. Rather, on our assumption, is that which is truly historical the only full, genuine, organic realization of Thought in Time, of the Infinite in the Finite. The completed evolution is the manifestation of the fulness of Being in the form of Finiteness. As, therefore, in philosophical speculation the laws of Being can be no other than the Eternal Being itself, which has surrendered itself as Will to the form of the Finite, and to the suffering involved in the process of evolution,—so, too, in history, if our assumption has any intrinsic worth, the course of development that already lies before us must exhibit an internal coherence.

Thus the proof of our assertion lies in the success or failure of our enterprise. If it display to us no genealogy in the Ideals of Humanity, and if these Ideals have not actually swayed Mankind, there can be no organic connection in the series of great personalities whose history lies recorded before us for four or five thousand years. In that case, too, there can be no moral divine order of the world cognizable to rational beings. It may remain an object of that faith which demands no proof, but it cannot be the object of a rational faith existing in unison with a reasonable life in the actual world. There is nothing left for us but inward discord and doubt, and we must once more look for help to the priest and the Pope; for the Bible stands and falls with human history, of which it is the central point.

If, on the contrary, in spite of the chasms in our records, in spite of the author's deficiencies in knowledge and judgment, and in spite of the fragmentary character of this attempt to set it forth, there reveals itself an Organic Development of the leading Idea of Humanity,

with a constant reciprocal influence of the Individual and the Community,—if the Ideas that have once found expression in history and been embodied in actual life (the conquests of historical humanity), never vanish again, but form the pathway of God in history, the light of heaven amid the darkness of earth,—if, lastly, the fresh controversies continually arising ever issue in higher life for individuals and for nations, and find increasingly satisfactory solutions, then is that proved from which we, in common with the faith of mankind, set out.

Consequently the historical succession of the development of the Ideas of Humanity is the actual Philosophy of History, and therefore the philosophy of life and of practice for individuals and nations. It is consequently also proved that there exists a Divine Order of the World in the highest sense, and that all culture and art and science are nothing else than a living emanation from that Ideal of Humanity.

It is, consequently, also proved that he who is unfaithful to the voice of his reason and his conscience, sets himself in opposition to the universal consciousness of mankind, to the conviction, the confession, and the life of the noblest spirits of all ages, and to the never-changing oracles of God in History. So, too, conversely, he who revolts against the moral order of the world, makes an irrational attempt, and he who does not believe in it is destitute of all religious faith.

Now, as soon as we come to consider more closely the historical conditions which we are seeking to depict, we find the Ideal of Humanity first developing itself in single illustrious personages of the Hebrews. Abraham, Moses, Elijah, Jeremiah and their fellows, are the real individuals who have been the leaders of Humanity. Their ideas have moulded the history of the human mind, and thus given birth to new Empires and fresh types of civilization, and their influence on the moral aspect of the world can never pass away.

Parallel with this Hebrew development, we find, as a younger growth, an entirely independent Iranian Ideal of Humanity, which takes flesh and blood in the Hellenes first of Asia Minor and then of Europe, and attains its crowning point in Socrates and his age.

Again, after the political downfall of both these peoples, we see their respective elements combining to form a new world. And under what impulse? Under that given to Humanity by JESUS OF NAZARETH, whose personality stands unique in the world's history. Thus His image rises before us as the uniting bond of two worlds.

For the reception and vital assimilation of His influences a new national life was needed, and this appeared among the Teutons. The peculiar type of the Teutonic life showed itself first as Teutonic-Romanism mixed with Celtic influences, and later as purely Teutonic mental energy.

When the Germans became part of Christendom, the Church's conception of the Universal Religion was in the act of transmutation into a rigid scholastic philosophy, which contemplated Ideas only through the medium of tradition, and took no account whatever of nature or history. And when this philosophy had outlived its day and fallen into second childhood, it was set to govern the human mind that had arrived at the consciousness of its own powers. Thus did the hierarchy call down upon themselves the sentence of their overthrow.

In the reawakening of the human mind for the last four hundred years, the investigation of the ancient classical world was conjoined with that of the Semitic records, termed in Christian language the Scriptures of the Old Testament, as the principal means of education. Thus the Bible and the Classics became the two great pillars on which the edifice of mental culture and European civilization was reared. With both, the study of Man in all its branches and the investigation of the records and monuments of the ancient world in behoof of that study, was by degrees connected. Side by side with

this development of thought, preceded the revival of the ancient German political life, and the civilization of the community at large. The stream of life grew more mighty; out of the chrysalis of the mediæval guilds sprang a genuine popular life, which in its progress gradually transmuted what had been only national into human characteristics.

If we now from the highest stages of this progressive historical evolution, turn our eye back to consider the import of the records which that most sacred portion of history has left behind, we shall perceive the incontestable fact that Humanity possesses only one such monument, and that this is the Bible.

Thus, from the scientific point of view, no less than by the needs of the present age, we are compelled to try and understand that remarkable book in its world-wide historical significance, free from all theological systems.

The unity of the various books composing the present work, and the justification of their arrangement, lie in two assumptions. The first is, that a representation of the general phenomena presented by universal history in their organic development furnishes a more convincing demonstration than an abstract philosophical chain of argument. The second is the fact, that mankind needs a world-wide mirror, accessible to every one, in which the rays of Man's consciousness of the Divine Being shall be concentrated and reflected, and that such a mirror exists in the Bible.

SECTION XIII.

THE RELATION OF THIS WORK TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY,
AND TO THE HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

After the foregoing, it will not be difficult to define the relation of the following outlines of the history and progress of Man's religious consciousness to the general philosophy of history, and to that which we call the

history and philosophy of religion. The history and philosophy of religious consciousness, in the widest sense, have to give account of its phenomena even where these have not reached the point of a distinct consciousness of the Divine Being. Who can deny depth of thought to the religious consciousness of India? and yet it must take a low place in the history of that of the race at large. God in History is a point very little developed in the religion of the Indian races; the idea of the oneness of mankind is foreign to them; and their actual destinies, nay, real life and outward nature, have become a blank or a curse to them. But even in the religion in which Man's consciousness of God has been the most highly-developed, we have only here to do with that which relates to the belief in a Divine Government of human affairs. This, however, we cannot treat as an isolated topic, but as one member in a collective development, which development, moreover, is advancing towards a mighty issue, and reveals certain laws of evolution and of human progress. We have to exhibit not only the constant presence, but also the growth and the spread, of this world-moulding apprehension of God. Thus, that portion only of the history of philosophy belongs to our province which treats of the law of development and the progress of scientific religious speculation. But from philosophy in the strictest sense—or the science of necessary Thought—our treatise borrows only what is needful to come to a common understanding on the universal Ideas of God, the Universe, and Humanity; and we purposely abstain from using the terminology belonging to any philosophical system.

Finally, the Philosophy of Universal History gives us more and less than the historical exposition of Man's religious consciousness. More, in so far, as starting from the highest point on which we can plant our feet, its task is to discover and exhibit the universal laws that regulate the unfolding of Man's nature, and to demonstrate their

application not alone to religion, but also to language, art, science, and politics. Less, in so far, as it is not its task to enter into the historical delineation of the leading Personages and Ideas with which the history of Man's religious consciousness has to concern itself.

SECTION XIV.

THE IMPORT OF OUR PROBLEM, AND ITS SOLUTION FOR THE CIRCUMSTANCES AND WANTS OF THE PRESENT DAY.

Our Fifth Book will give the documentary proof of what we have merely indicated above ; that the faith in the Moral Order of the world and the possibility of discovering its laws as those of a progressive development, is the common ground of the great school of speculative philosophy from Leibnitz to Hegel. But taking the problem in a wider sense, we might also say that its solution has been the aim of all European philosophy of the past and present century, that has borne any fruit. This clearly points to what is a desideratum of modern times, and specially of the present moment, not alone in a philosophical, but also in a practical point of view. It is true that we must, in the first instance, seek the solution of our problem in the path of philological, historical, and philosophical research. But this problem is much more intimately connected than superficial observers might be inclined to suppose, with the solution of the great social difficulties of which our present political perplexities are only a secondary symptom. Metaphysical or philological disquisitions can do no more than clear the ground for a representation of the history of Humanity, and specially of Man's consciousness of God, that shall be intelligible to all. Such a representation will be therefore no less ethical and religious than philosophical in its character, and must address itself to the conscience and feelings of the whole educated world. It is not only a scientific shortcoming,

but a national sin and a universal calamity, that, with the exception of Schleiermacher and Rothe, modern German philosophers have so inadequately dwelt upon the ethical element. Still, in all their truly representative men, the masters of our speculation, there is at bottom an indubitable moral earnestness; notwithstanding that in the working out of their systems, pure speculation predominates so greatly as quite to throw into the background both any impartial consideration of actual social conditions and also of the ethical aspect of these conditions. Doubtless this shortcoming is closely connected with the repression of political vitality, not only as one of its causes, but also as its effect. But in any case, the consequences are very serious. The whole problem of science, nay, of humanity itself, presents itself to the German philosophers only as a mighty *process of thought*; beside which, actual life is a thing apart, and, to a considerable extent, of no consequence. And as with the philosopher by profession, so has it been with the majority of thoughtful theologians among the Germans; the philosophical treatment of the moral sentiments and of practice is far less attended to in their writings than that of Thought; the ethical is continually postponed to the speculative.

The philosophy of history has before all else for its vocation to set forth the laws of the spiritual Kosmos with the same clearness and definiteness with which physical philosophy shows us the laws of gravitation and light, and their subsidiary laws regulating the motion of the heavenly bodies. It is not only scientifically, but also practically, just as certain and demonstrable that the Good, the True, and the Beautiful rest upon Eternal Laws, whose infraction conducts individuals and entire nations to infatuation and ruin, as that he is doomed to madness and death who regulates his movements in contravention to the laws of gravity. He who casts himself down from a pinnacle in the persuasion of escaping the laws of attraction and gravitation, is not a whit nearer to insanity and

destruction than he who rebels against the eternal laws of the Moral Order of the world, and unmindful of human limitations, surrenders himself to the dictates of his own blind presumption. He may, in his heaven-storming course, conquer gold-mines or climb a throne, but the all-powerful wheel of human affairs will but the more irresistibly whirl him and his unhallowed work into the abyss. Whoso really believes in this Law as he does in his own existence and reason, may see in it their deepest ground, this man, this people, has a faith and a religion; he who does not, has none. For the laws of the Moral Order of the world have this immeasurable advantage over those of Nature, that we carry within ourselves, in Reason and Conscience, the highest authentication and the inmost key of their truth.

Now, we maintain that the faith in that order of the world is the indestructible, universal ground of all religion as of all ethics and politics; and society in general must be brought to perceive, that to doubt of the order of the world is irrational, because it is impious; and in the same way that to doubt the truth that two and two make four is impious, because it is irrational. The voice of conscience and reason is *One*, and he who holds religion and legal order to be the Supreme Good of individual as of public life, will recoil with horror from the idea of disconnecting either the one or the other from that voice, or building up their throne on a denial of the Reason, or a contradiction to the Conscience of mankind. The true sin against the Holy Ghost is such a contradiction, whether on the field of politics or of religion, to the common conscience of mankind, which is something very different from the often fallacious public opinion of the day. The imperfection which attaches to all the human manifestations of this Divine will is no excuse, much less a justification, for such a sin.

BOOK II.

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF GOD AMONG THE HEBREWS.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS
OF THE HEBREWS.

SECTION I.

THEIR CONCEPTION OF CREATION AND THE LAW.

CONSIDERED in its historical aspect, the religious consciousness of the Hebrews as presented to us in their national traditions and records, has its unity in two profound intuitions, to which the heart of the people clung with sublime tenacity, and which stand before us unique in the ancient world. The first of these intuitions is the consciousness of the unity of the whole human race, and, moreover, the conception of it as a unity corresponding to the Divine unity, a unity of kind. For man is the image of the one God. This fundamental conception of the history of the Creation, of the thought embodied in it, pervades all the Biblical writings, however dissimilar in character. So, too, in all the "men of God," and in the whole history of the nation, we discern this consciousness, never wholly obscured by the prison walls of their characteristic exclusiveness. Mankind is one, for God is one; Mankind must be holy, for God is holy. With this fundamental conception, the second is most intimately allied in its moral aspect; namely, the faith in a gradual development of the human race into a realization of the Good and the True in righteousness and

holiness. This is expressed by the image of a Kingdom of God, the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of man upon the earth.

The former of these fundamental conceptions has struck deep root in the whole Semitic family; it is found in a mythological form in the ancient tradition of the Babylonians. According to Berosus, Bel, *i.e.* the Lord—the Creator of the heavens and the earth—cut off his own head; the Elohim caught up the blood as it flowed down, mixed it with earth and made Man, who thus became endowed with reason. In this conception of the divine act of creation, we perceive that our second root-idea, namely, that of the unity of the human race, is latent; and this, too, has not remained barren among the Babylonians. According to a Babylonian tradition handed down by credible testimony, all men spoke one language, till they were scattered in the building of a great town. But it is only among the Hebrews that the *ethical* idea flowing from these two fundamental conceptions became a living principle. And among them, too, it by no means appears in a distinct shape from the first; nor yet as a definite fact handed down by tradition. On the contrary, we can trace the gradual development of this idea among them through many modifications and diverse formulas. In fact, it alike constitutes the truly distinctive national feature, and the specifically humane—therefore permanent and vitalizing—element in the Jewish history. In substance, we find it already distinctly enunciated in the narrative of the genesis of our world; and from the earliest period of the Jewish polity onwards, it is seen closely intertwined with the collective consciousness of the Twelve Tribes, as constituting the people of Israel, the grandson of Abraham, who was the Friend of God. Both conceptions unite to form a theory of the Divine Order of the World that has left a profound mark on universal history. Under the leadership of the descendants of Abraham—the elect people—all the tribes and generations of man are

destined gradually to become members of the kingdom of God upon earth.

This theory of the world comes out clearly in the two earliest prophets of Humanity—Abraham and Moses. It is the spirit and the convictions of those two wonderful men, which in the course of centuries found their embodiment in the Jewish nation, and are distinctively mirrored in its institutions. Like all Semitic tribes, this people clung with great fidelity and tenacity to their leading men. It is evidently the reverence for these exalted individuals, the admiration of their example and adherence to their ordinances, which have elevated this nation to so high a point, and permanently preserved it from that debasement of the religious consciousness which we see in all the other Semitic tribes. But through being thus set apart, they also became by degrees exclusive and one-sided. There springs up among them a prevailing spirit of formalism in relation to Divine things, issuing in a punctilious slavery to ceremonial, that exercised a narrowing effect upon the intellect. The rites and precepts which were only designed for a fence around the sentiment of universal humanity, that it might be cherished as in a sanctuary, lost their meaning, when the nation no longer looked on itself as the representative of Collective Humanity, but set itself up in contradistinction to mankind at large, as the elect people of God. Much of this must be attributed to the decay and running wild of the religious consciousness in the nations by whom the Hebrews were surrounded. But much must still be referred to the one-sided manner in which the popular mind had worked out the national conception;—a one-sidedness which is inseparable from any national sentiment that isolates itself from the sense of our common humanity in the holiest recesses of its consciousness. What ought to develop into life-giving personality, becomes an impervious shell, and at last stifles the very inner life, which it was simply designed to protect. In order, however, to

attain a correct notion of the religious consciousness existing in the nation at large, and in its typical personages, we must first consider the peculiar place occupied by the prophetic element in the religious consciousness of the Hebrews.

SECTION II.

PREDICTION AND THE PROPHETS.

In the true sense of the word, all the leading personages of the Hebrews were prophets or seers; Abraham and Moses at their head. With Moses, the phenomenon of "open vision" first finds place in the literature of the period, although, strictly speaking, the literary prophets only began to flourish after the division of the two kingdoms, and continued to do so down to the time of the Persian dominion. But taking the term "prophet" in its widest sense, we have, from Moses to Malachi, a spiritual succession lasting nearly a thousand years, which has no parallel in the world's history; and whose historical background—the period reaching back from Moses to Abraham—may probably amount to rather over than under 1,500 years.

The word which we, following the Septuagint, translate "prophet" signifies in Hebrew "one inspired." Its original import is that of seer—man who beholds. *Clairvoyance* (the so-called magnetic sight) and prediction in a state of trance, existed from the earliest times among the Jews as it did among their neighbours; and Joseph, a man who "was a discerner of secrets," and already in early youth had possessed the faculty of open vision,¹ when in manhood living among the Egyptians, divined by gazing into his cup,² as now-a-days an Arab boy of Cairo will divine by looking into his bowl. But the Hebrew prophets were the earliest historical persons in whom the perceptive faculty proper to somnambulism was raised into

¹ See Genesis xxxvii. 5–11.

² See Genesis xlv. 5.

a perception of spiritual things by the Spirit, and thus brought into connection with the moral and rational life of man; they were divine seers, and their second-sight was an inward perception of the soul. Thus Moses, after God had appeared to him in the flame of the burning bush,¹ had seen the Lord Himself, yet only after He had passed by, and was in the act of vanishing; His face no mortal can behold; only His back. Now the face of God is the term used for his Divine similitude; therefore His eternal thought of Himself;² His back is his manifestation in the Finite, consequent upon the Eternal Thought. This vision can be no other than one taking place within the soul, for else God would be conceived as having a finite shape; but such a commingling of the idea of God with anything finite³ is an abomination to the Hebrew. Even the vision of Him (His presence,⁴ the angel of His presence⁵) is conceived of as distinct from Himself. In the instance of Elijah, we find the same idea of beholding God by means of the soul's inner consciousness, but still more forcibly expressed. All the prophetic vision of the Hebrews rests upon this immediate converse of the seer with God as the Spirit. The phenomenon of prophecy is not adequately explained by the hypothesis of ordinary *clairvoyance*, but no more is it by that of rational thought; nay, still less so, for the prophetic element is, strictly speaking, based upon the faculty of *clairvoyance*.

Now, the existence of such a faculty is a simple reality, as much so as the belief in it which pervades all religions and traditions. The faculty of second-sight possessed by man is ordinarily the sinking of the waking consciousness in the realm of emotion. In his waking consciousness, man carries on converse with the external world, and with himself, by means of his senses and reason. The senses convey sensations to him, to the extent

¹ Exodus iii. 2.

² See Exodus xxxiii. 20.

³ See Exodus xxxiii. 22, 23.

⁴ Exodus xxxiii. 14.

⁵ Isaiah lxiii. 9.

corresponding to the power of his organism to react upon them; his reason converts sensation into perception, feeling into thought, the cry of pleasure or pain into an objective word. In this state alone, is man capable of action or intelligent apprehension. When the activity of the senses and therefore especially of sight is suspended, the limitations of space fall away, and in the highest degree of the slumber of the senses, also those of time. It is an established fact, that this state may in rare instances be superinduced by a spontaneous internal stimulus, without the exercise of another's will, and without the intervention of a dreaming condition. Now since all that exists in Nature exists also in Mind, and is destined to be exalted into mind, and since man is in very deed a partaker of the Divine Reason; there must be a clairvoyant condition of the human mind corresponding to its waking condition, when directed to moral or spiritual objects. But this, far from acting prejudicially on the moral life, ought rather to promote it. Hence the proper prophetic state is the moral and spiritual enfranchisement of natural clairvoyance. This is the position of Hebrew prophecy compared to that of the rest of antiquity, and more especially that of the other Aramaic races.

The gift of prophecy among the Hebrews was essentially a beholding of the things of the Spirit, and was chiefly concerned with the life of the community; not so much with what took place in the several tribes, as with their union, which was at once the most important and the weakest side of the political life of all ancient federal peoples. Prophecy was the domain of spiritual freedom in contrast to the forms prescribed by monarchy and hierarchy. Not necessarily of priestly descent nor needing rites of consecration, the only verification of his claims demanded of the prophet was the "witness of power." This power was pre-eminently that of an inspired man in public life. The earliest prophets were by no means men

of letters or even æsthetic bards ; they were the subjects of high spiritual endowment ; men of God, heroes of moral effort and of inspired speech, which out of the fulness of their own faith they poured forth before their nation and its rulers in words of rebuke and exhortation, of encouragement and consolation. They were *leaders of the people*, and representatives of the universal divine and human law, who were themselves inspired by religion and inspired it in others. They upheld the national faith in a divine government of the world, by comforting the people under calamity, bidding them look to the past and the future, and foretelling the retribution and ruin that would inevitably be called down by the tyranny of the princes and nobles, no less than by the vices and backslidings of the people. Even before the rise of the monarchy, we find these men gathered together in schools of the prophets. So too at a later period we see disciples grouped around their master and teacher. Young men who were filled with the Spirit and had the gift of "open vision" attached themselves to the older prophets who traversed the land to discourse to scattered individuals or collective assemblies on the emergencies of the times. They announced visions as oracles of God ; but they never practised augury from outward objects like the haruspicy or onciromancy of the priests of all other Aramaic tribes, nor were they expert jugglers like the Egyptian magicians ; their oracles were voices from the spiritual world. What they mean by a "sign" is some evidence of their veracity, any occurrence, natural in itself, but uncertain at the time they speak—such as whether a woman shall bear a boy or a girl—which, when it takes place in harmony with this prediction, is a guarantee for the truth of the more important message which they had to deliver. This latter relates to some national affair, some event of weighty public moment, but the true import of which belongs to that realm of the Divine Government, which holds this world under its

irresistible sway. Conscience is their judge, history the confirmation of their oracles.

Side by side with these inspired utterances touching the present and the future, there run through all the prophetic writings the sober lessons of the preacher of righteousness, illuminating the past and the present with the light of the Spirit and the moral law, but always appealing to the historical manifestation of the Spirit in the Jewish nation and to the promises made to them. In later times, from the tenth century B. C. onwards, the prophets begin to deliver and to write down their utterances in a regular literary form. Thus it is shortly after the division of the two kingdoms, that in Judæa, prophetic literature commences with Joel, while in the severed kingdom of Israel, appears Elijah, an inspired popular leader formed upon the model of the ancient seers. He announces the will of God by word of mouth only, and takes an active part in public affairs. The series of such prophets continues in uninterrupted succession all through the period of the foreign and intestine conflicts of the people of God, up to the fall of the kingdom of Judæa, which they had foretold beforehand. The noble form of Jeremiah, the greatest of all the historical and literary prophets, fades from our sight together with the monarchy. In misery and continual peril of death he witnessed the fall of the State and the destruction of Jerusalem;—he survived it, but in the silent tomb of an alien land. After he has apparently vanished from the scene without leaving a trace behind, he re-appears in his inspired disciple, who describes in the victorious king of the Persians the dawning hope of deliverance from the Babylonian yoke, and anticipates in a restored Jerusalem, the day of an everlasting redemption, and the establishment of a universal Kingdom of God over the whole earth.

Under the Persian rule, prophecy declines, and concerns itself chiefly with outward things. Yet it retains its dignity by virtue of its high moral earnestness, purity of

sentiment, and believing trust in the future salvation of the Jewish people, and of Mankind at large.

This period closes the line of national prophets, recognized as such by the Jews. But after they were silent, there arose a school of inspired meditation, founded on the prophetic writings, ancient sayings, and spiritual songs now for the first time brought together into one collection. In the Book of Daniel this meditation assumes a prophetic shape. For when the oppression and impiety of the Seleucidæ had grown intolerable, and all hope of deliverance had well-nigh died out in the mass of the people, shortly before the triumph of the great Maccabee, a pious patriot takes refuge in the only remaining mode of free public utterance—ancient prophecy. Popular traditions of Daniel, the pious confessor and seer of a former age, concerning the overthrow of the tyrannical empire and the victory of the kingdom of God, are expanded by him into prophecies, of which the scope and aim is the liberation of Jerusalem and all mankind from tyranny and idolatry. And that was truly a prophecy.

Thus the prophetic literature, strictly so called, stretches from Joel to Malachi, finding a worthy response in the Psalms and the other contemplative books, and a final echo in the Book of Daniel.

The prophetic utterances evidently gush forth from the inspiration of the moment, but yet assume a regular form, inasmuch as they are the fruit of a deeply reflective mind. This is the source of the double-verses, whose first half excites the hearer to attention, while the second echoes its sentiment in a stronger form having the same meaning. This very simple original form, the hemistich, or verse falling into two halves, early developed into an artistic combination of strophes.

In all these lyrics we find the Abrahamic conception of the universe, freed as far as might be from the restrictive, onerous precepts, and outward formalisms of the Law. While presenting the most varied aspects, they all, from

the triumphant Psalms used in public worship, to the voice of the solitary soul in its musings, rest upon a faith in the original Unity of the Human Race, its immediate relationship with God through the Spirit, and the future coming of a Divine Kingdom of truth and righteousness upon this earth. And in so doing the prophetic writings of the Hebrews stand alone in the world's history, yet even at the present day are very imperfectly understood, owing still more to the superstitions of Rabbis and divines, and the ignorance or indifference of philosophers and classical philologers, than to the unbelief and shallowness of untheological expositors and empty babblers.

SECTION III.

THE NECESSITY OF RECOGNIZING THE ELEMENT OF PREDICTION OR PREVISION IN THE PROPHETIC BOOKS.

In the case of the prophetic writings especially, we owe much to the German School of critics, as regards our understanding of their inner meaning; therefore also of their letter, since this is unattainable without arduous philological and historical research. Herder was the first to bring out the higher poetic import of the prophets, and, after him, the scholars who had been fired either by him or by the general kindling of philosophical thought in Germany, from Eichhorn to Gesenius and Umbreit, added critical acumen and solid research to Herder's ingenuity and deep fellow-feeling with humanity. Finally, Ewald has in many instances opened out new paths in the interpretation of these books, not only by a searching grammatical investigation, but also by bringing out the moral earnestness that pervades the Old Testament writings. Still this School fails to give due weight to two important elements. It does not sufficiently recognize, in the first place, the faculty of open vision as an original and generic constituent of prophecy;—nor, secondly, the presence of a metaphysical element in the allegorical

imagery. No true understanding or honest exposition of a large portion of the prophecies is possible without a due appreciation of these two elements, especially the former.

The faculty of clairvoyance or open vision, which is latent in our nature, and which, in the case of the Hebrew prophets, released from the yoke of physical necessity, rose to a true intuition of the universe—that is to say, to a perception of the moral order of the world—forms the key to a considerable part of the prophetic writings, as well as to the influence which they exerted on their age. Not until this element is recognized, does the solution of the perplexities that beset this subject disclose itself. The open vision of the inspired man of God is subject to the laws of all clairvoyance; it needs a faithful translation into the language of rational thought. The true seer beholds in his visions actual facts, as is the case with every honest clairvoyant. Thus Micaiah the son of Imlah sees the children of Israel scattered over the hills returning in disorder to their homes, when Ahab and Jehoshaphat, the two ill-intentioned and ill-advised kings, enquire of him the issue of the war they are about to engage in. But he himself translates this vision into the sober language of reality, and but too soon does the event prove its perfect correctness.

But what then, it will be asked, had been really seen by those four hundred false prophets, who accompanied Ahab, just as two centuries ago astrologers accompanied Wallenstein and others, and as now-a-days clairvoyantes follow in the train of generals and armies? Probably nothing at all; just as is often the case in our own day with the wretched boys and women with whose power of clairvoyance, base avarice or shameful, impure curiosity carry on their vile traffic in our great cities. They are set to declare a vision even though they have had none; they must do so; for the enquirer has paid his money, and the sorcerer drives the spurs of his will relentlessly into their enslaved soul.

Or again sometimes the hireling has really seen a vision ; but he has done so under the influence of his own selfish aims, whether they take the form of avarice or ambition, or of simple vanity. That is to say, his soul is bare of all objective images because its mirror reflects nothing but self. He announces what he has seen, deceived and deceiving. How completely the law of these phenomena pervades the domain of clairvoyance is known to every man who has himself engaged in experiments on this subject.

Now to both these classes, the true seer stands in contrast. His soul is a mirror which simply reflects that which shines into it. But not every vision is so clear as that of Micaiah ; not every question so simple as that which was put to him. The questions proposed are often bound up with the most intricate complications of fate and political action and connected with the most vivid emotions of our nature. The trance comes upon the seer under varied circumstances and in opposite moods of mind ; vision is ranged beside vision, and side by side with it stands sober thought. The prophet Jeremiah, when in his ordinary waking condition, is consulted by Zedekiah like any other counsellor. He has to discuss affairs in accordance with the dictates of his senses and reason and to express himself in the language of rational thought. Again, the vision itself and reflection upon it cross and intersect each other in the seer's mind ; for he does not forget his vision ; it lives in his mind, in the same way that the vision of the clairvoyante lives in the memory of her questioner.

A profoundly tragic problem lies concealed in the union of these two faculties of vision and of intelligent reflection upon it. None may solve it but the true man of God, the pious, faithful seer. This problem presents itself so soon as the prophet becomes an author. Even in so early an age as that of Isaiah, we find him combining the characters of a seer, an author, a councillor of state, and a popular orator and preacher. Jeremiah was

also a seer in the fullest sense ; but in him, the faculties of reflective thought and oratorical utterance are predominant. Baruch, the editor of both, is much more of an author than a seer ; he is a poetical orator ; the rhetorical element comes out in his writings like a clairvoyance of reflective thought. More and more does the vision become a form under which to present reflective thought. It merges into contemplation, but contemplation of an ethical character. In this shape, we find it in Haggai and the younger Zechariah. In Malachi, too, sparks of the seer's inspiration scintillate from the ashes of prose. The Book of Daniel presents the first instance in which the writer avails himself of the form demanded by the age at once to veil and to interpret the events of the past and the present. The prophetic portion of this book only begins when the author turns his eye from the transitory to the eternal. Then we behold the Ancient of Days Himself intervening in the actual present, as the Judge of the World, the Eternal, Who is victorious over all, and causes the Right to prevail through destruction and over destruction.

Thus that which renders the Hebrew prophecy unique is not merely the ethical tone of its thought. Similar moral reflections are to be found likewise in the sermons of divinely enlightened Christian orators, in all ages of the Church ; nay, they meet us again in substance, and in a yet more perfect form, in the lyrical poetry of the Greeks, and the mythical verse of Jelaleddeen Rumi and his successors. Nor does their singular majesty consist in their prediction of external historical events ; this they have in common with many of the Pythian oracles which have been handed down to us from antiquity in a perfectly trustworthy manner, and with many predictions of the clairvoyantes of this century, of which several (such as that of the death of King William I. of Würtemberg in 1815) have documentary attestation, and to some of which I myself can bear witness.

This foretelling of external events is the lowest form of prediction. For here the object seen is precisely the non-rational, the outward fact, and it is one of the characteristics and proofs of the reality and sublimity of Jewish prophecy, that the fulfilment of the prophecy of the Seventy Years just as certainly did not take place literally in seventy years, as that this declaration was actually spoken and committed to writing in the year 604 B.C., the fourth year of Jehoiakim, 69 years before the beginning of the second temple in 536 B. C., the third year of Cyrus. The assignment of seventy years was no doubt the seer's interpretation of his vision. But reckoned from the destruction of Jerusalem (which would appear the most natural reckoning according to the literal acceptance) up to this third year of Cyrus (586-535), there are but forty-nine or fifty years. That Jeremiah himself laid little stress upon the exact number is shown by the counsel given in his missive to the Jews in Babylon,¹ as Ewald has very rightly interpreted the passage. The unique character of the Hebrew prophecy lies rather in the preservation of the spiritual element in union with natural clairvoyance, and the retention of the boundary-line between open vision and rational reflection. How truly this is the case can only be exhibited by individual instances in the course of connected biblical exposition.

SECTION IV.

THE NECESSITY OF RECOGNIZING A METAPHYSICAL ELEMENT IN THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE HEBREWS.

Just as we cannot deny the presence of a predictive faculty connected with the open vision, so also we clearly perceive a certain metaphysical element pervading the whole of the Hebrew religious consciousness. This is already implied in the most sacred name of God, JAH, JAHVEH, JAHAVEH, incorrectly pronounced Jehovah. What-

¹ Jeremiah xxix. 5-21.

ever may be its original derivation (for the name is not exclusively Jewish), yet even as used by Moses, its form and conception admit of no less profound an interpretation than that God is, and remains to all eternity, Personal, Conscious Being itself.

But in the magnificent "Song of Moses"¹ (composed, as I have shown elsewhere, in the time of the first period when the Jews were tributary to an Assyrian viceroy of Mesopotamia), we have an expression which was revived again with great significance in the time of Cyrus, by the inspired poet who wrote the appendix to the prophecies of Isaiah. The expression to which I refer is: "I AM HE" (Ani-hu'). The former passage runs as follows: The poet represents God as speaking of Himself without reference to any antecedent or cogitable subject: "See now that I, I AM HE; and there is no God with me, I kill and I make alive, I wound and I heal, neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand."² The same expression is employed in a similar unconditional and absolute manner by the later Prophet in several passages. The first runs thus:³ "Ye are my witnesses, saith the LORD: and my servant whom I have chosen, that ye may know and believe me, and understand that I AM HE." The second occurs in a chapter following shortly after:⁴ "Hearken unto me O house of Jacob, and all the remnant of the house of Israel, which are borne by me from the belly, which are carried from the womb: And even to your old age I am he; and even to hoar hairs I will carry you: I have made, and I will bear; even I will carry, and will deliver you. To whom will ye liken me, and make me equal, and compare me, that we may be like?" The third runs thus:⁵ "Hearken unto me, O Jacob and Israel, my called: I AM HE; I am the first, I also am the last." Stier remarks very justly that the Rabbis were wrong in calling those weighty words a secret name of

¹ Deuteronomy xxxii.

² Deuteronomy xxxii. 39.

³ Isaiah xliii. 10.

⁴ Isaiah xlvi. 3-5.

⁵ Isaiah xlvi. 12.

the Deity, but that we cannot doubt that in that prophetic language the Lord designated Himself by the most peculiar and elevated appellation possible. Among the Arabs, the personal pronoun "He" has actually become a name of God.¹

On the other hand, it is not to be denied that the same expression is several times found, in the same author, combined with a participle (e. g. "I am speaking"). Thus we find it in Isaiah xliii. 25 ; comp. v. 13 ; li. 12 ; lii. 6 ; and therefore in ordinary usage it would scarcely mean more than I AM, or I AM THERE BEING, or existing. But it is scarcely possible to deny the presence of the deeper meaning in some of the words of Jesus reported by John ; as when he says :² "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was I AM," compared with v. 24 and 28 ; "I said therefore unto you that ye shall die in your sins : for if ye believe not that I AM HE, ye shall die in your sins." "Then saith Jesus unto them, When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye know that I AM HE, and that I do nothing of myself ; but as my Father hath taught me, I speak these things."

It will therefore probably be most correct to say that, in this mode of expression, we have the germs of a purely metaphysical element in the Hebrew religious consciousness. And that it should be so is very intelligible. The expression "I AM HE" is really neither more nor less than a more conscious "Jahveh." It would be strange if such a germ were wanting among so deeply thoughtful a people. The metaphysical element, that is to say, the knowledge of that Unity, without the assumption of which, no word and no proposition can be formed, is never entirely absent where a deep ethical intuition prevails. But the degrees in which this idea is

¹ Thus Lessing, in his "Nathan," says :—

Ja so
Nur Euer Er heisst Er ; das sollt' er nicht,
Und wenn er auch ein Engel wäre, nicht.

² John viii. 58.

consciously developed may be very diverse. Now prophecy in itself, in its simplest form, presupposes an immediate relationship between God and man; and since God is also acknowledged and adored as the Eternal Reason, there must be in man an apprehension of the same. But to dive into the mysteries of the Divine Essence, the Semite does not venture; he is awe-struck by the mystery of the Eternal, regarded as the self-existent Infinite. To look on God as He is in Himself, he never dares; and even in the government of the world, it is pre-eminently in the character of the alone Holy and Righteous One that he regards God; the great Being whose judgments he sees and adores with pious awe, both in the dispensations of his own life and in those of mankind at large, in the fortunes of his own people and those of surrounding nations.

It is in this sense, as it seems to me, that we must understand that obscure saying of the ancient wise man Agur the son of Jakeh: ¹ "Thus saith the man to WITH-ME GOD: to WITH-ME GOD and I AM STRONG: Surely I am more brutish than any man, and have not the understanding of a man. I neither learned wisdom, nor have the knowledge of the holy. Who hath ascended up into heaven or descended? who hath gathered the wind into His fists? who hath bound the waters in a garment? who hath established all the ends of the earth? what is His name, and what is His Son's name, if thou can'st tell?" In these questions I cannot, like Ewald and others, see a really incomprehensible query; I rather perceive in them a confession of ignorance respecting the Divine Being, the laws of nature, and the order of the universe. From which the lesson is drawn for the truly wise, therefore pious man, that he ought faithfully to keep the law, and not strive to add aught to it of his own wisdom. This is actually said in the succeeding verses, which contain the true answer to these questions:

¹ Proverbs xxx. 1-4.

“Every word of God is pure ; He is a shield unto them that put their trust in Him. Add thou not unto his words, lest He reprove thee, and thou be found a liar.”¹ To the Hebrew, as to others, the highest subject of thought is undoubtedly the search after the solution of the deepest of all mysteries—the relation of the Divine to the human, the intercourse of Heaven with earth. The fact of this spiritual intercourse is indicated already in the vision that the patriarch Jacob beheld in his dream of a ladder reaching up to heaven, with the messengers of the Lord ascending and descending upon it ; this is also the case in the evidently symbolical account of his wrestling with the Lord for His blessing.

But what is the meaning of that mysterious expression, “And what is His Son’s name ?” The context clearly shows that in this passage the Son of the Almighty Creator is not Nature, the origin and upholding of which has been already described as God’s work, but the spirit of Man. Men are all children of God, sons of the Creator and Ruler of the world. But he who is His Son in a special sense is the pious humble man, not he who, proud of his own wisdom and knowledge of God, exclaims, “With me is God ; I am strong !”

Now to sum up the passages we have considered, we must recognize that the Hebrew religious consciousness from the beginning regarded God as the Self-existent Eternal One, apart from any relation which He bears to the Creation. This consciousness we also detect in the other Semitic religions, but in them it is overgrown by the rank luxuriance of their mythologies, as I have shown in the fifth book of my work on Egypt.

We are also quite justified in saying that in those expressions the thought is latent:—God, the self-conscious One, is also the true and Eternal Being. From which follows to the philosopher who goes deeper, that thereby Being and Thought are placed on a level.

¹ Proverbs xxx. 5, 6.

But we should not be therefore the least justified in assuming that the Hebrew men of God had themselves ever drawn these inferences of dialectic thought from the terms in question. Still more foolish would it be to assume that such terms originated in any dialectic course of thought. The whole history of the Hebrew religion proves the contrary. We shall encounter this question again in a more definite form when we come to consider the instances of beholding God (the Theophany) in the histories of Moses and Elijah.

CHAPTER II.

THE FOUR LEADING PERSONS IN THE HISTORY OF THE
HEBREW RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS.

By Leading Persons we understand those who, apart from their writings (where they have composed any), have by their deeds and life notably contributed to mould and elevate the religious consciousness of their nation, and who have been regarded by posterity as the types and organs of their holiest ideas and grandest destinies. According to this definition, among the Hebrews we find four such Persons, towering far above all others; namely Abraham, Moses, Elijah, and Jeremiah. Of these, the last alone has left writings of any considerable extent. Abraham and Elijah wrote nothing at all, and Moses very little, but their living words have endured to all generations, their names are enshrined in the love and reverence of their nation, and their noble acts abide in eternal glory. Hence we must regard these men as typical; as those who above all others have stamped their personality upon the religious consciousness of their nation, and given it permanence.

SECTION I.

ABRAHAM THE FRIEND OF GOD.

The first of these immortal heroes is the wise, pious, and righteous patriarch of the Hebrew tribe, Abraham, the Friend of God. If, divesting the accounts of Abram, or Abraham, of all that is impersonal and relates to the general history of his tribe, we fix our eyes on the simple

family history of Abraham, the husband of Sarah, and great-grandfather of Joseph, the Egyptian viceroy, a grand historical figure rises before us. In the first place, we are able to draw a historical sketch of his outward life. We see him as a powerful chieftain of his clan in Hebron (then called Kirjath-Arba, the city of the giants), after he had emigrated from Mesopotamia into Palestine — then occupied only by wandering tribes without national unity—in order to seek for himself and his herds, a place among the mixed multitude of Canaan.

But far more important is the history of his inward life. We see in him the type of a noble-hearted and high-minded man, who after long inward conflicts has been the first to break the curse of slavery to the bloody worship of Moloch, with its rites of infanticide and human sacrifices; and who was able to do this because he esteemed the voice of God, speaking directly through his reason and conscience, higher than all the traditions of his fellow-clansmen.

It was by virtue of this faith in the infallible inward voice of God speaking in the soul, that he renounced the bloody rites of his forefathers, and introduced the saving symbol of circumcision. No doubt the custom of offering up the first-born and other human sacrifices, which he abjured with horror and prohibited to his household and posterity, was also originally a symbol; but it was an immoral, irrational, impious symbol. Circumcision recognized the fundamental idea of the former human sacrifices—that the Natural ought to be lost in the Spiritual, the Finite devoured by the Infinite; nay, it may have been a compromise with those rites; but it now received a moral significance, and became a consecration of the children by their parents to God as His property. It became also a thankful vow on the part of the parents to train their children in God's law.

Doubtless to many among his clansmen and neighbours, Abraham's faith and courage appeared in the light of

godless philosophy, arrogant "private judgment," nay, criminal insurrection against Moloch and his priests. But Abraham possessed this faith and this courage because he had recognized through his reason and conscience the true "Moloch," the real "King" and "Lord" of the spiritual world, Who speaks to Man, His image, through his spirit and conscience. The sense of rational moral freedom was to him the complement or necessary concomitant of an inward personal faith in God. This God, and Him alone, he dared to adore. Though much tried and childless, he yet clung to the persuasion that this faith would not die out with himself, but would be kept alive in his descendants, and through them imparted to all nations. This fidelity to conviction he had already displayed in emigrating from his native home. Already, when crossing the Euphrates, it had been revealed to him in the inmost depths of his soul, that this faith in the moral order of the world was the only faith that had a future; a sentiment expressed by the phrase that in "him shall all families of the earth be blessed" (or know themselves to be blessed).¹ Even his long years of childlessness failed to shake his trust; he was supported by his steadfast belief; or, as it is said, the Lord "counted it to him for righteousness."² But that earliest word of prophecy, whose deepest meaning it was reserved for Jesus of Nazareth to disclose, has received a yet grander fulfilment during the lapse of the last two thousand years, than that which it had already received when it was committed to writing in the records that lie before us. Verily, all "families of the earth" have been blessed in Abraham, as declared by the tradition and belief of the Jews, of all Christian and Mahomedan nations, and no less by the testimony of universal history. Of Jews, Christians, and Moslems alike, their cherished religious convictions and their theory of the universe may be traced back to the noble form of Abraham. His faith is the common

¹ Genesis xii. 3.

² Genesis xv. 6.

historical groundwork of their religions as opposed to all idolatrous worship. It is Abraham's conscientious faith in the moral order of the universe, and the religious consciousness evolved out of that faith, which have transformed the world. The nations which have made it their own are those which by divine and human right govern the earth. Thus this great spiritual deed we hold to be in substance strictly historical, for it is in harmony with all other traits of Abraham's life, and all the various historical notices of him find in it their unity. The theory of the universe held by this man, more free and spiritual than that of the Jewish Law, found for the first time its conscious personal realization and fulfilment in Jesus of Nazareth, who declared to the Jews: "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, he saw it, and was glad." There is no higher example of faith in the Progress of Humanity than the consciousness of this man, who, amidst sharp inward conflicts and outward battles with the idolatry of the degenerate Semites around him, holds fast his confidence in the reality of God's voice speaking through Reason and Conscience, wrestles in mind till he has won a faith in the living God, grasps this faith with a firm hold, and grounds upon it holy customs and laws for his descendants, and lastly beholds in hope its establishment hereafter as the common possession of all mankind. Abraham is able to do all this, because he finds the warrant for his faith not only in reason and conscience but also in the events and experiences of his life; and because he acts in obedience to this faith. This is the world-wide import of Abraham's faith and hope. As the oak proceeds from the acorn, so do universally-observed customs proceed from a Person; and hence we reverence, in Abraham, a great personality which we can understand and admire, and which is, moreover, the most ancient with which history presents us. With him commences Modern History, that is to say, the history of moral personalities and their influences.

What we possess of Abraham's life is chiefly the epical account dating from the epoch of David and Solomon ; but some valuable details have been added by an editor of the eighth century B.C., among others the narration of Abraham's expedition against the king of Sodom.¹ This document alone would suffice to prove that Abraham had a real, historical existence, and was therefore the great-grandfather of Joseph. For it is not conceivable that the story of that expedition, which had no immediate influence on the fortunes of his descendants, should have been historically transmitted to us, if the personal and family history of Abraham had been mythical, as is no doubt the case with the story of Abram, the father of many races, contained in Gen. xv. 1-4. Relying on the authenticity of the records of his personal life, we are justified in assuming that the account of Abraham's vision after his sacrifice is based on an ecstatic fact, of which we easily discover the meaning, if we regard the external details as merely illustrating the manners of the times, while we look on the vision superinduced or promoted by their means as the main fact, and see in it a quickening of the soul's consciousness of God. To sum up all in one sentence, Abraham's is the most ancient moral personality in the world's history ; the revelation made to him was like all true revelation, the inward working of God's Spirit within his soul, attested to him by its intrinsic moral reasonableness, and by the joy-inspiring power of his faith in it ; and it has influenced the history of mankind by the universal adaptation to human wants of its grand idea, which has made it operative from his day up to our own.

¹ Genesis xiv.

SECTION II.

MOSES, THE LAWGIVER AND PROPHET.

1. *The Central Point in the Mosaic Theory of the Universe is the Directness of Man's Consciousness of God.*

Moses, our second representative man, is an unquestionably historical personage both as regards the account of his origin and of the events of his life. His form stands on a like eminence with that of Abraham, whose great work he continued on the wider field of general history. Though more judaic and specific than his great predecessor, more a man of action than a seer, yet, in his influence on the religious perceptions of mankind at large, Moses ranks only second to Abraham, and to that great divine and human Person Who was the Fulfilment of Abraham's vision. Moses is the connecting link between those two, Abraham and Christ; although by his limitations forming in some sense a contrast to both; for his Law was the schoolmaster, to prepare the way for the universal gospel of the love of God. It is this its mediatorial attitude which has given its significance to the Mosaic religion and Law, and determined the course of its development. It is one feature of this development that the Abrahamic religious consciousness should ally itself more especially with the Sense of Nationality, though not renouncing that of Humanity. With Moses, as with Abraham, the free moral law, engraven in indelible characters upon the human heart by reason and conscience, reposes on the belief that mind speaks to mind, that an eternal, immediate relation subsists between God and Man; a ladder reaching from heaven to earth. But with Moses, the leading idea that shines forth both in his redeeming work and in his precepts is, that through this faith in God's order of the world, he will be enabled to achieve the deliverance of his people, now groaning in

wretched bondage; and that this faith is destined to become the corner-stone at once of civil legislation and of sacred institutions. Abraham's theory of the world builds up a holy race, that of Moses, a great, free nation.

While the individual enlightened man is to exchange the inward and outward sway of physical necessity for the free moral law, so for the Community, ethical precept is to be substituted for external religious observances and the empire of force. Man, with his free moral volition, stands face to face with God, Who loves him and demands his love in return; the powers of nature which surround him are subject to that God Who has His throne in the Spirit. Even his physical powers and the external details of common daily life may and ought to be brought into subjection to the ethical law declaring itself through the conscience. Herein consists the moral freedom of man, that he shall be delivered from the bondage of selfishness, for thereby he is also freed from the yoke of necessity, from the physical forces within and around him, and soars above the limits of finite existence up to God Himself. Such a principle contains within itself the ideal of universality. The God who dwells in the conscience is the only true God of all mankind; for this conscience exists in each human breast, or has existed there, before it was sinned away. The gods of all nations are subject to him; *i.e.* all special national consciousness is to be subordinated to the universal law, and gradually to expand into it. This truth is not annulled by the circumstance that God is connected by a special bond with the children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The covenant of God with Humanity precedes the special covenant, which is but its renewal and particular application. Or to express ourselves in philosophical language, the Transitory, and therefore still more the Particular, has its ultimate ground in the Permanent, in the Idea of the Universal Order, which reveals itself in the Moral Conscience. And this, under a historical form, is the faith

of the Hebrews; the belief in God's covenant with Adam and with Noah.

Now, however this idea may seem to be obscured by the outward ordinances which were evidently extorted from Moses by the force of circumstances, and the universal human element to be restricted by Jewish narrowness and priestly prescription, yet the moral spirit remains free, so long as Israel continues faithful to that eternal covenant of God with man, which is mirrored in His covenant with the elect nation.

This theory of the world has its appropriate symbol and seal in that name of God which is revealed to Moses: *Jah-veh*, "I AM THAT I AM" (OR THAT I SHALL BE):¹ that is to say: "I am Being, the Substance of all things."

That which we have indicated as the fundamental thought of this legislator, corresponds entirely to the singularly noble personal character presented to us in the Epos of continuous narrative which is certainly historical in its main outlines. It is incontestable that Moses was a man brought up under Egyptian culture, in priestly and royal circles, whose faith, however, was not to be shaken by foreign learning, nor his heart to be cooled towards his people by the splendours of a court. The oppression of his native race gnaws at his heart; he slays an Egyptian, flees into the wilderness, but returns on the death of the oppressor, who was no other than that scourge of humanity, Ramesis, the son of Sethos. He strives with the stiff-necked obduracy of the succeeding Pharaoh, and confounds his priests and sorcerers with the power of the Spirit; at length he leads his people out of bondage with marvellous success, and no less marvellous courage. But now commences for him the much more arduous and painful warfare with the unbelief and stubbornness of a people who have been barbarized by oppression and sensuality. Moses becomes the object of their murmurs; he has undertaken impossibilities, and is

¹ Exodus iii. 14, 15.

too stern for them. Certainly Moses does punish severely, but he does so as the minister of a divine justice, that is intelligible to all, and alike for all, and only in cases where the punishment cannot be remitted. When even his own brother and sister murmur against him because he has given them an Ethiopian sister-in-law without consulting them, and insist on the rights conferred by their prophetic dignity, we find it said: "Now the man Moses was very meek above all the men who were upon the face of the earth,"¹ When on a former occasion the people had angered and wounded him in the tenderest point by their shameful relapse into the Semitic idolatry of the Golden Calf, and the Lord threatened to destroy them, it is Moses who intercedes for his brethren. All his righteous indignation breaks down before the remembrance that this nation is still the object of God's promises, and the heir of a rich blessing. He will rather die with his people, than forsake them in order to lead more tractable races of the peninsula into the promised land. The last thing that he thinks of is to spare himself in any respect. It is his Midianitish brother-in-law who first points out to him the impossibility of transacting all functions in his own person, and the necessity of deputing the Seventy Elders to try the less important legal causes. As a prophet he stands high above all others. His brother and sister, and the elders, and many among the people, had visions (objects beheld under the influence of inspiration or trance) and prophetic dreams; with Moses alone did the Lord speak "mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches."² But no one was further than Moses from any jealousy of the possession of this extraordinary faculty. When it was reported to him that men were prophesying in the camp, and not in the tabernacle alone, he exclaims: "Enviest thou for my sake? Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them!"³

¹ Numbers xii. 3.² Numbers xii. 8.³ Numbers xi. 29.

But we must now consider the meaning of the expression which is never used afterwards except in relation to Elijah—namely, that he had *seen* God. The account of this circumstance which we have before us is, no doubt, a portion of the epical version of the deeds and life of Moses, dating from the period after Solomon; but it is in any case of the greatest importance to disengage the philosophical substance from its poetic investiture. After the relapse of the people into the idolatry of the Golden Calf, the Lord refuses to go up with them. He will only send an angel before them, who shall drive out the Canaanites from the land.¹ The Lord adds: “Lest I consume thee in the way.” The Israelites mourn and humble themselves. The narrative then proceeds as follows:—

And Moses said unto the Lord, See, thou sayest unto me, Bring up this people: and thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast said, I know thee by name, and thou hast also found grace in my sight.

Now, therefore, I pray thee, if I have found grace in thy sight, shew me now thy way, that I may know thee, that I may find grace in thy sight: and consider that this nation is thy people.

And he said, My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest.

And he said unto him, If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence.

For wherein shall it be known here that I and thy people have found grace in thy sight? is it not in that thou goest with us? so shall we be separated, I and thy people, from all the people that are on the face of the earth.

And the Lord said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken: for thou hast found grace in my sight, and I know thee by name.

And he said, I beseech thee, shew me thy glory.

And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of the Lord before thee; and will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy.

¹ Exodus xxxiii. 2, 3.

And he said, Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see me, and live.

And the LORD said, Behold there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a rock:

And it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a clift of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand while I pass by:

And I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts: but my face shall not be seen.¹

The actual appearing of the Lord is related in the following chapter. Moses presents himself the next morning on the top of Sinai:—

And the LORD descended in the cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the LORD.

And the LORD passed by before him, and proclaimed, The LORD, The LORD God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth.

Keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, unto the third and to the fourth generation.

And Moses made haste, and bowed his head toward the earth, and worshipped.²

It is impossible to mistake that in this wonderful account the "Presence" or "Face" of God is distinguished from his angel. The promise to send his angel does not content Moses, but that of his "presence" does perfectly; this is considered as equivalent with God, both by the Lord Himself and by Moses. He now prays that he may behold God's glory, that he may know of a surety that God Himself went up with them. The Lord vouchsafes him this manifestation in the form of a vision of Himself after He has passed by. After the Lord has pronounced His holy Name, Jahveh, while Moses veils his face, he shall look upon the Lord from behind when He is in the act of vanishing. Now the inmost essence of the Divine Name

¹ Exodus xxxiii. 12-23.

² Exodus xxxiv. 5-8.

is Mercy and Love. Righteousness receives a blessing even to the remotest generations, but the divine order of the world confronts guilt in the shape of divine retribution, which involves in one common ruin children and children's children, even unto the third and fourth generations. Thus the final victory of Good remains secure, and the pious man finds peace in the knowledge that the inmost relation of God to the human race is one of mercy and love. The purely spiritual interpretation assigned to the divine Name spares us the necessity of refuting any childish notions of corporeity, as though the narrative meant to assert that the seer beheld the back of a God-man, or that the angels or messengers of God were only lovely children with wings. Such conceptions are as foreign to the Bible as they are repugnant to reason and good taste. But it is also clear that we do not exhaust the intellectual import of the passage by the simple employment of ethical terms. The antithesis between "the face" and "the back" of the LORD admits of no such interpretation, but leads us into the sphere of the mutual relations of finite and infinite Being. Thus its substratum is metaphysical; but it by no means follows, that its intellectual sense should be metaphysical as regards its form; that is to say, that Moses, or at least the earliest voucher for our present narrative, was conscious of the metaphysical scope of his belief. But it is worth our pains to enter somewhat more at large into this question.

God can never think anything else than Himself, therefore Mind, Reason, as the object of His thought. This objective thought of Himself may, therefore, be called the reflection of the Divine Being, or, again, His face, His countenance. But the Visible Universe is also a mirror or reflection of Him, and still more so, Man, the image of God. Now we must absolutely reject the idea that either in this or in any other of the Old Testament representations, it is God's thought or vision of Himself which is meant by the expression His "face." The con-

templation of God as He is in Himself, equally with the antithesis and unity of Being and Thought, is something altogether alien to the Jewish sphere of religious conception. Still less should we be justified, nay, it would be altogether irrational, to imagine any reference in the present passage to the Christian unity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. For this presupposes the personality of Jesus of Nazareth, and the founding of his Church as the representative of humanity and the temple of the Holy Ghost. The ecclesiastical dogma of the Trinity has grown up out of those two great facts, combined with the Logos-doctrine of St. John's Gospel. All that is said of "wisdom" (*Sophia*) in the Alexandrine "Book of Wisdom," which goes beyond the famous passage in the eighth chapter of Proverbs, has been the fruit of Hellenic and, in fact, of Platonic religious ideas. The Old Testament knows nothing whatever of a divine triad, whether in a purely metaphysical or a metaphysico-historical sense. The Spirit of God is an attribute of the One God, considered in reference to His relations towards the universe. In the passage under consideration, therefore, the beholding of the LORD from behind must refer either to the reflection of Him in the Kosmos of Nature or the Kosmos of Humanity. The same holds good of all the other passages in the Mosaic writings, that is to say, the books containing the life of Moses. Among these, the first that comes under our consideration is that revelation already referred to which must have been the source of the Mosaic appellation of the Deity, namely, "I AM BEING." To the same source points the expression: "My name is in Him," used of the angel that should be sent to guide the people.¹ In this passage the "angel" is not as yet distinguished from the "presence" of the Lord. For it is said of him, "Behold, I send an angel before thee. . . . Beware of him,

¹ Exodus xxiii. 20, 21.—Behold, I send an Angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke him not; for he will not pardon your transgressions: for my name is in him.

and obey his voice ; provoke him not, for he will not pardon your transgressions : for my name is in him." We have, therefore, a process of development in this conception, but only in a mythical form. Thus neither the name of Jehovah nor this use of the expression, the name of God, justify us in assuming the consciousness of metaphysical conceptions. Where then should we seek for the true interpretation but in that field which is always the stronghold of the Hebrew religious consciousness, and the parent soil of its deepest roots ? The expression face or countenance of God corresponds to the Japhetic word *providentia*, *pronoia*, or Providence. This mode of expression rather brings before us the act of thinking or knowing, while the Semitic phrase fixes our eye, as it were, on the hieroglyphic picture of the Thought itself. The Face of God is therefore, to speak after our fashion, the Eternal Thought or Counsel according to which He governs the universe, in other words, the Moral Order of the world. This is God's vision of the universe, and His alone. Its antithesis or reverse side will signify, therefore, the visible and actually realized Moral Order of the world ; that is to say, our knowledge of God derived from His mode of action in the guidance of human affairs, in virtue of which He assures the victory to good over evil, while what is immoral conducts to ruin, and, notwithstanding temporary success, has its frightful issue in annihilation. Man cannot stand face to face with Divine Providence, because he is unable to unite in his reason the objects which are there united, but, on the contrary, is constrained to separate them. This is precisely what the later Christian thinkers have called the inscrutable counsel of God. It is the idea which one of the deepest and most pious Christian thinkers, the poet Gottfried Arnold, expresses in the exquisite hymn :

How blest to all Thy followers, Lord, the road

By which Thou lead'st them on, yet oft how strange—

a strain quite in unison with the spirit of the Mosaic

sentiment, but which combines with that the metaphysical depth of the Aryan, when the poet further sings :—

No human laws can bind Thy Spirit, Lord,
 That reason or opinion frame for us ;
 The knot of doubt is sever'd by thy sword,
 Or falls unravell'd if Thou wiltest thus.
 The strongest bonds are weak to Thee, O God,
 All sinks and fails that would Thy course oppose ;
 Thy lightest word can quell Thy stoutest foes,
 And desert paths are by thy footsteps trod.

What human prudence fondly strives to bind,
 Thy wisdom sunders far as east from west ;
 Who long beneath the yoke of man have pined,
 Thy hand exalteth high above the rest.
 The world would scatter, Thou dost union give ;
 She breaks, Thou buildest ; what she builds is made
 A ruin'd heap ; her light is nought but shade ;
 Her dead Thy Spirit calls to rise and live.¹

If, on the other hand, man looks from behind on what is accomplished, the path of God in the unfolding of events—the history of the past which has turned its back upon us—then do we perceive the wisdom of God's ways, and adore with gratitude the eternal justice.

If we adopt this view of what is meant by the beholding of the Lord from behind, then the revelation proclaimed by His voice, when he passed before Moses, may be thus interpreted : God is the righteous avenger of evil, but yet he is pre-eminently eternal love and mercy. This brings us to the very centre of the Hebrew theory of the universe, and assuredly also of the personal faith of Moses, the greatest of all the Jewish prophets, whose like did not arise again in Israel. Following this interpretation, we are able to explain the famous expression that “the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh with his friend,”² or, as it is elsewhere said :

¹ *Lyra Germanica*, vol. i. p. 175.

² Exodus xxxiii. 11.

“With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently and not in dark speeches : and the similitude of the LORD shall he behold.”¹ Namely, in His immediate and complete essential reflex, not in single instances of Divine power exercised through the intervention of the natural agencies which are combined in man. From such an intervention, such a secondary and inferential consciousness of God, proceeded the trances and dream-visions of the other prophetic minds that appeared at that date among the people.

This account lands us in the very core of the individuality of Moses. In the history of the epoch succeeding that of Moses, we find the prophetic element among the Jews ever more and more severed from legislature and military functions, from the time of Joshua up to that of the kings with their wise men, who are distinguished both from the prophets and the priests. But the prophet himself is gradually transformed from an inspired orator, who makes himself intelligible by figures of speech and outward symbols, not only into an argumentative preacher, but into an æsthetic author. Now Moses was a seer, such as none other after him ; but his most distinctive characteristic was thoughtful, judicious, moral action in the exigencies of life around him. He knew, as no other did, how to find the way from his visions into the actual world, how to turn thought into deed. Finally, he is the sole example in history, with the single exception of Washington, of one who rose to be the deliverer and leader of his people, without making himself or his family lords over them. The commonwealth which he founded rested, like that of the Pilgrim-Fathers, on the sense of the supremacy of God. He regarded his nation as the people of God, consecrated to the diffusion of God’s counsels of righteousness and truth over the whole earth. Thus Moses was not alone the counsellor of his nation, but also its hero, lawgiver, king, general, and, at the

¹ Numbers xii. 8.

same time, a citizen among citizens. But he was all these to the honour and glory of God. Thus those other seers around him could only attain a correct insight into realities by the help of a mediator. Moses, in the highest moments of his consciousness, both saw actual practical realities, and possessed the power of carrying into effect as a leader, what has first been revealed to him as a seer.

Could this be more clearly and profoundly expressed, in accordance with Semitic phraseology, than by the terms used? From a consciousness of God thus profound, thus spiritual, sprang that courage to undertake his redeeming work, and that persistency in carrying it out by which Moses is distinguished. It was this consciousness that gave birth to the Ten Commandments, which are the application of the Moral Law to the relations of the Jewish people towards God and their neighbour, nay, to all the ecclesiastical and civil regulations of the lawgiver. The summing up of the Ten Commandments in the two great precepts to love God above all and his neighbour as himself is indeed probably in its present formula the utterance of a later age, and it was reserved for Christ to unite these two precepts in the single focus of the Divine love;¹ but this formula springs directly from the conscious thought of the great Reformer. The idea of humanity underlies all the Mosaic superstructure. The noble saying, "Love ye therefore the stranger; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt," is quite in harmony with the whole character of Moses.

2. *The Humane Religious Consciousness in the Mosaic Ritual. Azazel and Satan.*

It now only remains for us to complete our description of the Mosaic theory of the universe by a representation of the great human ideas which underlie the Mosaic

¹ Matthew xxii. 37.

ritual, and form at once for people and priests, the background of the wider spiritual development of this nation and of humanity. We refer to the order of worship, the sacrifices and expiations, with all the other sacred rites and usages of the Hebrews, which in their essential substance indubitably rest upon the ordinance of Moses. They are the most ancient prophecies vouchsafed by the Spirit of His footsteps through the ages.

The views held by any nation concerning the destinies of Man, whether the individual or the race—therefore their theory of the Moral Order of the world—are inseparably intertwined with their religious consciousness. But the existence of a Moral Order of the world presupposes a Conscious Moral Will and an Eternal Thought as its ground and origin. Now who can know the end and aim of Humanity but he who knows its origin? In whom lives the idea of a true progress, but in him who has perceived that the ultimate aim of all things finite is the Infinite, and that Mind is the final purpose of all the developments of Physical Nature?

The connection of these ideas is more than ordinarily close in the Hebrew mind. Nothing is so essential to our understanding of the Hebrew conception of Humanity as the meaning of those sacrificial and ritual observances which, from Moses onwards, more and more environ the whole life of the Jews. The genius of this nation for the organization of the social community in its religious aspect, is a great historical fact; in the strictly political sphere, as we shall hereafter see, they never advanced much beyond a confederation of tribes. When hard pressed by their foes and weary of the hierarchical government of Samuel, the aspiration after national unity impelled the people to set up a hereditary kingdom; but in the Jewish monarchy the priesthood was the only legal counterpoise to the unlimited sway of the sovereign. The princes or nobles of the people had no legal power; neither for them nor for the populace was there any mutual

compact or "covenant" with the king. Both the compact and the mutual strife were all between the priesthood (or theocratically expressed, between God) and the king. It never entered Samuel's head, in raising Saul to the throne, to make any stipulations on behalf of the people, who had, nevertheless, always been free, and had governed themselves according to their several tribes and families. Neither for the individual nor the nation does the hierarchy constitute any bulwark against the king, nor the king against the hierarchy. The former relies upon his body-guard, consisting of foreign mercenaries, and the latter upon the possession of the keys of the sanctuary which it has arrogated to itself.

The root-idea of the Mosaic worship, which constitutes its importance in the history of the world, springs from the intuition of the eternal, indefeasible, immediate, exclusive covenant of God with man; the covenant of the One Eternal Creator, whose finite image dwells in man; whose voice speaks in his conscience. The human spirit is distinct from God by its finite limitations, without being thereby cut off from Him; for finite nature is the will of God, corporeity the "end of His ways." Nothing can alienate man from God but the sin of his ungodly free-will, his self-seeking. In the Bible, sin is not (as in the Koran) represented as a pre-existing doom, consequent upon a fall of the soul in an earlier state of existence, but as the voluntary act of man upon this earth. In this state of alienation, to which every mortal is by nature liable, and from which he suffers in one way or another, man's consciousness of God still survives. He is reminded of God by the soft voice of the silently speaking, warning conscience, and by the innate yearnings of his soul. Through his conscience and his reason, God is recognized by man; it is not by the flight of birds and other indications of physical nature that God's immediate presence is revealed to him; He reveals himself to man himself. The people inquire of God through His prophets and

seers. He answers the inquirer either through their intervention or directly. The divine oracle is delivered by means of a vision; it may be through the dream of a sleeper, or through flashes of spiritual illumination and ecstasies occurring in a waking state: for in both the man is conscious of his own immediate contact with the Deity, without the mediatorship of priests or physical causes. Under this consciousness of the Eternal Presence, he beholds the future, not like the soothsayers in reference to mere outward events, but so far as it concerns the soul and the progress of God's kingdom.

On his side, man seals this communion by prayer, the consecrated language of adoration. But he feels constrained to devise some objective expression of his self-surrender and his sorrow at the alienation from God; some artistic representation, in fact, of his emotions. The most vivid and objective, although figurative mode of effecting this is by the act of sacrifice, which is the material symbol of the vow. The offering of Himself, of His own will, is shadowed forth, or embodied, as it were, by the sacrifice of the gifts which man has received from God. The husbandman brings his sheaves, the herdsman the flower of his flock. The fire consumes the finite offering, as the Divine Spirit, whose symbol it is, consumes the evil of this finite sphere; hence it is often called fire from heaven. By this act, the Covenant between God and man is sealed. God willeth that man should live, and that he should learn to discern God's justice and love in the moral order of the world. Of this kind is the sacrifice of Cain and Abel¹; such is the sacrifice of Noah²; such the sacrifice of Abraham.³

Through the law, the sense of sin and guilt is brought out into strong relief. The idea of the original sacrifice was the offering of Self, and was at once an image of the annihilation of all sinful desires, and a thankful consecra-

¹ Genesis iv. 3-5.

² Genesis viii. 20-22.

³ Genesis xxii. 1-14.

tion of the life. Hence this sacrifice entirely consumed by fire, if it was a bloody one, therefore peculiarly solemn, was called with vivid and deep significance, the Holocaust, whole burnt-offering or wave-offering. This remained the daily offering, the continual act of sacrifice. Of a similar nature was the so-called meat-offering, *i. e.* the gifts consisting of the fruits of the earth and what was prepared from them. For this also, when in its most complete form, namely, when offered by a priest, was entirely consumed, nothing was left over for the common sacrificial repast. Now, beside this whole burnt-offering as a general symbol of self-surrender, we find two sorts of special sacrifices, which are the separate expression of the two elements combined in the former; thanks and expiation. In the whole burnt-offering, the thanksgiving is certainly the leading idea, regarded as the pledge of the reconciliation with God, but does not exhaust its significance.

On this subject, one point, however, demands a special consideration. Among the sacrificial rites we find one ancient usage derived from the Elohim theology, which some have interpreted as a propitiatory offering to the evil spirit. Now it is impossible that Moses could have suffered such a rite to be perpetuated; but it had at no time existed among this nation. From what we now know of the religion of the Egyptians as a matter of fact authenticated by their remains, compared with what we have through similar means learnt respecting that of the Phœnicians and Chaldeans, we are in a position to assert that a contrary interpretation is the historical truth.

In the remarkable description of the great yearly sin-offering in the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus, it is said that on the day of atonement (the tenth day of the seventh month, therefore near the autumnal equinox) two goats shall be presented before the Lord at the door of the tabernacle. Then shall the high priest "cast lots upon the two goats; one lot for the Lord, and the other for

Azazel. And he shall bring the goat upon which the LORD's lot fell and offer him for a sin-offering. But the goat on which the lot fell to Azazel,¹ shall be presented alive before the LORD, to make an atonement with him, and to send him away to Azazel in the wilderness." It is the opinion of Gesenius and Ewald that, according to the orthography of the text of most of the ancient MSS., this word Azazel, which occurs nowhere else in the Bible, ought to mean the Averter. But the analogy of other proper names, both according to the Jewish traditions (such as Samuel, Hazael, Gabriel), and according to the mythology of the heathen Semitic tribes, renders it probable that the name was originally pronounced 'Hahas'el ('Hazaz'el='Hazazel), the power of El, the Strong God. Now, this name originally signifies none else but God Himself; God in His power, in His almightiness, as the avorter of evil. Moses might, therefore, very well by the side of the great atonement which he connected with the holy place, retain also the sacrifice practised by their nomad forefathers; who, as an emblem of the fearful curse and of the atonement drove out into the wilderness, everywhere near at hand, a goat as a sacrifice to God, the Mighty One. The God of power is also the avenger of sin; and He who averts the evil can also suffer it to overtake us, send it down upon us. It is, therefore, quite in accordance with the natural history of symbolical religion, that that almighty power should appear as the avenging God, as the awful, unapproachable, consuming power. Close upon this borders the fear of Him as the Destroyer, the Consumer.

This is the place to say a few words regarding the true conception of the Jewish Satan. The idea of Satan, *i. e.* "the adversary," undoubtedly lies in the same region of thought, but it springs from a different conception, and one which is proved by the purely appellative, abstract

¹ Translated in the English version, *the scape-goat* — Tr.

meaning of the word to have arisen at a comparatively late date. But Satan himself is old, dating from the earliest Hebrew times, and very probably from the Semitic antiquity that preceded them. Nothing is more groundless than the commonly-received notion that the Jews who were so zealous for their Law, during their captivity borrowed the idea of Satan from the Chaldeans whom in every point of view they abhorred ; or even from the Persians, among whom they never lived ! This assumption of the last century rests upon completely unconfirmed, not to say baseless presuppositions concerning the religious history of those countries ; combined with an equally unphilosophic and unhistorical theory as to the appropriation of heathen ideas on the part of the Jews adhering to their law ; who, however, evidently believed in Satan as a doctrine handed down from their fathers and not from the idolaters. The description of good and bad spirits around God's throne, which assuredly existed in the same shape in the ancient popular book of Job, as in our present artistic and prophetic version, is found also as a popular idea needing no explanation, so early as the first Book of Kings, in the remarkable and awfully grand passage occurring in the 22nd Chapter. In this, no doubt substantially historical, tradition of the discourse of Micahiah, the man of God, to Ahab and Jehoshaphat, before their disastrous expedition against the Syrian, it is said :

I saw the LORD sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left.

And the LORD said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead ? And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner.

And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the LORD, and said, I will persuade him.

And the LORD said unto him, Wherewith ? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also : go forth, and do so.

Now therefore, behold, the LORD hath put a lying spirit in

the mouth of all these thy prophets, and the LORD hath spoken evil concerning thee.¹

He whom God willeth to destroy is brought to his doom in the most fearful mode, when it is by the abuse of the prophetic gift in himself or in others. Thus it is now-a-days with the gamblers and swindlers on our Exchanges, for whom the telegraph is not enough. They inquire of clairvoyants, and they receive for answer the reflection of their own selfish desires and malignant wishes. This is what is meant in Scripture by witchcraft and its punishment. Both are in the man himself. The Satan, *i. e.* adversary—accuser—who stands beside the man brought up for judgment, is his sins; “his conscience also bearing witness, and his thoughts between themselves accusing or else excusing one another.”² Thus is Satan the servant of God³ in the moral order of the world, and Azazel is God’s retributive justice. The poet of the eighteenth Psalm utters a profound truth when he says; “With the pure Thou wilt show Thyself pure, and with the froward Thou wilt show Thyself froward.” Thus the conclusion at which we arrive respecting Azazel and the sin-offering will be this: whether, and if so, to what extent, the Israelites before the time of Moses had lost the primitive idea of Azazel, and fallen into the false conception of him, as a spirit distinct from the true God, who was the object of Abraham’s worship, we do not know. But evidently any such pernicious error must have vanished under the Mosaic institutions. The worship of the one God was the primary article of the law, and pervades all the religious ordinances; the goat which was to be sent to Azazel in the wilderness was dedicated before Jehovah’s holy of holies, at the same time with the other which was burnt there as a sacrifice.⁴

¹ 1 Kings xxii. 19–23.

² Romans ii. 15. See marginal rendering.

³ Job i. 6.

⁴ Compare with the above the article in the “Thesaurus” of Gesenius, p. 1012; also Ewald’s “Lehrbuch,” 6te Ausgabe, § 158, and “Alterthümer,” S. 402 fg.

This was the meaning of the great sin-offering. The sins of the people were laid upon the goat that was cast out to perish, as well as upon the one that the fire consumed.

The continual morning and evening sacrifice of the temple service, was a burnt-offering in the sense of the ancient Hebrew worship. The Passover, likewise, was a sacrifice of the same kind; not an expiatory sacrifice, as Hengstenberg has even recently maintained. It is as impossible to reconcile the fact that it was to be eaten, with the idea of the expiatory sacrifice which was to be entirely destroyed, as with that of the Holocaust. Every sacrifice that is truly symbolical must be typical. That is to say, when accompanied by prayer and regarded as a symbol of self-surrender, it points onward like every emblem, to its future realization. It is not the religious element in the act of worship that is destined to pass away but the pre-figurative. A presentiment of this gleams out in the sacrifice of the Passover, as a sign of thankfulness for God's power and love in salvation and redemption; but still more in the sacrifice of atonement. For, in so far as the reality of sin is recognized,—and this is the fundamental assumption of all religions, but in a special sense of the Jewish—so must also the reality of its removal be acknowledged, consequent upon the act of free self-surrender springing from thankful love towards God; Whom to love with all the heart and all the powers of the mind is the greatest of all the commandments,—as is expressly said in the spirit of Moses in Deuteronomy. But it is not to be denied that the ceremonial law, instead of serving as a schoolmaster to the Spirit, and leading to inward purity of heart, had an inherent tendency so to operate upon an uncultured people, vacillating between the adoration of physical nature and the reverence for forms, that legal observance might easily take the place of morality and true righteousness, or “justification.” The fear of transgressing the law supplanted the genuine horror of sin. Now, to counteract this tendency, both in

individuals and in the nation, was the function of the prophets; a function which constituted them the motive force in the advancement of human progress.¹

SECTION III.

ELIJAH, THE SEER AND PROPHET, IN THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.

The faith which animated Abraham and Moses led to the setting apart, first of a patriarchal family, then of a conspicuous historical nation, consecrated to the knowledge of God. That faith consisted essentially in the moral conviction that through God alone is the human mind able to understand the nature and history of present realities; therefore that the Spirit is truth, and that truth is moral, commanding us to adore Him Who alone is Holy, and to practise His holiness in our actual life. It was this faith that supported those valiant and undaunted heroes, Joshua and the Judges of the twelve Tribes, by whom the people that had been delivered out of Egypt were established in the promised land of their fathers, and then organized, defended and comforted. These are the "elder prophets," as the Jews denominate the scriptural writings from the Book of Joshua to the two Books of Kings, which the Christians regard, much to their disadvantage, as historical works. None, however, of these great characters of the republican period, rise to a level with Moses, either in the range of their ideas or in historical importance. In none do we perceive any of those

¹ In seeking after the symbolical meaning of the individual prescriptions relating to Divine worship, Bähr often appears to me to go too far in his "Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus" (2 Bände, 1837). But he deserves honourable acknowledgments for having put to silence the idle assertion that the Mosaic institutions were borrowed from other sources and had no inherent idea of their own, and for having demonstrated their originality with great learning and ingenuity. It is strange that Hengstenberg, in controverting their supposed derivation from Semitic sources, should have revived Spencer's unfortunate theory of their having been borrowed from the Egyptians.

grand ideas that mould the course of history. The great human consciousness of God, that had been kindled in his nation by Moses, sank under the pressure of their divisions, their sensuality, their idolatry. It needed a monarchy to restore the consciousness of national unity. David was in his youth a brilliant example of prophetic inspiration ; and when he became king, he had men of the Spirit around him, to whose counsels he listened in his better years. But it was the mournful, portentous severance of the northern tribes from Judah that first awoke the longing for the restoration of Israel's unity, and with it, those men of the Spirit who in faith strove after all that was highest, and for its sake preached and worked, lived and died. The historical phenomenon of prophecy in its narrower sense, as it developed itself in the two separate kingdoms, was the offspring of their aspirations and of that great conception of the Moral Kosmos. In the earlier times, prophecy did not take a literary shape, but found utterance in discourse and acts. Those men of the Spirit exhibit a conception of the universe akin to that of Moses, in virtue of which they place themselves on a level with rulers and warriors, and often by their rebukes set themselves in opposition to both princes and people, in struggling to uphold the work of God's Spirit against the legal formalisms of the priests, against the preponderance of outward observances, and against the popular corruption and tendency to fall away from monotheism. Above all these men towers the noble form of Elijah, who flourished in the kingdom of Israel about 900 B.C.

The narratives concerning this wonderful man have come down to us through the two Books of Kings in a late shape, in which we easily can trace a mingling of slender historical notices with popular legend. In fact, the events that took place in the separate northern kingdom were originally altogether foreign to the Jewish annals and traditions, and were only inserted in them at a later period, when they had already acquired their present

shape through the embellishment and looseness of popular legend. But we know quite enough of Elijah to recognize in him the seer of his age, and a man in whom inspiration assumed its highest and most energetic aspect. He alone of all mortal men since Moses had seen God, as Moses had done, who like him was at once a seer and a mighty man of deeds. Elijah was the only one left alive, after the bloody persecution of the prophets, in which the idolatrous tyrant Ahab had revelled with his bloodthirsty wife, Jezebel, the Phœnician. After having long kept himself in concealment while the land was languishing under drought and famine, Elijah at last appears before the tyrant, and induces him to suffer an appeal to God in the presence of the people, to judge between him and the 850 priests of Baal and Astarte, whom Jezebel maintained. The priests of Baal with their orgiastic ceremonies, are put to shame by the simple prayer of the prophet of Judah, issuing from his reason and conscience. Moved by Elijah, the people at God's command slay the idolatrous priests at the brook Kishon. The infuriated Jezebel swears instant death to the popular hero. He flees into the desert of Arabia, where, in mortal exhaustion, he is refreshed by gentle slumber and miraculously fed till he reaches Sinai, the Mount of God. There, while passing the night in a cavern on Mount Horeb, he, the only prophet left alive, persecuted, a fugitive, destitute of all human aid and hope, is made aware of the presence of God, and experiences His immediate divine consolation in his heart :

And behold, the LORD passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the LORD; but the LORD was not in the wind: and after the wind, an earthquake; but the LORD was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake a fire; but the LORD was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice.¹

¹ 1 Kings xix. 11, 12.

The Deity whose voice he hears resides, therefore, not in the powers of nature, but in the spirit, in the depths of the heart; and His divine voice proclaims the overthrow of evil and the final triumph of goodness and righteousness among men. Such is, at all events, the substantial philosophical import of this deeply significant narrative. In the same sense must we understand the story of how the prophet of Israel set himself in opposition to the tyrannical rulers of his country, and took an active part in the political movements of his age, in the unfaltering persuasion that he was called of God to this work. We read that soon after this occurrence, Elijah adopted Elisha as his successor in the prophetic office; that is to say, entrusted to him the furtherance of his plans, even, if necessary, by recourse to violent measures, for the overthrow of idolatry in Israel and the maintenance of faith in the true God. It is matter of history, that in order to root out the old dynasty, Elisha foretold to the regicide Hazael that he should be king; and stirred him up to make war upon Israel, and that Elisha's disciple anointed the iniquitous Jehu.

To return to Elijah's divine vision. We find in it the double origin of our intuition of God recognized and taught. God is beheld only in the miracles of Nature and in the miracle of his Moral Law. The manifestations of His almighty power in Nature lay hold of us with wonderful force, but the Lord is not in them. Their speech only tells of Him from without; "by the hearing of the ear," as Job says. His inward voice must be added to this, and this is the soft whisper that penetrates the soul like a breath of gentle wind in the hush that comes between the thunder and the hurricane. He alone truly perceives God who believes in His goodness and love; but no one can truly believe in these, who has not recognized them to be the moral law of the universe, and made them the standard of his own volition and acts. In later times, Elijah was regarded as the hero of faith: a mighty

Deliverer of his people, fearless in life and in death. Thus the Book of Maccabees says : " Elias for being zealous and fervent for the law was taken up into heaven ;"¹ and Jesus the son of Sirach exclaims : " O Elias, how wast thou honoured in thy wondrous deed ! and who may glory like unto thee !"² In the times of the Persians, the prophet Malachi looks up to him as the promised Saviour of the oppressed and captive nation, who should appear upon earth before the day of judgment. " Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the LORD : and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse."³

The people thought they beheld Elijah in the Baptist, but he said plainly : " I am not Elias." And yet Jesus declared with perfect justice, taking this belief in its spiritual aspect : " If ye will receive it, this is Elias, which was for to come." These words of Christ give us the surest and safest clue by which to understand the words of Malachi, and all similar prophecies. But we are unable to give their true application to the words of Jesus unless we take the prophecies in a spiritual, *i.e.* a rational sense. How easy was it to seize upon this saying from the point of view adopted by ancient and modern Pharisees and Sadducees, and to make it the pretext for accusing Jesus of perverting the word of God ; of unbelief on the one hand, or on the other, of hypocrisy, deceit, fanaticism ! " Either," could they say, " thou believest the prophecy or thou dost not ; here there is no room for subjective interpretation, or for evasive modes of speech ; come hither, speak plainly and give its due either to the popular creed, or to reason." This was how hypocrites, sophists, and blockheads reasoned in His day ; and so do they reason in all ages !

¹ 1 Maccabees ii. 58.

² Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 4.

³ Malachi, iv. 5, 6.

SECTION IV.

JEREMIAH, THE PROPHET OF THE STATE IN ITS DECLINE AND FALL.
JEREMIAH AND THE SERVANT OF THE LORD.

Jeremiah lived in an era of decadence, and his poetry does not rise to the level of the preceding centuries. Prophecy expands itself into contemplation, and the language of contemplation is unrhythmical speech, or prose. But in him, too, we find that union of sound, sober sense in thought, admonition, and action, with the faculty of second-sight, which forms the distinctive characteristic of the Hebrew Prophets. His possession of this latter endowment is witnessed by many of his sayings, especially his final announcement of the Seventy Years' Captivity, and the fate of the armed host who fled to Egypt for refuge. But as a popular leader in action, a fearless and incorruptible counsellor of his monarch, and a self-devoted patriot, Jeremiah stands alone on an unapproachable eminence. Energetic in action, immovable in conviction, clear in his perception of the hopeless state of the nation and polity, devoid of all illusion, even the noblest, he is at all times the very type of a seer, standing in uninterrupted converse with God, continually pleading with Him the cause of his people. His profound grief is ennobled into the sublimest sadness by the steadfastness of his purpose. It is this which constitutes the peculiar charm of his character and his writings. A priest like Ezekiel, he is at the same time a true man of the people, a citizen, and a human being.

Of no other prophet is the personal history so closely interwoven with that of his nation. We see him while still a youth receiving his prophetic call in the thirteenth year of Josiah (626 B.C.). This took place prior to the great political event of the age—the restoration of a pure worship. The king, well-meaning, but not equal to the emergencies of the time, and therefore doomed to ruin,

thought to arrest by this outward reform the disorganization of society, and the downfall of the commonwealth. The prophet, on the other hand, insisted on repentance and purification of the heart, and this he did not find among the people and still less in the court. Thence he kept silence during that well-meant effort, which did not touch the core of the evil, nor retard the impending destruction. After the noble-hearted king had fallen at Megiddo, in battle against Egypt, and his unhappy son Jehoahaz had been led away into captivity never to return, then the prophet's voice was heard once more, and he poured forth first his lamentations, and then his denunciations of woe on the unworthy Jehoiakim, whom the conqueror had placed on the throne. The tyrant did not at that time venture to put his bold reprover to death as he did the prophet Urijah; but he deliberately threw the book of his prophecies into the fire. The prophet, with unabated courage and faith, wrote the whole over again, and proclaimed in still stronger terms the approaching overthrow of the king and his idolatrous subjects. He foretold the irresistible inroad of the Chaldeans, and the vanity of reliance upon Egypt; predictions which were but too soon fulfilled by the battle of Circesium. When the blow of fate had fallen, Jeremiah continued his mission by sounding in the ears of the people his warnings, persuasions, threatenings, while he fervently besought the Lord for mercy on the impenitent souls who, in their blindness, perceived not the coming destruction. Eloquent and wise as the noblest statesmen of Athens and Rome, he towers far above Demosthenes and Phocion, Cicero and Cato, by the fact that, in the weal and woe of his own nation, he beholds that of Humanity, and beyond the straits and anguish of the present looks out into the clear regions of eternity. Along with the burning love of his own country he bears in his breast a like warm solicitude for the eternal salvation of mankind; and beyond the setting

sun of his nation, he descries the dawn of a kingdom of God, bearing the promise of redemption and restoration to the people of Israel. Never have any man's patriotism and faith been put to severer tests. Cast into prison for his indefatigable zeal and fidelity, he curses the day of his birth, but his prophecy remains unchanged. More plainly than ever he announces that Jerusalem shall be conquered, and the people carried away into banishment and slavery unto the third generation. The monarch and people are roused to fury; he is accused of mortal crime, but rescued with difficulty by a friend, and placed in concealment. So pass eleven disastrous years, at the end of which time, Jehoiakim, amidst the mournful anticipations of Jeremiah, mounts the tottering throne, to be hurled from it three months later in penalty for his revolt, and carried away captive to Babylon, with ten thousand of the Jewish nobles. Now follow eleven more years of misery under Zedekiah. The weak-minded king is not ill disposed, but he is simply an incapable monarch. Outwardly pious, he has neither insight nor resolution, for want of moral earnestness, to choose between the truthful but rough-spoken seer and the many false prophets who promise him power and prosperity. Jeremiah redoubles his zeal. He consoles the captives in Babylon with loving promises; he warns those who have been left behind of the inevitable calamities impending; he assures their troubled hearts of the return of the remnant of the people when they shall have been purified by their afflictions. When the enemy is already drawing nigh to the walls of Jerusalem, he purchases a field in pledge of his immovable faith in the ultimate deliverance; and he does so without a murmur, though his own patrimony was lying waste, and the priestly citizens of his native town were reviling and persecuting him.

But the infatuated nation was deaf to every voice of truth and justice. At the time of the siege, they seemed for a moment inclined to consider their ways; they pro-

claimed the long neglected year of jubilee, and liberated the debtors of their own people held to bondage; but scarcely had the besiegers retired from the city to meet the advancing Egyptian army, when they recalled the concession too long delayed, and in the madness of their self-confidence reduced to serfdom again their scarcely emancipated brethren. The indignant prophet now proclaimed to these sinners the inevitable and speedy retribution of their hard-heartedness, the ignominious death of Zedekiah and his adherents, and the havoc of temple, city, and land. This enraged the nobles, who caused him to be arrested for sedition and insurrection, scourged and thrown into prison. The king, seized with consternation, issued a secret command that Jeremiah should be brought to him out of the prison. Then he learnt from the lips incapable of smooth deceit, how he should be delivered into the hands of the king of Babylon. The king was struck, if not with reverence for the holy man, yet at least with commiseration for his undeserved sufferings. He ordered him to be kept in the outer court of the prison, and supplied with food during the dreadful famine that was raging. But the princes clamoured for his blood as a traitor (no doubt simply to uphold the cause of order), and the king, powerless to resist through his own feebleness of character, surrendered him into their hands. They now took him and cast him into a pit full of mire, that his voice might no longer be heard, and he might die by the most agonizing of slow tortures. But the king could not give him up, and privately ordered him to be lifted out of the pit. It was done, but the seer, justly incensed by the miserable weakness of his master, refused to let him hear his prophetic voice again, and stood dumb before him. Zedekiah swore an oath to protect him, and on this received his last words of counsel, which of course he followed as little as on previous occasions. But he ordered Jeremiah to be kept in safety in the outer court

of the prison. The day arrived when the doom pronounced on the God-forsaken city should be fulfilled; but this did not end the afflictions of Jeremiah. The Babylonish viceroy released him from his fetters and set him at liberty. But the faithful patriot refused to sever his fate from that of his nation, and repaired to Gedaliah, the son of his former protector, Ahikam, around whom the remnant of the Jews who had not been carried away had gathered themselves, and among these the king's daughters. Ishmael, a Jewish captain bribed by Baalis, king of the Ammonites, treacherously slays Gedaliah and his friends. A new leader arises who expels Ishmael and his band of traitors, and places himself at the head of the remaining Jews; but the party now in the ascendant, fearing the vengeance of the Babylonian conqueror for the murder of the governor he had set over them, rejected with idiotic obstinacy Gedaliah's wise plan of remaining in the land, and tilling it that it might be preserved from utter desolation. The people resolved to emigrate to Egypt, but before doing so asked counsel of the man of God, binding themselves by the most sacred oaths to follow his advice, of course with the mental reservation of adopting the course they thought best. For when the prophet commanded them to stay where they were, they did not obey him, but gathering together the whole remnant of the army and people who had followed Gedaliah, took their departure to Tahpanhes, the fortified frontier town of Egypt, carrying with them the prophet and his faithful disciple, Baruch.¹ Arrived there, Jeremiah foretold to them, and to the king with whom they had taken refuge, their coming overthrow and the final extinction of idolatry.

The year of his arrival in Egypt was the two-and-fortieth of his mission; a period of incessant courageous labours, amid unspeakable woes, whose length is almost unexampled in history. The Christian Fathers found

¹ Jeremiah xliii.

the tradition concerning his end, that he was stoned to death at Tahpanhes by his enraged fellow-countrymen as a blasphemer. This report has great internal probability in its favour, and perhaps derives some support from the Rabbinical tradition that Jeremiah was carried away to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, along with Baruch ; a story which is quite irreconcilable with documentary history. It would be very comprehensible that the Jews should seek to conceal that last crime against their prophet, who, as we shall see, survived in the popular belief, as the Saint and Intercessor of his people. This would also explain the silence of the prudent Josephus.

What a life ! Forty years of incessant activity in the most laborious of all vocations, that of spiritual ministrations to a self-seeking and obdurate generation and a royal house which had lost even the instinct of self-preservation ! Elijah was borne away from the conspiracy to take his life and from earth itself. Jeremiah survived all the calamities of his people, only to experience still sharper sorrows. Other prophets before him had uttered predictions as seers, and then withdrawn from publicity ; some had committed nothing to writing, but their winged words had struck root in the hearts of their hearers. Jeremiah was a fearless preacher before people and princes and royalty itself ; he was the most distinguished writer of his time, his counsels were heard on the highest political matters, although often not followed or not understood. And when from time to time he desired to withdraw from the luxurious capital, or to escape from the persecutions of the court and the bitter hatred of the priesthood of Jerusalem, what did he find in the city of the Levites which was his home ? “For even thy brethren, and the house of thy father, even they have dealt treacherously with thee ; yea, they have called a multitude after thee : believe them not, though they speak fair words unto thee saith the Lord.”¹ And the prophet was acutely sensitive

¹ Jeremiah xii. 6.

to the malice of others. "Why is my pain perpetual," he exclaims in the bitterness of his heart, "and my wound incurable?"¹ Thus at length the affliction of his heart, far heavier than that of Job, breaks forth into words, and his long pent-up grief pours itself forth in loud lamentations. He complains that God has laid upon him too heavy a burden; nay, like Job, he curses the day of his birth. But yet in the same breath he utters the humble confession of his own weakness, and his supplication to God for strength.

O LORD, thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived: thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed: I am in derision daily, every one mocketh me. For since I spake, I cried out, I cried violence and spoil; because the word of the LORD was made a reproach unto me, and a derision, daily. Then I said, I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his name. But his word was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay. For I heard the defaming of many, fear on every side. Report, say they, and we will report it. All my familiars watched for my halting, saying, Peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall take our revenge on him. But the LORD is with me as a mighty terrible One: therefore my persecutors shall stumble, and they shall not prevail.²

What loyalty and faith amid the deepest darkness of his soul! What a quick return to courageous action! At length comes the sharpest trial. He is thrown into prison during the last weeks of the siege, and after the taking of the city is forcibly carried away by the insurgent Jews into Egypt. But no word of impatience escapes him during these last fearful days, nor of anger against the outrage offered him by those whom he had striven to serve.

His death corresponds to his life. Although a veil rests upon his murder, it can hardly be doubted that he came to his end by violent means; and that the unbending aged seer, the faithful lover of his people, perished as

¹ Jeremiah xv. 18.

² Jeremiah xx. 7-11.

a criminal and blasphemer ! Such a character—Cassandra and Demosthenes in one, and more than both put together—cannot perish either out of the memory of his nation or of history. His efforts, deeds, and sufferings are the common possession of all mankind. And he has not been forgotten. In the days of our Lord he bore the title of “that prophet;” and it was generally believed that he and Elijah should reappear to herald the advent of the Messiah. Judas Maccabeus saw him in his dream “exceeding glorious,” standing by the throne of God, as the prophet who “is a lover of the brethren, and who prayeth much for the people and for the holy city.”¹ But we believe we can prove further, that this reverential awe with which the sacred poet was regarded began very soon after his death, thanks to the enthusiastic affection of his dearest disciple.

Jeremiah and the Servant of the Lord.

Who is the SERVANT OF GOD [or, as our Luther’s translation has it, the slave of God], in the fifty-second and fifty-third chapters of Isaiah? The man who passing to his glory through humiliation, persecution and deadly perils ending in an expiatory martyrdom, is to bring the faithful sons of Israel, nay distant Gentile peoples also to the knowledge of the true God, and make them citizens of the kingdom of God? In the majestic picture of this servant of God, the apostles and disciples of Jesus, and with them the believers of succeeding Christian centuries, have with one consent recognized a prophetic delineation of the sufferings and resurrection of Christ, the institution of a new covenant, and the proclamation of a new kingdom of God. And, assuredly, they have not been deceived in so doing. Jesus the Christ never had a nobler ante-type than in that sufferer, nor any prophet a more pro-

¹ 2 Maccabees xv. 13, 14.

phetic forerunner. But that does not relieve us of the question, what man in past history is represented under these lineaments, and especially as one whom his contemporaries saw and knew, yet at the time understood neither himself nor his high mission? The interpretation of this chapter which has become current in the Church, sets the untenableness of the received theological formulas in the clearest light. It proceeds upon the erroneous view which we have often had occasion to except against, that prophecy is based upon the annihilation of history and of any sober consideration of the facts it presents, and not rather in the divine illumination shed upon those facts; a view which, claiming to declare the dictates of the Spirit, falls into slavery to the letter, and, while it appeals to the letter, treads under foot the literal sense. And then, alas! its adherents proceed to demand the reception of this error as an act and badge of faith!

This fifty-third chapter of Isaiah is a typical one also for the history of theological exegesis. With all the earlier prophets, we have seen how the presence of prophetic gifts and inspiration manifested itself by the circumstance that their possessor recognized through the veil of the temporal the Eternal—behind the imperfect the Perfect—in the passing events of earthly existence the presages of a heavenly life. That this was actually the case in the present instance in the highest degree,—that the Prophet is speaking of a man whom the nation had beheld and known, irresistibly forces itself upon the unprejudiced reader, so soon as he open his eyes, and attentively considers this chapter in connection with what precedes and follows it.

The conviction of this truth, and hence the untenableness of the older scholastic interpretation was (on this account) acknowledged with praiseworthy candour by truth-loving and truth-seeking inquirers of the last century, who, treading in the footsteps of Hugo Grotius, applied the laws of philological and historical criticism to this

chapter. Most of these scholars, however, under the impulse of the reaction against scholasticism, fell into the equally untenable interpretation of many Jewish expositors, who, because the expression "*Servant of the Lord*" has been used by Jeremiah and in several preceding chapters of Isaiah¹ to designate the people of Israel in contradistinction to the Gentiles, have supposed that it is they who were denoted by this appellation in the present chapter. Now, since it is evident that this interpretation cannot be carried out consistently, inasmuch as the nation is here placed in antithesis to that servant of God, it has been attempted to maintain that this term is to be understood either of the prophetic body, or of the believing part of the nation in contradistinction to the blinded or unbelieving part. But, in the first place, such a meaning of the term cannot be demonstrated either from these passages or any others, and has very slight philological arguments in its favour. In the second place, however, it is certain that no one, on the first unprejudiced glance, would be able to divest himself of the impression that it is a *person* who is here placed before us, and not a *collectivity*. On the other hand, it is indubitable that the sufferings of this servant of God are to belong to the past, and, moreover, to a recent period still living in the memory of the writer and his contemporaries. All the sufferings of the great and holy confessor are referred to this proximate past, as all his glory is to the future. The writer and many of his fellow-countrymen to whom he is speaking, know of his cruel death and ignominious sepulture. Thus both these expositions of our text are untenable, requiring for their establishment authoritative dicta. While perfectly distinct allusions to past events form obstacles to the one, so do equally unmistakable indications of the future to the other. Brought down to the lowest depths of humiliation and scorn, this servant of God is nevertheless destined to be exalted to the highest glory.

¹ See Isaiah xli. 8, 9; xlii. 19; xliv. 1-21.

But, it will be asked on both sides, if this be so, how can it be explained that we do not know the name of this great martyr? Now are we really unacquainted with him? Can he be any other than that unique and lofty example of a confessor, whose speeches and efforts, deeds and sufferings, we have just depicted from his own writings? Hugo Grotius came very close to this idea, yet did not establish it by proof.¹ If we once allow ourselves to put this question, we soon come upon the surprising fact, that all the essential features of that sublime yet familiar description meet us again in the sufferings of Jeremiah. We will only direct attention to a few of these. Was he not the most *despised and rejected of men*? The Lord says of Jeremiah as we have seen: "For even thy brethren, and the house of thy father, even they have dealt treacherously with thee; yea, they have called a multitude after thee."² The servant of God is called "*a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief.*" Jeremiah says of himself: "Why is my pain perpetual, and my wound incurable, which refuseth to be healed?"³ And this he says before he had had to struggle with death by starvation or by suffocation in the pit of mire.⁴ Who other could be that servant of God whom the men of his own day "esteemed stricken, smitten of God and afflicted?" For were not monarch, nobles, priests, and people all banded together against him? He himself says so: "For I heard the defaming of many, fear on every side. Report, say they, and we will report it. All my familiars watched for my halting, saying, Peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall take our revenge on him."⁵ And shortly before he says:

¹ I have to thank my learned friend, Professor Jacob Bernays of Breslau, for communicating to me the words of Aben Ezra († 1168) in his Commentary on Jeremiah, according to which it appears that Rabbi Saadia, the great head of the Babylonian College at Sura (892-942 A.D.), has already unfolded a similar view based on the life and words of Jeremiah. (8 July 1856.)

² Jeremiah xii. 6.

³ Jeremiah xv. 18.

⁴ Jeremiah xxxviii. 9-26.

⁵ Jeremiah xx. 10.

“Then said they, Come, and let us devise devices against Jeremiah; for the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet. Come and let us smite him with the tongue, and let us not give heed to any of his words.”¹ In like manner we find almost literally in him, on the testimony of his own words, the prototype of those sublime words: “He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth.” Jeremiah says, speaking of the cruel persecutions which he had to endure from the citizens of his native place: “And the LORD hath given me knowledge of it, and I know it: then thou shewedst me their doings. But I was like a lamb or an ox that is brought to the slaughter; and I knew not that they had devised devices against me, saying, Let us destroy the tree with the fruit thereof, and let us cut him off from the land of the living, that his name may be no more remembered.”² At a later date the king and nobles did all that in them lay to realize this prevision of the prophet. And if at the time when Pashur cast him into prison, Jeremiah broke out into loud lamentations over his woe, and prayed that God would magnify his glory by punishing these impugners of his veracity; yet we find that in the last and severest trial which befell him in Judea, no word of impatience escaped his lips, still less a word breathing the wish that God would avenge him on his enemies. On the contrary, we find him throughout his life making that fervent “*intercession for the transgressors*,” which is spoken of in the famous chapter of Isaiah. In various passages³, the Lord forbids him to pray any longer or make intercession for the rebellious nation, as he does, for instance, in chapter xiv. v. 21: “Do not abhor us, for thy name’s sake, do not disgrace the throne of thy glory: remember, break not

¹ Jeremiah xviii. 18.

² Jeremiah xi. 18, 19.

³ Cf. vii. 16; xi. 14; xiv. 11; xv. 1.

thy covenant with us.”¹ “Give heed to me, O Lord”—he says in a later passage: “Remember that I stood before thee to speak good for them, and to turn away thy wrath from them.”² In another passage he, with his people, declares his willingness to endure all the penal judgments of God, if only the Lord will be merciful once more to this people: “O LORD, though our iniquities testify against us, do thou it for thy name’s sake: for our backslidings are many; we have sinned against thee.”³ Compare this with Jer. x. 23, 24: ‘O LORD, I know that the way of man is not in himself: it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps. O LORD, correct me, but with judgment; not in thine anger, lest thou bring me to nothing.’ With regard to the mode in which he ended his life in Egypt, which is nowhere mentioned in the Scriptures, we have already indicated the reasons why the Jewish tradition, reported to us by the earliest Christian Fathers, deserves full credence; namely, that Jeremiah was stoned to death in Tahpanhes, by the Jews who had carried him with them into Egypt. This tradition has certainly not sprung out of that passage in Isaiah. If we may assume its correctness, some historical corroboration of it may be detected in the terms in which the death of this servant of the Lord is referred to.

He was snatched away from prison and from judgment, and who of his generation laid to heart, that he was cut off out of the land of the living for the transgression of my people, that he was stricken instead of them? And they gave him his grave with the wicked, and his tombstone among the sinners.⁴

The picture of the times of this servant of God will be acknowledged by all to present a striking agreement with the age of Jeremiah, where it is said: “All we like sheep have gone astray, we have turned every one to his own way.” For never could this have been said more

¹ Jeremiah xiv. 21.

² Jeremiah xviii. 20.

³ Jeremiah xiv. 7.

⁴ I have here followed Bunsen’s translation instead of the authorized version, as there were some deviations in the meaning.—Tr.

truly than in that era of social disintegration and progressive decay resulting from it, of which Jeremiah had said at the very opening of his career: 'The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means; and my people love to have it so.'¹ Compare with this the picture of inward corruption and decay presented in Jeremiah ix. 2-7:

Oh that I had in the wilderness a lodging place of way-faring men; that I might leave my people, and go from them! for they be all adulterers, an assembly of treacherous men. And they bend their tongues like their bow for lies: but they are not valiant for the truth upon the earth; for they proceed from evil to evil, and they know not me, saith the LORD. Take ye heed every one of his neighbour, and trust ye not in any brother: for every brother will utterly supplant, and every neighbour will walk with slanders. And they will deceive every one his neighbour, and will not speak the truth: they have taught their tongue to speak lies, and weary themselves to commit iniquity. Thine habitation is in the midst of deceit; through deceit they refuse to know me, saith the LORD. Therefore thus saith the LORD of hosts, Behold, I will melt them, and try them; for how shall I do for the daughter of my people?

Baruch, the Disciple and Successor of Jeremiah.

If the preceding observations be not destitute of truth, and if they throw some light on the interpretation of that famous chapter; we may, taking our stand upon them, proceed to throw out a further suggestion. Who then was the *unknown prophet* who directed the attention of his nation to the life and promises of Jeremiah, the Servant of God, and descried in them the germs of hope and of new life? How can it be explained that a disciple so inspired and filled with the spirit of his master should have remained so little known that when, four hundred

¹ Jeremiah v. 31.

years later, the canon was closed, his writings should have been appended to those of Isaiah without further distinctive designation? Here again we ask first: Is he then really unknown? Who else should he be but Baruch, the pupil of Jeremiah, his disciple and tried adherent, and the companion of his sorrows? Does he not give himself out to be such a disciple? Is it only in this chapter that he comes forward in such a character, or is it not rather the case that he does so in the whole book which is appended to the prophecies of Isaiah, and forms with them the so-called Book of Isaiah? A disciple, "one who has learned," is what the author calls himself in one passage.¹ He imitates his master in the patient endurance of shame and scorn.² He is like him called and chosen from his mother's womb.³ But we will give the three principal passages entire, in which the inspired writer speaks of himself.

Behold my servant, whom I uphold; mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my spirit upon him: he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench: he shall bring forth judgment unto truth. He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set judgment in the earth: and the isles shall wait for his law.

Thus saith God the LORD, he that created the heavens, and stretched them out; he that spread forth the earth, and that which cometh out of it; he that giveth breath unto the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk therein: I the LORD have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house.⁴

Listen, O isles, unto me; and hearken, ye people from far;

¹ Isaiah l. 4.

³ Isaiah xlix. 1-5, cf. Jeremiah i. 5.

² Isaiah l. 6.

⁴ Isaiah xlii. 1-7.

The LORD hath called me from the womb; from the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my name. And he hath made my mouth like a sharp sword; in the shadow of his hand hath he hid me, and made me a polished shaft; in his quiver hath he hid me; and said unto me, Thou art my servant, O Israel, in whom I will be glorified. Then I said, I have laboured in vain; I have spent my strength for nought, and in vain; yet surely my judgment is with the LORD, and my work with my God.

And now, saith the LORD that formed me from the womb to be his servant, to bring Jacob again to him, Though Israel be not gathered, yet shall I be glorious in the eyes of the LORD, and my God shall be my strength. And he said, It is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.

Thus saith the LORD, the Redeemer of Israel, and his Holy One; To him whom man despiseth, to him whom the nation abhorreth, to a servant of rulers, Kings shall see and arise, princes also shall worship, because of the LORD that is faithful, and the Holy One of Israel, and he shall choose thee.¹

The LORD GOD hath given me the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary: he wakeneth morning by morning, he wakeneth mine ear to hear as the learned. The LORD GOD hath opened mine ear, and I was not rebellious, neither turned away back. I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair: I hid not my face from shame and spitting. For the LORD GOD will help me; therefore shall I not be confounded: therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed. He is near that justifieth me; who will contend with me? let us stand together: who is mine adversary? let him come near to me. Behold, the LORD GOD will help me; who is he that shall condemn me? lo, they all shall wax old as a garment; the moth shall eat them up.

Who is among you that feareth the LORD, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness, and hath no

¹ Isaiah xlix. 1-7.

light? let him trust in the name of the LORD, and stay upon his God.¹

Very striking is the similarity between the calling of the two prophets. When the call is given to the Master the Lord says: "See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant:"² a very peculiar formula of vocation, which we find also in the Book of Jesus the son of Sirach, as the distinctive designation of Jeremiah. "For they entreated him evil, who nevertheless was a prophet, sanctified in his mother's womb, that he might root out, and afflict, and destroy; and that he might build up also and plant."³ In like manner it is said of this Servant of the Lord: "I have put my spirit upon him, he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set judgment in the earth; and the isles shall wait for his law."⁴ Already had Jeremiah seen in the conversion of his own nation the bringing in of the heathen to the faith; he says, addressing the people: "If thou wilt return, O Israel, saith the LORD, return unto me: and if thou wilt put away thine abominations out of my sight, then shalt thou not remove. And thou shalt swear, the LORD liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness;" and then he adds: "and the Gentiles shall bless themselves in him, and in him that they glory."⁵ And in xvi. 19 it says: "The Gentiles shall come unto thee from the ends of the earth, and shall say, Surely our fathers have inherited lies, vanity, and things wherein there is no profit."

The setting forth and exhibiting in all their fulness, these great thoughts of Jeremiah as the high, inalienable vocation of the people of Israel in the world's history, is the main object of the whole series of prophecy contained

¹ Isaiah i. 4-10.

² Jeremiah i. 10.

³ Ecclesiasticus xlix. 7.

⁴ Isaiah. xlii. 1-4.

⁵ Jeremiah iv. 1, 2.

in the Appendix to Isaiah. "I have declared the former things from the beginning; and they went forth out of my mouth, and I shewed them; I did them suddenly and they came to pass. . . . Yea, thou heardest not; yea, thou knewest not: nor from that time was thine ear opened."¹ The train of thought is clear. "Of a truth," says in effect the sacred writer, "the purport of the new prophecy rests upon the former one. That has been fulfilled. The Jews have been carried away to Babylon; Jerusalem is lying waste. All this has been foretold by Jeremiah. Did he not prophesy of the carrying away captive to Babylon, and of the wasting and desolation of Jerusalem and the whole land? Nay, further, how the captivity should last for seventy years, and how Israel should once more rise up to a new life?" An ancient word of God, quoted by Isaiah, had declared: "In that day shall the branch of the LORD be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the earth shall be excellent and comely for them that are escaped of Israel."² No doubt Jeremiah, too, was familiar with these words, and believed them, and proclaimed them afresh with a new force. "Yea, salvation shall come," he had exclaimed, "not by outward reforms and practices, but as the setting up of a divine reign of truth and righteousness." It should not come through a natural scion of the degenerate house of David; but a righteous Branch shall be raised unto David, a king shall reign over Judea and prosper, but what shall he be called: **THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.**³ The prophet had relinquished all hope for the present royal house, precisely because he so firmly believed in the ultimate destiny of the nation, and the eternal import of the promise made to David.

What the great prophet of the age had foretold, that

¹ Isaiah xlvi. 3, 8.

² Isaiah iv. 2.

³ See Jeremiah xxii. 30, and xxiii. 6. "No man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah." "In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely: and this is his name whereby he shall be called, **THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.**"

shall now receive its fulfilment ; so runs the message of the younger prophet. Israel shall be redeemed. " But Israel shall be saved in the Lord with an everlasting salvation : ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded world without end." ¹ " Unto me every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall swear, and shall say : Only in the LORD alone is righteousness and strength." ²

And what did the horizon of that date present to view ? Cyrus has begun his glorious career. The Lord says : " Thus saith the LORD to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him : " ³ " Go ye forth of Babylon, flee ye from the Chaldeans, with a voice of singing declare ye, tell this, utter it even to the end of the earth ; say ye, The LORD hath redeemed his servant Jacob." ⁴ And this is the sense too of that difficult passage in the forty-third chapter, where it says : " Thus saith the LORD, your redeemer, the Holy One of Israel ; For your sake I have sent to Babylon, and have brought down all their nobles, and the Chaldeans, [those in the city who are fugitives from the country, and even the native inhabitants,] whose cry is in the ships." ⁵

But here we must guard against over-hasty conclusions. The victorious approach of Cyrus is announced, but not the immediate overthrow of the doomed city. On the contrary, the gradual fall of Babylon took place by very slow degrees. According to the lists of the Perso-Median kings, Cyrus reigned over the Medians and Persians for twenty years before he is included in the Babylonian lists. According to Herodotus, Nineveh had become a Median or Medo-Persian city at a very early date, and the widow of Nebuchadnezzar, when she became Regent, took precautions against an invasion on the part of Media.

We have no knowledge whatever how long Jeremiah lived in Egypt, nor in what country he was towards the end of the year 586 B.C. We have, however, not one, but

¹ Isaiah xlv. 17.

² Isaiah xlv. 23, 24.

³ Isaiah xlv. 1.

⁴ Isaiah xlviii. 20.

⁵ Isaiah xliiii. 14.

two prophecies of Jeremiah dated from Egypt; one concerning the fate of Egypt itself; and the other concerning the idolatrous Jews who were sojourning there. The first is contained in Jeremiah xliii. 81-3; the second in ch. xliv. Both, especially the second, attest the prophet's activity in his mission and his observant eye for the circumstances around him. His predictions are very stern, but we do not hear that they brought about his death, so that his murder must be referred to a later period. If we assume the year 580 B.C. as that of his death, we should have thirty-four years from then to Cyrus' victory over Cræsus 546 B.C. Even at that date Cyrus must have made preparations against Babylon. In 543 B.C. he was already on the banks of the Gyndes. Thus we shall not have more than five-and thirty years at most to assume between the death of Jeremiah and the inspired delineation of the life and death of the great prophet in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. Thus the author and many of his contemporaries might very well have witnessed the sufferings of the great martyr. No other supposition seems to us to explain those passages in the fifty-third chapter in which the disciple uses the expression "*we*." So, again, it enables us to explain all those passages which speak of the ancient idolatries and of the vengeance coming upon Edom, the treacherous brother nation, quite in the spirit of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

So much for that which the author of this Appendix says or hints concerning himself. Let us now turn to see what we know of Baruch. In Jeremiah xxxvi. it is stated that, in the fourth year of king Jehoiakim—the year after the great battle of Carshemish (405 B.C.), or in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, about three years after Jeremiah had, at the peril of his life, delivered his prediction of the captivity in Babylon, he commanded his disciple Baruch to write all his prophecies in a book, and to rehearse this book publicly in the temple, since he himself was restrained from repairing thither. Baruch the son of Neriah fulfilled

this commission with a courage worthy of his master, first in the temple, and afterwards at their command before the princes, who confiscated the horrible book, and informed the king of it. The latter ordered the roll to be fetched and read before him, but hardly had his servant read a few leaves of these fearful predictions, when the king threw them into the fire and commanded the whole book to be burnt. On this, Baruch wrote the whole over again in a fresh book to the dictation of Jeremiah, who added to the words a tremendous denunciation against the tyrant. After this, Jeremiah was no longer able to show himself in public, and Baruch shared his lot.¹ At this time when the faithful disciple had written down his master's words, the latter spake to him by inspiration, saying :—

Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, unto thee, O Baruch ;

Thou didst say, woe is me now ! for the LORD hath added grief to my sorrow ; I fainted in my sighing, and I find no rest.

Thus shalt thou say unto him, The LORD saith thus : Behold, that which I have built will I break down, and that which I have planted I will pluck up, even this whole land.

And seekest thou great things for thyself ? seek them not : for, behold, I will bring evil upon all flesh, saith the Lord : but thy life will I give unto thee for a prey in all places whither thou goest.²

These words open to us a deep glimpse into the mind of the disciple. Baruch had not yet renounced his youthful hopes ; full of courageous faith and confidence in the victory of the good cause, he had hoped to behold with his own eyes the better time, the day of salvation, and was resolved to speak and to labour for that time with all enthusiasm. The failure of the expectations which he had built upon the public reading of his master's prophecies,—for the prophecy we are considering seems to presuppose that occurrence,—caused him the sharpest sorrow. The

¹ Jeremiah xxxvi. 26.

² Jeremiah xlv. 2-5.

Spirit inspires Jeremiah to comfort him, but at the same time to utter the pregnant saying : " Seek not great things for thyself ! The times will grow worse and worse ; thou wilt accomplish no more than I have done ; thou too wilt have to flee into a strange land, only thy life shall not be taken from thee ! "

That this came to pass is attested at once by the existence of our Appendix to Isaiah and by tradition, in so far as it transfers him to Babylon, as is shown by the late Alexandrine book in the Apocrypha which bears his name.

Baruch remained with his master through all his troubles, and when, after the assassination of Gedaliah, the infatuated leaders of the Jews, who had gathered around that chieftain, rebelled against the wise and truthful advice of the prophet, they tauntingly said to him : " Thou speakest falsely : the LORD our God hath not sent thee to say, Go not unto Egypt to sojourn there : but Baruch the son of Neriah setteth thee on against us, for to deliver us into the hand of the Chaldeans, that they might put us to death, and carry us away captives into Babylon." ¹ Hence it is plain that Baruch was the confidential friend of his master and was supposed to exercise an overweening influence over him. He must therefore have expressed himself very decisively in favour of the plan of remaining in the land as long as possible, and even of going to Babylon rather than to Egypt. Now if, as Ewald avers, the Appendix to Isaiah betrays traces of having been composed in Egypt, this would almost amount to a direct proof that Baruch was its author ; unless indeed our hypothesis be pronounced altogether inadmissible, which it cannot.

Did Baruch remain in Egypt ? Did he succeed in joining the larger body of the Jews in Babylon ? We only know that in the year 558 B.C., therefore eight-and-twenty years after the destruction of Jerusalem, he sent letters of consolation to the Jews who had been carried

¹ Jeremiah xliii. 2, 3.

away into Babylon, and that he could not have written the Appendix to Isaiah before the year 546 or 549 B.C. But the fate of this composition itself proves that its author must have died before the fulfilment of his hopes, which took place in the first year of Cyrus, or 539 B.C., so that in this instance, too, Jeremiah's prediction and his warning not to hope to witness the better times, were fulfilled.

His prophecies remained anonymous. Many orthodox Jews might doubt whether there could still exist prophets after the extinction of the polity and the cessation of the temple-worship! But apart from that, who had consecrated the author to his prophetic mission? Where was his divine call?

Thus it is easy to explain how the editor of the prophecies of Jeremiah and Isaiah should himself be lost to sight amid the radiance of those great luminaries of the decline and fall of the monarchy, and that his own prophecies should remain without a name and form no independent book.

When seven or eight years after that Appendix was written, Cyrus gave the people permission to return, of which 50,000 availed themselves, an entirely new generation had grown up during the Captivity. This new generation, at least those of them who returned to their own land, were much more obedient to the law than their fathers had been, but at the same time felt very keenly the lowness of their present estate, as we see even up to the time of Nehemiah. And now, when the image of Jeremiah could not but loom out before them in ever stronger and grander outlines, that of his disciple would naturally retire more and more into the background. He was simply an author; he had had no opportunity for public life, he could point to no attestation of his calling save the Spirit of God within him; he had no outward achievement to show; he had lived in Egypt without personal influence, and had died before the advent of the great turn in the national fortunes. When this arrived, men saw in it the

predictions of Jeremiah and their accomplishment; while no one thought of Baruch. The book of Ezra tells us in its opening chapter, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah was fulfilled, when the spirit of Cyrus was stirred up to give the Jews permission to return.

But that in the Maccabean age, when our Old Testament canon was closed, the prophecies of the disciple should have been appended to those of Isaiah, after the latter had been supplemented by the addition of the historical chapters from xxxvi. to xxxix., because these contained acts and speeches of the prophet, is a very comprehensible proceeding. For those stories from the life of Hezekiah end with the intimation given by the prophetic statesman, that the descendants of that vain monarch should be carried away captive to that same city, whose prince, having risen in insurrection against the suzerainty of Assyria, was at this date intriguing for the friendship of Hezekiah.

That the later Jews should have overlooked the interpolated conclusion to the prophecies of Isaiah, which had been inserted by their predecessors, and should not have detected in the Appendix the beginning of a new but anonymous book, is much more easy to explain than that the Christians should have needed so long a time to discover and confess the truth which was lying so close at hand.

And now let us review the wonderful dispensations of Providence. The disciple wished to exalt Jeremiah, and it has been permitted to him to do so to the highest degree. Jeremiah was and remained "the Prophet" in a pre-eminent sense, as we see from the New Testament; his reappearance was expected by the Jews, who were waiting for the Messiah. Thus, in the Second Book of Maccabees, the popular poetry exhibits him as the glorified hero, mediator and advocate, of his people. He had sustained the sacred flame, and shown the priest the secret

place. According to the same legend, before the battle with Nicanor, Judas Maccabeus had descried another form standing beside the high-priest Onias, as he made intercession for the people; "a man with gray hairs, and exceeding glorious, who was of a wonderful and excellent majesty," who was, as Onias told him, "a lover of the brethren, who prayeth much for the people, and for the holy city, to wit, Jeremiah the prophet of God."¹ From his hand the hero received a golden sword wherewith to combat the enemies of the Lord.

But in how much more glorious a sense was that fulfilled which the inspired disciple had beheld in the spirit at the first dawning of the hope of salvation and the return of the banished ones! Not only did Jerusalem rise again to an independent existence among nations, through the heroic courage and faith of the Maccabees and their adherents, but from the bosom of the restored Jewish polity there arose the only absolutely righteous and divine Saviour, Who recognized in those words a prophecy of Himself and his own life, with the destined establishment of the true kingdom of God upon earth springing from his death; Who moreover fulfilled the fate predicted for the great prophet in a still higher degree, with far more poignant suffering to his soul. It was his disciples who carried the message of salvation to all nations, and thus made the true Israel the teacher of all peoples, and Zion the middle of the whole earth, as was foretold in those prophecies.

Thus it is pre-eminently around four great personages, Abraham and Jeremiah, with Moses and Elijah, that the religious ideas of the Hebrews have clustered, and gradually put forth their later growths. Among the remaining prophets, Joel and Isaiah shine out most conspicuously by their gifts of penetrating prophetic vision and their power of quickening spiritual life in others,

¹ 2 Maccabees xv. 13, 14.

through its energy in themselves; but we are wholly unacquainted with the circumstances of Joel's life, and of Isaiah's, know nothing more than what stands in immediate connection with the prophetic visions which he relates. Of these we shall notice and explain in the following sections all that seem to have a bearing upon the general course of man's historical development.

CHAPTER III.

THE LEADING IDEAS OF PROVIDENCE PRESENTED IN THE
HEBREW PROPHETS.

IN estimating this series of divinely-inspired men presented to us in the prophetic books of the Bible—a series extending over five centuries—we must ever start with the recognition that the collective consciousness which forms their mental atmosphere, and underlies all their single sayings, is a fact grander and of more momentous import for history than any of these single utterances themselves. And this common ground is no other than that majestic conception of the Kosmos, which in the preceding sections we have been attempting to delineate. The fact that for the space of so many centuries, amidst such diversified and tremendous vicissitudes of fortune, in such an unexampled isolation from other peoples, the national mind should have maintained the sense of a common humanity at so high a level as is implied in that conception; the fact, again, that the men who are the organs of the Spirit should have vindicated their freedom of speech and of action, and in later times of writing, in the teeth of kings and populace, are matters of still mightier import to the history of our race than any of their particular utterances, be they ever so exalted. But notwithstanding the spiritual interpretation put upon these prophecies by Christ himself, Who was in the highest sense their fulfilment and glorification, yet from very early times they have been degraded by His followers to the level of Jewish formalism or Gentile superstition. The so-called allegorical mode of interpretation, originally a child-like way of conceiving the Ideal, soon became a

childish one, and at the present day we cannot but term it an utterly superannuated view, which, if obstinately clung to, will inevitably either conduct its adherents to hypocrisy or insanity, or the world to error and barbarism. By those inspired men finite objects were seen as they appeared in the object-glass of the Eternal, and hence their presentation of these objects has an eternal truth in itself; their prophetic utterances unveil and call attention to this truth, but they do not create it. The apotheosis of chaste and faithful bridal love in the Canticles speaks to the human heart of Divine love, for the very reason that all earthly love, seen by the light thrown upon it by inspiration, is recognized to be an outflow from and type of the Eternal love. But it is only of that human bridal love that the Song itself is speaking. Solomon is the highly intellectual but voluptuous monarch of the Jews, and his sixty queens, and eighty concubines, and virgins without number, are nothing else than sultanas and subordinate wives, and the girls destined to be their successors in the harem, and not, as Hengstenberg would fain persuade his already over-scrupulous friend Delitsch, and impress as a seal of orthodoxy on the minds of his disciples, sixty leading Christian nations, eighty less important members in the realm of the heavenly Solomon, and innumerable other peoples "who have not yet been brought into union with the heavenly bridegroom."

So again the locusts, whose devastations are bewailed by Joel, are veritable locusts, and the prophetic note in Joel consists in the fact, that in this devastating visitation he discovered the type of a more tremendous divine judgment, that should herald in the universal reign of the Spirit. Thus, too, Koresh is no other than the actual Koresh, or Cyrus, the conqueror of Babylon; Babylon itself is really Babylon, and Zion signifies Jerusalem. But as we all know, to the allegorical expositors these illustrious names in the world's history mean anything and everything but what they say. The note of pro-

phesy lies in this, that through the contemplation of the chequered fortunes of their own nation and times, the Hebrew inspired men of God were led up to a higher faith in the ultimate destiny of mankind; and behind the dark clouds of the present gathered over Zion, descried the glimpse of a glorious light that should shine out from Zion to lighten all peoples and sanctify them in their hearts; the which has truly come to pass. So, again, the prophet saw in Cyrus from the very outset of his reign, not simply the man who should redeem the Jews out of their captivity in the haughty imperial capital, but, in that monarch's reign, he greeted the dawning of a more expanded and exalted manifestation of the Kingdom of God, which should set itself in overpowering hostility to all idolatry, and thus conduct mankind to the true freedom. So, too, in Zion all those seers beheld the type of that Divine Kingdom itself. Now, forasmuch as there is a verity in this idea of the Divine Kingdom and its final victory; and forasmuch as those prophets, under the guidance of that illuminated apprehension of divine things, recognized that Zion should be the starting-point of this Kingdom, and held fast to this belief, which was the vital point of faith, are they not only the prophets of their own nation, but of all mankind. The fulfilment of their predictions is not true, because they had a forecasting of it, and in the spirit of prescience declared, or set forth in figures the substance of that fulfilment: but their predictions are true, because the fulfilment has come to pass; and the fulfilment has taken place, because it is an integral part of the appointed course of human development; which course again is the outflow of God's eternal Thought and Counsel, the belief in which constitutes religion, and is the universal ground and indispensable pre-requisite of every religion.

Now just as all inner life has a side that is turned towards the external world, so likewise many of the appeals and considerations presented by the prophets,

may, many even of the predictions themselves are of purely temporary and local import. But, in point of fact, it was the more immediate vocation of these men to labour for the advancement of their own age, their own nation, towards the higher life.

Lastly, every prediction of national ruin or deliverance is based upon the supposition of a corresponding ungodly or repentant temper of mind on the part of the nation addressed, in respect to which man's moral freedom claims her right; and thus either curse or blessing may be frustrated, if the supposition be falsified. Upon this principle must we judge of the particular cases which we now pass on to consider. These will be arranged according to the leading ideas of the divine order of the world discoverable in the prophetic writings. In all of them their central point is the Kingdom of God, that is to say, the carrying out upon this earth of God's plan of the world, according to which light and truth are destined to prevail over injustice, brute force, and lies.

The historical exhibition and philosophical explanation of this grand fundamental article of belief will yield us the clearest proof how unsatisfactory, defective, and untenable is the ordinary doctrine of divines respecting Messianic prophecy. Resting as it does on philological mistakes and historical falsities, this childish conception hides far more of the truth than it unveils; while a correct appreciation of the grand world-wide facts of history is rendered impossible by it in the present state of thought and criticism. Nay, by the unintelligent insistence upon those theological formulas, and the unchristian spirit in which they are pressed upon our acceptance, the faith of all thinking men in our congregations is shaken, even when it is not uprooted, and the Christian people more demoralized than by all the political revolutions and *coups d'état*. For the educated Christian public will never believe that the union with God, which is the end of all religious ordinances and

rites, can have been made dependent upon such child's play; and to this is added what is still worse, that a suspicion of dishonesty and deceit attaches to such efforts on the part of the clergy, in the minds of all who do not know, or do not make sufficient allowance for, the power of theological prejudices and superstitious acquiescence in received notions. And thus there is preparing in the Churches of Protestant Germany a great falling-away, the prognostics of which even now none but the blind do not see, and which those only can successfully labour to avert, who have not contributed to its production. And what means shall they employ? None other than to recognize, and resolutely to expose, the true nature of that counterfeit reverence for the letter which some are seeking to set up in contravention to Reason, and to extol as scriptural and pious on that very account; nay, to make binding on our religious instructors, if not an article of faith for the congregation at large, and to have preached from our pulpits and professorial chairs.

The arrangement here made of the leading ideas presented in the Hebrew prophets, has not been selected at random. For in so far as those ideas have a permanent historical significance for the world at large, their chronological sequence cannot be without a meaning. Hence we shall present them in the order in which they really occur; and their order of succession will readily disclose to any unprejudiced observer an organic process of development. For the same reason we shall in each subdivision carefully follow the chronological order.

THE FIRST PROPHETIC VISION OF THE DIVINE
GOVERNMENT.

THE RELIGION OF THE SPIRIT IS THAT OF THE FUTURE, AND
IS DESTINED TO BECOME THE COMMON POSSESSION OF ALL
MANKIND.

I.

Joel, the Prophet of the Tenth Century before Christ.

The son of Solomon had been deeply humbled by the predatory incursion of Sheshonk. The temple and palace had been despoiled of their treasures; the whole nation was plunged in mourning, for the Phœnicians had carried off numbers of children, and sold them for slaves beyond the sea to the Ionians. To all these troubles was now added, about the middle of the tenth century B.C., a heavy visitation upon the land, namely heat, drought, and locusts.

Such is the horizon before the prophet's eye. After depicting the general misery and sorrow, Joel proclaims to the cruel foe the divine retribution for his unrighteousness, and to the mourning nation that remains faithful to its God, abundance and blessing. But after this, he continues:—

And ye shall know that I am in the midst of Israel, and that I am the LORD your God, and none else: and my people shall never be ashamed. And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: and also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my Spirit. And I will shew wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the LORD come. And it shall come to pass, that whatsoever shall call on the name of the LORD shall be delivered: for in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be deliverance, as the LORD hath said, and in the remnant whom the Lord shall call.¹

¹ Joel ii. 27-32.

As we know from the Acts of the Apostles, St. Peter commenced his inspired harangue on the day of Pentecost with the application of these words. The religion of the Spirit recognized its own lineaments in those renowned ancient words of the venerated seer; and history has justified this exposition. It is very noteworthy that this spiritual and universal conception of the Kingdom of God is also the most ancient.

II.

*The old Prophet referred to in Isaiah and Micah; or
Prophecy in the Eighth Century.*

The key-note struck by Joel vibrates through the later prophets and the book of Psalms. But already in very early times, nay perhaps coeval with Joel, if not proceeding from him, there went out a prophecy which expresses the same ideas; and though it has been lost to us in its original context, in its present form it conveys its thought in language equally forcible and singular, and must have been held in great authority among the people, since it was incorporated almost word for word among their own prophecies both by Isaiah, the son of Amos, soon after the middle of the eighth century B.C., and some forty years later by Micah, when, after the destruction of Samaria, the clouds were gathering over Judah: compare Isaiah ii. 2-4, with Micah iv. 1-3. The latter passage runs thus:—

But in the last days it shall come to pass, that the mountain of the house of the LORD shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and people shall flow unto it. And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into

pruning-hooks : nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

In Micah we find another verse which evidently forms the conclusion :—

But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree ; and none shall make them afraid : for the mouth of the LORD of hosts hath spoken it. For all people will walk every one in the name of his God, and we will walk in the name of the LORD our God for ever and ever. In that day, saith the LORD, will I assemble her that halteth, etc.¹

Thus the kingdom of righteousness and truth, proceeding from Mount Zion, shall spread over the face of the whole earth, and its consequence shall be universal peace. The sense of the last words can be none other than this, that all nations shall become God's children, that is to say, shall be taught to know the true God as their own God, therefore not exclusively according to the Jewish law. Thus the separate nationalities are not to be absorbed, but to retain their own distinctive characteristics, of which their mode of worship is to be the token. But all is to be done in the name of Jehovah, who is not only the God of all nations, but even now already the sole Lord of the people of Israel.

III.

Isaiah, the Son of Amos, in the Reign of Hezekiah.

The conception of the ultimate universal diffusion of the knowledge of the true God, and with it the advent of peace to all mankind, is presented to us with peculiar magnificence by Isaiah himself in a wonderful passage occurring among the latest of his prophecies. When the Lord shall arise to judge the earth and to smite down the oppressors, he says :—

In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the LORD of hosts ; one shall

¹ Micah iv. 4-6.

be called, The city of destruction. In that day shall there be an altar to the LORD in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the LORD. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the LORD of hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the LORD because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the LORD shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the LORD in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation; yea, they shall vow a vow unto the LORD, and perform it. And the LORD shall smite Egypt: he shall smite and heal it: and they shall return even to the LORD, and he shall be intreated of them, and shall heal them.

In that day shall there be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land: whom the LORD of hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance.¹

Thus Assyria and Egypt are to retain their nationality, but they are to be animated by a common faith, united by a common sentiment. What a prodigious, more than human stride in progress!

IV.

Jeremiah.

We find these two characteristics of spirituality and universality, declared by Joel to be the elements of the religion of the future, again united in the writings of the greatest of all the prophets, living at the close of the freedom and independence of the nation and the State. Thus, in chapter iv. 2, Jeremiah says:—

And thou shalt swear, the LORD liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness: and the nations shall bless themselves in him, and in him shall they glory.

And again:—

The Gentiles shall come unto thee from the ends of the

¹ Isaiah xix. 18-25.

earth, and shall say, Surely our fathers have inherited lies, vanity, and things wherein there is no profit.¹

But it is the reception of the Divine judgments which is to awaken the nations to righteousness and bring them to salvation, as Jeremiah impresses on them in a grand prophecy, which we shall hereafter have to quote at length : “AND THIS IS HIS NAME WHEREBY HE SHALL BE CALLED THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.”²

V.

The Disciple of Jeremiah and Contemporary of Cyrus.

The idea uttered by Joel, that the divine teaching is given to man in a direct manner, by inward illumination, was nobly set forth and expanded by that inspired Gospel prophet, whose writings are appended to those of Isaiah. We would call attention in particular to the following passage : “And all thy children shall be taught of the LORD ; and great shall be the peace of thy children.”³ But the same inspired seer has also proclaimed in more glowing language than any before or after him the universality of God’s spiritual kingdom. For shortly after he continues : —

Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money : come ye, buy, and eat ; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.⁴

And, again :

MINE HOUSE SHALL BE CALLED A HOUSE OF PRAYER FOR ALL PEOPLE. The LORD God which gathereth the outcasts of Israel saith, Yet will I gather others to him, beside those that are gathered unto him.⁵

It is not alone the dispersed and captive Jews who are to be gathered together again out of all places ; no, others too, aliens and outcasts, shall be brought in Zion to the knowledge of the true God, which brings peace in its train

¹ Jer. xvi. 19.

² Jer. xxiii. 6.

³ Isaiah liv. 13.

⁴ Isaiah lv. i.

⁵ Isaiah lvi. 7, 8.

and causes thanks and praise to break forth from joyful lips :—

I create the fruit of the lips ; Peace, peace to him that is far off, and to him that is near, saith the LORD ; and I will heal him.¹

And when that is accomplished all shall unite in the sublime hymn of praise with which this prediction concludes :—

Arise, shine ; for thy light is come, and the glory of the LORD is risen upon thee. For, behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people : but the LORD shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee. And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. Lift up thine eyes round about, and see : all they gather themselves together, they come to thee : thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters shall be nursed at thy side.²

And so on, in the same strain, to the close of this hymn, in which the thought is expressed that henceforth the personal will of the princes or the powerful shall no longer prevail, but *law*, the expression of the divine justice. Thus we read :—

I will also make thy officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness. Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders ; but thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, and thy gates Praise. The sun shall be no more thy light by day ; neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee : but the LORD shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory. Thy sun shall no more go down ; neither shall thy moon withdraw itself : for the LORD shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended. Thy people also shall be all righteous : they shall inherit the land for ever, the branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified. A little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation : I the LORD will hasten it in his time.³

And all this is to take place, not in some future state of existence, but here, on this earth, and as a result of the progressive establishment of the kingdom of God.

¹ Isaiah lvii. 19.

² Isaiah lx. 1-4.

³ Isaiah lx. 17-22.

VI.

Malachi, about 400 B.C.

All the glorious anticipations we have hitherto cited, were delivered when Judah was still an independent people, or at least when some expectations of the restoration of that independence were still cherished. The actual issue of affairs under the Persian sceptre did not correspond to these hopes, and the courage of belief sank, but the spirituality of the Prophet's views of this world rose higher and higher. Thus, in dark and troublous times, Malachi declares to his countrymen who plumed themselves upon the external purity of their worship, while their hearts were given to the world :—

Who is there even among you that would shut the doors for nought? neither do ye kindle fire on mine altar for nought. I have no pleasure in you, saith the LORD of hosts, neither will I accept an offering at your hand. For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name is great among the heathen, saith the LORD of hosts.¹

Not only will the pure knowledge of God supersede all idolatry in the time to come; but now already, the heathen, who with a pure heart offers his prayers and sacrifices, is dearer to the Lord than the hypocritical priesthood in the temple dedicated to Jehovah. Both the grammar and context are against the usual translation of this memorable passage, which makes it apply to the future; but, in our version of it, it becomes only the more exalted and remarkable.

¹ Malachi i. 10, 11.

SECOND PROPHETIC VISION OF THE DIVINE
GOVERNMENT.

THAT IN ORDER TO BRING IN THIS RELIGION OF THE SPIRIT, THE
OUTWARD CULTUS WHICH HAS USURPED ITS PLACE MUST BE
OVERTHROWN BY THE DIVINE JUDGMENTS.

I.

Amos, about 790 B.C.

When, nearly eight centuries before Christ, the severed realms of Judah and Israel were living in careless disregard of God, and sunk in sensuality and avarice, notwithstanding the renewal from time to time of a pure worship and outward observances, there resounded an ancient saying with new energy from the mouth of Amos, the shepherd of Tekoah in Judah :—

Woe unto you that desire the day of the LORD ! to what end is it for you ? the day of the LORD is darkness, and not light. As if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him ; or went into the house, and leaned his hand on the wall, and a serpent bit him. Shall not the day of the LORD be darkness, and not light ? even very dark, and no brightness in it ? I hate, I despise your feast-days, and I will not dwell in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt-offerings and your meat-offerings, I will not accept them : neither will I regard the peace-offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs ; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. But let judgment run down as water, and righteousness as a mighty stream. Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel ? ¹

II.

Hosea, about 780 B.C.

The same doctrine is taught, in similar tones, by Hosea ; the younger contemporary of Amos. After rebuking those who turn to the Lord with an outward repent-

¹ Amos v. 18-25.

ance, in order to escape outward sufferings, he says, in conclusion :—

Come, and let us return unto the LORD; for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up. After two days will he revive us: in the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight. Then shall we know, if we follow on to know the LORD: his going forth is prepared as the morning; and he shall come unto us as the rain, as the latter and former rain unto the earth. O Ephraim, what shall I do unto thee? O Judah, what shall I do unto thee? for your goodness is as a morning cloud, and as the early dew it goeth away. Therefore have I hewed them by the prophets; I have slain them by the words of my mouth: and thy judgments are as the light that goeth forth. For I desired mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings.¹

THIRD PROPHETIC VISION OF THE DIVINE GOVERNMENT.

THE REDEMPTION OF JUDAH SHALL COME FROM A RULER WHO IS A SCION OF THE HOUSE OF DAVID, AND WHO SHALL SET UP A KINGDOM OF ETERNAL SALVATION AND PEACE FOR ALL MANKIND.

I.

Isaiah, the Son of Amos, in the Eighth Century B. C.

Nathan the prophet had beheld a vision, according to which the house of David should be established on the throne for ever,² *i. e.* for many ages. For three centuries this prediction had been receiving its fulfilment, when, under King Ahaz, amidst internal disorders, Isaiah, the son of Amos, descried the approach of great outward tribulation, just when the more pious of his fellow-countrymen were cherishing great hopes from the pious dispositions of the heir to the throne, now growing up to man's estate, Hezekiah, afterwards King. The passage in which he expresses this hope stands in connection with

¹ Hosea vi. 1-6.

² 2 Samuel vii. 12, 13.

two preceding signs. Rezin, the King of Syria, had allied himself with the King of Israel, to make war upon Judah, and capture Jerusalem. The king and the people were in the greatest consternation. Ahaz grew faint-hearted, but the citizens of Jerusalem, or at least a considerable portion of them, preferred making peace with these two kings to calling in the aid of the mighty monarch of Assyria. The prophet rebuked both parties, and predicted that the threatened storm of incursion would blow over. As the sign or pledge of his prediction he pointed to a young bride, and prophesied that the child she should bear should be a son, and that he should eat honey and milk, the usual diet of children, up to his youth—up to from eight to twelve years of age—because in those days the land should be laid waste.¹ But before he has outgrown his childhood, before “he shall know to choose the good, and refuse the evil, both those kings shall be humbled, and the land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings.” This child’s name shall be called Immanuel, that is to say : God is with us.²

But ere this space of time had elapsed, the prophet received a second vision, according to which the overthrow of the two oppressors, Syria and Israel, was destined to happen within two years. As a pledge of this he gave the following sign ; that his wife should bear a son whose name should be : Speed-to-the-spoiling—Haste-away-with-the-booty ; or Maher-sha-lal-hash-baz. For before the child should have knowledge to cry “my father, my mother,” the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria should be taken away through the defeat of their kings by the King of Assyria.³ In reality he came to the help of Ahaz, who had sent him rich presents, and in effect rendered himself tributary to him. But the invasion of Sennacherib followed at no distant date, when, after the death of Ahaz, Hezekiah refused the payment of the tribute, and Samaria had fallen after a three years’

¹ See Isaiah vii. 20-23.

² Isaiah vii. 14.

³ Isaiah viii. 1-4.

siege. Now soon after the two former visions, or while Ahaz was still living, the prophet had a third, in which he foresaw the coming ruin still more clearly than before. This vision inspired him to utter the following words:—

Nevertheless the dimness shall not be such as was in her vexation, when at the first he lightly afflicted the land of Zebulun, and the land of Naphtali, and afterward did more grievously afflict her by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, in Galilee of the nations. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. Thou hast multiplied the nation, and not increased the joy: they joy before thee according to the joy in harvest, and as men rejoice when they divide the spoil. For thou hast broken the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, as in the day of Midian. For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood; but this shall be with burning fuel of fire. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The Mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the LORD of hosts will perform this.¹

Hezekiah, the heir to the throne, then a boy, and in all probability the pupil of the prophet, was in fact the first pious king for many generations. He sent envoys even to the lost Northern tribes, who had well-nigh sunk down into heathenism, inviting them to attend the feast of the Passover in Jerusalem. Thus a conscientious interpretation cannot but see in him the immediate subject of Isaiah's prediction. But it is clear that the terms employed are so exalted that the king who is to bring about this work of restoration and reconstruction is raised into a Typical Personage, and is presented to us in the high character of a future Redeemer. For he is a king of peace, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.

¹ Isaiah ix. 1-7.

II.

Zechariah, the Son of Berechiah.

A similar vision was vouchsafed about a generation later to the elder Zechariah, the son of Berechiah, whose venerable prophecies were, either through carelessness or misconception, bound up with those of his later namesake of the Persian era, either when the remains of the national literature were collected by the synagogue of Ezra, or else in the Maccabean age. In the prophecy referred to, the prophet says by the word of the Lord :—

Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass. And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle bow shall be cut off: and he shall speak peace unto the heathen: and his dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth.¹

III.

Jeremiah.

On this subject, too, the most profound and spiritual declarations are those which are spoken by the mouth of Jeremiah :—

Behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely; and this is his name whereby he shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.²

These last words go far beyond those which precede them. God Himself will be the Saviour. His wisdom, His justice shall reign, and shall reign in the hearts of men. We shall have to return to this thought in our last section relating to the prophecies of universal import.

¹ Zechariah ix. 9, 10.

² Jeremiah xxiii. 5, 6.

FOURTH PROPHETIC VISION OF THE DIVINE
GOVERNMENT.

A CONSCIOUS VOLUNTARY SURRENDER OF LIFE ON BEHALF OF THE NATION OR OF MANKIND, TO THE GLORY OF GOD, IS THE CONQUEST OVER THE WORLD AND THE KINGDOMS THEREOF, AND THE RECONCILING OF THE HUMAN FAMILY WITH GOD.

Baruch, the Disciple of Jeremiah.

We have already seen how Jeremiah, at the close of the Jewish polity, openly gave utterance to the idea, that the true goal of all the chequered destinies of his own nation and of mankind at large, was to be the manifestation of the immediate union between the Divine and Human natures, and the superseding of the outward tables of the Law by the religion of the inner man, the law written on the hidden tablets of the heart.

One generation after Jeremiah, and, if we mistake not, by that distinguished disciple of his whose writings were incorporated by the synagogue with those of Isaiah, the great word was uttered:—*that the true conquest of the world is the self-surrender of the Teacher, who shall knowingly make his life a sacrifice for the redemption of his people, and of mankind from their sins.* Our readers will see that we are referring to the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, which has already partially come under consideration. But this subject is too important, not to present here all that is necessary to its complete understanding, and we think that the passages we shall have to adduce also furnish a further subsidiary proof that the author of the Appendix to Isaiah was no other than the disciple of Jeremiah, and that this book was therefore probably composed in Egypt. We give the whole passage at length:—

Behold, my servant shall deal prudently, he shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high. As many were astonished at thee; his visage was so marred more than any man, and his

form more than the sons of men. So shall he sprinkle many nations; the Kings shall shut their mouths at him: for that which had not been told them shall they see; and that which they had not heard shall they consider.¹

Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the LORD revealed? For he grew up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground: he had no form nor comeliness: and when we saw him, there was no beauty that we should desire him. He was despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with griefs; and we hid, as it were, our faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not.

Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the LORD hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth. He was taken from prison and from judgment: and who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off out of the land of the living; for the transgression of my people was he stricken. And he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death; because he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth.

Yet it pleased the LORD to bruise him; he hath put him to grief: when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the LORD shall prosper in his hand. He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; for he shall bear their iniquities. Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he hath poured out his soul unto death: and he was numbered with the transgressors; and he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.

¹ Isaiah lii. 13-15.

² Isaiah lii.

FIFTH PROPHETIC VISION OF THE DIVINE
GOVERNMENT.

THE LORD HIMSELF SHALL COME IN A HUMAN PERSON TO JUDGE THE WORLD, AND TO ESTABLISH THE KINGDOM OF GOD, WHICH SHALL BE ESTABLISHED AND EXTENDED OVER ALL THE EARTH BY THE SPIRIT OF GOD.

Malachi, under the later Persian Kings.

In the profoundest of all prophecies, Jeremiah had announced that the Branch out of the house of David, who should establish justice and righteousness upon the earth should be called "The Lord our Righteousness." Here we have two contrasts brought into prominence. First, the contrast between the earthly person who should arise, and the Eternal God. The name of the Branch of the house of David who should reign as a righteous king, is essentially the Lord Himself, the Eternal One, Whose work he is to fulfil, Whose purpose he is to accomplish; within the bosom, indeed, of his own nation, but in behalf of all Mankind. The Eternal has conferred upon him His own name. In the second place, however, this passage assumes that the conscience of believing mankind has a direct faculty of hearing the Divine voice. God Himself is the Justifier of men, in so far as they find peace through faith in Him, the Righteous and Merciful One, Whose voice they hear in their inmost heart, the voice of Eternal Love. The prophet has expressed the same thought in another passage, and declared it to be the essence of the new, purely spiritual, and universal Covenant, in the following terms:—

Behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt; which my covenant they brake, although I was an husband unto them, saith the LORD; but

this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel: After those days, saith the LORD, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the LORD: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the LORD: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more.¹

Now, however, both the kingdom and race of David had perished: the Jews who had returned from Babylon feel themselves to be the bondsmen of the Persians, notwithstanding the existence of a Jewish viceroy of the great monarch. The temple had been rebuilt, the holy worship restored; but the Spirit had departed from the prophets. In the midst of these surroundings there resounded a prophecy which re-echoed those ancient thoughts. Malachi, whose bold utterance of God's Oracle respecting the pure offerings of the Gentiles we have already noticed, was compelled to hear His people, when they wearied the Lord with saying in the faint-heartedness of despair or the presumption of impiety:—"Every one that doeth evil is good in the sight of the LORD, and he delighteth in them; or, Where is the God of Judgment?"

"Yea," says the prophet, "the Judge whom ye desire shall verily come, and His judgment with Him."

Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the LORD, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in: behold, he shall come, saith the LORD of hosts. But who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth? for he is like a refiner's fire, and like fuller's soap: and he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver: and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the LORD an offering in righteousness. Then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the LORD, as in the days of old, and as in former years.²

"And then," continues the prophet, after delineating in

¹ Jeremiah xxxi. 31-34.

² Mal. iii. 1-4.

detail the sins to be judged and the judgment pronounced upon them: "then shall ye discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God, and him that serveth Him not."¹ Finally, he concludes his stirring exhortations to rectitude and mercy with a reference to his precursor:—

Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the LORD: and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse.²

If we take the whole in its connection, the sense is this:—"You have desired to see God's judgment; I tell you it will come. The LORD himself will sit in judgment upon the whole earth. He will come to you as the messenger of the covenant; holding up before you that covenant to which you have sworn and which you have broken."

The parallelism is too clear to admit of any mistake. They had asked for judgment—the Judge appears, after the warning prophet had preceded Him. Thus to turn the "messenger of the covenant" into Elijah is nothing but the desperate expedient of those to whom the text seems to talk nonsense. But such should learn, or should not forget, that God's highest revelation is ever a Man or Humanity,—a finite embodiment of the Divine Personality and Divine Spirit. The exposition of this prophecy given by the Evangelists,³ confirmed by Christ's declaration respecting John the Baptist, and still more by his assertion in John viii. 24, 28, 58, is the only tenable one. Translated into the language of dialectic thought, we might paraphrase it thus:—"The prophets have declared unto you the precepts of God and His government of the world agreeably to the Law. The mightiest among them is yet to appear; in spirit an Elijah. But after him, will

¹ Mal. iii. 18.

² Mal. iv. 5, 6.

³ Matt. xi. 10; Mark i. 2; Luke i. 17.

appear the Lord Himself, as the Judge of the world; clothed with a personality which shall express God's inmost essence as it is in itself, and reveal that with a Divine power. He shall set up the kingdom of God, and establish it for ever. For from Him shall proceed a Divine Spirit that shall be poured forth over all believing mankind."

The expression "Messenger of the Covenant" is not a bolder metonymy than that already noticed—"The Angel or Messenger of his presence."

CHAPTER IV.

THE THEORY OF THE UNIVERSE EXHIBITED IN THE PSALMS.

THE theory of the universe presented by the Hebrew prophets is the true Semitic epos ; the word which the Hebrew nation has to utter for Humanity ; the story which it is commissioned to report and to authenticate. This prophetic view of the world develops itself in gazing on the past and present history of this nation, whose *origines* run back beyond the very beginning of the human race into the regions of eternity. But from this the seer's vision turns again towards the future, and pursues this, too, up to the final reign of the Eternal on this earth.

As the epic reflex of the history of man assumed this prophetic shape, so did the lyrical assume the no less ancient form of psalmody. The swift glance into man's inmost soul, and from thence again up to God, out into nature, and again over the nations and mankind, this is the field of the Psalmist. Here, too, the vital points of moment for all history are substantially the same as those which form the peculiar and indigenous characteristics in the prophetic conceptions, and discover to us an inward unity of spirit.

To trace this unity in every instance, through all its ramifications, with their several specialities, would require a connected exposition of all those psalms which treat of anything beyond temporary and local topics. Within the limits of the present book, we can but call attention to a few principal passages, but we maintain expressly that these do but illustrate the all-pervading religious sentiment of those psalms that have any reference to the

question in hand. In our particular illustrations we shall present this theory of the universe in the historical order, in accordance with the three great epochs of historical development which have stratified themselves in the Psalms. These three epochs we may define as that of David and Solomon, that of the divided Kingdoms up to the Captivity, and that of the Second Temple. Respecting the distinctive tokens of these epochs, and the method of obtaining fixed, objective landmarks for the determination of details, I refer my readers to my Commentary on the Bible. Even in England scarcely any one who cares for his reputation will cavil at our assumption of such epochs in the Psalter. On the authority of our sacred text itself, we possess in the Book of Psalms remains and selections from private compilations, and that the interval of time over which sacred lyrical inspiration extends should be of such unexampled extent, makes the compilation only the more unique. That not many years ago a distinguished prelate of the English Church should have unhesitatingly treated the Psalter as a collection of Temple hymns, and in its totality as a hymn-book, designed expressly to be sung or recited at set times by the Christian Church like the Romish Breviary or the Anglican Liturgy, is only remarkable as an evidence of the shallowness of a certain professedly reverent, but inwardly sceptical and utterly unbiblical, theology.

THE FIRST LEADING IDEA.

THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE RESTS ON THE UNITY OF ITS INWARD INTUITION OF DIVINE THINGS, WHICH IS IN HARMONY WITH THE LAW.

“When thou saidst, Seek ye my face, my heart said unto thee, Thy face, LORD, will I seek.” So says the Psalm xxviii., probably of Davidic origin. This is the key-note of the whole book of Psalms. In the thirty-sixth

Psalm, reckoned among the Psalms of David in the Appendix to the first of the five books, and though perhaps of somewhat later date, still no doubt anterior to the Babylonish Captivity, we read :—

How excellent is thy loving kindness, O God ! therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings. They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy house ; and thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures. For with thee is the fountain of light : in thy light shall we see light.¹

And what can be nobler than the upward aspiration of the Psalmist's heart towards God, the omnipresent, the true *Life* of man, in the 139th Psalm, written after the return from captivity :—

O LORD, thou hast searched me, and known me. Thou knowest my downsitting and mine uprising, thou understandest my thought afar off. Thou compassest my path and my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways. For there is not a word in my tongue, but lo, O LORD, thou knowest it altogether. Thou hast beset me behind and before, and laid thine hand upon me. Such knowledge is too wonderful for me ; it is high, I cannot attain unto it. Whither shall I go from thy Spirit ? or whither shall I flee from thy presence ? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there : if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea ; even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me. If I say, Surely the darkness shall cover me ; even the night shall be light about me. Yea, the darkness hideth not from thee ; but the night shineth as the day : the darkness and the light are both alike to thee.²

¹ Psalm xxxvi. 7-9.

² Psalm cxxxix. 1-12.

SECOND LEADING IDEA.

THIS APPREHENSION OF GOD IS THE SOUL'S ONLY AND INEXHAUSTIBLE SOURCE OF COMFORT, AND IS AT ONE WITH EARNEST MORAL ASPIRATION.

An inspired seer who lived after David, but belonged to the period prior to the Captivity, writes thus in the sixty-third Psalm :—

O God, thou art my God; early will I seek thee: my soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee in a dry and thirsty land, where no water is; to see thy power and thy glory, as I have seen thee in the sanctuary. Because thy lovingkindness is better than life, my lips shall praise thee. Thus will I bless thee while I live: I will lift up my hands in thy name. My soul shall be satisfied as with marrow and fatness; and my mouth shall praise thee with joyful lips: when I remember thee upon my bed, and meditate on thee in the night watches. Because thou hast been my help, therefore in the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice. My soul followeth hard after thee: thy right hand upholdeth me.¹

In another Psalm of prayer, we find the soul's upward glance to God declared to be our support under the sense of the vanity of life and the sultry burden of our daily toils and cares :—

LORD, make me to know mine end, and the measure of my days, what it is; that I may know how frail I am. Behold, thou hast made my days as an handbreadth; and mine age is as nothing before thee: verily every man at his best state is altogether vanity. Surely every man walketh in a vain shew: surely they are disquieted in vain: he heapeth up riches, and knoweth not who shall gather them. And now, LORD, what wait I for? my hope is in thee. Hear my prayer, O LORD, and give ear unto my cry; hold not thy peace at my tears: for I am a stranger with thee, and a sojourner, as all my fathers were.²

¹ Psalm lxxiii. 1-8.

² Psalm xxxix. 4-7, 12.

THIRD LEADING IDEA.

THIS MORAL ASPIRATION WITHIN US FIRST URGES US TO AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT THAT SIN HAS ESTRANGED US FROM GOD AND MUST BE HEALED BY SELF-ABASEMENT; AND THEN IMPELS US TO A GRATEFUL SURRENDER OF THAT SELF TO GOD.

Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man unto whom the LORD imputeth not iniquity, and in whose spirit there is no guile.

When I kept silence, my bones waxed old through my roaring all the day long. For day and night thy hand was heavy upon me: my moisture is turned into the drought of summer. I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the LORD; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.

For this shall every one that is godly pray unto thee in a time when thou mayest be found: surely in the floods of great waters they shall not come nigh unto him. Thou art my hiding-place; thou shalt preserve me from trouble; thou shalt compass me about with songs of deliverance.¹

The same tone is continued by the singer of the fortieth Psalm:—

I waited patiently for the LORD; and he inclined unto me, and heard my cry. He brought me up also out of an horrible pit, out of the miry clay, and set my feet upon a rock, and established my goings. And he hath put a new song in my mouth, even praise unto our God: many shall see it, and fear, and shall trust in the LORD.

Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire; mine ears hast thou opened: burnt offering and sin offering hast thou not required. Then said I, Lo, I come: in the volume of the book it is written of me, I delight to do thy will, O my God: yea, thy law is within my heart. I have preached righteousness in the great congregation: lo, I have not refrained my lips, O LORD, thou knowest. I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart; I have declared thy faithfulness and thy salvation: I have not concealed thy lovingkindness and thy truth from the great congregation.²

¹ Psalm xxxii, 1-7.

² Psalm xl, 1-3 and 6-10.

And in Psalm I. this true thank-offering of the life is demanded by the Lord Himself:—

The mighty God, even the LORD, hath spoken, and called the earth from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof. Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined. Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence: a fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him. He shall call to the heavens from above, and to the earth, that he may judge his people.

Gather my saints together unto me; those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice. And the heavens shall declare his righteousness: for God is judge himself.

Hear, O my people, and I will speak; O Israel, and I will testify against thee: I am God, even thy God. I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices nor thy burnt-offerings, which have been continually before me. I will take no bullock out of thy house, nor he goats out of thy folds. For every beast of the forest is mine, and the cattle upon a thousand hills. I know all the fowls of the mountains: and the wild beasts of the field are mine. If I were hungry, I would not tell thee; for the world is mine, and the fulness thereof. Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats? Offer unto God thanksgiving; and pay thy vows unto the Most High: and call upon me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.¹

FOURTH LEADING IDEA.

ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF THE MORAL ORDER OF THE WORLD, WHICH HOLDS EQUALLY VALID FOR INDIVIDUALS AND FOR NATIONS, EVIL IS SELF-DESTRUCTIVE, BUT GOODNESS AND TRUTH SHALL ENDURE, AND BE ESTABLISHED MORE AND MORE.

This is in all ages the central point of the distinctively Hebrew theory of the world, which is *based upon that sense of direct relationship with God*. We will select but a few out of many illustrations. In the ninth Psalm the poet sings:—

But the LORD shall endure for ever: he hath prepared his

¹ Psalm I. 1-15.

throne for judgment. And he shall judge the world in righteousness, he shall minister judgment to the people in uprightness.¹

And, again, Psalm xi. :—

The LORD is in his holy temple, the LORD's throne is in heaven : his eyes behold, his eyelids try, the children of men. The LORD trieth the righteous : but the wicked and him that loveth violence his soul hateth. Upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire, and brimstone, and an horrible tempest : this shall be the portion of their cup. For the righteous LORD loveth righteousness ; his countenance doth behold the upright.²

And, again, in the later alphabetical didactic poem of Psalm xxxvii. we have these words :—

Fret not thyself because of evil doers, neither be thou envious against the workers of iniquity. For they shall soon be cut down like the grass, and wither as the green herb. Trust in the LORD, and do good ; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed. Delight thyself also in the LORD : and he shall give thee the desires of thine heart. Commit thy way unto the LORD ; trust also in him ; and he shall bring it to pass. And he shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgment as the noon-day.

Rest in the LORD, and wait patiently for him : fret not thyself because of him who prospereth in his way, because of the man who bringeth wicked devices to pass. Cease from anger, and forsake wrath : fret not thyself in any wise to do evil. For evildoers shall be cut off : but those that wait upon the LORD, they shall inherit the earth. For yet a little while and the wicked shall not be : yea, thou shalt diligently consider his place, and it shall not be. But the meek shall inherit the earth ; and shall delight themselves in the abundance of peace. The wicked plotteth against the just, and gnasheth upon him with his teeth. The LORD shall laugh at him : for he seeth that his day is coming. . . .

For the arms of the wicked shall be broken : but the LORD upholdeth the righteous. . . . I have been young, and now am old ; yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread. Wait on the LORD, and keep his way,

¹ Psalm ix. 7, 8.

² Psalm xi. 4-7.

and he shall exalt thee to inherit the land : when the wicked are cut off, thou shalt see it.¹

In the Psalmist of the seventy-third Psalm we find one to whom this faith was a hard-won prize after severe inward conflicts in an age when many in Israel had lost faith, because they had seen the wicked prosper and the righteous oppressed. He only who is of pure heart can maintain a correct, unclouded vision of the universe ; but the believer soon finds a confirmation of that vision :—

Truly God is good to Israel, even to such as are of a clean heart. But as for me, my feet were almost gone ; my steps had well-nigh slipped. For I was envious at the foolish, when I saw the prosperity of the wicked. . . .

Therefore his people return hither : and waters of a full cup are wrung out to them. . . .

If I say, I will speak thus ; behold, I should offend against the generation of thy children. When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me ; until I went into the sanctuary of God ; then understood I their end. Surely thou didst set them in slippery places : thou castedst them down into destruction. How are they brought into desolation, as in a moment ! they are utterly consumed with terrors. As a dream when one awaketh ; so, O LORD, when thou awakest, thou shalt despise their image.²

Here we have the idea of a divine Nemesis, an avenging, retributive justice, in the Hellenic sense. Still more nakedly is this thought conveyed in a verse of the seventy-sixth Psalm, the hymn of praise, for the deliverance of Jerusalem when besieged by Sennacherib :—

Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee : the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain. Vow, and pay unto the LORD your God : let all that be round about him bring presents unto him that ought to be feared.³

The wrath or arrogance of man (the *ὕβρις* of the Hellenes) shall conduce to the glory of God. The contemplation of the past and its vicissitudes shall bring consolation to the wise man under the trials of the present,

¹ Psalm xxxvii. 1-13, 17, 25, 34.

² Psalm lxxiii. 1-3, 10, 15-20.

³ Psalm lxxvi. 10, 11.

and animate him to praise the Lord. Thus in the seventy-seventh Psalm we read:—

And I said, This is my infirmity: but I will remember the years of the right hand of the Most High. I will remember the works of the LORD: surely I will remember thy wonders of old. I will meditate also of all thy work, and talk of thy doings.¹

This theory of the divine government is associated with the most glowing love of the fatherland, inasmuch as God is regarded as its proper Lord and ruler, and the State as the fulfilment of His commands. Thus in one of the hymns sung during the pilgrimage to the holy city, we read:—

They that trust in the LORD shall be as Mount Zion, which cannot be removed, but abideth for ever. As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the LORD is round about his people from henceforth even for ever. For the rod of the wicked shall not rest upon the lot of the righteous; lest the righteous put forth their hands unto iniquity.

Do good, O LORD, unto those that be good, and to them that are upright in their hearts. As for such as turn aside unto their crooked ways, the LORD shall lead them forth with the workers of iniquity: but peace shall be upon Israel.²

FIFTH LEADING IDEA.

THE REIGN OF GOODNESS AND TRUTH IS DESTINED TO BE UNIVERSAL
OVER THE WHOLE EARTH.

The True and the Good is not the exclusive possession of any nation, not even of the elect people of God. Thus a Korahite singer, writing in the time of Manasseh, or at all events after the downfall of Assyria, says in that profound eighty-seventh Psalm, speaking of Zion:—

His foundation is in the holy mountains. The LORD loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob. Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God.

¹ Psalm lxxvii. 10-12.

² Psalm cxxv.

I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon to them that know me : behold Philistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopia : this man was born there. And of Zion it shall be said, This and that man was born in her : and the highest himself shall establish her. The LORD shall count, when he writeth up the people, that this man was born there.

As well the singers as the players on instruments shall be there : all my strings are in thee.¹

A similar exalted strain of sentiment is expressed in the ninety-sixth Psalm by a Psalmist of the second Temple :—

Give unto the LORD, O ye kindreds of the people, give unto the LORD glory and strength. Give unto the LORD the glory due unto his name : bring an offering, and come into his courts. O worship the LORD in the beauty of holiness : fear before him, all the earth.

Say among the heathen that the LORD reigneth : the world also shall be established that it shall not be moved : he shall judge the people righteously. Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad ; let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof. Let the field be joyful, and all that is therein : then shall all the trees of the wood rejoice before the LORD : for he cometh, for he cometh to judge the earth : he shall judge the world with righteousness, and the people with his truth.²

In conclusion let us quote a very late alphabetical Psalm of praise by a singer of the second Temple :—

I will extol thee, my God, O king ; and I will bless thy name for ever and ever. Every day will I bless thee ; and I will praise thy name for ever and ever. Great is the LORD, and greatly to be praised ; and his greatness is unsearchable. One generation shall praise thy works to another, and shall declare thy mighty acts. I will speak of the glorious honour of thy majesty, and of thy wondrous works. And men shall speak of the might of thy terrible acts : and I will declare thy greatness. They shall abundantly utter the memory of thy great goodness, and shall sing of thy righteousness.

The LORD is gracious, and full of compassion ; slow to anger, and of great mercy. The LORD is good to all : and his tender mercies are over all his works. All thy works shall praise thee, O LORD ; and thy saints shall bless thee. They shall speak of

¹ Psalm lxxxvii.

² Psalm xvi. 7-13.

the glory of thy kingdom, and talk of thy power; to make known to the sons of men his mighty acts, and the glorious majesty of his kingdom.

The kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and thy dominion endureth throughout all generations. The LORD upholdeth all that fall, and raiseth up all those that be bowed down. The eyes of all wait upon thee; and thou givest them their meat in due season. Thou openest thine hand, and satisfiest the desire of every living thing.

The LORD is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works. The LORD is nigh unto all them that call upon him, to all that call upon him in truth. He will fulfil the desire of them that fear him: he also will hear their cry, and will save them. The LORD preserveth all them that love him: but all the wicked will he destroy. My mouth shall speak the praise of the LORD: and let all flesh bless his holy name for ever and ever.¹

The same key-note is heard in every epoch of the Psalms, but most distinctly in those of the Second Temple, faithful to the spirit of that great evangelical prophet, who upon the ruins of the ancient Temple prophesied of the other that should arise. Let us listen to Psalm viii. :—“O LORD our LORD, how excellent is thy name in all the earth.” And so likewise in Psalm xxiv. :—“The earth is the LORD’S, and all that therein is;” or the ninety-third Psalm :—“The LORD is King,” etc. Again the ninety-sixth, ninety-seventh, ninety-ninth Psalms are written in a kindred spirit, and so is, last of all, that incomparable Psalm of thanksgiving concerning the kingdom of God,—Psalm cxlv. After these, we cannot but understand in a universal sense the blessing which the singer of the eighty-fifth supplicates for his land, and confidently trusts will be granted :—

Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other. Truth shall spring out of the earth and righteousness shall look down from heaven. Yea, the LORD shall give that which is good; and our land shall yield her increase. Righteousness shall go before him; and shall set us in the way of his steps.²

¹ Psalm cxlv.

² Psalm lxxxv. 10-13.

CHAPTER V.

THE GENERAL THEORY OF THE UNIVERSE PRESENTED IN THE
PSALMS COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE BOOK OF PROVERBS.

THE two compilations with which that part of the Jewish Canon termed the Hagiographa commences,—the collection of sacred Poems and that of Aphorisms,—both reach back to the age of David and Solomon, and the composition of Psalms seems to have continued up to the Maccabean age; yet according to the superscription of chap. xxv. our present book of Proverbs seems to have been closed in the time of Hezekiah. The whole fulness of the characteristic Hebrew conceptions of the universe pours itself forth more richly in the Psalms; but the Proverbs too, especially those of the earliest date,¹ stand high above all other Asiatic collections of aphorisms, not excluding the Arabic. They form a worthy pendant to the Gnostic poetry of the Greeks, without indeed the exuberance of fancy or the poetic freshness which characterize the latter, but with a firmer grasp on the central moral truths common to all theories of Providence.

The true wisdom is the recognition of what is God's will regarding us; "the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom." But this is so little comprised within the observance of prescribed ordinances, that the latter are scarcely mentioned, or if so, it is evidently only as precepts hal-
lowed by the idea of the communion of the people of God. Wisdom consists in the apprehension of the divine wisdom displayed in outward nature and in the dispensations of life. Through its possession alone can man be

¹ These are probably those included from chap. x. 1. to chap. xxii. 16.

rendered happy in the true sense ; indeed it is that which lends brightness to our whole view of human life. True, man is oppressed by a sense of sin ; for : “ Who can say, I have made my heart clear, I am pure from my sin ? ”¹ But honest endeavour and purpose to do right, coupled with humility, render a man just before God, and such an one has an inward sense of happiness, and is not cast down by the adverse chances of life. Wisdom is, in another passage, called “ a tree of life ; ” an expression which occurs also in the most ancient part of the Proverbs ;² in analogy with what is indubitably the original purely spiritual meaning of the image when occurring in the narrative of the Creation.

Of the gloomy view of the world prevailing in all the rest of Asia, which, like the sense of our mortality, ever goes hand in hand with the excessive indulgence in sensual pleasure, there is no trace either in the Proverbs or in the Psalms. Still, in both these books, there is a slight shade of that melancholy which breathes through all Oriental poetry and meditation composed in historical times, whether of earlier or later date, up to the present day. Thus in the ninetieth Psalm, which is probably with good reason ascribed to Moses himself, the writer exclaims with a profound sense of sadness :—

Thou turnest man to destruction ; and sayest, Return, ye children of men. For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night. Thou carriest them away as with a flood ; they are as a sleep : in the morning they are like grass which groweth up. In the morning it flourisheth, and groweth up ; in the evening it is cut down, and withereth. . . . The days of our years are threescore years and ten ; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow ; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away.³

But what is his object in fixing our eyes on the transi-

¹ Proverbs xx. 9.

² Proverbs iii. 18 ; cf. xv. 4 ; xi. 30 ; xiii. 12.

³ Psalm xc. 3-6, 10.

toriness of this life, but to point us onward to that which is eternal, spiritual, raised above time and space?

This root-idea, that the divine purpose of wisdom, goodness, and love is the eternal ground and true cause of all that is temporal and visible, is nowhere more forcibly expressed than in that sublime discourse, which the ancient poet, writing in Solomon's name, puts into the mouth of the eternal Sophia or Wisdom, or Word of God:—

Counsel is mine, and sound wisdom: I am understanding: I have strength. By me kings reign, and princes decree justice. By me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth. . . . The LORD possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was. When there were no depths, I was brought forth; when there were no fountains abounding with water. Before the mountains were settled, before the hills was I brought forth: while as yet he had not made the earth, nor the fields, nor the highest part of the dust of the world.

When he prepared the heavens, I was there: when he set a compass upon the face of the depth. When he established the clouds above: when he strengthened the fountains of the deep: when he gave to the sea his decree, that the waters should not pass his commandment: when he appointed the foundations of the earth: then I was by him, as one brought up with him: and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him; rejoicing in the habitable part of his earth; and my delights were with the sons of men.¹

Above all important, however, in its bearing upon the mental history of our race, is the plenitude of faith and hope with which these inspired men regarded the future destinies of Humanity. And it is in the very depths of sorrow from individual and national afflictions that this tone of hope resounds most loudly and triumphantly. Thus that memorable twenty-second Psalm, which opens with the cry of anguish wrung from the sufferer by oppression and injustice,—“O my God, I cry in the daytime, but

¹ Proverbs, viii. 14-16 and 22-31.

thou hearest not; and in the night season, and thou hearest not," ends with these words:—

All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the LORD: and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee. For the kingdom is the LORD'S: and he is the governor among the nations. All they that be fat upon earth shall eat and worship: all they that go down to the dust shall bow before him, and none can keep alive his own soul. A seed shall serve him; it shall be accounted to the LORD for a generation. They shall come, and shall declare his righteousness unto a people that shall be born, that he hath done this.¹

All these are elevating conceptions, which have not been engendered by the ceremonial law or by the pressure of forms, but have arisen side by side with, or even maintained themselves in despite of, the latter. It is still more surprising that such soul-inspiring conceptions of the destiny of mankind should, under the pressure of the law and of outward rites, form the constant key-note of Hebrew thought, than that such ideas should have maintained their ground under external oppression and political miseries. It is these ideas that constitute the strength of the Semitic tenacity of character and the unique historical distinction of the Hebrews.²

¹ Psalm xxii. 27-31.

² On this whole subject, we would refer our readers to the weighty and profound remarks of Bruch, contained in his "Weisheitslehre der Hebräer," s. 102-157. (Strasburg: 1852.)

CHAPTER VI.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE HEBREWS AS MANIFESTED IN THEIR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND PHILOSOPHIC THOUGHT.

Their Political Institutions.

THE political life of the Semite is based on a tribal constitution which is the offspring of the patriarchal family government. Whenever the Semite tries to advance beyond this, he entangles himself in conditions with which, in the long run, he is not able to cope. A spiritual dictatorship soon becomes unendurable to him, but the secular one in which he takes refuge, after a time shapes itself into a despotism under the form of a Khalifate; that is to say, an hereditary succession of reigning prophets. The Semites are republicans in sentiment, but do not know how to construct a political republic. Nowhere does this republican spirit come out more strongly than in the Old Testament. The Jews hate monarchy, which is, in fact, imposed upon them as a curse and penalty for their sins, as, indeed, is the case with every despotism.

The Semite readily yields obedience to a chieftain who belongs to his tribe, and is of an energetic, upright, and generous disposition, just as the Celt obeys the head of his clan. The reason is, that in the eyes of the Semite it is personal character alone that confers a title to power. For a *person*, he can be inspired with enthusiasm, carried away to fanaticism; but any claim to hereditary sovereignty, even in the shape of a Khalifate, is in his best periods utterly repugnant to him, and he vindicates his own freedom and that of his kindred tribes against a

tyrant the first moment that the opportunity presents itself. At a republic he can only arrive by means of a flourishing municipal life, and, moreover, such a life as will bring him into contact with the rest of the world by means of navigation and commerce, and force him beyond the range of his own ideas, and the narrow limits of his tribe. This, however, has in actual history come to pass only in the cases of Tyre, Sidon and Carthage, and even there under forms which compared with those of Sparta herself are very far from free. All the other Semitic States are despotisms, tempered at best by a species of priestly aristocracy. The largest scale on which a fraternization of separate Semitic tribes has ever been effected, is no doubt that of the Arabic tribes, with their grand historical national outbloom during the first enthusiastic days of Islamism. But here, too, it is the religious element which forms the mainspring of the political development; it is the contact with foreign influences which sets this development in motion, and gives it a stamp of world-wide significance. The conquering Arabs have never invented anything of historical importance, either in art or science. Their oldest mosques in Egypt are the work of Byzantines; their philosophy is the Aristotelian. The Arabian translation of the Stagirite does not even appear to have been made from the original Greek, but to have been taken at secondhand from Syriac translations, or to have been composed by Syrian Christians for their own use. Its many Hebraisms seem to indicate that it is the work of learned Jews. In ideal conceptions of the human figure or of brute forms, the Assyrian sculptures stand immeasurably below those of the much earlier Khamites or Egyptians. But indeed it is still a moot question, whether the representation of natural objects, or, in general, that of life and motion in which these sculptures are superior to the Egyptian, had been learnt from the Assyrians by the Ionians, or, what seems to me more probable, have been transmitted by the Ionians to the

Assyrians. From what primeval times the existence of plastic art dates in Hellenic Asia Minor, is now proved documentarily by the statue of Niobe on the rock of Sipylus near Magnesia, which notwithstanding much that is imperfect in the details, is still of indescribable magnificence, and to which the singer of the last canto of the Iliad refers, as an object familiar to his hearers. As yet we know of no Assyrian or Babylonian sculptures reaching back to so early an age; for such a statue as that in question assuredly cannot be one of the earliest productions of the art, and yet it can hardly be assigned to a later age than that of Ninus or Semiramis. The singer of the last canto would not have named anything in connection with Priam, but what was of primeval date. In the folded hands of this figure and head bowed down with sorrow, we clearly recognize the genius of Hellenic art whose distinctive token is the expression of the mental mood, and moreover a freedom in rendering the play of soul which bespeaks no imitator but an inventor.

It is true that in this same Iliad the men of Tyre and Sidon appear as those who contribute the masterpieces of art; but in this no more is implied than that they diffused them over the world in their capacity of navigators and merchants of the heroic age, not that they were their producers also.

Solomon's Temple and its ornaments were the work of Phœnician artists, but to judge from the description alone we should infer that in point of taste they were not to compare with the works of the ancient Egyptians, least of all as regards architecture, of which the style is much purer in the Elder Egyptian empire than in the Second.

Lastly, as regards the Semitic philosophy of the world's order, we find that among the heathen Semites, this did not extend beyond wise aphorisms and similar expressions of earnest but gloomy reflection on human destinies. All that is profound in their thoughts lies within the precincts of cosmogonic imagery and dreams.

Such is the historical place which the Semitic tribes take in respect to polity, art, and science. And it is from this common platform of their race, that we must judge of the grade attained by the religious consciousness of the Hebrews, especially as exhibited in political life, if we are to do them justice. Let us consider the results of the Hebrew sense of divine things in their historical import, according to the three natural stages of social life—marriage and the family,—the patriarchal relations of the chieftain of a tribe with his people, or the polity associated with clan-life,—and the federal State into which that polity develops itself.

As regards marriage, we find even so far back as Abraham, monogamy recognized as the only legitimate state of things. In the patriarchal times, childlessness is held to justify the taking of a second or third wife in addition to the first, but evidently only as an exception, and as the privilege of the wealthy. To the pious and righteous Hebrew of that age, the marriage relationship is a personal one, which involves, if logically carried out, the doctrine that monogamy is the only moral state of things. The elevated conception of marriage presented in the record of the creation, testifies to a most profound sense of the sacredness of monogamy as the most intimate possible union of two persons. The prophets and the contemplative books sustain this high view, and even recognize in marriage the type of the relation of the Lord to His people.¹ It is the divine, irresistible might and authority of wedded love and truth which is wrought out and magnified in the lovely book of Canticles; and while it will ever remain the disgrace of Hengstenberg and his school to have committed the almost blasphemous error of insisting that this poem is an apotheosis of the most voluptuous and licentious of the Hebrew monarchs, who is, moreover, according to them, expressly set forth there

¹ See Hos. ii. 20; Ezek. xvi. 8; cf. Mal. ii. 14; Prov. ii. 17. See Ewald, "Alterthümer," s. 231.

as the antetype of the Redeemer of mankind ; so is it one of the finest triumphs of the critical school, with Ewald at their head, to have recognized at length what is the true and very lofty import of this composition. It is of wedded love and fidelity that the poet is speaking in those noble words :—“Set me as a seal upon thine heart, as a seal upon thine arm : for love is strong as death ; jealousy is cruel as the grave : the fervour thereof is as coals of fire, which hath a most vehement flame. Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it : if a man would give all the substance of his house for love, it would utterly be contemned.”¹ It is true that the complete equalization of the woman and the man in respect to marriage and divorce never took place previous to the contact of Christianity with the Teutonic mind. But its germs were already latent in the sentiment, belief, and manners of the Hebrews ; and it is, in fact, to these that Christ appeals when he made that declaration of the inviolability of the marriage tie, at which his disciples stumbled so greatly. Polygamy is not prohibited among the Hebrews, but as practised among their chieftains of tribes it is an utterly different thing from the horrible Seraglio customs, of which we find instances here and there in the wild times depicted in the Book of Judges, and then introduced as a regular regal institution by David and Solomon. But this royal licence is condemned in the supplement to the Law, or Deuteronomy.

The view of sexual impurity displayed in Leviticus is in the most direct contrast to its deification among the heathen Semites.² Looked at from this comparative point of view, the respect for the moral dignity of man stands out most conspicuously, not only in the relations of man and wife, but also in those of children to parents, and above all, in those of the wealthy to their poor hired labourers, nay, also, of the master to his slave. Where else

¹ Song of Solomon viii, 6, 7.

² See Ewald, ‘Alterthümer,’ s. 161 to 218.

among Semitic races do we find the inculcation of humane feeling towards slaves as fellow-men? Where such respect for woman, such dignity assigned to marriage? Where among any other Semitic people such liberty accorded to woman, or such female characters as wives and mothers, prophetesses and chieftainesses? No Hebrew, male or female, can remain in servitude longer than six years, except by their own consent;¹ but even the slave of an alien race is received into the congregation, and if chastised by his master so as to endanger life, he obtains his freedom. The fugitive slave who has taken refuge in a city of Israel is not to be surrendered to his master on demand.² How high above the law of the United States, as now determined, do these words of Deuteronomy stand: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him."³ Corporal punishment for free citizens—without which a certain party in Germany think they cannot maintain their Christian polity nor satisfy their pious consciences—is utterly unknown to the original law in Leviticus. When it had afterwards crept in under the Kings, the Book of Deuteronomy restricted it to forty strokes.⁴

In all this the underlying idea is the strength of man's sense of the divine presence, and the belief in the sacredness of his person, based upon the fact of his being the divine image. In one word, the precise reverse of the sentiments entertained by those among us who set up for being the special partisans of Christianity.

This deep-rooted consciousness of the divine presence maintains its power even in later times, notwithstanding the rigid isolation of the Jews from all other nations. Even in aliens human nature is honoured. "He doth execute

¹ Exodus xxi. 1-11.

² Deut. xxiii. 15, 16.

³ Deut. xxiii. 15, 16.

⁴ Cf. Ewald, s. 157; cf. 190-200.

the judgment of the fatherless and widow, and loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment. Love ye therefore the stranger: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.¹”

In virtue of its firm grasp of this primary belief in man's vocation to be the moral image of God, of the humane sentiments animating the Jewish patriarchs, of the moral and kindly character of its legislation, and the recognition that this moral law constitutes the basis of the Mosaic polity, does the Hebrew religious consciousness constitute even to this day, as regards the foundations and strongholds of political life, an unequalled model for Christian nations, and it would be an excellent thing sedulously to imbue the minds of our congregations with these truly divine and humane portions of the historical books of the Old Testament by reading them aloud in our churches and commending them to the attentive consideration of the flock; especially where, as in Germany and France, it is very few who are at all acquainted with these books.

In the sphere of polity, too, the groundwork of the Hebrew institutions is admirable. The liberty of the individual and self-government stand side by side with reverence for the divine authority of law; and both are recognized in their combination as the eternal pillars of all moral progress, while their maintenance is enjoined as the only moral constitution and form of government. Those who would find a prop for absolutism in the Old Testament, either know not what they are doing, or are guilty of the most barefaced falsehood. Those words of Moses to the congregation of Israel² (which St. Peter appropriated to the Christian Church at its very formation) set the crown upon all his previous organic institutions: “And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation.”

But undoubtedly the later political development by no means corresponded to this noble original framework.

¹ Deut. x. 18, 19.

² Exodus xix. 6; cf. 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9.

Incapable of founding a true federal constitution, after the theocratic rule of Moses and the dictatorship of Joshua are ended, the tribes fall asunder with frightful rapidity, and become by turns tributary to all the successful usurpers of power in Asia. Their ethical religious belief keeps alive in them at all times the root and seeds of a restoration even though the revival should be but of brief duration. But all their critical emergencies, their heroic courage, nay, even their faithful adherence to the distinctive worship of Jehovah, issue in nothing better than a transient subjection to an intolerable sacerdotal yoke, from which in despair they fling themselves into the arms of an unlimited monarchy. The people and the priests elect kings and depose them; nay, even put several of them to death, but the state of their institutions remains unameliorated.

It was the high distinction of the Hebrews, under all these vicissitudes, under oppression, under self-incurred subjection to a foreign sceptre, nay, even in their final overthrow, to glorify the Divine and the universal human element of which they were made the depository. And that is their highest glory in this sphere.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE HEBREWS AS EXHIBITED
IN THEIR PHILOSOPHY UPON THE ORDER OF THE UNIVERSE.

THE very language of the Hebrews shows how deep was their philosophic apprehension of the articles of their religious belief. On this subject it suffices to point our reader's attention to the marked contrast between their constant practice of terming the *soul* the *Self*, the seat of personal identity (insomuch that the word is regularly employed as a personal pronoun, My Soul, *i.e.* I; Thy Soul, *i.e.* Thou), and the Homeric use of this term in the opening of the *Iliad* :

Who many thousand *souls* of the sons of the heroes
Sent down to hell, but stretched *themselves* on the earth,
A prey to the ravening wild-dogs.

How deep a root in philosophic thought must be assigned to their distinctive appellation of the Deity we have already exhibited at length.

This philosophic depth, combined with their prevailing moral earnestness and keen sense of human imperfection, also constitutes, although in very dissimilar modes, the grandeur and historical importance of the two books of meditation on the Moral Order of the world and God's government in it, which are contained in the Bible. Notwithstanding their wide diversity, both present a certain unison with each other, and also a striking contrast on the one hand to the heathen and Mohammedan Semites, and, on the other, to the speculative wisdom of the Hellenes and the Moderns, no less than to the speculations of their kindred in stock,

the Arabians. The first of these two compositions, the Book of Job, taken in conjunction with the Canticles, presents us with the loftiest and most finished æsthetic product of Hebrew literature. The second is the book of Ecclesiastes, or The Preacher.

Job is a Semitic drama of the time of the Captivity. But in it the dramatic element is as yet only just disengaging itself from the Epos, and has not yet acquired an independent shape. The story itself is of Arabic origin, and had been familiar long before the time of Ezekiel, through an Aramaic popular book. Koheleth, or The Preacher, is a purely contemplative, sceptical production of the later Persian period. The person of Solomon is only an assumed disguise on the part of the writer, as he very superfluously tells us himself in the concluding words of this book.

I.

The Book of Job.

He had truly a grand genius who, out of an ancient Arab bardic recital that had grown into a popular book, but dated originally from the age when flourishing states of Northern Arabia contended with the Hymyaric empire for the palm of proverbial wisdom, constructed the first example of a Theodicey, or justification of the ways of God to man, that has had a permanent historical importance. The author of this book soon rises victorious above the view which regards suffering as a punishment for sin, to the only moral and worthy view of God's government of the world,—that suffering is intended to have a purifying effect; and on this path he is finally landed in the conclusion that evil is, even in this world, made to conduce to good against its will, and that God's almighty decree puts a curb upon the sinners. Nor does he fail to perceive, that in order to discover the working of this

eternal law of the world's order, we must look beyond the term of a single human life, and that not unfrequently in particular cases, no solution presents itself, except implicit trust in God, who is at once almighty and all-righteous.

The ultimate solution places the honest though disheartened and almost despairing sufferer far above his friends, who encounter him with stock arguments that are either shallow or hypocritical, devoid of love, insight, or faith, and pronounce condemnation on Job in an equally unjust and unauthorized manner. This repudiation of set maxims of wisdom, and of the traditional unenlightened creed that suffering is a retribution sent by God, betokens in itself a considerable step in religious perception, and probably had already formed the fundamental thought of the Arabian didactic poem. The same may be said of the accompanying recognition of the inherent claims of the unwarped moral sense. But the most momentous principle—that which constitutes the historical importance of this book—is the fundamental thought pervading it throughout, that there subsists between God and man an indestructible personal relationship. Now this is a purely Judaic idea, and stamps its author as one of the prophets. This thought is postulated in the very opening of the book by the circumstance that the Deity answers for Job's unshakable trust in Himself, and man's consciousness of God is thus transferred to the Deity Himself. This fact, too, bears the impress, not of popular tradition, but of the writer's own individuality.

The carrying out of this fundamental thought undoubtedly involves the assumption of the immortality of the divine spark in man; but it is not expressly to be demonstrated from the celebrated passage: "And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God."¹ It is the same with the purely philosophic

¹ Job xix. 26.

solution. Elihu does, indeed, denominate God the Righteous and Strong, but the sole proofs adduced of the righteousness in question are His omnipotence and omniscience. In the passage to which we refer (and which probably contains an allusion to the nocturnal capture and razing of Jerusalem mentioned in 2 Kings xxv. 4 and Jeremiah lii. 7), Elihu says:—

Shall even he that hateth right govern? and wilt thou condemn him that is most just? Is it fit to say to a king, Thou art wicked? and to princes, Ye are ungodly? How much less to him that accepteth not the persons of princes, nor regardeth the rich more than the poor? for they all are the work of His hands. In a moment shall they die, and the people shall be troubled at midnight, and pass away: and the mighty shall be taken away without hand.¹

This idea is worked out with much eloquence and pomp of language, but the speaker does not get beyond it. In conclusion, he intrenches himself behind the inscrutable nature of God's counsels:—

And now men see not the bright light which is in the clouds: but the wind passeth, and cleanseth them. Fair weather cometh out of the north: with God is terrible majesty. Touching the Almighty, we cannot find him out: he is excellent in power and in judgment, and in plenty of justice: he will not afflict. Men do therefore fear him: he respecteth not any that are wise of heart.²

The words of Elihu are the final outcome of mere human wisdom, of which Job's own noble words at once express the central point and the limitations, when he says: "And unto man he said, Behold, the fear of the LORD, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding."³ Our perception of God's presence in the world is not seated in our intelligence, but in our conscience: in our moral sense and our actual practice. The doctrine of our book is that in this—in our conscience

¹ Job xxxiv. 17-20.

² Job xxxvii. 21-24.

³ Job. xxviii. 28.

and in practical obedience to its dictates—does the wise and pious man find the only possible solution of his difficulties. Turning with an instinctive shudder from the wonders of nature to the sublime traces of the Almighty's footsteps in human experience and destinies, the pious seeker after wisdom recognizes not only his own impotence to stem the torrent of evil in the world, but also the adequacy of the grounds for believing in the moral order of the world, and for magnifying God's unsearchable counsels and righteousness. This it is which Job humbly and believingly acknowledges at the conclusion of the book, in response to the solemn yet gracious challenge addressed to him by the Lord. Now, for the first time, does he truly believe ; hitherto he has only known God by hearsay ;—now, he has beheld Him face to face. That is to say, he has acquired a personal conviction ; and hence, though still poverty-stricken and in anguish, he is now happy and blessed.

This highest and immovable resting-point of Job's faith is that of the Gospel, although without that full recognition of God's eternal love for man which the Gospel brings. Philosophically, it is the ground taken by the German philosophers from Leibnitz to Hegel, though without their dialectic formularization.

That faith of Job which saved him and brought him peace has its solid kernel in the tenacity with which he clings to belief in the personal relation of an honest and sincere man to his Maker, and to belief in the justice with which the world is governed. In this trust he flings away all beliefs that come at second-hand, and are not accompanied, corrected, and quickened by inward experience ; in short, all that is merely external both in religion and philosophy. The appearing of the Lord is the expression for this self-revelation of God within man's heart. Or, again, we may say, in other words, that this revelation is the practico-philosophical solution of the enigma of God's moral government of the world. When

the Lord, with divine eloquence, brings home to Job's own heart and eyes, how little he knows or understands of the mysteries of creation, which he sees bodily there before him, Job casts himself to the ground before the Almighty, overwhelmed with the sense of human weakness. But when God further leads him out on to the field of history, and makes him feel how unequal he is to the task of apportioning justice upon earth, or assigning the penalty of crime (which therefore is the object of the divine government), then does Job discern not only his own mistakes and shortcomings, but also the light that gleams through the darkness enshrouding our human lot, which hitherto he had sought in vain to pierce, and he ends all his discourses with these grand words: "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear; but now mine eye seeth thee. Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes."¹ And now is Job justified before God, and experiences the blessedness of true faith. He has humbled himself in sincerity, not in semblance only, or in obedience to outward precept. He had erred through presumption, but his believing revolt against the mere outside shows of faith among the men of his age, was reckoned to him for righteousness, as under other circumstances it had been in a former age to Abraham. The recognition of man's limitation, and of the unsearchableness of the Divine wisdom and power, opens to our ken the highest law of the world's order, and is the primary condition of any comprehension of that law. But a philosophic demonstration of it is not attempted; in the case of the justified man his own actual experience renders such a demonstration unnecessary.

The Book of Job is the climax of the Hebrew religious consciousness presented in the contemplative form, and one of the most perfect master-pieces of literary composition. The view of the Kosmos pervading it is a personal one; it is plainly that of a man of the school of

¹ Job xlii. 5, 6.

Jeremiah—one of profound intellect, who has undergone manifold severe trials. The book bears token of having been composed in Egypt during the Captivity, and very probably its first outline may have received further expansion and elaboration in a second edition.

No doubt its reflections have, even in those days, been the source of rich consolation to many hearts. Its position in the Jewish Canon, immediately before the two collections of Psalms and Proverbs, proves its early reception into the Canon, and the authority which it enjoyed among the Hebrews of the Second Temple.

But a solution of wider extent, with a popular faith based upon that wider solution, was not possible in that age. The horizon of the Hebrew, and indeed of the Asiatic world in general, was and remained overhung with clouds. The epoch appeared to be one in which violence was triumphant, and injustice and tyranny were allowed to establish themselves. Moreover, even among the Jews, the externality of the lawfully-constituted religion, which blunted the sensibilities and stagnated the intellect, had led to unbelief. And, lastly, the fundamental conception presented by the Jewish law, of the omnipotence and retributive justice of God, had necessarily obscured in men's hearts the sense of an ever changeless love—a sense of God's wrath weighed upon the spirit.

But the men who were inspired were raised above this depressing sense, and none more so than the author of our Book of Job. Yet even he only stood on the level of that moral apprehension which, springing from a trust in personal sincerity and piety, has its abiding and deepest roots in the personal relation of God to the individual. Neither philosophy nor history in that age conducted to any solution that satisfied the intellect. Much darker is the view of the world presented by the second of those two books of meditation on human destiny.

II.

*Ecclesiastes. The Words of Koheleth, the Son of David,
King over Jerusalem.*

This pathetic book is the attempt of a God-fearing Israelite to console his doubting and despairing contemporaries with that final conclusion reached by Job. In form, this book is a collection of aphorisms, like the Proverbs of Solomon, and that renders it difficult to understand, since no coherent argumentative treatment of the subject is strictly compatible with this form. But it is plain that the author, like all gnomic poets, wished rather to suggest than to solve enigmas. Even the latest investigations and proposed renderings of the critical school (those of Ewald and Hitzig) have left many passages still obscure. But two points stand out clearly enough, both as to the details and the general tenor of this work, namely, the earnestness of its author's moral theory of the world, and the comfortlessness of that theory. Wisdom is, indeed, to him the most precious of all things, folly contemptible, and a mere outward service of God, at once irrational and sinful. So, too, the practice of the virtue of justice is the mark of true godliness and the fulfilment of the commands of Him who is the Righteous and Almighty One. But still all is vanity; foolish and wicked men prosper, while the just and wise pine in poverty, and even the noblest and best of men soon fade from remembrance. The practical outcome of this doctrine is: Enjoy the present, and do what thou hast to do with all thy might, only with prudence, for nothing beyond the present moment is thine, everything future is uncertain.¹ Even wisdom is of no avail. But the sum and ending of his whole discourse is: "Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter. Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man. For God shall bring every work into judgment, with

¹ Ecc. xi. 1, 9, 10.

every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil." ¹ His view of the whole scope of human affairs is in perfect agreement with this doctrine. All things revolve in an eternal cycle; all that is done has been done before, and will be done again. "Vanity of vanities!" That is the beginning and the end of all! On earth there prevails much injustice and crime; the country is governed by corruptible functionaries; nevertheless it is good that a prince should be set over the province.² Beware of offending the king; it will not advantage thee, but rather be to thy hurt. Moreover, thou art bound to keep thy oath of fealty.

I counsel thee to keep the King's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God. Be not hasty to go out of his sight: stand not in an evil thing: for he doeth whatsoever pleaseth him. Where the word of a king is, there is power: and who may say unto him, What doest thou? ³

Lest, however, we judge such a view of the world by too severe a standard, we must not forget that what the divine Homer says of individuals holds good still more of nations:—

Half that man's virtue does Zeus take away
Whom he surrenders to the servile day.⁴

Only to the noblest minds is it possible sincerely to inculcate on those around, the true moral theory of the world's government during periods of political slavery and religious hypocrisy; epochs that in all ages have given birth to more ungodliness and scepticism than all revolutions and all atheistic books put together.

¹ Ecc. xii. 13, 14.

² Ecc. v. 8.

³ Ecc. viii. 2-4.

⁴ Worsley's *Odyssey*, ii. 322.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HEBREW THEORY OF PROVIDENCE DURING THE TWO CENTURIES BEFORE CHRIST; THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE OTHER SEMITIC PEOPLES—THE BIBLE.

I.

The Maccabees and the Book of Daniel.

THE prevalence of a negative philosophy, and the ominous spread of a fatal tendency to sever faith from knowledge, piety from practice, and prayer from thought, did not prevent a fresh revival of the national sense of religion among the people.

It is the highest glory of the Jews that the fearful era of persecution under the Seleucidæ should have stimulated that people at once to noble deeds and to the conception of glorious hopes for the human race. During the Persian period, the ancient school of prophecy had died a natural death, and it never came to life again under its original form. But their faith and their poetic inspiration yet remained to the Jews, as they did to the Germans during the Thirty Years' War. The hope of deliverance, and, in connection therewith, of a mighty manifestation of God's kingdom upon earth, uttered itself by the voice of divers sublime and touching Psalms, which bear evident tokens of belonging to this epoch. But besides these, in the very midst of the scenes of horror which marked the year 169 B. C., a pious man foretold not only the approaching victory of justice and freedom over the cruel madman Antiochus, but also prophesied the future advent of a political order founded upon justice and liberty, that should embrace the whole earth. We refer to the Book of Daniel, written under the pseudonym of one of the

ancient national heroes, who is mentioned by Ezekiel shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, in connection with Noah, the father of our race, and the patriarch Job.¹ It is one of the finest triumphs and most useful achievements of modern criticism to have succeeded in proving that the Book of Daniel is to be referred to that age. Thus alone can the stain of intentional deceit be removed from the book ; for we are now, by means of the cuneiform inscriptions, sufficiently acquainted with the Chaldean language as it was at the time of Nebuchadnezzar, to be able to affirm that the language of the Book of Daniel is no more the Chaldee of the sixth century B.C. than it is the Hebrew.² But even apart from this, the real value of the book, and the magnificence of the prophetic element contained in it, are for the first time brought to light by this restoral of it to its proper date and significance.

From the moment that Alexander founded Greek empires in Syria and in Egypt, Palestine, the bridge between the two, was brought into a contact with Hellenism, which was fraught with the most inimical results to Judaism. The establishment of the sovereignty of the Lagidæ in Egypt, and of the Seleucidæ in Syria, and their wars upon each other, rendered the position of affairs one of ever-growing peril. But when, after the death of Seleucus Philopator, Antiochus Epiphanes assumed the reins of power in the empire that included Armenia and Parthia, the total downfall of Judea seemed inevitable. Antiochus was bent upon the abolition of that Jewish exclusiveness which formed the disturbing element to his schemes. The first seven years of his reign were still endurable, but after that, he entered on a course of systematic and relentless persecution. All who could not be won over to his views by bribery or seduction were to be crushed ; the most cruel forms of martyrdom awaited the faithful confessors of Jehovah. How could any free

¹ Cf. Ezekiel xiv. 14-20 and xxviii. 3.

² Cf. Bunsen's "Outlines of Universal History," i. pp. 193-214.

speech reach the ears of the people? Only under some disguise or veil. At this juncture, a pious man resolved to avail himself of the popular traditions respecting Daniel, and apply them to the circumstances of his own time, and, in the name of that prophet, proclaim words of admonition and prophecy to the faithful around him. It is impossible to trace how much of his visions and prophecies he found already existing in those traditions of Daniel, the hero of bygone times, who was distinguished for his wisdom and his fidelity to the true faith, nor, indeed, how much altogether he may have borrowed from popular writings which may have treated of Daniel's person and history. One thing, however, as we have already hinted, is certain, the first of his monarchies must have been the Assyrian and not the Babylonian. So, too, it is certain that the writer connected his calculations and mysterious hints respecting future events with the Seventy Years of Jeremiah. The popular faith had no later definite point of attachment than these Seventy Years; yet the course of history, ever since the utterance of that prophecy, seemed in no wise to correspond to the expectation of restoration and prosperity at the close of that period which it had held out to the people of Israel. Alexander might indeed, at the outset of his career, have seemed to many to be the true Koresh, for he at all events favoured the Jews, whether or no he actually himself visited Jerusalem, and the Temple, as Josephus relates. But, after his death, everything had gone from bad to worse.

The horizon of the pious author is that of the year 167 B.C. The Books of the Maccabees do not seem as yet to regard this work as among the sacred writings; it stands almost at the end in the Hebrew Bible, and its language is in part the so-called Chaldee, that is to say, the vernacular tongue of the Jews from the time of the Exile; in part the learned Hebrew, but destitute of classical elegance. Starting from the ground won by this indisputable conquest of critical learning, let us look

around to see what are the points which the book presents for our special historical purpose. The most weighty of these we find in the account of the Four Beasts or Four Empires, contained in Chapter vii. 3-8, which is written in the Chaldean dialect, and dates from the first year of Belshazzar. These are the empire of the Babylonians, signified by the image of the winged lion; of the Medians, signified by the Bear; (Darius is called the Mede in this book); of the Persians, signified by the Leopard, and lastly the empire of Alexander, which is referred to under the image of the beast with ten horns. All the empires are brought up for judgment, and the prophet continues:—

I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him: and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened.

I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame. As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time.

I saw in the night visions, and behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.¹

Next follows the interpretation of the Four Beasts as Four Kingdoms, more especially of the Fourth Kingdom, which is destined to endure for “a time and two times and half a time,” and of the final destruction and overthrow of this kingdom. And then the writer continues:

¹ Daniel vii. 9-14.

And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.¹

The faith of the pious man was not deceived; already in the year 167 B.C. (146 of the Seleucidan era) there arose the valiant Mattathias, and on the 25th of the month Kislev, in the year 165 B.C. (144 Sel.), therefore three years after the daily offering in the Temple had been suppressed, the holy place was purified and the worship of God restored. Antiochus Epiphaneus, however, died shortly after in the year 164 B.C. (143 Sel.).

Now the point of moment for our present purpose is, that the dominion of usurpation and force, typified by powerful beasts, is to give place to an everlasting kingdom of righteousness, and that the judgment over the earth is committed to the hands of a "Son of Man." The Anointed One, the Messiah or Christ, is no longer a king like unto David in the earthly sense, but a representative of the divine justice, who, in an age of universal mourning and destruction, is to accomplish God's will upon earth. The king and the martyr are blended in one, and the highest judgment upon earth is committed to the "Saints of the Most High,"² that is, resides in the conscience of Humanity, as had already been more dimly hinted by Jeremiah and Malachi.

Not long after, the Romans succeeded to power; but the Book of Daniel, if not fully understood, still remained a light in a dark place, was a consolation to many, and sustained the faith of "the quiet in the land" in the ultimate promise of redemption.

¹ Daniel vii. 27.

² Dan. vii. 22-27.

II.

The Messianic Expectations and Hopes at the Date of the Birth of Jesus of Nazareth.

It is evident that the Messianic hopes of the age that followed that of the Maccabees, and especially of the last hundred years before Christ, connected themselves pre-eminently with the Book of Daniel, which meanwhile had been received into the Jewish Canon.

Among the learned scribes, any living understanding of it had perished under the influence of harsh Jewish exclusiveness and Rabbinical subtleties. But what those quiet waiting hearts thought about it, and in how thoroughly spiritual an acceptance they received and clung to the ancient prophecies, in that age which immediately preceded the coming of Christ, we may learn most clearly from the thanksgiving song of Simeon: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people Israel." In the religious ideas of this age which we find expressed in the literature of Alexandria and Jerusalem, we can detect no new germ of life in reference to these points, but what are borrowed; namely, an admixture of Hellenic Platonizing speculation in the shape which that speculation had assumed in Alexandria, in contradistinction to the views of the Jerusalem schools.

The negative element of the later Jewish literature reached its purely Jewish climax in a grovelling philosophy of external religious observance, whose philosophical basis reveals nothing beyond the doctrine of well-understood self-interest. We refer to the "Proverbs of the Son of Sirach." In bright contrast to this whole theory, stands the more recent work entitled "The Wisdom of Solomon," whose most sublime thoughts are, however, borrowed from the eighth and ninth chapters of

the Proverbs of Solomon, or from the lucubrations of the Platonic school. Not lightly, indeed, must we esteem the influence which the reception of such lofty thoughts must have exerted in such an age. Here, too, we see a conspicuous instance of the quickening and purifying energy which a profound mental philosophy ever exerts on the field of religious tradition. But such an admixture of Judaism with the religious speculations of Alexandrine Platonism must remain, after all, but a barren, hybrid production. In spite of all the noble thoughts which that composition contains, it was incapable of generating a new vitality. For this there needed the presence of a national life, and, above all, of an inspired sacred Person. The kernel which was enveloped within the religious and ethical conceptions of the best and wisest Jews had to be broken open, for the vital elements that still survived in individual Semitic souls to shoot forth into a fresh growth that constituted those individuals the heralds and pillars of a new dispensation of life for all Humanity. Nothing else than that purest self-sacrificing love which burst from the womb of expiring Judaism, could put into actual fact the supreme revelation of the self-sacrificing Eternal Love, and thereby enkindle a positive new life for the whole world. A life which is itself again destined to awaken a new intuitive conception of the Kosmos, and to qualify a youthful and vigorous race to realize that intuition in behalf of all mankind.

III.

The General Relationship of the Hebrew Religious Consciousness to that of the Heathen Semites and of Islam.

The manifestations of religion taking place among the contemporary or older Semitic peoples are lost amid the radiance shed over history by the Hebrew luminaries. Abraham for ever sundered his tribe from the degenerate religions of the kindred branches of the same stock,

the Palestinian Canaanites among whom he had settled and whose language he adopted. Up to that date, the Canaanite and the Aramaic tribes had in all essentials stood upon the same footing in respect to religion ; but henceforward a radical change took place.

In the branch then cut out of the wild olive-tree, there survived from this time forward the original religious consciousness possessed by primeval man, invested with a spiritual form and guarded by wise self-restrictions, that were pregnant with momentous consequences for the history of our race. That is to say, the primeval religion survived in so far as it was still capable of revival and growth after its frightful debasement. Over the rest of Western Asia, on the contrary, not only in Canaan but still more conspicuously in Edom, the country of the Phœnicians, nay, even in the ancient Aram on the shores of the Euphrates and Tigris, men's religious consciousness sank into a profoundly materialistic and benighted condition. In the two despotic empires of Babylon and Nineveh, and far and wide around by means of their influence, the mental darkness was enhanced by the oppression and crushing out of all the free tribes which had not been able to elude their tyrannic grasp by withdrawal into the desert, or by emigration. The ancient sense of religion died out amid the obscure rites of the divinities of sensuality, and the associated blood-thirsty practice of human sacrifice. Thus this corruption was the fruit of despotism with its concomitant blunting of the sense of human brotherhood. Anarchy and absolutism, the worship of Moloch and the unchaste rites of Mylitta and Astarte, were the streams that, in accordance with the eternal laws of the world's moral order, flowed from the fountain-head of that lowest and most universal form of self-seeking ; namely, the unbridled indulgence of the lust of the flesh, raised into an end for its own sake. The ancient tradition of these peoples, the original unison of which with that of the Bible is incontestable, was thus

entirely overclouded by the universal corruption of the Semitic tribes; all perception of the unity and spiritual meaning of the myths was stifled under the rank overgrowth of idolatry, with its bloody and superstitious observances. This was especially the case in Arabia. The primeval civilization of Himyar, in the southern extremity of the land of frankincense, had extended its sway over the Ishmaelites of Northern Arabia. In these regions, the worship of the sun and planets had maintained itself, and had more and more degenerated into pure idol worship. The tribe Koreish had sunk into the depths of barbarism. The Eastern Church had begun to make way in Arabia also, but Byzantine Christendom, with its formalism and image-worship, proved itself powerless to withstand a spiritual, though rude and narrow, Abrahamic faith.

When nearly six centuries after the fall of Judæa, Mahomet—his whole soul glowing with the consciousness of God's revelation of Himself in our heart—stepped forth to shatter the idols of Mecca, he is said to have uttered that prophetic word, which indeed does but repeat what had been said and done already, but which still was a living spark within him that has flamed out over history in the achievements of Islam—

The light of Truth is come,
Vain lies are quenched.¹

That sense of the Unity of God and of the bond existing between Him and the individual human mind, capable of knowing Him and honouring Him by speech and life, which Mahomet found in his own soul, and recognized in Judaism and Christianity, is the basis of that universal empire of Islam, which appeared to him to be the realization of God's Kingdom upon earth. Compared to this, all other points of his religion are but subordinate details,

¹ Sura, 17.

which have acquired historical importance only in virtue of their energetic acceptance by the Mahometan people, whether of the Arab or Turanian stock, and by the mental stamp which these races have thereby impressed on the African tribes that have embraced Islamism.

Thus it was to the faith of Abraham, with its distinctive outward sign, that the wonderful Koreishite had returned. But he did so as a second Zoroaster; with the sword of God's wrath and vengeance. "He who takes the sword shall perish by the sword;" and so has it fared with Mahomet's Abrahamic purpose. The wrathful spirit of vengeance with which it was mingled, together with the lust of conquest, and the degradation of marriage, speedily dragged that purpose from his first high scope down to worldly ends. Woman did not receive the position that belonged to her of right, and hence the divine blessing on the family was frustrated. The God who alone was worshipped was indeed the All-wise, Almighty, and All-merciful; but the knowledge of Him was only to be obtained through the medium of outward rites, and on the authority of that Book which was preached to an affrighted world by the sword. Thus the wings of man's upward flight towards God were paralyzed.

It was when the sword of Islam had converted the Persians, that an Iranian people was for the first time Mahometanized. The sterile Theism of the late-born Semitic offspring could not content the Iranian intellect, and its pressure gave birth to Sufism, which is a profound, enthusiastic poetry and philosophy, with a decided yearning after Pantheism, that cannot be satisfied with the rigid creed of Mahometan orthodoxy, nor even with the Koran itself. The Persian pantheists praise the One God as the divinity everywhere present in the universe, shining in every sky, germinating in every plant, living in every animal, and finally in man. Conceptions such as these the Gospel is able to bring into harmony with itself, and purify; nay, even the Old

Testament, properly understood, can do this; but the rigid, inflexible religion of the Koran is utterly incapable of dealing with them. A pious Mahometan Semite can join in Jellaleddeen's warning cry to the pilgrims crowding round the Kaaba :—

What, fools, do ye crave from a stone?
 Who can get bread out of a stone?
 If ye seek the temple of God,
 Lo, it is within your hearts.
 Happy he who turns in thither,
 Instead of traversing deserts in pilgrimage.

He may even, moreover, listen without horror and detestation to the words which that great poet and thinker of the thirteenth century puts into the mouth of the Deity, when summoning the poet to proclaim him :—

- 1 I am the subeam's dancing mote, I am the sun's vast ball;
 The mote abides, the sun departs, obedient to my call!
- 2 I am the whispering of the leaves, the booming of the wave;
 I am the morning's joyous gleam, the evening's darksome pall.
- 3 I am the mast and rudder, the helmsman and the ship;
 I am the rock that wrecks it, reared by coral-insects small.
- 4 I am the snarer of the bird, I am the bird and net.
 I am the image and the glass, the voice and echo's call.
- 5 I am the tongue and all it tells; silence, I am, and thought;
 The tree of life, the parrot perched upon its summit tall.
- 6 I am the sparkle in the flint, the gold gleam in the ore,
 Breath in the flute, the soul in man, the preciousness in all.
- 7 I am the spirit of the grape, the winepress and its juice;
 The guest, the host, the crystal cup that shineth in his hall.
- 8 I am the rose, the nightingale enraptured with its scent,
 The taper, and the circling moth it holds in fatal thrall.
- 9 I am the sickness and the leech, the bane and antidote;
 I am the bitter and the sweet, the honey and the gall.
- 10 I am both war and peace, I am the victor and the strife,
 The town and its defender, the assailant and the wall.

- 11 I am the brick, the mortar, the builder and his plan,
The ground-work and the roof-tree, the building and its fall.
- 12 I am the lion and the stag, I am the wolf and lamb,
The herdsman who enfolds his flocks within one spacious stall.
- 13 I am the chain of living things, the ring that binds the worlds,
Creation's ladder and the foot that mounts it but to fall.
- 14 I am what is and is not. I am, if thou dost know it,
Say it, O Jellaleddeen! I am the Soul in All.

But what the poet says of himself would appear to such
a thinker pure blasphemy :—

- 1 I saw an eagle soaring swift up to the sun on high ;
I heard the turtles softly coo, deep in the shade hard by.
- 2 I saw the lambs beneath the care of shepherd on the plain ;
I saw the east wind marshal his cloud-flocks o'er the sky.
- 3 I heard the stars demanding, When shall our birth-hour come ?
And germs of seed-corn whisper, Must we forgotten lie ?
- 4 I saw a cedar brave the storms of thousand winters past ;
I saw the grass spring up at morn, and ere the evening die.
- 5 I saw the ocean's billows like monarchs crowned with foam,
Sink on the rocks, as suppliants before the altar lie.
- 6 I saw a dew-drop sparkle, a gem upon the ray,
Nor fear to perish in the glow of day's too ardent eye.
- 7 I saw the busy crowds of men build cities, homes, and towers ;
I watched the toiling ants heap up their cities too thereby.
- 8 I saw the war-horse trample o'er city, and o'er land,
Until his hoofs were rosy-red with war's ensanguined dye.
- 9 I saw drear winter weave o'er earth a robe of fleecy snow,
When spring had left her playmate forsaken, bare, and dry.
- 10 I heard the sounding loom that weaves the veil of suns and
stars,
While worms were spinning tombs of silk, where each might
safely lie.
- 11 I saw things great and small, and saw that e'en the small were
great,
Because in all things always God's image I descry.

Thus did the eternal laws of the spiritual Kosmos gradually bring about the decomposition of Islam, till there remained nothing but, on the one hand, a petrified creed, and on the other a rationalism barren of any deep thoughts, and still more destitute of any moral earnestness. At the close of the last century, a reform was attempted within the bosom of the Arab tribes themselves by the sect of the Wahabees, who sought to restore the ancient vitality of their religion by preaching it after the fashion of Mahomet—with the sword. But in the course of a few decades the futility of their enterprise was patent to all eyes. “Allah has turned Frank,” is the deepest conviction of the professor of Mahomet’s faith, even among those pertinaciously believing children of Turan, the Turks.

IV.

The last Fruit of the Hebrew Religion—the Bible.

There is certainly a high degree of mental and moral energy manifested in the tenacity and immobility with which the Hebrew mind has grasped the two leading ideas of its creed, and elaborated them during a thousand years’ development. But the same energy impelled the Jews, even before the downfall of their polity, to collect the writings in which were deposited their history and the oracles of the Spirit. In faithful loyalty to their past, and filled with reverence for the organs of the Spirit whose lives had been passed among them, they have from early times committed to writing the treasures of their reminiscences, partly on the authority of contemporary monuments, partly on that of the living tradition preserved in the national mind, and gradually arranged them into a collection of their sacred records and compositions, under the titles of the Law, the Prophets, and the “Scripture,” or, in other words, books of edification, among which the Psalms and the Proverbs take the highest place.

Now, it is true that this compilation did not reach its culmination, nor its final end and object, until this was accomplished through the teaching, the life, and the death of that unique Person Who re-conducted the primitive religion of the Hebrews to the fountain-head, whence it was to flow out afresh for all mankind ; and Who disclosed the secret core of all God's revelations to mankind by turning the heart and mind of man to the Great Father. But, historically speaking, the new dispensation is so completely based upon the old, that the world-wide significance of both can only be fully understood in their united completeness.

But to how great an extent the "Book" thus perfected is, and must ever be, the abiding centre of the objective religious belief of mankind at large, in all points relating to the march of historical events, can only be adequately appreciated when, standing on the field of universal history, we shall have surveyed the whole series of successive developments now to be presented to our view. But when we have done so, we shall further behold the historical contrast which the Semitic and Hellenic aspects of religion present, resolved into a higher unity, both as regards their central idea and its manifestation. The Hebrews, in their view of God's agency in the world, apprehend Reason chiefly from its ethical side, as conscience or the moral sense ; the Hellene, on the contrary, as the principle of intelligence, the Logos. Seen from the former point of view, all unholiness presents itself as a sin against the Holy One ; from the latter, as an offence against the overruling Omnipotence. The former recognizes the divine law chiefly as a moral law ; the latter, as a rational one. In the former case, this law reflects itself in the cultus, in the latter, it reflects itself in the majesty of a common civil society. The unity of both constitutes their centre and core : and hence their coalescence is a necessary condition of the onward march of the world's history.

BOOK III.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE ARYANS OF
EASTERN ASIA, PRIOR TO THE INTRODUCTION OF
CHRISTIANITY.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY OUTLINE OF THE FOUR LATER BOOKS OF THIS
WORK. THE VESTIBULE OF ARYAN FAITH, OR THE MANI-
FESTATIONS OF RELIGION AMONG THE EGYPTIANS AND IN
EASTERN ASIA.

OUR history of the successive stages of man's consciousness of God, will now lead us among the Aryan races; first of Eastern Asia, then of Asia Minor and Europe, and lastly of Europe alone. The chief turning-point in this history is formed by the confluence of the Semitic and the Aryan religious thought, consequent upon the advent of Jesus of Nazareth, and the promulgation of his doctrines throughout the Roman Empire. The two great divisions, therefore, into which the remainder of our treatise will fall, are the pre-Christian and the Christian consciousness of the Aryans. But as a synopsis of what Christ teaches us concerning God must form the prelude to the Christian phases of Aryan thought, so must the pre-Christian conceptions of these races have their prelude in the religious thought of the Egyptians and the oldest non-Aryan peoples of Eastern Asia.

The pre-Christian Aryans of Eastern Asia, the subject of our Third Book, appear first in Bactria; thence they migrate into the land of the Indus, the original India Proper, and finally into the country of the Ganges, the

modern India. The region of the Indus retains the Nature worship, which had been suppressed by a violent revolution in its original Bactrian home. The region of the Ganges gives birth to the fantastic but profound Brahminical faith; and from the action and reaction of these two springs Buddhism, the most widely-professed system that the world has seen. In this wonderful chain of religious development we meet two great historical personages,—Zoroaster, the founder of the modern Bactrian religion, and Buddha, the opponent of Brahminism. Zoroaster is the Aryan Abraham and Moses in one, and Sakya the Hermit (Sakya-muni), called Buddha, or the Enlightened One, is, of all founders of religions, he who at once stands the nearest to and the farthest from Jesus of Nazareth, the Christ; the farthest, inasmuch as he renounces in despair the actual world which Jesus purposes to raise to godlike purity; but the nearest, by virtue of the width and humanity of his conceptions of God, and the wide diffusion which they have obtained. He has, moreover, been even more maligned and misunderstood than Christ Himself.

Between the eras of Christ and of the Bactrian Zoroaster there lie two mighty but obscure developments of religious life in India, an earlier and a later. The first is the still national and popular deification of the powers of Nature, aboriginal among the Bactrian Aryans in the Punjab; the religion of the Vedas, whose roots reach back far beyond Zoroaster. The second is that fantastic outgrowth of the Aryan mind in Southern India—Brahminism; the offspring partly of the egotism of the priestly and regal castes, partly of the enervating influences of the sensuality encouraged by a voluptuous climate.

This whole series of development will be exhibited in our Third Book, on the strength of carefully-tested facts and documents, some of which were hitherto unknown or had escaped notice. The two great personages we have named are the representatives of a period of about 2500

years, for Zoroaster entered on his career about B.C. 3,000, while the death of Buddha took place B.C. 541.

The vestibule to these Oriental Aryan faiths we find in the earlier non-Aryan conditions of Eastern Asia; on the one hand, the younger Turanic faith, on the other, the older Chinese. But as forming the connecting link with the Semitic faiths, we shall proceed to consider, before either of these, the Khamitic conception of God, or that of the ancient Egyptians. For Khamism is the residuum of the thought of Western primitive Asia, and stands therefore in closer relation to the Semitic faiths than Turanism or Sinism. These three mighty ruins of the religious consciousness of Asia, the Egyptian, Turanic, and Chinese faiths, will therefore form the introduction to our Third Book.

In the Fourth, the leading thought of the Aryans migrates into Europe, and as the pregnant ancient myth teaches us, from Asia Minor. Zeus, the resplendent God of the Æther, the symbol of unclouded thought, has in very deed carried off Europa, the daughter of Agenor, *i.e.* Canaan, in the freshness of her early youth, across the Hellespont from ancient Asia. The main stem of the Hellenic religious thought grows up in Asia Minor among the Ionians, who have extended themselves along the coasts of the Hellespont towards the West. This will be the subject of the first section of our Fourth Book, while the Roman and Teutonic phases will occupy the second section. Both together embrace a period of 1000 years, from the poet of the Iliad (B.C. 900) to Tacitus, the Jeremiah and Baruch of the Romans, the prophetic historian of the decline of pre-Christian Aryanism.

Of the two Hellenic epochs, we may call the first Homeric, in so far as Homer and the Homeric Epos form the outcome and climax of a purely Hellenic conception of the Divine Government of the world, that had been gradually elaborating itself, more especially in Ionia, during several centuries. In fact, all the religious thought of the period intervening between Homer and Solon

(B.C. 600), including the legislation of Lycurgus, the Lays of Tyrtaeus, the institution of the Olympic games and the rise of the free cities of Magna Græcia, has its centre in the Homeric conceptions, just as all that came after Solon centres in his person and work.

Before Homer, we have no individual representative of man's consciousness of the Divine Government, but very clear indications of the existence of such a consciousness in the community. The first that meets us is the Hellenic creation of free cities and territories. The growth of free cities on the coasts of Asia Minor, especially Ionia, and on the neighbouring Archipelago of the Ægean sea, is that result of the Hellenic religious consciousness which was the condition of all the rest. These cities were the cradles of the immortal Epos. The idea of the Epos is evidently the peculiar inheritance, and the great poetical achievement, of that human stock to which we ourselves belong; for it develops itself in every branch of the Aryan parent-stem without extraneous historical incitement; and among the Aryans alone. But it was among the Ionians that this idea first clothed itself in flesh and blood and assumed a classical, that is to say, a typical form, which must always maintain its rank in the world's history. For as Athene sprang ready-armed from the head of Zeus, so among them did the Epos burst into life at once in all its glory and perfection, fully developed and national. The claims of the Indian Epos to a high antiquity disappear on a close criticism of Hindoo chronology. The Mahabhârata and the Ramáyana are as much the juniors of the Ionian Epos as they are its inferiors in artistic value. Now the free cities of the Ionian coasts and islands, possessed from their foundation an indigenous language and religion, whose very structure bears the impress, both in its form and substance, of a consciousness of the action of God through Humanity, which claims our highest regard and admiration. The sources whence we derive our knowledge of the traditions that thus form the background of the Homeric

creations, are all indeed, except so far as Homer himself is our informant, younger than the Iliad and Odyssey; but it is not difficult to separate the tradition itself from the additions of the poet and narrator, whether he be Hesiod or Æschylus. Thus we are able to lay our hand on the common groundwork of the thought of that age which, as we have said, has in Homer its culminating point and popular centre, as in the following centuries its elaboration.

Now this whole period we may denominate the Ante-Solonic. For the advent of Solon marks the turning-point at which the Helleno-Aryan religious consciousness rises into permanent historical importance in Europe. But, at that date, it did so alike in all its ramifications of public life, philosophy, and art. Under the quickening influence of Solon and his age, that Ionic verse which was the great conquest won from the past, burst into a fresh spring-tide of blossom, and before long the Doric and Æolic schools took rank by its side. In the course of the next three centuries, nearly every one of the parallel courses of mental development reached their zenith. The twin constellations of the two great poets inspired by the Tragic Muse, complete the quire of the Psalmists of religion in Hellas. Immediately after this date, comes the culmination of philosophy in the persons of Socrates and those two great men who, inspired by his influence and teachings, set themselves to explore the *arcana* of mind,—Plato and Aristotle. And by the side of philosophy we behold the climax of art in the works of Phidias and Praxiteles. Lastly, on the grave of freedom, which Aristotle, and his great contemporary Demosthenes, saw opening before them, and into which they both descended, hopeless, yet not comfortless, nor forsaken by faith, there still stood for centuries to come the latest glory of Hellenic religion—the productions of Art. In the meantime, Rome had begun to impress upon the Aryan world, in Hesperia, the stamp of law and civil

authority; and it was not until near the commencement of the Christian era, that she fell a prey to Cæsarism, after boasting a succession of great men, extending over a space of 650 years, from Servius Tullius to Marcus Tullius Cicero, Cato, and Julius Cæsar. The Hellenic course of development, from Homer to Aristotle and Demosthenes, lasted for about an equal length of time (900-321 B.C.). But Rome's first prophet appeared a century after the downfall of liberty, while the genuinely Hellenic philosophy and culture survived the decease of their fatherland for nearly half a millennium. For so long is the interval stretching from Aristotle to Diognetus, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, with the imperial pupil himself in the West, and to Pantænus, the master of Clement of Alexandria in the East. This epoch, or about the middle of the second Christian century, is also the date of the final extinction of Greek art.

Thus as Solon preceded Christ by six centuries, so was he preceded by at least six centuries of self-conscious Ionic life, in the midst of which rises the form of Homer (900 B.C.). We are, moreover, able to trace in all its main features the unfolding of this Greek phase of human consciousness, up to near the beginning of our era, which finds us planted on the smoking ruins of the Hellenic polities. Thus we shall have to extend our survey over more than twelve centuries of Hellenic development, in the very centre of which stands Solon, the Athenian. This whole outgrowth of mental life, whether regarded in its Homeric stage, or in what we may call its Solonic or Attic epoch, had therefore for its groundwork the sense of God's presence in the political Kosmos; that is to say, in a polity arranged in conformity with law, and therefore free; or, to speak more precisely, in the existence of a city or a free federation of cities. Without such a foundation on which to build, the religious sense could never have given birth to a Homer, a Thales, or a Solon, nor yet to a Scipio and a Cicero, a Cato and a Cæsar.

Hence here, too, we find in the sense of fellowship animating each unit of the population, the earliest revelation of the Divine. If we retrace our steps backwards from Solon, this meets us among the Hellenes, first in the shape of the political Kosmos; a life in cities which expand themselves and unite to form leagues, instead of shutting themselves up rigidly within their own borders, as was the case with the Hebrew commonwealth, the only nation of the earlier Asiatic epoch who were mentally their peers. But, again, the sense of a political Kosmos is from its very outset bound up with that of religion, or the direct turning of the mind towards God. Indeed the former has sprung from the latter, and received therefrom its sanction; nay, the sense of a political fellowship rests upon that of a religious one. It was the Ionians of the free cities, who first impressed upon the Hellenic consciousness of God in the religious community the seal of the Hellenic intellect. The kindred tribes settled in Hellas followed their lead all the more readily, when, towards the middle of the tenth century, Attic energy had impregnated Ionia with the germs of vigorous life through the great re-migration of the Codridæ. By similar successive steps, do we see the other half of the pre-Christian manifestation of religious consciousness among the European Aryans, that of Rome, stride forward on its mighty career. Among this people, we find, in the first place, a national sense of fellowship, which was at once eminently and earnestly religious, and also endued with singular political vigour. From this germ there very soon emerges a liberty which was very complete, but founded solely on civic membership. But the development of legitimate order combined with liberty, in the shape of jurisprudence, is the most conspicuous achievement of the religious sense among the Romans. Greek is the language of art, poetry, history, and, above all, of philosophy. With Rome the political institutions, and therefore civil liberty, are the sole organs

of the religious consciousness; and with them it rises, falls, and becomes extinct. Hence Rome traverses the successive stages of her development more rapidly than Hellas. It ceases nearly at the same time with that of the latter, while we cannot in any case place its commencement earlier than the assumed date of the founding of the city, 850 years before the Christian era.

Now if we take both these series of development as a whole, we shall readily convince ourselves, that in some particular branches history shows nothing elsewhere equal in splendour to the phenomena presented by the religious consciousness of classical antiquity. This holds good more especially of its manifestation in public life. In this field freedom forms the constant unit. And where else do we find so high a level attained by the community at large, combined with that public spirit and readiness to make sacrifices for the common weal of a beloved and free fatherland, which ever betokens a high grade of culture, as among the Greeks and Romans? Where so organic an unfolding, elaboration, and permanent fruitage of art and poetry? Where so finished a form of historical and philosophical composition? If the Hebrew Semites are the priests of Humanity, the Helleno-Roman Aryans are, and will ever be, its heroes; in all essentials a model for all ages, in so far as anything human can with right be so termed; namely, in its animating spirit. And the social, no less than the public life of this ancient world is much more thoroughly interpenetrated with the sense of a divine sanction than is that of our modern world. As regards art and literature, this assertion will scarcely be denied by any one who knows at first hand, and is capable of appreciating, the magnificence of both in classical antiquity. But the influence of Hellenic culture upon the history of the world, far outshines in importance that of Rome; and though towards the commencement of our era we stand upon the wrecks of the cities of Hellas, and are con-

demned to witness the expiring throes of Hellenic vitality, yet that which is commonly called Greek civilization, and which we must designate the Hellenic consciousness of the divine element in Humanity, lives on still for three centuries, until it apparently becomes a mummy in Byzantine Christendom, but in reality is merely the chrysalis weaving its cocoon around it, in preparation for its resurrection-morn in Teuto-Romanic Europe after a deathlike sleep of a thousand years.

It has seemed to us important to set this relation in as clear a light as possible, and with that object we have divided our account of the religious consciousness of the Christian Aryans into two Books, which together will form the third and last volume of our work. The former of these will endeavour to exhibit the leading features of the Christian Aryan sense of the Divine in those branches of its development which stand in apposition to a corresponding series of stages in pre-Christian times. These are its earlier stages: that of a sense of religious and political fellowship, and that expressed in art and poetry. But we cannot draw any parallel between the historical literature of Christian Aryan times and the writings of Herodotus, nor between our philosophy of history and the writings of Plato and Aristotle. We have more and less, but not corresponding analogies. On the contrary, our last book will seek to present the investigation and philosophy of universal history as the peculiar and latest fruit of religious consciousness among the Christian Aryans.

Thus it is only after the lapse of a long interval that the classical development seems to be outstripped by the Christian on the field of mental philosophy applied to the phenomena of history; but it is so from the very beginning as regards the sense of a religious fellowship. The elevation of that more spiritual and freer standing-point which has been conquered for us denizens of the modern world by Jesus of Nazareth, and the perfect manifestation

of the fulfilment of life's great purpose for individuals and for States, which He exhibited as a type for the imitation of all mankind, have become the causes of a much more protracted, because more universal and more spiritual course of development.

It must be admitted that the comparison of the parallel phenomena presented by Aryan Christendom and classical antiquity may possibly leave a depressing impression on the impartial observer. Such a feeling may, undoubtedly, be experienced without in the least disputing the parity of the respective populations in point of natural endowments; or inadequately appreciating the depth and moral earnestness of the Germans, the refinement and solidity of intellect among the Christian Romance populations, or the classic perfection attained by single productions of poetry or Art. What we maintain is, that that union of informing intelligence with due proportion (which is what we now-a-days call taste) in the form of intellectual creations, and that combination of free action with self-restraint displayed in the conquest and maintenance of public liberty, which in the antique world formed the rule, as yet form only the exception in Aryan Christendom. Certainly, a rapidly extending exception, if we remember the very late rise of Christian art and literature, and the gigantic development of political liberty; which, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was only to be found in a few Italian cities, in the fourteenth, in the free federations of an Alpine people, but in the sixteenth, established itself permanently among the children of the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands, and, in our own day, manifests itself in two ruling empires on this side and on that of the Atlantic Ocean. Still however, in my opinion, it remains true, that the sense of membership in a community, as distinct from the mere existence of political life, is but an exceptional phenomenon among those presented by the development of Humanity in Aryan Christendom. It is so no less in the

sphere of politics than since the date of Constantine it has been in that of religion; and as a natural consequence, the individual branches of art and literature, in which the religious sense puts forth its vitality, have suffered from this circumstance. A state of civilized slavery and barbarism is still the prevailing spectacle exhibited over the larger portion of the Aryan countries, including our own.

But let us not lose sight of the other side of the picture presented by universal history! Athens and Rome perished through sins and defects that lie more remote from us than from them, and above the very liability to which the spiritual and universal religion, which we profess with our lips, ought in any case to lift us. Our goal is loftier, our course is immeasurably longer than theirs. The mass to be leavened by the Spirit, and the multifariousness of the conflicting elements to be reconciled, is with us as much larger than with them, as the Atlantic Ocean with its two continents and its islands is larger than the arena of the ancient European world, which only comprised the shores of the Mediterranean in Asia Minor and Europe. This is the first consideration to be taken into account by a thoughtful observer. But, in the second place, we must not forget that the antique world lies outstretched before us in its completeness, and, moreover, that we see only its more elevated peaks; while we find ourselves, though ignorant of the relative position and proportionate magnitude assigned to our own existence and achievements, hotly engaged on the battle-field of life. Who, then, can determine whether we have really advanced farther along the path of the collective Christian development than the Greeks had done on the Hellenic before the time of Solon, not to say before the Olympiads? Who, lastly, will maintain that the Teutonic element, whether pure or combined in various proportions with the Romanic, has already unfolded the full amplitude and splendour which is latent in its capacities and in its conscious or uncon-

scious yet ever-persistent tendencies? Or even that that which has formed and still forms the universal human element and uniting bond of our whole development, Christianity—has exhausted its resources during the lapse of these last eighteen hundred years? Or that the process of its purification, which was begun with the mighty shock that took place in the sixteenth century, is yet completed? These are questions that force themselves with resistless might upon the earnest and conscientious observer of the times. And, perhaps, behind these there lurk beside our path yet higher and more definite questions from which we may not turn away without incurring the reproach of cowardice or crime. Are we, for instance, certain whether it is not only since there have been independent Christian States in existence that the religion of Christ has for the first time begun to break through the husk of a merely national conception of God's agency in human affairs? Is it not possible that the progress of Christianity since it became under Constantine a State religion, with formulas prescribed by Councils, may prove to be a retrograde march, or rather a halt, commanded by the universal laws of the Divine Order of the world, and only to be explained by hoping faith on the same principle by which St. Paul explained the almost equally protracted reign of Mosaism from Abraham to Christ? How if the testimonies of history should aver that the onward impetus given by the Reformation were to be regarded as only the first, though a violent one, of a series of such shocks? How if our Christian faith should lead us to the conclusion that the course taken by that great movement can only be accounted for by regarding it as a first attempt conceived from a partial point of view, and, what is still more important, terminated prematurely? An attempt, moreover, which was to a great extent diverted from its proper goal, nay, in some instances, frustrated altogether either by the ponderous *vis inertiae* of the conflicting elements which it had to

overcome, or by the power of that Principle of Evil—authority and government, making itself its own end.

We merely throw out these queries here because we wish our readers not to proceed without earnest reflection to the consideration of our attempt to lay before them the decisive facts in their historical connection. The point we have at heart is, that the ancient world should become for us a mirror of the modern, and that all past history should supply us with voices of warning and of encouragement for the present age, which truly carries within itself all that is most historical in former courses of development, namely, that which has retained its vitality and is rich in seeds of the future.

We should deem it a subject of regret if some of our readers, perhaps very earnest men, should put aside for themselves and others such queries, though simply out of mental indolence, as those of a dreamer, or, it may be, as impious and revolutionary, because they can detect nothing in our age but decay and senility on every hand. Are not such signs, where they really exist, rather to be laid to the charge of our rulers, dynastic and ecclesiastical, than to that of the Aryan populations of Europe, or those tribes which have grown up under Aryan training? Do we not behold these almost everywhere earnestly striving after what is higher and better, and evincing their capacity for rejuvenescence by patent historical exploits, while for these forty years past we have seen so many dynastic governments wandering hither and thither in the wilderness of absolutism, as the priests and theologians are doing in the deserts of superstition or the stagnant swamps of formalism, and both alike at the present conjuncture betraying a deadlier enmity than ever to intellectual life, because the spirit of that renewed life presents to their vision nothing but omens of their own approaching decease? And in so saying we do not refer exclusively to the incontestable progress of legal liberty during the last eighty years, but also to the far deeper because more spiritual

movement which is going on side by side with that progress, although silently, little noticed, and still less understood, yet not unwitting of the direction in which truth is to be sought, nor of its own high aims. We mean that thoroughly spontaneous and fresh outgrowth of the religious consciousness which has taken place in Mental Science under the form of pure speculation, and in Research, under that of the quest of spiritual agency in the facts of human history—two phenomena which have their focus-point and their final end in the collective consciousness of Humanity regarded as the finite realization of the Divine upon earth,—therefore in true religion. This will form the subject of our Sixth and last Book.

We are simply inquirers. We ask for nothing more than a patient and candid hearing; and this solely in behoof of truths for all mankind, not in the interest of any school of opinion, sect, or nationality whatever.

The two above-mentioned phenomena correspond for the Christian period depicted in our Fifth Book, to our last section, treating of the religious consciousness of the Hellenic world. The idea of a physical Kosmos in its strictly scientific form is peculiar to the last three centuries; the idea of a spiritual Kosmos as a completed course of divine development taking place in conformity with discoverable, and in part already discovered, laws, is pre-eminently the grand achievement of our own century. Its object is to ascertain and to realize the objective truth of that consciousness. But let no one infer from this that, at the close of our Sixth and last Book, we shall have to join in a similar dirge over the Græco-Roman world to that which the epitaphs on Chæronea, and the writings of Tacitus, chant over the sepulchres of Hellenic and Roman liberties. On the contrary, we enter upon our present momentous investigation full of hope and faith, and with an instinct of vitality that mocks all those prophets of decay, and is eloquent in auguries of a bright future. May our readers go along with us, when, at the close of

our common pathway, we shall endeavour briefly to sum up in behalf of the present and the future the results of our world-wide inquiry into the objective truth of the faith of mankind! At the close of our exploration of the past we have calmly and fearlessly pronounced the formulas which results of itself from the facts represented; we have not had the presumption to anticipate the verdict of our readers by the metaphysical or theological formulas which some more zealous than enlightened friends would have desired to see in the fore front of our work, but which would only have had the effect of sending all our speculations back into the chaos out of which we desire to lead them. Our wish is to let the facts of history speak for themselves. So, too, we do not intend, in concluding our task, to dispense our own wisdom in the shape of a new speculative system, according to the usual custom of Germans nowadays. We remain faithful to the principle laid down in our Introduction, that this work is not intended to present a theory, but an historical picture. But if, indeed, the facts should show that the spontaneous upspringing of a sense of God's presence in the world is an instinct common to our race; if the universality of that instinct really comes out as the grand fact of the world's Moral Order; we shall not hesitate to inquire, can so universal a phenomenon be merely a subjective one? Does it not compel us to the assumption of an objective truth, an objective Reason and Love ruling the universe, in virtue of which nothing but what is reasonable and good can permanently maintain its ground, or consequently make progress? Or, to express the same thought in other words—Do not the facts of all history prove that that faith of mankind is nothing else than the instinct, the vital impulse implanted in Man which must needs correspond to an eternal verity? Must not an organic development, which answers to an organic vital force, common to the species, have some higher ground than any casual exercise of volition, or any erroneous hypothesis on the part of indi-

viduals?—that is to say, a ground in the eternal idea and conception of humanity, as it exists in the mind of the Deity Himself? And does not this lead to the further inference that our mind, too, must be of divine and imperishable nature?

In assigning their respective proportions to the several topics which we have to handle, we have been chiefly determined (not without stern self-abnegation) by the circumstance of whether or no the subject in hand was already familiar to the cultivated public. Hence, in treating of the Hellenic and still more of the Christian course of development, we have restricted our gaze to its more conspicuous characteristics, however alluring was the temptation to enter more at large into details. Where the actual decisive facts seemed nearly or quite unknown, we have devoted more space to them, still having a regard to their relative importance. This is particularly the case in reference to our notices of Zoroaster and of Buddha. Where, however, an erudite discussion or a more detailed production of evidence seemed requisite, we have furnished these in the Appendix. With regard to the Chinese and Brahminic systems we rejoice in being able to refer our readers to very complete and trustworthy accounts derived from original sources contained in Wuttke's "*Geschichte des Heidenthums*" (Bände I. and II., 1852 and 1853). In regard to Egypt, the Author ventures to refer his readers to his work entitled "*Egypt's Place in Universal History*," particularly the Fifth Book.

Here, too, he has endeavoured to lay before his readers the most striking passages of the documents relating to the subjects in hand, as the direct reflection of that religious consciousness, whose unity, equally with the special characteristics it presents in individual cases, it is his object to set in a clear light.

How are we to arrive at a lasting *rationale* of the collective beliefs of European society touching the great truths which are involved in psychical phenomena? That

is the leading question of the day, in the province of Mind, and its sense of God's presence in the world. The old framework of our notions is false ; a mere Procrustes' bed of mental mutilation. The old formulas are worn out and no longer serve our purpose. What is now our great desideratum is not in the first instance to be got at by metaphysical systems. For if these do not concern themselves greatly with the actual facts, no one cares to give heed to them, and if they are to take up the facts and give account of them, most assuredly they require in the first place a more correct and better sifted and arranged series of universal historical phenomena, especially in the field of language and religion, than lay at the disposal of Hegel and Schelling, not to speak of Görres and Frederick Schlegel. But the position of affairs is equally bad, nay, much worse, with the treatment that so-called " profane " history has hitherto received at the hands of theologians, from the Four Monarchies of Daniel to the philosophy that Bossuet adapted to the use of courtiers and priests. But least of all can we look for help from the pens of shallow literati or the perpetual dilettanti discussion of these topics in society ; from meditations pursued without a distinct aim, or from empirical observation ; nor, last of all, from following after the fable-writers and false prophets of the day, such as Comte and Daumer.

CHAPTER II.

THE VESTIBULE OF THE ARYAN RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS IN EGYPT AND IN EASTERN ASIA. THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PRIMEVAL PERIOD OF ASIA, OR THE SENSE OF GOD'S PRESENCE IN THE WORLD AMONG THE KHAMITES, TURANIANS, AND CHINESE.

As those who study the laws of the starry heavens do not begin with the nebulae, nor take the orbit of comets for the starting-point of their planetary observations, so have we, in beginning our pilgrimage through the ages with a sketch of the character of Abraham, stepped at once into the full daylight of the more recent history of the human mind. In that character we found a well-defined personality, upon whom we could look face to face, as man with man; and a shining torch, which has guided us along our upward path, till we have well-nigh reached the era of Christ's advent. Thus have we thoughtfully pursued the course of human history under the guidance of that Book of Humanity which is still a lantern to our feet in our pathway towards Heaven.

We are now about to enter on a much more extensive course of development in man's religious consciousness, which, to a certain extent, runs parallel with the Biblical history and forms its continuation. Compared with the Semitico-Hebraic, it attains a much greater elaboration. Japhet dwells in the tents of Shem, and in our age spreads himself out farther than ever before over all regions of the globe; his march through the world's history is an unbroken progress; but we, of the Teutonic and Romanic nations, find ourselves in it among our immediate kinsmen,

and recognize our next brothers in the primitive Aryans of Bactria and their offspring, the Aryan Indians, even when as yet unwitting that we speak, and have always spoken, the same language. Hence, before entering on this main-stream of universal history, never again to quit its bed, the turning-point at which we now stand will be a fitting place to look back upon the ancient and indeed the actual primeval world. There, buried beneath the ruins of departed millenniums, lie the many and mighty generations of mankind, whose thoughts and works form the fertile soil of our intellectual life. The historical tombstones of their achievements and efforts are inscribed with dark hieroglyphics of the human mind in a scarcely intelligible language. Their religious consciousness no history will ever tell us, for its phase of development, considered as a whole, forms no factor of the world's history, since it never reached a complete unfolding and elaboration. Still, however, we may succeed in deciphering many single epitaphs on the gravestones of their life by the aid of that with which we have already become acquainted as a connected development. This will enable us better to understand, not only many traces and relics of the Turanian primeval epoch, scattered over the Aryan, but also that which forms the grand antithesis to the whole development of Man during the historical epoch—namely, the religious consciousness of the primeval world. It is this alone which can enable us to discover and to understand the two great critical points; namely, the proper place at once of Shem and of Japhet, and the right point of view in which to regard the inward and outward, the ideal and historical unity of Man's consciousness of God's agency in this world.

Our course in detail will be as follows: Nearly five thousand years ago Abraham and Zoroaster emerge from the dark chaos of Central Asiatic life; the former as the prophet of the Spirit in Western Asia, the latter as a witness to the ethical religious consciousness of

Eastern Asia. They both stand amidst the surroundings of a great and ancient civilization, and have their part in the wondrous movements and migrations of the various tribes and peoples of that continent. Abraham looks back across the Euphrates, to the broad steppes of Aram, and beyond them again to the land of his forefathers, Arphaxad, the Assyrio-Armenian mountain range of Arrapkhitis. Zoroaster and his disciples cast their eye back on their lost home in the North, in that land, once a paradise, containing the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, upwards towards Pamer, the *Upa-Meru* of the ancients, and the holy mountain of the North, of whose fame we find a distant echo even in the prophets of the Hebrews (comp. Is. xiv. 13 with Ez. xxviii. 14). But in vain do we look around in Asia for any testimony to man's sense of religion, beyond that afforded by that oldest pedigree of humanity—language, during that period when the progenitors of both races—the Semites and Aryans—were as yet living side by side, but slightly, or scarcely, distinguishable from each other. In the mighty outpouring of the tribes towards Western Asia, the new formation has not only destroyed the old, but still more effectually withdraws it from our ken by a process of continuous transformation. In Egypt alone has a branch of that West Asiatic stock, viz. the historical Semites, taken root in very early times, and put forth an immortal growth of mixed Asiatic and African origin; the rise and development of which are attested by imperishable monuments. The Egyptians are the Hamites of the Bible, and they alone. The dark-complexioned people, or the land of the black earth,—for one or other of these circumstances gave rise to that designation of the Egyptians and their country,—stands before us as a relic of that age when Semitic and Aryan life, man's apprehension of God and of Nature, bear witness as yet to the essential unity of their origin. The advance of hieroglyphic science enables us not only to understand the sounds of the ancient language of Egypt, but

also in some measure to decipher the mental hieroglyphics which have been transmitted to us together with that language.

We shall therefore commence our survey with these ancestors of those Semites whom we have been considering. But in the cradle of the Aryans, to whom we are about to turn our attention, we shall find scattered all over Eastern Asia, relics of Turanian life that will afford us an instructive field of observation. Both together set before us the immediate parentage of that religious consciousness which is reflected in Abraham and Zoroaster, and whose common roots may be detected in the most remote traditions of their respective peoples.

But those infallible genealogical tables of nations, and living almanacks of their life, namely their languages, compel us, agreeably to the Biblical tradition, to assume a primitive world anterior to this vestibule of modern history. Of this earlier stratum we find the deposit in the Chinese, who are the relics of the actual primordial inhabitants of the earth. Concerning their religious consciousness, too, we have a greater amount of information and testimony than is usually supposed. This nation possesses exceedingly ancient records, and had two prophets coeval with Buddha, the prophet of Eastern Asia, who was the contemporary of Solon the Athenian. The one, Confucius, can, we admit, only be called a prophet in so far as he bears a witness, both conscious and unconscious, to the sense of death in the Chinese theory of the universe, and sought an honourable tomb for his dead. But his elder contemporary, Lao-tse (whom according to analogy we ought to call Laozius), was something more than a mere buryer of the dead; he was a man in whom the sense of the Eternal had really broken through the hard rind of the Chinese ceremonialism, and after the lapse of seventeen centuries, he has found a scholar of his nation, by whom his fundamental thoughts have been carried further.

CHAPTER III.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE EGYPTIANS.

WE have already, in describing the Hebrew idea of Creation, remarked the existence of an ancient Aramaic traditional history among the Chaldeans. We mean in the form of that deeply significant myth of the creation of man, according to which the Elim (the Gods) made Man by mixing the dust of the earth with the blood which had trickled on it from the head of Bel. For Bel,—“*the Lord*,”—had cut off his head that man might come into being. The identity of the underlying idea of this myth with that of the more exalted yet simpler account given of the creation of man in Genesis, is self-evident. Moreover, the supposition that the extremely ancient Babylonians may have borrowed it from the comparatively recent Hebrews, is as inadmissible as that the latter should have borrowed their tradition from the Babylonians. Abraham was a Chaldean, who threw off the modern mythological Chaldeanism, and, therefore, necessarily approximated more nearly to the ancient traditions of the hill-country of Chaldea. This circumstance may help to explain the prevailing affinity of the Biblical language and imagery with that of the heathen Semites, more especially the Babylonians and Phœnicians. The indigenous root of the Hebrew tradition extends back through Mesopotamia (or Aram) to its primitive home in the cradle of the race. That general testimony to the Babylonian faith in a moral Kosmos and in Man’s immediate relation to the Eternal, which is borne by their idea of the Creation, is no isolated phenomenon. Bel is the sum total of the seven cosmical powers represented by the seven planets; he is the One,

the Lord, the Supreme ; but in relation to the world, he is the Eighth ; that is to say, the non-local and uncreated unity of the forces and phenomena of Nature. Again, besides the conception of the flood sent by God as a judgment on the corrupt, arrogant, God-forgetting race of man, of which reminiscences are found in Semitic Asia Minor, we also encounter in the earliest Chaldean traditions the grand Semitic phenomenon of inspired teachers, men of God, prophets. Thus, among these tribes, it is the mind of man, and not appearances presented by nature, that is the organ of the Deity. All this points to primeval roots, and, moreover, indicates that such roots extended further back than the great catastrophe that took place in the primitive land of Central Asia. Now the deposit left by that period which we call the primeval world, we discover in the language and traditions of Egypt ; in whose hieroglyphic records it stands at length unveiled before our eyes. For further details on this subject, I refer my reader to the Fifth Book of my work, "*Egypt's Place in Universal History.*" The net results with which we are here concerned are the following :—

FIRSTLY. The centre of the consciousness which the Egyptians possessed of God's agency in our history is the Osiris worship, the oldest and most sacred portion of their religion, while the worship of animals was not introduced into the established religion earlier than the second dynasty, 200 years after Menes, therefore not much more than 5,000 years ago. Osiris is THE LORD, the God and Father of each individual soul, the Judge of men, who passes sentence strictly according to right and wrong, rewarding goodness and punishing crime. As he reigns in his spirit-world, so does Helios, the God of the skies, from his sunny path watch over the doings of the living. Thus it is said of him in a sacred text,¹ which on the tomb of Rameses V. (the contemporary of Joshua, about 1280 B. c.) is applied in reference to good men :—

¹ See "*Egypt's Place in Universal History,*" vol. iv. p. 648.

This Great God speaks to them, and they to Him :
The radiance of his disc illumines them
Standing above their path.

On the contrary it is said of the souls of the wicked:—

They behold not the face of this great God :
Their eyes are not blessed with the rays of his disc :
Their souls are not enlightened in the world :
They do not hear the voice of the great God,
Who travels on high above their path.

SECONDLY. The metempsychosis, and the judgment held upon the souls of the dead, is, likewise, nothing else than the reflexion of that general theory of the universe according to which the Good prevails on earth in the midst of conflict, while evil annihilates itself; promoting the good against its own will. The whole doctrine of the metempsychosis rests, in the first instance on an ethical, not a mere speculative basis. This belief in the transmigration of souls is, as it were, the Wandering Jew of man's sense of God's presence in the world. It involves the recognition that there is a solution of the enigma of existence which is not to be found in the term of a single life on earth, and yet which we are impelled to seek after, in order to explain this life. All guilt must be expiated: but the final issue, although reached only after the lapse of unnumbered ages, will be the triumph of the Good, the general reconciliation; and a life in God will be the eternal heritage of the soul.

This thought pervades all the records we possess respecting the trial held upon the deceased in Egypt. This special mystery of the Egyptian religion implies a faith in the two great fundamental laws of all religious consciousness—the unity of the human reason in the conscience, and the indestructibility of personal identity. All Mankind are judged by Osiris according to one standard; the pious man, the son of God in his perfected state, becomes himself Osiris. The souls of men are

immortal; but those only which have been tried and purified are made blessed; for they alone have attained the goal of their career, which is the life of blessedness in God.

Thus there exists a direct relation between the human soul and God; and this relation is maintained by a pious life, by reverence for the judging and avenging Deity. All deceptions vanish before his eye; on that judgment-seat are no erring or corruptible judges; it is the "Hall of the two Truths," the divine and the human. This fear of God displays itself most conspicuously in reverence for the sacred ordinances of the land, for its customs and laws. The order established by law is the reflex of the divine order. All alike are subject to it, where the verdict of the human conscience on a matter of right and wrong is in question. Even the deceased king is judged by the community according to their conscience, a form which evidently was a reality in the earliest times, indeed most likely was so still in the elder Menes Empire. It was the dread of this judgment exercised by the nation after death, which might at any time, even after the funeral obsequies, express itself in the desecration of the mummy, that impelled vain and cowardly tyrants to the mad scheme of building the great pyramids; but in it was involved at the same time the universal belief that the transformation of the soul would be hindered, and its rest disturbed, by the destruction of its earthly tabernacle.

This will of the gods that man should lead an orderly life in accordance with their precepts, had been proclaimed to mortals from the earliest ages by the god who had been visibly manifested, Tet (Thoth, the Hermes of the Greeks), and by his disciples and prophets. He himself had begun to write the sacred books, which his disciples had explained and extended. But the word TET signifies in Egyptian THE WORD, SPEECH—therefore, REASON. The same doctrine, with the same names, is found among the Phœnicians; but with them the name

Thoth retains no root in the language; that is to say, the root which has been preserved in the Egyptian language has been lost in its native home in consequence of the development of the historical Shemites.

Thus among the Egyptians, actual life, in spite of all abuses, retains an eternal sacredness; for it has been outlined upon a divine pattern, drawn from the precepts and doctrines contained in the sacred books, and is sustained and nourished by the holy rites, customs, and ordinances.

To this we must attribute the singularly high position which the sequestered valley of the Nile, with its highly-favoured soil, and its life closely fenced around by language and custom, assumes in the ancient world. Separated by the sea, by inhospitable coasts presenting no harbours, and by a desolate wilderness from Asia with its incessant turmoil and change; and equally protected against Africa by the Libyan desert, Egypt has stood before us during the slow lapse of centuries as a wondrous relic of primeval time, an unintelligible fragment of ancient life, yet bearing so sharply defined and so intellectual a character that even the Greek never classed this miraculous nation along with the rest of the barbarians.

As the Egyptians, according to Greek tradition, were the first who taught immortality, *i.e.* who retained that faith in the indestructibility of the soul as the vital principle of the universe, which in Abraham's home in Western Asia had long since died out owing to the boundless depravity of manners and despotic rule; so, too, they impressed upon the State the stamp of a lofty sense of religion, so far as the Ideal thereof lived in their minds. The territorial division into the Nomes is the "holy family" of the Egyptian. It is the centre of his social existence, the native growth of his political formation; all beyond that is artificial. The inhabitants of each Nome have one God, one cultus, one centre in the provincial metropolis which contains the

temple of the Deity. There the judges hold their courts; there the law is proclaimed and administered. What elements of liberty we find in Egypt in historical times, are a blessing bequeathed by the original sacred provincial constitution. It is notorious that it was first under Menes (towards 3650 B.C.) that Egypt became a homogeneous State through the union of the two Empires of Lower and Upper Egypt, which, till then, had been separate. But these twin empires again rested on a gradual fraternization of the rural districts or provinces, in which Central Egypt, the Heptanomis, with its capital Memphis, formed the focus. Here, too, liberty is of older date than the despotism of the princes; nay, according to trustworthy indications, older than the hierarchical despotism of the priestly caste, which preceded that of the princes. The sacred sense of membership in a community, could not maintain itself without great close corporations. These were the castes. Notwithstanding the restrictions these imposed on the free movements of the mind, and impossible as they rendered the development of a true national liberty, yet we must not forget that it was the division into castes which in Egypt sustained for thousands of years the original religious sentiment of political freedom within the limits of lawful order. It was from this primitive sense of a divine sanction on the State that the forms used in the election of the kings and in the judgments on the dead were derived. The priests kept down the laity, and set up a priestly domination headed by a king taken from their own ranks. Through the antagonism of the military caste with their princely houses, this form of government was succeeded at length by secular, elective sovereigns, and these again finally by the dynastic Pharaoh system of the ancient Empire. This latter was an African Khalifate. Still the ecclesiastical code and the judgment held on the dead supplied a mightier weapon of defence against despotism than the Arabian or, indeed, the Semitic tribes in general

knew how to forge for themselves, when they succeeded in setting up a great State with an hereditary monarch at its head. Among the later Egyptians, we find a bitter humour, chequered from time to time by outbreaks of ferocity. The cheering sense of the Divine presence could not but grow dim after they had first been deprived of their free property in the soil, and then the Semitic conqueror of Lower Egypt had imposed a tribute upon the whole of the land. The long centuries of servitude broke the national spirit, but it was never entirely quenched. Satire, couched in fables of beasts, moderated the despotism of the Pharaohs, and took vengeance also on the avarice of the priesthood, who enjoyed at their ease the fat of the land, while the tiller of the soil was and remained without any property in it.

So, too, a faith in the moral order of the world did not quite die out. That the good Mycerinus,¹ who loved his people, reigned so short a time, while his predecessors, the oppressors of the people, who built the two great pyramids, rejoiced in long life and long reigns, Herodotus tells us, had been declared to the king by a divine oracle to be a retribution inflicted by the gods for having on his own authority remitted to the people the chastisements denounced upon them for their crimes. This is the view naturally taken by the priesthood, who preach penance to all others, but never do penance themselves. The cunning populace saw through this flimsy pretext, as is shown by their satirical fables, but the order established by law was and remained to them something divine, and hence is closely bound up with their religious consciousness.

The noblest evidence of that consciousness is their Plastic Art, which is the most ancient in the world, and has had a spontaneous organic development. In this sphere, too, brute life appears as the centre of the popular

¹ The builder of the third pyramid.

intuition, in the public worship of the gods, and in the popular poetry ; still it is merely the mask that veils the divine Essence ; and that is the reason of its unrivalled picturesqueness and richness of invention. But the sacredness of the Form, regarded as the prophet of the Spirit speaking through it, and the mystery of the proportions of the human body, as the regulative standard of all structures, has been revealed to the Egyptians as a part of their religious knowledge. They are the authors of the earliest canon of the typical proportions of the human body : they assigned to the body certain relative proportions between its members, which the artist was bound to observe. The strictest adherence to the laws of proportion is shown even in the movements of the body and in the indications of the play of the muscles. Balance, sobriety, deliberate purpose, govern the whole sphere of Art. It must be admitted that the human countenances lack any distinct expression of individuality. The statues of the gods have a noble but unvarying type of feature and attitude ; in the cases alone of Ptah (Hephaistos, the Demiurge or framer of the world, Creator) and of the Osiris of the nether world, with the accompaniments of conventional forms handed down from the times of barbarism. How, indeed, could man lend aught to his gods which he was unable to work out in himself ? It is political freedom alone that has created ideal forms for the gods, because she alone shapes human characters into the likeness of the Divine. The statues of the kings show that the Egyptians knew very well how to represent any imprint of personal character that might demand individual recognition ; but this personal type disappears in the representation of the Deity, because among the Egyptians the Ideal never acquired personality.

The indigenoussness of artistic vitality among the Egyptians is also evinced in their thoroughly organic elaboration of special branches of art. The religious sentiment, expressing itself in the form of æsthetic imitation, in its

organic development, operates first as a presentiment of the relations of things; which is an intuition of the Kosmos. Hence architecture and music are older than plastic art. Architecture stood highest in the Old Empire; sculpture in the first period of the New.

The more we study the distinctive characteristics of Egypt, the records of which we are now for the first time able to investigate and understand with historical accuracy, the more convincing are the proofs that in them we are brought face to face with a primeval type of religion which very early crystallized into petrification, but continued to exist for long after in the shape of outward polish, so-called civilization, and in externals and subordinate matters even attained a development of historical importance. But that which bears on the general history of Man is ever above all that intuition from which the totality has sprung. Compared to this, even such notable occurrences as the deposition of the primitive God of Northern Egypt and Palestine, Set or Seth, is of only secondary importance. It is, however, a most remarkable fact, now known to us on the evidence of monumental records, that up to the thirteenth century B.C., the Typhon of the Greeks—for we learn from the inscriptions that he is identical with Set—was a great god, universally adored throughout Egypt, who confers on the sovereigns of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties the symbols of life and power. The most glorious monarch of the latter dynasty, Sethos, derives his name from this deity. But subsequently, in the course of the twentieth dynasty, he is suddenly treated as an evil demon, insomuch that his effigies and name are obliterated on all the monuments and inscriptions that could be reached. Thus the well-known Typhon-mythus, which Plutarch relates at length in his learned work on Osiris and Isis,¹ is a truth only for the later ages. In the days of Moses, Set was reigning in

¹ Now rendered so accessible and attractive by the excellent edition of Parthey.

all his glory. One would be tempted to believe that the bloody inroad of the Semitic Seth-worshippers, who, contemporaneously with the Exodus of the Israelites into Arabia (1320 B.C.) made themselves masters of the country and held it for thirteen years, was the occasion of Seth's dethronement. But the monuments do not confirm this, as I have elsewhere shown. The Egyptian mythus of Typhon, however, knew that Set had fled along with the enemies of Egypt, riding on a grey ass (the primitive symbol of Set in Egypt), and resting every seventh day; and that he afterwards begat two sons, Palæstinus and Judæus. The transmutation of the idea of this divinity of the generative forces from a mighty benefactor into a destroying enemy, seems therefore to have first taken place in consequence of the Assyrian conquest. Set was the God of the Semitic Asiatics.

Since Seth stands in the closest connexion with Osiris, who is his brother, there can be no doubt that he too was already in the time of Menes a very ancient object of adoration. He is shown to be a Semitic god by the monumental inscription relating to the campaigns of Rameses the Great (towards 1380 B.C.). But he appears gradually among the Semites as the background of their religious consciousness. Thus we find him likewise in the traditions of the Nabatheans, the descendants of the ancient Chaldeans, recently made known and intelligible to us by Chwolson's very remarkable researches. In the last book of my own work on Egypt, it is proved that the genealogy of the Seth of Genesis, the father of Enoch (the man) must be conceived as originally running parallel with that derived from the Elohim, Adam's father. We gladly conclude our sketch of the Egyptian religious consciousness, even when regarding it from the new point of view which science has won for us, in the profound and sagacious words of Hegel, which certainly leave much room for cavil, but which nevertheless utter a great truth:—

According to an admirable mythus, pregnant with significance the Egyptian sphinx was slain by a Greek, and thus the enigma was solved. Its answer was Man—mind conscious of its own freedom.

But our footsteps are still far from the region of which Hegel here speaks: that in which the human mind is striving upwards to its full consciousness. On the contrary, we must first bend our way back to the earliest beginnings of that Asiatic religious consciousness whose primitive deposit we have just been considering. For it is there that we shall find the grand antithesis in the age when the conscious development of thought commenced while Egypt represents only the mediæval epoch of the world's history. This much, however, we have shown, that the element possessing permanent historical importance in the religious consciousness of the Egyptians, was that which formed the substratum of their civilization, and the key to the understanding of their development.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE TURANIANS.

WHEN in the course of our philosophical researches into language we find in every branch of a particular philological stock certain peculiarities governing the structure of the language, and distinguishing the whole class from all other formations of language, we consider ourselves justified in citing and exhibiting these peculiarities as tokens of that parent stock. Religious consciousness in the shape of a common view of the relations of man to God, has its oldest expression in language. The root-conceptions of mythology especially find their prototypes already existent in language, the all-embracing primeval poetry of a people.

The case is different indeed with the mode of worship. On this such multifarious forces and circumstances exert an influence, that even utterly foreign elements may either introduce themselves by violent means or creep in unawares. In this field, too, there is much more scope for conventionalism and a wide range for accident. Still, when we find certain general characteristic conceptions of man's relation to God recurring in every known branch of a stock which according to the laws of comparative philology proclaims itself to be an historical unity, we may pretty safely regard this common possession as a consequence of that unity of origin; therefore as an hereditary characteristic of the race.

The countless tribes and races of Eastern Asia, which, on the confines of the Semites, and still more often of the Aryans, occupy a large portion of Central Asia, and nearly the whole of Northern Asia and the extreme North of

Europe, unite in themselves the widest diversity of grades of culture. What an incredible range of development is comprised in the progress from the language of Thibet only just beginning to advance beyond the use of monosyllables, through the Tatar Turanism, up to the elaborate refinement of the Turkish, Finnic, and Magyar offshoots from the same stem!

Now the same phenomenon meets us in regard to what is distinctive in the expression of religious consciousness among the peoples included in this stock, locally the most widely spread of any race of mankind. Among some of these peoples the religious sentiment even now still subsists in the early stage of nature-worship; in some it has given a Turanic form to the historico-ethical world-religions of Buddhism, Christianity, or Mahometanism. But wherever we find Turanians, we find the yearning to transport oneself out of ordinary life into a state of enthusiasm, which in its highest grade rises to ecstacy, and carries the votary quite out of his senses, to be their view of the relation of man to God, their mode of access to a more exalted consciousness. We may, perhaps, designate this in the most general way by an Indian word belonging to Buddhism, Shamanism. The modes of superinducing this ecstatic condition are very various, but they always involve some physical excitement of the mind, and inspired clairvoyance is their ultimate aim. We now know upon documentary evidence (thanks to the great work published under the auspices of the United States Government) that this is the object of the practice common among the Indian (Mongolian) tribes of North America, of refusing nourishment till nearly dead of hunger. This is done in order to superinduce clairvoyance. And this is the end constantly sought for by the use of intoxicating drinks, the noisy beating of drums and tambours, and all kinds of deafening and overpowering music, which are the invariable accompaniments of all Turanic modes of excitement, as also of the giddy revolving dance customary with them. The

aim of all these practices is to produce a higher grade of vision, whether in order to learn the will of the Deity, or to foresee coming events.

The Turanian continually sees in the world of Nature and in the moral world too, not substances and phenomena, but powers and spirits. Of these he stands in awe: he is in the mental world among men, what Hegel says in a lower sense of the beast "concrete Fear," fear namely of the Invisible. Everything around is to him full of spirits lurking in ambush for him, but whom he is certain of being able to exorcise, when the spirit is mighty in himself. Hence he strives to work himself into a condition of excitement, because in his ordinary state of sober existence he does not feel himself a match for the influence of the surrounding spirits, and is in danger of falling a victim to the spell of the evil eye. This magical power is universally believed in by all Turanians; it is, if we may use such an expression, their physical sensation of the Infinite. They feel themselves exposed to and under the power of spells; but at the same time possessed of magical power themselves, and thus enabled to conciliate or overpower the hostile forces of Nature. The indulgence in intoxicating liquors offers itself to their low and degraded condition of life as a very seductive means to this end; drunkenness is a Turanic vice, as is every unnatural practice.

Thus whenever we encounter evidence of this propensity to excitement and enthusiasm, we are in presence either of Turanic races or of kindred elements. Thus among the neighbouring Iranians and their offshoots, we find the use of the intoxicating soma-juice (the *Homa*) enjoined among some tribes, prohibited among others, but familiar to all. It is the same with the formulas of exorcism and magic in the later days of Zoroastrianism and Vedism; with the orgiastic element in the ancient worship of Dionysos; with various traits in the Italic solemnities. But among the Iranians, Shamanism is but a

transient phenomenon ; the Aryan life, based on sober rationality, represses the element of excitement ; exorcises it, or paralyzes its spells by the higher spell of well-balanced social structures which are the product of intelligence, by orderly subjection to law, by art, and science. This is, too, the ultimate source of the difference between the languages of the respective races.

The Turanian is by no means inaccessible to culture ; but his impatient mind overleaps its successive grades and despises their boundary lines. This holds good of the individual often, of the race always. The lowest grades of the Aryan stock in Asia and Europe, the Keltic tribes, both in the indications of consciousness afforded by language and still more decisively in their religious consciousness (although proceeding from a new centre of development), form a link between Aryanism and the most advanced Turanism represented by the Finns with their high refinement of feeling and harmony of character. But even here excitement still forms a predominant element. Castren, himself a Turanian, in his extremely attractive "*Reisebilder unter der Turaniern*" gives various proofs that the belief in magic, whether practised or suffered from, is universal throughout all their tribes.

The priests of such a religion are naturally either persons themselves specially susceptible to exciting influences, or those who can exert such influences on others, whether in the way of producing or allaying agitation ; therefore not writers or teachers, but persons who speak by inspiration or who work wonders. The historical Word does not content their highly stimulated minds ; still they possess ancient epic reminiscences which they carefully treasure. Lyrical poetry is or becomes everything to them, and what might have furnished materials for the Drama remains in the lyrical form.

The political consciousness of the Turanian necessarily occupies a much lower grade than that of the Semite, not to say the Aryan. Excitement gathers them around the

banner of their general, exhaustion swiftly disperses again the tribes that have flocked together; beyond the tie of tribe there is no bond of cohesion except military discipline; the form of government is a sanguinary despotism, tempered at best by a military aristocracy.

Putting all these facts together we may perhaps say, that the Turanian is both in his religious consciousness and in his language, the as yet undeveloped Aryan; unless indeed we prefer to say that the Aryan is the thoughtful, intelligent, definitely-stamped Turanian. For this well-defined permanent stamp is precisely what is wanting to the Turanian in all his creative efforts. His inward apprehension of God and of the universe is something fluctuating; he floats upon the surface of realities. But when once excited he becomes the hammer to imprint a stamp upon others, if it do not smite them to pieces. From the Semite, too, he is separated by a gulf; yet both Semite and Aryan are able to kindle the flame of religious enthusiasm in him, and the Aryan to mould him intellectually. Mahometanism has been engrafted on him by the Arabian, Christianity by the European Aryans. The Turanians have been driven out by their mentally superior brethren into the more inhospitable regions of the earth; where most of them drag on a miserable and precarious existence. But they revel in the undisturbed enjoyment of dreams, and may, nay to some extent will, when by the Aryans awakened to a higher life by means of religion strictly so called, take a place in the general history of man, especially in the case of those tribes which are of mixed blood. The Osmanli Turks supply an example of this, still more so the Finns, and most of all the Magyars.

In Eastern Asia, we shall find the Turanic formation bordered by the Chinese or by Sinism; in the direction of the modern world, their extreme offshoots impinge on the rudimental form of Aryanism, namely Keltism. The Turanic language, even in its earliest stages, presupposes the existence of Sinism, just as the characteristic religious consciousness of the Turanians presupposes that which

has crystallized itself among the Chinese. In the same way, Aryanism presupposes the existence of Turanism. In this immediate connection subsisting between the Asiatic Turanian, on the one side with the Chinese, on the other with the Aryan life, lies his claim to at least a passing sketch in our delineation of the successive developments presented by general history. The vestiges of religious consciousness among the Peruvian and Mexican tribes which we find in America, so far as we are yet acquainted with them, exhibit, like the religions of Polynesia and Africa, nothing more than a mere shadow, a speechless ruin, in which it is impossible to distinguish the steps of its rise from those of its decline, the pathological process of decay from the physiological of growth. Our own belief, for which we have elsewhere assigned our reasons, is, that in all these cases (with the exception of the degenerate Berber-Semitism of Northern Africa) we have a deposit of Aryan Turanism. But phenomena of this kind cannot form part of an historical survey, still less of a review of universal history. Asiatic Turanism, however, forms a real stage in the historical development of Humanity; it has a history of its own, and it testifies to the autochthonic character of this great branch of the human family, and at the same time to the existence of kindred elements between itself and Semitism, Aryanism, and Sinism. We will not therefore contest the justifiableness of a different method from our own, but from the point of view of the philosophy of universal history, we are unable to make it clear to ourselves. We think we have succeeded in demonstrating that Turanism is not a mere empty term, nor yet a mere superficial phenomenon, but rather a fact of great importance, representing an integral idea in the general history of our race. The element of enthusiasm has its claims wherever there is an upspringing of the religious consciousness towards increased freedom, and in its most unclouded moments itself aspires towards calm intellectual life, and moral equilibrium. It discovers

itself everywhere at the outset of a new religious theory of the universe, but only the religion of sober reason has power to purify it. Now all this is foreshadowed in the very language of the Turanians, that earliest product of the human mind entering on its progressive development. But the whole of Turanism has its organic basis in the primeval formation, that of Sinism, to the consideration of which we shall now proceed.

CHAPTER V.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE CHINESE, OR SINISM.

1. *The General Theory of the Universe among the Chinese.*

ALL the phenomena of Eastern Asia and Northern Europe which have hitherto occupied our attention, belong to what we must call in contrast to the primeval world, the Modern History of Man. They are the immediate substrata of the Aryan formation, just as the Khamism of the Egyptians shows itself to be the mummy of primitive Semitism that in Africa has stiffened into rigidity. But Khamism sends its roots back into the close of the primeval world; it has—as its language and religion more especially prove—branched off from Western Asia before that great catastrophe, which has changed the configuration of the countries surrounding the Caspian Sea, eastwards up to the Altai mountains, and westward up to the Caucasus. The Egyptians are an antediluvian people; of the Turanians only the very earliest tribes may possibly be so.

But the actual aboriginal tribe of the primeval home of man has settled itself in the extreme East of Asia, and maintained itself there up to the present day; forming the most numerous nation of the world, the oldest in history. While the Chinese Empire comprehends about a third, Sinism, strictly speaking, as distinguished by language, includes about a fourth of the entire human species. Its language forms an irrefragable testimony to the autochthonic character of the unique position which it occupies. Hence whatever may prove to be an indigenous product of its religious consciousness, is both relatively

and intrinsically of high import to universal history. It is the undivided main stream of history as it issues from its parent source, not a mere lagoon.

Those authors who commence their survey of Sinism with Confucius, the contemporary of Buddha and Solon, are like those who would begin a survey of Hebrew literature with the Book of Ecclesiastes, dating from the Persian period shortly before Alexander, not to say with the Talmud. Confucius is not the religious prophet of ancient China, but the philosophical mouthpiece of the most modern. The ancient was already petrified, when, nearly 2,000 years before Christ, the first really historical personage whose date can be assigned with tolerable certainty, arose in the Emperor Yü the Great, the Saviour of his people. It had petrified in language, in literature, in polity, in usage. The Chinese formalism had already invaded every sphere. Confucius is a great and noble-minded man, and Gutzlaff's depreciation of him in his otherwise highly valuable historical work is unworthy of both. Now this one man, Confucius, collected with wonderful tact and noble patriotism all that remained of the ancient records and reminiscences of his down-trodden nation. The Sacred Books (KING) are his work, in so far as he saved them from perishing by making this collection, but they are not his composition. They are now fragments remaining from a very ancient epoch, and they were so no doubt at that time. Although unintelligible to him in what they presuppose, they yet really form the object of his honest faith. "Heaven" (Tien), the appellation of the Godhead,—*i.e.* the divine order of the universe which has its most sublime reflection in the starry sky,—means certainly to his mind something more than that word denoted to the Europeans of the eighteenth century. It is not to him an unmeaning phrase, the mere sum total of the heavenly bodies. Still, even in his view, this Totality has nothing to do with our mind and our soul, although it probably may with our bodies, and the fates depending upon them.

“Mind” or Spirit (Shin) is no substance except when used to denote the spirits or shades of his ancestors, to whom every good Chinese brings offerings in token of reverence and gratitude. But what is Spirit? The energy residing in Matter! What is Matter? The offspring of two primitive Matters! To pay honours to this, and to whatever else may be prescribed by custom or precept, is the popular religion; while the religion of the wise man is that he seeks to ascertain and to practise what is good and right. Our conscience is at once the source and the surest guardian of a living sense of God; and the Eternal is the necessary postulate of the Finite. This proves the absence of logical thought in the Chinese system based only on the understanding. This unintelligent theory, Buddhism,—which some four or five hundred years later penetrated into China and found adherents among the educated classes,—was never able to displace; it is, up to the present day, the professed religion of the learned and cultivated; even the present Mandshu rule has produced no change; on the contrary the Emperor offers his devotions in the temple dedicated to the memory of Confucius. Bonze, *i.e.* priest of Buddha (Fo, corrupted from Fo-to), is a term of contempt. And nowhere is Buddhism more unintelligent and inoperative than in China.

But was this view really that of earlier ages? Was it that of the ancient books which Confucius collected? Most decidedly not; but it has been logically deduced from them, by divesting their symbolic intimations of all higher significance. Let us listen to the utterances of these sacred books themselves in some of their characteristic passages.

The testimony they bear to the popular consciousness, a testimony reaching back to 400 years before Confucius, is contained in the Book of Sacred Song, or the Shi-king. Although as yet we possess no European edition of the text of this remarkable compilation, nor

philological exposition of its contents, yet the Latin translation of it by the late Jesuit missionary, Father Lacharme, edited in 1830 with praiseworthy care by Julius Mohl, merits full confidence, and is, moreover, intelligible, notwithstanding its disfiguring misprints and the paucity of the explanatory notes. Our learned poet Rückert has made a translation of these Songs from the Latin (1833), which is marked by his usual ingenuity, but is certainly a very free rendering. J. Cramer's somewhat closer rendering (1844) has its merits. We will give a few specimens, partly from the Latin version, and partly from the German translation of the same.¹

Ancient Poem of the Shi-king translated by Cramer.

Noble monuments we raise
 To the great of ancient days ;
 As we prize the light of heaven,
 So we prize what they have taught,—
 Art or science, skill or thought,—
 We preserve all they have given.

We have spied all secrets out,
 Deepest questions, deepest doubt
 We search into, undismayed ;
 Yet it hath long been foretold,
 That this Empire grand and old,
 Shall be one day all decayed.

For in all our thought and work
 Doth an inner weakness lurk,
 Want of substance, vital strength :
 Cleverly the hare may wind,
 But the untiring hound behind
 Surely pulls her down at length.²

In order to understand the following, it is sufficient to know that in the year 1050 B.C. (according to the official but incorrect chronology 1122 B.C.), Wen-Wang, next after

¹ See Appendix, note A.

² This and the following poems contained in this chapter have been translated from the German by C. Winkworth.

Yü the finest character in the whole series of emperors, but a less powerful and vigorous monarch, dethroned the last scion of the degenerate race of Yü, and thereby delivered the land from unutterable misery, and the throne from shameful disgrace. His son Tshing, therefore, after he became king (Tshing-Wang), was still a child when Wen died. The brother of the founder of the Tsheû dynasty, Tsheû-kung, assumed the regency, as guardian to his nephew, the heir-apparent. He is so completely the leading mind of this whole age, as we shall perceive also from the I-king, that we can scarcely be wrong in ascribing to him the following prayer of his royal ward preserved in the Book of Sacred Songs:—

*Prayer of the Emperor Tshin-Wang, Son of Wen-Wang,
when a Child.*

The ways of Heaven are dark to men
Its counsels high above our ken ;
Freed from the cares that vex us here,
Wen-Wang looks down with vision clear,
O may he look into my heart
As each new morn from sleep I start.

O may his favour still be mine,
Before me his example shine !
Let not his empire lose in me
His love and wisdom ; may it be
My task in higher paths to guide,
Inspired by him, this empire wide !

All very fine and noble ! But is it really more than empty rhetoric as regards the philosophical meaning ? And if it is so, is there, along with the apprehension of the mental vigour displayed by his ancestors, any corresponding belief in the living energy of the same mind in the creation and in the soul, as the Infinite Eternal Mind ? Let us listen to other strains of this contem-

porary of the singer David! In an historical lay on the kings of the preceding dynasty, Shang, it is said¹:—

To transgress the commands of the supreme ruler [Shang-ti]² was held by those princes a crime; T-hing-Tang was born in the most auspicious age. His piety shone forth each day more brightly in the eyes of Heaven; and inasmuch as he revered the Supreme Lord (Shang-ti²) with the greatest piety, He, the Supreme Lord, made him to be ruler over the new provinces and the teacher of life.

Here we evidently have the Moral Order of the world, the Kosmos, conceived as the motive principle of the fortunes of nations and individuals. It is not the physical, but the ethical, Heaven which guides the world's course. And it is by no means needful to extort from the Chinese a confession of faith in "a *personal* God," in order to free them from the reproach of holding a completely materialistic view. For those who talk of a personal God often use expressions concerning Him which betray a very low and unworthy religious consciousness. But a *conscious* God there must be, and His consciousness must correspond to our consciousness of Him. Is this the case here? Scarcely! The Lord is the Destiny enthroned in the Order of the Universe; man can approach Him only by observing His commands, just as he approaches the mind of his forefathers by showing his reverence for it. In this sense, but in this only, God does indeed govern the world. Thus in another of the Songs translated by Rüdckert, it says:—

Mirror of Princes.

Awful is thy march as on thou treadest
O'er the circle of the worlds in wrath,

¹ See Shi-king IV. 3, Ode 4.

² The best source of information respecting the use of the term Shang-ti to denote the Deity, and the relation of this name to Ti, Tien, Shin, &c., is to be found in H. Medhurst's "Reply to the Essay of Dr. Booke" (Canton, 1848), p. 8. There is another Chinese word for the idea of "the Eternal" as the translation of Jahveh (Jehovah), which Rémusat too has suggested.

Judgment of the highest God,—and spreadest
Terrors far and near upon thy path.

* * * * *

At his command see a new race arise,
As some new star shoots up into the skies,
To shine awhile in glory near and far,
And then to fall, as sudden as a star.

It is true that the spirits of the pious departed are ranged side by side with this Orderer of the world, the judge of men and guide of their destinies. Thus, again, the wise guardian of the youthful monarch sings to him :—

In Heaven, there dwells Wen-Wang, with light surrounded,
Whose virtues made him sovereign of our land ;
Whether he upwards soar, or downward bend him,
His place is at the Highest Lord's right hand,
Ruler Supreme of all the worlds, who chose him
In life to wear the monarch's royal crown ;
And now has bid him o'er the realm he founded,
As Guardian Spirit watchfully look down.

But is this to be taken in a strictly philosophical and religious sense? Is it supposed that the departed spirits of the good govern the world of living men in virtue of the godlike state of existence on which they have entered? Or only in something the same way that the spirit of a man lives on in his posterity? Have we anything more than blind Fate dependent on the movements of Matter? According to the testimony of that Sacred Book, the innocent often suffer along with the guilty; those are the grievous periods when the inscrutableness of destiny torments and oppresses us. Thus, in one of the Songs translated by Rückert, the poet exclaims :—

The Root of the Evil.

O Heaven, whose height is inaccessible
To mortal thought, canst thou our sorrow know?
Whose counsels we divine not, nor foretell,
How canst thou calmly gaze upon our woe?

Thou, awful One, dost suffer us to fall,
 Without our guilt, to ruin past recall ;
 Against us all thy terrors dost unbind,
 I search, and yet our fault I cannot find.

The ground of all our miseries is here
 To wicked men the sovereign lends his ear

. What follows is but the old lay of all times.
 Such is the poet's lamentation ! Let us turn to the older
 and more earnest book of the Shu-king. In his oration
 after the victory over Hia (1539 B.C., or according to the
 received chronology, 1765 B.C.), Tang says¹ :—

Heaven's care, which blesses the good and punishes the
 wicked, has brought mishap upon Hia, to proclaim his injustice
 And now has high Heaven verily defended the cause of
 the mean, while the great evil-doer has fled and made his sub-
 mission. The decrees of Heaven are unfailing. The ten
 thousands of the people have sprung up and blossomed in their
 might like plants and trees.

The world is governed like the nations upon earth ;
 the kings transgress, the people atone for it. Such is
 fate. Let us listen to the despairing cry of the ancient
 singer :—

Universal Guilt.

The Blue of patience and long-suffering grace
 Hath faded from the heavens above our head ;
 It poureth down upon our guilty race
 Death, and yet worse than death, ere death, dark dread.
 Yet who shall dare high Heaven in aught accuse ?
 Since from an earthly throne no grace to us is shown,
 How can we ask from Heaven what men refuse ?

The wrath of Heaven doth no distinction make
 Between the just and unjust ; see ye not
 The innocent for guilty it doth take,
 So to confound both in one common lot ?
 We are but better than the bad, no more,
 Since none dare say that he from guilt is wholly free,
 None may complain, whate'er fate hath in store.

¹ See Medhurst.

This is the consolation of the Stoic ; but considered as a philosophy it is a mere declaration of bankruptcy. It fares the same with the belief in immortality. Confucius found nothing about immortality either in his books or in his own soul. "I do not as yet know what life is, how should I know what death is?" was his significant answer when pressed upon this point, and a later more spiritual-minded philosopher is also unable to cite any verse from the sacred books teaching this doctrine, while from Confucius he can quote nothing but the touching words: "He who in the morning listens to the word, and in the evening dies, has enough." In a similar evasive and therefore negative manner does Confucius reply to the question of a pious nobleman, who desired to learn from him whether the ancestors whom he faithfully revered knew anything of his piety. His answer is thus recorded:—¹

It is not advisable that I should declare myself explicitly on this question. If I were to say that our ancestors are sensible of the honours rendered to them, that they see and hear and know what goes on upon this earth, there were cause to fear lest those whose souls are full of filial love might neglect the care of their own life, in order to devote themselves entirely to those from whom they have received it, and give themselves up to their service now that they are in the other world, as they have done in this. If, on the contrary, I should say that the dead do not know what the living do, there would be cause to fear lest men should neglect the duties of filial love, and be selfishly engrossed with themselves, and so the holy bonds should be severed which bind one generation to another. Continue, my Beloved, to render to thy ancestors the due honours, act as though thou hadst them for witnesses of all thy actions, and seek not to learn more on the subject.

¹ Wuttke has collected the most important passages bearing on this subject, ii. § 18, s. 48. The sayings of Confucius and his school quoted above are taken from Gabelentz's Essay, "*Sing-ti-tschin-thsinan*," published in Lassen's "*Zeitschrift*," iii. 275, &c. The declaration of Confucius concerning the spirits of the forefathers is contained in "*Mémoires des Chinois*," xii. p. 243.

It is indeed otherwise in all the sacred books when we come to practical realities. THE VOICE OF GOD, the true heavenly voice, is THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE. Thus we find it said in one of the five oldest hymns, dating from the dynasty Shang—the only one which Confucius found still extant of the twelve lays of the earliest period which had been collected by Tai-kong, about 800 B.C.

Heaven's command, Heaven's will is proclaimed—
Honour the people!

If the king do no evil, if he act not thoughtlessly,
If he do not yield to indolent inactivity,
Then is Heaven propitious to the Empire,
Then it loads the land with increase.¹

But the Shu-king itself is most explicit in its declaration. In that it is said:—

The opinion and judgment of Heaven is learned (reveals itself) through the opinion and judgment of our people. Heaven's approval and disapproval (is recognized) through the approval and disapproval of our people. An intimate relation subsists between the upper and lower world. Oh, how careful should those be who govern countries!²

In this connection, a genuine historical speech of the present age that has not yet become history, repeated to the author by Gutzlaff, deserves a place in our account of Chinese religious feeling. When, after the peace of Nankin in 1845, the Emperor of China felt himself impelled to refuse his assent to the execution of that article of the Treaty by which the Tartar city of Canton was to be opened to foreigners, he justified this repudiation by the great maxim of the sacred books which we have quoted. And "*The voice of the people is the voice of God*" resounded once more through the whole Empire. When the Emperor's edict was published and everywhere formed the subject of discussion, it was said to Gutzlaff

¹ Shi-king IV. 3.

² S. 34. In the English edition, p. 63.

by patriotic Chinese :—“That maxim of our Sacred Books is well known to us ; it is our watchword ; but this was a new thing to us, that the Mandshu Emperor should publicly appeal to this sacred text of the Scriptures, which testifies against himself.”

Now, whereby does the nation become to the monarch the interpreter of the will of Heaven? By Reason ; for Heaven disposes all things in accordance with reason ; and the nation listens for the voice of Reason. Its voice is God’s voice, because the voice within us tells the people what is right and wrong, and because the people in China as elsewhere believe, what is the beginning and end of all wisdom, that the laws of the Moral Order of the world correspond to the universal conscience. Of this wisdom all the sacred books and philosophical writings of the Chinese are full ; namely, that Reason is indwelling in the universe, but is only perceived by the good man who is willing to obey his reason and not his passions, who does good and is not a slave to motives of self-interest. Thus one of those wise men of the age shortly after Wen-Wang sings in a vein of true poetry :—

Heaven needs not to take pains when it would teach :
 How easily two harps can sound in tune,
 How easily an outstretched hand drops gifts,
 So easily high Heaven can guide our souls.
 Yet though it rule and teach us thus with ease,
 There is an evil tendency in man ;
 Be on thy guard, lean not to evil ways,
 Let not the ill in thee prevail and reign.¹

Thus we are not to ask for outward signs, but to hearken to the men of understanding. Thus, in another hymn of that Collection, a wise man who lived in evil times, when the contrary was practised, teaches us ² :—

We seek for omens in the tortoise ; shame !
 The tortoise cannot guide or answer us ;

¹ Shi-king III. 2.

² Shi-king II. 5.

Yet many would-be counsellors we have,
Who bid us do what is not to be done.
Like travellers are they, who should lose their time
In empty talk, instead of pressing on,—
Fools, who will never reach their journey's end.

All this, of course, proves nothing beyond the popular view of that, for China, comparatively late period, when literature was in its highest bloom, the period to which Confucius looked back with love and reverence. But further research teaches us that those wise proverbs were but the last offshoots of a strange, ethical philosophy, based upon an occult symbolism. The prince who arose to be the Saviour of his country, when the tyranny of the last king of the dynasty of the great and good Yü had driven the people to despair—the wise Wen-Wang, contemporary with David—composed during the decade before he ascended the throne, an imaginative book, which forms the most modern part of the oldest of the sacred writings. Up to that time, the I-king, or the sacred book of the Two (two Principles, Primordial Powers), consisted of mysterious symbols, whose object was to exhibit the rise and progress of the visible world, from the co-operation of light and darkness (Yang and Yin). These two principles were represented by Heaven and Earth, the Upper and the Lower, with which arithmetical tables and calculations were connected. These buddings of mathematico-allegorical physiology date from a period prior to the commencement of ascertained chronology, for Fo-hi, the Emperor to whom they are credibly ascribed, is indefinitely anterior to Hoang-ti, who must be placed about 2,500 B.C. We may, however, place this physiological symbol-philosophy towards or before 3,000 B.C., and it can be shown that Fo-hi's philosophy itself is nothing more than a conventional, realistic amplification of the primeval theory of the harmonious inter-action of two Primitive Forces. Other nations have sought for lofty ideal antitheses to express the same thought; nay, from

very early times have had a dim idea of the ultimate antithesis as that between Self-existence and Evolution, or Being and Non-being, or Being and Thought. Chinese speculation, on the contrary, in that age in which their thought for the most part received its permanent imprint (the age which we may designate as the era of Fo-hi), has travelled in a completely realistic direction, and, but for the faith in the imateness of the personal element in man, this realism would, from the very outset, have sunk down into the slime of materialism. Now, when so early as the eleventh century, B.C., that wise and noble-minded Wen-Wang gave an ethical explanation and application to the physiologico-mathematical cabalisticism, his countrymen already no longer understood any part of the fundamental theory, of which the renowned "Eight Symbols" of the primeval monarch Fo-hi, are only a faint shadow. For they are demonstrably themselves only the wrecks of a physico-metaphysical Cosmogony.¹ For the rest, the I-king, with Wen-Wang's meditations, is the only sacred book which was spared in the general destruction of the ancient records which took place some centuries after Confucius; that was spared, no doubt, because it was too closely bound up with the popular practice of magical divination.

In short, with the Chinese, we never advance beyond a very rudimental philosophy. Fo-hi's symbolic philosophy takes the same place which cosmogonic mythology does among the civilized historical nations; Wen-Wang's ethical maxims are political riddles; Confucius's Commentary is a poor pendant to the moral Aphorisms of the Greeks in the post-Solonic age. The primitive religious consciousness of the Chinese we have now no means of divining, except from the structure of their language, and from the nature of their cultus of the dead, or the honours paid to the spirits of their deceased ancestors; a cultus which is of primeval date.

¹ See Appendix, Note B.

The conception of the world as constituting not only a physical, but also a moral Kosmos, which finds its most glorious mirror in the heavens, is the root-idea of this earliest religious consciousness. Hence the divine element regarded as the Conscious, what is commonly called Personality, the Chinese would only seek in Man. But where can man look for God—therefore true Personality—in a civilized despotic State? Divine Providence ought to reveal itself in the destinies of the collective Totality of the people; but where is this Totality? Thus the idea of God remains vague and undefined; there is no Son, and therefore equally no Father, and consequently no Spirit.

Considered in its bearing on general history, the characteristic trait of this peculiar type of religious consciousness is precisely that absolute indefiniteness of the idea of God. There is nothing to give rise to a *development* in the proper sense of that word; yet a vital germ lies in their firm grasp of the phenomena as constituting an organized Whole. The Chinese conception of religion is not that of primeval mankind; but the dead ruin of that conception. The sense of the unity of the Kosmos and also of the inviolable nature of the laws regulating human existence have survived; but faith in God and in the Conscious Mind inhabiting the universe and the soul of man, is absent. Their very language is the product of a one-sided, realistic apprehension of man's consciousness as it existed in the primeval age. Every vocal unit (syllable) is a word; each of their, about three hundred, words stands for a purely material object which can be represented by its image. To express Mind, Thought itself—that which predicates—there is absolutely no term whatever! It is the unconscious substance which is taken up into the idea and expressed in a word. And just as that sense of the possibility of representing the sound of words which has conducted all other nations to the use of an alphabet, is wanting to them, so is also the consciousness of the mind, which, by means of those

sounds, manifests its relation to the qualities of the various surrounding objects.

The possibility of the existence and origination of such an apprehension of things as they possess, presupposes the presence of Mind, but it is not conscious of itself as Mind. Now that which we commonly call *History* is precisely the unfolding of such a consciousness. Thus, compared with that of the Chinese, any other phase in the history of the religious consciousness of mankind may be called a part of modern history. The antithesis is absolute. It is in human development what the contrast of the inorganic is to the organic, namely, the contrast between the conscious and the unconscious.

The characteristics of conscious Humanity have gradually evolved themselves out of the Chinese stage of formation; but they have done so by a process of destruction. The primeval world of Mind gradually decomposes, as in the lapse of myriads of millenniums the primitive rocks have been decomposed by the wear and tear of the elements, that they may help to form our present fruitful soil. The inorganic does not form organic life, but it is the condition of organic life in the process of development. The Chinese theory of God and the Universe which is embodied in their language, religion, and philosophy, forms the dark background for the first part of Modern History, that which we generally call Ancient History. We shall encounter it again as a transitory phase in those East-Asiatic formations which possess an abiding historical significance.

One solitary testimony to a faith in Mind is to be found among the Chinese, and that has survived the lapse of millenniums with their various religious systems;—namely, THE WORSHIP OF THE DEAD. Among the Turanians and Aryans, perhaps, too, among the Semites, this is one of the elements out of which the mythological process takes its rise; among the Chinese, it is their only mode of intercourse with the world of Mind, their only link to personality.

2. *The speculative Religious Consciousness of the Chinese Philosophers Lao-tse, Confucius, Tsku-hi.*

Now that we have cleared up our general notions of the relation in which Confucius stood to the ancient Chinese theory of the world, of which he was the interpreter, we must endeavour to obtain a closer acquaintance with Chinese philosophical speculation strictly so-called.

On this field, in the long space of nearly eighteen centuries (583 B.C.—1200 A.D.) we meet with three great minds. The first is Confucius. His advent, nearly 2,000 years ago, in the late evening, or rather midnight, of the Chinese religious consciousness, has something indescribably tragic about it, although, as regards its outward mien and garb, we cannot get rid of the irresistibly comic effect inseparable from every high-flown method of expressing what is to us a familiar thought. Confucius does not believe in the old religion, but he recognizes the ethical element in it, and this he recommends as a stepping-stone to his "philosophy of common-sense." He is, as we saw, the philosopher of the ancient epoch, in so far that he perceived the futility of all attempts to hang any mythico-scholastic systems on the childish rudiments of a cosmogony contained in the I-king. But he is not the prophet of the Sacred Books. He understands very little of their real wisdom, and of the deeper ground of that wisdom, nothing. But, on the other hand, we owe all that we know about them whatever to his self-sacrificing, truly patriotic, and historical efforts. He collected with equal love the relics of the earliest documents relating to the history of his people and country, popular songs and sacred hymns, the chronological emblems and their explanations. And in addition to this, he was the impartial historian of his own special fatherland during the times immediately preceding his own age; finally, he was an incorruptible functionary, who by his liberal opinions made himself the victim of persecution and poverty. This

thoroughly noble-minded and honourable man is through and through a Chinese, in his pompous formality; but his intrinsic nobleness shines out through all these trappings, as his courage of thought gleams out through his despair of his age and of all search after knowledge. It is this that has made him the Sage of his whole nation, nay, the object of their divine honours.

A very different aspect is presented by his elder contemporary, LAO-TSE (whom, according to the analogy of Confucius, we ought to call Laocius). Never did the two greatest men of their age form such a perfect contrast to each other. If Confucius may be likened to the Academician refraining from a decisive verdict on philosophical questions, in Lao-tse we have combined in one person, Heraclitus, the natural philosopher, and Pythagoras with his doctrine of numbers; Zeno the Stoic, and Diogenes the Cynic; but in both cases without their method or dialectic form of presenting thought. It is an established historical fact, that Confucius, in his mature life, repaired to that Lao-tse, or Lao-kiun, as a hermit who had grown grey in the pursuit of wisdom, but was received by the latter with a sharp rebuke for his ambition and love of money and estates, and ridiculed for his researches into the ancient ceremonial. "Let the dead bones rest!" This account agrees entirely with the report of the Chinese annalist, that Lao-tse was born in the year 604 B.C. and died in 520 B.C. at the age of 84, while Confucius was born in 551 B.C. and died in the year 479 B.C.

Even Abel Rémusat and Klaproth had the most extravagant ideas concerning this remarkable man and his system. Not until 1842, when Julien's edition of his chief speculative work appeared, accompanied by a faithful translation and commentary based on the Chinese expositors, was their mythical aspect dispelled and the world made richer by the discovery of a great character and thinker of the sixth century B.C. And he, too, was a genuine Chinese, who has not gathered his wisdom in foreign lands, although his

speculations may remind us of the Hindoo Vedanta philosophy, or of Buddha's fundamental thought, as indeed of that common to all mystics. Lao-tse placed at the apex of all things, the Chinese *Tao*, or "the Rational Order of the Universe,"—the First Cause of all things. This word signifies literally *Way*, hence also *kind* and *mode*; but *the order of the world* is conclusively proved to be the only possible translation of the term, by the fact that he calls man, "the little Tao," or Microcosm. Now *Tao*, considered in itself, is Non-existence, utterly indefinite and void; it only becomes Existence by means of the world; this is the Being of Non-being (the Tao manifesting itself); through the medium of the world, does Tao first become a conscious God, the Lord of the universe. Of Tao in himself we can predicate nothing whatever, consequently not even Volition or Thought. The eternal repose of Tao, that is to say, Passivity, is the aim of the wise man. The wise man renounces the world entirely, he bids adieu alike to joy and sorrow, and plunges himself into the eternal Non-existence. By this act, he obtains dominion over the world and its forces; also over death; he becomes immortal; man is not in himself immortal.

Lao-tse forsook his official functions and the world, and died in a desert. His proposal to limit the whole sphere of public life to small communities kept strictly distinct from each other, and his conception of the highest wisdom and moral perfection as consisting in a complete withdrawal from everything practical, could never become the loadstar of so eminently practical a people as the Chinese. His adherents understood little or nothing of his speculative formulas, and fell into the frivolities and delusions of a mystical magic, although they never sank quite so low as the apostles of table-turning in our own days.

But seventeen centuries after Lao-tse (1200 A.D.) appeared Tshu-hi, the comprehensive master-mind of Chinese philosophy and research, the prince of science who dared

to enter the *penetralia* of those great thoughts of his forefathers, and subject them to the ordeal of criticism. He reconciles them with the system of Confucius, and his scholastic lore is the acknowledged imperial philosophy.

Such a fusion is also by no means dishonest, as regards Confucius, who invariably claims no rank beyond that of a dispassionate expositor adhering strictly to his text and fixing his eye on practical results, even in reference to the sacred records themselves, which he leaves perfectly open to free investigation, and whose deeper contents he scarcely touches upon.

We will endeavour to exhibit by some examples the respective attitudes assumed by the two great sages of the sixth century, B.C., and that of their scholastic mediator towards both, while referring our readers for further details respecting Lao-tse to our note upon him in the Appendix to this volume.¹ Confucius explicitly recognizes the Two Principles as the co-ordinate causes of all existence, although he expressly calls them *Matters*. Thus he says, in his Commentary (cap. xvi. 1, I-king, ii. 547), as follows:—

The doors to the I-king are the two symbols, Heaven and Earth; the former symbol signifies the matter (or substance), YANG, the latter the substance YIN. From the union of both, the weak and passive with the strong and active substance, do all bodies proceed and subsist—being the work of Heaven and of the Earth.

Whence come these substances, and the forces residing in them? What unity can be obtained for them? These are questions of which the author of the I-king probably had still some dim notion; but Confucius cuts the thread of any further inquiry into them by his crude empirico-materialistic interpretation of a sacred symbol. The Scholastic Commentary (Hi-zü) says (i. 1.):—

What is good and evil; *i. e.* happy and unhappy, we may per-

¹ See Appendix, note C.

ceive by combining all that corresponds to the qualities of nature, and eliminating all that is opposed to them.

A saying which, take it how you will, at all events concedes but a subordinate stage for the free play of the judicial intellect, and a still narrower scope for that of moral self-determination. How precarious a footing is left for the latter we may see from another passage of the same Commentary (ii. 3, I-king, ii. 524.) :—

What is called good and evil, the object of remorse and shame, all this presupposes some agency and motion which affects life, manners, and the whole condition.

But this agency is, as the context shows, that of those two physical First Principles.

Very different is it with Lao-tse. He found the meeting-point of both in the Absolute Mind, or as Tshu-hi says (s. 39) :—

The Absolute (the topmost summit, Tai-ki) generates the two unchangeably active Forces, or Forms.

It is true, indeed, that Confucius and his school also sought to discover the "Way" (Tao), *i. e.* the Primal Reason, the Grand First Cause of the order of the universe. Hi-zö says (I-king, iv. 1., s. 447) :—

That which does not in some measure and mode fall under the category of the principles Yin and Yang, is called Mind (*Shing*).¹

But Confucius had far less notion what to do with his *Shing* than Anaxagoras with his *Nous*. His saying (viii. 8, s. 507) :—

To know the way of the dissolution and production of things is to know the mind's action and mode of operation, its object and cause :—

makes the matter only worse. Undoubtedly the order of the universe, therefore the Primeval Reason, is in his view eternal; "but," adds the gloss, "if we compare the manners of the ancients, it appears that the present age has retrograded" (xvi. 2, s. 547).

¹ Cf. xi. 4, s. 521.

In short, the whole philosophical Commentary of Confucius and his school on the symbols of the I-king, is nothing but a game of dice with thoughts which admit of being connected with the physical antitheses; doubly perverse, inasmuch as his philosophical treatment could only be justified by an actual unity of agency, and its methodical development.

How entirely different was the standing-point taken by Lao-tse we only first appreciate after a study of the profound metaphysical substructure, whose essential features we have exhibited in the Appendix to this volume; and it is the immortal glory of Tshu-hi to have adopted these ideas into his scheme of orthodoxy. In this place we shall content ourselves with citing a few sayings of this wonderful thinker, relating directly to the Essence of the Divine Order of the world. Thus, in cap. xxv. he says:—

There is an Essence, indeterminate, which existed before Heaven and Earth; oh, how silent is it, how void! It alone subsists without change; it is everywhere; by nothing is it shared; thou mayst call it the mother of the universe. I know not how to name it, but in order to distinguish it, I call it *Way* (Tao); to find it a name I call it *the Great*, and yet again *the Vanishing*; *the Distant*, and yet again *the Approaching*. Man copies the Earth, the Earth Heaven, Heaven the Way, the Way its own nature.

The wise man is “Tao in miniature” (the Microcosm), and, moreover, becomes so in virtue of self-surrender, self-renunciation, freedom from self and from all desires. Thus he says (xxxiv.) :—

The Way loves and nourishes all beings, and does not consider himself as their Lord; he is always without desire, wherefore he may be called Little. All beings owe subjection to him, and he does not consider himself as their Lord, wherefore he may be called Great.

Who does not detect here noble thoughts common to the Greek and German Idealistic schools? But nowhere do we find traces of their action on the Chinese mind, which

is governed by Dualism and Realism up to the present day.

Tshu-hi attempted to bring the *dicta* of Lao-tse into logical coherence; but in executing this project he misunderstood Lao-tse. According to him, the Sage had taught that the *Unity* itself is the product of the reciprocal action of the Two Principles. On this Tshu-hi remarks:—

Lao-tse therefore does not regard the Primal Force (*li*, properly speaking, operative Reason, *Logos*) as the Perfect, the Ultimate.

Now, for his own part Tshu-hi endeavours to raise the Primal Force into the first place, by which he certainly advances far beyond Confucius. Thus, he says (s. 32):—

Prior to the existence of the universe, there was neither any relation of the Primal Matter (*ling*) to the Primal Force, nor of the Primal Force to the Primal Matter. When once the Primal Force was, there arose from it the Primal Matter, and from that again the ratiocinative and motive Substance, and this we call the Sequence coming to pass in accordance with Reason. First of all there existed the Primal Force of Heaven; this contained the Primal Matter; the mass of Primal Matter is the groundwork in virtue of which Nature was possible. . . . Could there indeed be Primal Matter without the residuum, the deposit of the Primal Force? . . . The Primal Force is the One which divided itself: Heaven and Earth and all beings together only exist in virtue of the Primal Force. Is there a Primal Force, there must be also a Primal Matter; but on such wise, that the former must be considered as the fountain-head. Now, if the Primal Force be called the Supreme or First, that is as much as to say, that the Highest Summit (*Tai-ki*, the Absolute) sets itself in motion, and generates the motive Matter; after this motion of the Highest Summit there follows a rest; and this rest generates resting Matter.

Now, in the application which Lao-tse makes of his cosmogonic theory to practical life, we find many worthy, nay, great thoughts. True wisdom manifests itself (as we have already indicated above) by the putting

off all that the world calls wisdom, viz. selfish prudence. It is precisely this which corrupts the individual and annihilates the State. The wise man who desires nought, is the virtuous man; he knows that he knows nothing, but yet he knows at the same time that his thoughts and actions are responsive and agreeable to those of the *Tao*. On the world's course, too, Lao-tse directs his prophetic eye; this is to him the very *Tao* itself, but with all the necessities produced by the conflict of the physical antitheses. The wise man must, therefore, contemplate the course of the world in the histories of the fore time. On this subject he says (xiv. Conclusion):—

He who studies the path of the ancient times, knows how to govern the circumstances of the present. When a man is able to descry the origin of ancient things, then it is said that he holds the thread of the *Tao*.

On the other hand, however, the consequences of a system which knows nothing whatever of the love of God, or rather does not attempt to make any application whatever of that love, are very manifest:—

Heaven and Earth (he says, v. 1) have no special predilection for each other; like them so does the holy man regard each human being as the dog made of straw for the sacrifices.

This is in allusion to the custom of making an artificial dog of straw, and offering it in sacrifice instead of the real dog; a mere sham without individual significance. How strikingly do we discern here the dreadful pressure of that effete, deathlike state of things, in which the sense of personality has died out! The curse attached to holding a scheme of the universe, in which the living consciousness of the Divine presence in actual realities has been lost! Thus, too, his ideal of the State is merely a Chinese caricature of Plato's dream of a Republic. Lao-tse is decidedly a *pessimist* and *obscurantist*. "Had I a kingdom," he says, "so small that the neighbours could hear all that was said in it, my subjects should hold no

intercourse with any others. I should do away with writing, and bring the people back to the old practice of making knots to remember things by" (cap. lxxx.). Thus it is not to be wondered at that he ended his life in a misanthropical manner, and at an advanced age wandered out by a narrow mountain-pass into the desert. He was seen to disappear, but never seen to return. The story of his travels to India is a very late legend, as Julien has proved on documentary evidence. That the *Tao* no longer reigns in the Empire as formerly, he expressly says himself (cap. xlvi.). But the Chinese Empire with him stands for all mankind.

Thus did this great genius, too, pay his tribute to the spirit of Sinism, the 5,000 years old relic of the primeval Consciousness of mankind. But we will not conclude with these discords, but take leave of this high-minded athlete with the noble passage in which he has coined his great ethical thought touching the Kosmos into true sublimity. The eternal Reason, the Archetype and Mother of the universe, he says, is one with Virtue, although both must be treated independently in speculation. Here are his words (cap. li.) :—

The *Way* brings forth the beings ; *Virtue* sustains them ; both endow them with a corporeal form, and conduct them to complete development by a secret impulse. Hence all beings adore the *Way*, and reverence *Virtue*. No one has lent to the *Way* its dignity, nor to *Virtue* its nobleness ; these qualities they possess eternally in themselves. Thus the *Way* produces beings, nourishes them, makes them grow, conducts them to full development, ripens, sustains, and preserves them. He brings them forth and does not make them his own ; he makes them to be that which they are, and does not boast himself thereof ; he governs them, and suffers them to be free. That is the depth of Virtue.

What a mirror for every Byzantino-Chinese state of things in our modern world, such as a large portion of our European family is even now groaning under, nay,

has already learnt to glory in, with all the attendant absurdities and vices, resulting from shallowness and the self-complacency of a mere external polish! And this is going on nearly 2,000 years after Christ has come, and the Gospel of the love of God has been preached! since new blood has been poured into the veins of the old world, and a new world has begun, founded on the principles of equality and brotherly love!

With this protest against the adoption from our Chinese brethren of unprogressive exclusiveness and ruin-bringing stagnation, we gladly appropriate the inspired words of the excellent Quinet, while we at the same time hold them up before the eyes of all European-Chinese, with and without pigtail, as a prophetic mirror for their warning¹ :—

The Hebrew society had its centre of gravity in Jehovah, the Hellenic in Zeus; the Christian world has its centre of gravity in Christ, and in this upward striving of earth towards heaven is the whole mystery of social life included. But in the Chinese social conditions, man having nothing beyond human beings for his end and aim, finds his ultimate goal in his point of departure; he is inevitably stifled when thus pent up within the limits of humanity. Inasmuch as he makes virtue a matter of convenience he has made it impossible, for, to his misfortune, he is not created for mediocrity; if he makes mediocrity his

¹ La société hébraïque a gravité vers Jehovah, la société grecque vers Jupiter, le monde chrétien gravite vers le Christ, et dans cet effort de la terre vers le ciel est renfermé tout le secret de la vie sociale. Mais dans la société chinoise, l'homme, n'ayant pour but que l'homme, trouve sa fin dans son point de départ; il faut qu'il étouffe dans les bornes de l'humanité. En faisant la vertu trop commode, il l'a rendue impossible; car le malheur est qu'il n'est pas fait pour le milieu; que dès qu'il vise à la médiocrité, il atteint au-dessous; qu'en renonçant au ciel, il déchoit de la terre; que s'il ne brigue la vie absolue, il s'arrête au néant. Dans cette société naine tout est tronqué par le faite. A la morale manque l'héroïsme, à la royauté la muse royale (Platon, "Le Politique"); aux vers, la poésie; à la philosophie, la métaphysique; à la vie, l'immortalité, parce qu'au sommet de tout manque le dieu. On s'épargne le danger en s'épargnant la grandeur; on évite le scepticisme en évitant la croyance; pour n'avoir pas de Chæronée, on s'abstient de Salamine. Gens éternellement dignes d'envie! dites-vous, voilà cinq mille ans qu'ils durent! Je le crois bien. Dans ces milliers d'années, je doute qu'ils aient vécu un jour. (Quinet, "Du Génie des Religions," p. 294, Paris, 1842.)

end and aim, he falls far below that mark; if he renounces the hope of heaven, he loses earth too; if he do not strive after eternal life, he stops short at annihilation. In this mutilated society, the head and crown of everything has been cut off. From Ethics is absent heroic courage; from Monarchy (to speak with Plato), the royal muse; from verse, poetry; from philosophy, metaphysics; from life, immortality; for, at the apex of all, God is wanting! Man spares himself peril by sparing himself greatness; he avoids doubt by avoiding faith; to save himself a Chæroneæ, he denies himself a Salamis. O, the eternally enviable people! do you exclaim; they have existed already 5,000 years! I readily believe it. But in these 5,000 years, I doubt if they have truly *lived* for a day.

We have now, by striking and documentary passages, exhibited the fundamental thoughts of the Chinese religious consciousness, as an organically coherent, truly national work, beginning with the first symbolical hints couched in signs and numbers of the existence of a doctrine of dualistic Unity in primeval times, and continuing our survey up to the completer of the Chinese Scholastic lore, who lived a century before Thomas Aquinas; and we have endeavoured to show that this consciousness forms the key to the whole development of that third part of the entire human race.

If we sum up the whole, we find one thought continually recurring in the works of all those sages, as the root-idea of the ancient system, and we may express it thus: There is a Law which governs the All, in nature and in man, and this One Law is reasonable. Thus, indeed, it had been said by Meng-zö, the renowned successor of Confucius in the fourth century before our era:¹ "He who knows his own nature and that of all things knows what Heaven is: for Heaven is, indeed, the inward essence, and the vital energy of all things." This thought is the dowry of the Chinese intellect in the general history of Man; the conception of a Kosmos *in*, not *above*, the

¹ Julien's "Tao-te-king," ii. 7, 1.

various objects; which, however, attains personality only in the human mind. Man's life is to be orderly, like that of nature; the sphere of this life in which the Chinese recognize something divine, is that of the family; the bond between parents and children is to him the most sacred of all bonds.

Entering upon the task of civilizing social life equipped with this theory, with language and philosophy, though to both language and philosophy is lacking the expression of the predicating Mind, conscious of itself and its distinctness from the world around, the Chinese has in the course of millenniums effected what other nations also achieve; he has poetry, art, science, a polity. But he has them in such a manner as to be barren of any influence on the stream of universal history; what movement there is merely affects externals; he offers the finished type of a mere phantasm of living civilization. The spontaneous impulse to intellectual activity is lacking. But we maintain that it is only dormant. The first form which speculation took,—the conception of the reciprocal action of supreme antitheses in nature,—had something better. The earliest phenomenon whose existence we can demonstrate, is only a very strong Realism; upon that basis, it would have been equally possible to develop the true doctrine, if the slumbering consciousness of the agency of Mind had not, instead of being cherished, been rather deadened, or at least lulled into a death-like sleep, by the over-luxuriant growth of Materialism. This is proved by the history of all the rest of the world; which, however, up to the present time, is but the history of the nations of our modern world, *i.e.* of all nations who speak the languages of the self-conscious Mind.

But God forbid that we should therefore regard the 360 millions of pure Chinese as an inert mass of extinct life, the mere scoriæ of Humanity! Among them, too, our age proves itself an age of marvels. For we see before our very eyes, how the religion of the Spirit, how the Bible

and the Spirit everywhere know how to break the spell, and dissolve the cataleptic trance in which so large a portion of our race in China and elsewhere seem to lie wrapt. That all the noblest elements of humanity survive or at least slumber in the Chinese, is proved not only by the many beautiful and noble thoughts that we have cited from their older authors, and by the capability of noble self-sacrifice to which the filial love universal among them still bears witness even now, but also by the mighty popular uprising that has begun since 1848.

Since the introduction of Buddhism in the first century of our era, no great spiritual upheaval has taken place in the life of the nation up to this great movement in our days, which has hitherto in Continental Europe excited nothing but contempt and ridicule, but of which scarcely anything has been known and still less has been understood. The great evangelical movement enkindled about the year 1830, by a remarkable American missionary, Mr. Roberts, and an earnest Chinese disciple of his, is at the present moment so veiled in night, owing to the national struggle which has blended with it, of the Tac-pings, or the votaries of "the divine kingdom of eternal peace," that we cannot as yet say whether the truly great and universal human elements in it are destined to undergo a temporary dissolution in order to their ultimate purification, or to become at once a germ of life and the dawn of the Japhetic transformation of the earliest tribe of mankind. So much, however, we may affirm on the authority of the authentic documents of this new evangelical creed,—which have now (1857) been translated with conscientious faithfulness by Meadows, the worthy successor of Morrison, Gutzlaff, and Medhurst, as a Christian-minded official interpreter, in his highly remarkable work, "The Chinese and their Rebellion,"—that the inaccurate, false, and lying statements on this subject which have been diffused in France by the Jesuits and their adherents (and have found their echo in nearly all the German newspapers) are a

disgrace to this century, and a mockery of the far-famed German love of truth and devotion to science!

We are on the eve of great disclosures. Even during the summer of this year (1858), new facts have continually been coming to light. For any journals which can dare to speak the truth, to persist in ignoring these facts, would be a crime against humanity. For this movement in the very heart of 360 millions of men, before which, so long ago as 1853, the ancient metropolis of China, Nankin, had fallen, and which, since then, has spread over provinces containing 40 millions, or the ninth part of this nation of primeval civilization, and is now rolling onwards towards the European atmosphere of the Eastern and South-Eastern coasts, is the greatest popular movement of our day, and if it succeeds in purifying and establishing itself, the greatest in modern times. Since we have given in the Appendix to this volume some extracts from Lao-tse, whose doctrine has practically remained a dead letter in China, we reluctantly refrain from adding to it a short but documentary account of the main features of these contemporary events extracted from the writings of Hung, formerly a schoolmaster, now the "Heavenly Prince," and acknowledged head of the four kings of the East, West, North, and South, and from other well-accredited sources of information. But we must say a word with respect to the attitude which this movement assumes towards the one living point of the ancient religion of China; namely, the offerings to the dead. In its Chinese Catechism, after declaring that the convert on coming to baptism must pronounce a solemn vow to take the belief in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost for his rule in life, and is resolved to dedicate this life to God in love to the brethren; the sacrifices to the spirits of their ancestors are declared to be incompatible with the commands of the eternal God. To the question, however, whether the rites in honour of their memory are to cease entirely, it is replied: On the contrary, the true

rites in their honour are now for the first time to begin ; for it shall be a praiseworthy custom among the Chinese Christians to visit the tombs of their ancestors on the customary days, and there, in the sense of gratitude for the release of these immortal souls from this troublesome life, to renew that vow of life-long devotion to the cause of God and their brethren. It is notorious that the Jesuits permitted the offerings to the dead, finding the custom too deeply rooted to be done away with ; here on the contrary we find the axe laid to its root. In this new kingdom of God, the Bible as God's word, and the Spirit as its interpreter, are the only final Court of Appeal. The Ten Commandments stand for the moral law, and are therefore constituted the Imperial Code for the Chinese, and opium smoking is for a soldier in the army of the Tae-pings a mortal sin against the seventh Commandment, equally with adultery. The polygamy borrowed from the patriarchal and Mosaic times, will no doubt yield to the monogamy based upon the essence of Christianity and of human nature, when the woman comes to be recognized as a person, forasmuch as she is a voluntary Christian. The ecstasies into which the most important disciple of Hung,—Yang, the King of the East,—is said often to fall, will disappear, as with Hung himself they have retired into the background. Meanwhile infanticide, unchastity, and slavish destitution of legal rights, have ceased, according to the unanimous testimony of numerous most trustworthy witnesses from all classes and ranks, several of whom the author has been himself so fortunate as to see and to interrogate.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF GOD IN THE UNIVERSE AMONG THE
ZOROASTRIAN BACTRIANS.*Zoroaster.*

WITH regard to the Aryan religious consciousness during the epoch when ethnic formations were taking place in Eastern Asia, we encounter the same phenomenon, which in Western Asia discovers itself in a much earlier period of human development. The earliest linguistic formation and the earliest religious consciousness of Mesopotamia or Aram has not been preserved to us in Asia, but in the deposit which has been formed by the Egyptian branch of that stock. In the same way it is once for all certain that the Indian development of the Aryan linguistic and religious consciousness is an offshoot from Iran, and, moreover, from Bactria, which has deposited itself and struck root on the shores of the five tributaries of the Indus in the same manner that the former has in the valley of the Nile. Secondly, it is equally certain that religious records existing in their earliest Bactrian form have preserved to our times the earliest Bactrian faith. This was a pure Nature-worship, whose monuments are the Vedas which have had their birth in the countries of the Punjab. The earliest phenomenon in Bactria itself of which we possess documentary evidence is the superseding of that Nature-worship by an ethical faith. The antagonisms of Light and Darkness, of sunshine and storm, become transformed into antagonisms of Good and Evil, of Powers exerting a beneficent or corrupting influence on the mind. In the sphere of religion, the old Aryan nomenclature undergoes a violent revolution; the terms

remain, but receive a reversed significance; the appellations of the Good Powers become names for the Powers of evil. Zoroaster denotes the Spirits of Evil by the term common to the old Aryan divinities (*Devās*, whence *Deus* and *Zeus*, the *Æther*); their beneficent spirits or genii have become to him demons, and the name of the sacred seers and bards of the nation (*Kavis*) is used by him as a synonym for liars and cheating jugglers. Of the theogonic and demiurgic legends of ancient Bactria, there are no remains to be found in the genuine portion of the *Vendidad*, except the story of Yima (Yama in the *Vedas*), the evening sun, whence Jemsheed, the late Persian phase of this idea, as the first king, the ancestor of the blessed rulers.

The migration from Bactria to India took place, as we shall see, anterior to the reformation of the Bactrian faith by Zoroaster. The Vedic hymns themselves may be in part coeval with that reformation; but they are the hymns of the ancient faith, which in the original parentland of the race was superseded, if not extirpated, by Zoroaster; and their language is the most ancient monument of the Bactrian consciousness. Nevertheless we shall begin with the consideration of the Zoroastrian religious consciousness, because the development of that of India possesses a certain unity. That of the countries bordering on the Indus naturally flows into that of the Ganges country, or India Proper—namely the Brahmanic faith,—and this, again, is the parent of Buddha and the Buddhistic development, with which we shall conclude our sketch of the religious consciousness of the Asiatic Aryans.

The achievement of Zoroaster is in its aim and object no less grand than that of Abraham. It is the great stride which all the ancient peoples speaking mythological languages must needs make if they would not utterly succumb; that is to say, the transition from the worship of the elements, the forces of the physical Kosmos, to the adoration of the Spirit of those forces, as the Primal Cause

of the spiritual Kosmos and of the universe. In that earlier physiolatry, the highest altitude reached by faith is that by duly-rendered services, the beneficent Powers of Light and the bright Æther, the fertilizing succession of the seasons, the alternations of sunshine and rain, may be rendered propitious and constant to man, conferring on him long life and prosperity. On this belief ethical ideas may engraft themselves, in virtue of the innate consciousness of God possessed by man. Light and the divinities of the sky may become symbols of Goodness; the constancy and certainty of Nature's order, symbols of Truth. Yet there always remains the contradiction, that that which has undergone a double process of symbolism appears as reality and is adored as divine, while the reality itself, the Mind, and a life and conversation well-pleasing to God, appears as subordinate, and a mere subjective reflection. So long as this delusion is not utterly dispelled,—so long as the sovereignty of Nature over the actions of man is not flatly denied, nay, recognized as the evil principle, which opposes itself to the progress or restoration of the ethico-spiritual consciousness of God,—so long does the man remain, to use the Apostle's words, "in bondage to the beggarly elements of nature." The Spirit tells him that he is destined to become lord of that which assumes to lord it over him in the shape of outward physical necessity. Men and classes call each other good or bad, and separate from each other on that ground.¹ Next there arise sharp inward conflicts, complicated by attacks on the part of the self-styled pious world, who defend their Moloch (*i. e.* their own Moloch-mind which deifies themselves) with enthusiasm "for hearth and altar," and avenge him by bloody persecution. The reasoning Aryan, especially, whose intellect roves fearlessly in all directions as on its own domain, seeking for first truths, comes face to face with the great problems of humanity: Whence comes evil,

¹ The reference of this somewhat obscure passage seems to be to the introduction of *caste*.—TR.

if the good God rules this world? How could evil spring from God? How arise without God, and how continue to exist contrary to His will?

Such thoughts it was which, under the reign of Vistaspa, an undoubtedly historical king of Bactria though unknown to us, towards the year 3000 B.C., certainly not later than towards 2500 B.C., were agitating one of the mightiest intellects and one of the greatest men of all time—Zarathustra Spitama. Accounted by his contemporaries a blasphemer, atheist, and firebrand worthy of death; regarded even by his own adherents after some centuries as the founder of magic, by others as a sorcerer and deceiver, he was nevertheless recognized already by Hippocrates as a great spiritual hero, and esteemed the earliest sage of a primeval epoch—reaching back to 5000 years before their date—by Eudoxus, Plato, and Aristotle. The shallow eighteenth century had already voted him a bygone fanatic or impostor, when a zealous French inquirer, some eighty years ago, set out upon his tracks, and not without success. He took Zoroaster to be a Persian, coeval with Darius the Great, son of Hystaspis, on account of the similarity of the names Hystaspis and Vistaspa. This became the received hypothesis for some time, till later more extended and successful researches brought us nearer to the original sources of information.¹

The key, however, to the understanding of the man and his place in history, we find, as it seems to us, in a hymn consisting of eleven three-lined strophes, having reference to some great public transaction, which was, if we mistake not, no other than that of his first appearance before the assembled magnates of the land, in the character of a reformer. It is a parallel to Luther's ninety-five Theses and his affixing them upon the church door at Wittenberg. Till now this hymn has been as good as unknown, although its text has been critically edited. Anquetil's so-called

¹ See Appendix, Note D.

translation is a delusion ; it has evidently been made not from the original document, but from a rendering into the Parsi or Huzuresch, whose author himself knew little of the old Bactrian language, and understood nothing of the meaning of the Hymn.¹

Let us picture to ourselves one of the holy hills dedicated to the worship of fire, in the neighbourhood of the primeval city of marvels in Central Asia,—Baktra “the glorious,” now called Balkh, “the mother of cities.” From this height we look down in imagination over the elevated plateau, which lies nearly 2000 feet above the level of the sea, sloping downwards towards the North and ending in a sandy desert, which does not even allow the streams of Bactria to reach the neighbouring Oxus. On the southern horizon, the last spur of the Hindukush, or, as the historian of Alexander terms them, the Indian Caucasus, rear their lofty peaks of 5000 feet high. Out of those hills,—the Paropamisus or Hindukush,—springs the chief river of the country, the Bactrus or Dehas, which near the city divides into hundreds of canals, making the face of the country one blooming garden of richest fruits. To this point converge the caravans, which travel across the mountains to the land of marvels, or bring treasures from thence. Now, according to primeval tradition, in Baktra was situated the third seat of the Aryans after their emigration from their Northern home ; and an intellectual life had unfolded itself there under an organized government. Thither, on occasion of the peaceful sacrifice by fire, from whose ascending flame auguries were drawn, perhaps also with the customary interrogation of the Earth-oracle by means of the sacred bull, Zarathustra had convened the nobles of the land that he might perform a great public religious act. Arrived there, at the head of his disciples, the seers and preachers, he summons the princes to draw nigh and to choose between faith and superstition. To

¹ See Kleuker's *Zendavesta* I.

judge from this hymn, Zoroaster is evidently willing to retain these symbols of adoration to which we have referred, but only as emblems of the worship of the true God, who is the God of the good and truth-loving, and, strictly speaking, can be honoured alone by truthfulness in the holy triad of thought, word, and deed, by purity of motive and a good and strictly veracious life. Neither this theory, nor this conciliatory compromise in matters of form, will seem strange to us; for we find in the very opening hymn of the Rig-Veda, Agni, or fire, termed "the high-priest of the Gods." Thus this designation is an ancient Bactrian one, and it may not unjustly be esteemed the most elevated and correct conception of the visible creation—or Nature—to regard it as the mediatory high-priest of the Godhead considered as Spirit; or, in fact, that which in other languages, in expressing the sum of all that is finite, is denominated the Son of God; one instance of which we have seen among the Hebrews. Now this Nature may also speak to Man by the mouth of those animals which are most faithful and serviceable to him; but only in order that he may so much the more vividly recognize the Good to be the True. Thus in respect to ceremonial, Zoroaster endeavoured to pursue a conciliatory middle course, in consonance with popular custom, while, at the same time, he claimed for his doctrine unconditional acceptance, coupled with the suppression of the hostile guild of the bards and sacrificing priesthood. In this, however, as in all similar instances, a compromise of this kind has proved a perilous, nay, in the long run fatal expedient; and in this point lies the distinctive difference between Zoroaster and Abraham. It is because Abraham excinded nature-worship altogether and strove to banish it as utterly as possible from his rigidly segregated society, that the Hebrew man of God stands so far above the Aryan. For his faith in the Spirit he has been found worthy to become the father of the religion of the Spirit. But this does not leave us in any doubt as to the spiritu-

ality of Zoroaster's own aims. This is attested by the stern antagonism of his doctrine to Nature-worship; and still more so by his inculcation of veracity as the most decisive proof of piety; a doctrine which he has engraven on the heart of the noblest tribes of Asia for thousands of years, and through the power of which he enabled his Iranians to become the conquerors of the world and glorious in renown.

“Make your choice!” he exclaims; “around man there is a battle waging in the spiritual world; even while on earth he is surrounded by good and evil spirits. He is endowed with all manner of good gifts and blessings; and his soul is in the hands of the Lord of the universe, the Creator and Governor of the world, the alone true God. Nevertheless in this world, Evil has been an independent power from the beginning; it must and will be ultimately overcome, but this can only be effected by a sincere breaking with the Evil Power,—a personal decision in favour of the Good and True. Choose now blessing or cursing! You cannot serve two masters; and you cannot hold fellowship with lies. One side or the other must yield.”

And now let us hear the prophet himself. This is the literal rendering of his inspired harangue¹:—

1. Now will I rehearse unto you who are here assembled, the wise sayings of the All-wise, the praises of the living God, hymns unto the good Spirit, high truth which I read in these sacred flames as they ascend on high.

2. Listen, therefore, to the voice of the Earth-soul (*i.e.* to plough and cultivate the earth); gaze on the glow of Fire with

¹ In translating the metrical German version given by Baron Bunsen of this and the following hymns from the *Zendavesta*, I have consulted, and in some cases followed, the English translation of them given by Martin Haug, Dr. Ph., &c., in his “*Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees*,” Bombay, 1862; but I have ventured to modify the expression of Dr. Haug's renderings in order to bring them closer to Bunsen's rendering. The hymn cited above is to be found in Haug's *Essays*, pp. 141-144.—TR.

pious mind! Let each one, whether man or woman, each for himself choose this day his creed (between the Deva and the Ahura religion). Up, awake ye ancient heroes! Draw nigh and plead for us! (*i.e.* to approve of my lore, to be delivered to you at this moment).

(The prophet now begins to deliver the words, revealed to him through the sacred flames :)—

3. In the beginning there was a pair of twins, two Spirits, each having his own distinct essence. These, the Good and the Base, rule over us in thought, word, and deed. Between these two ye must, perforce, make your choice. Be good then, not base!

4. By these two Spirits encountering each other are all things brought about (the material things); being and non-being, the beginning and the end, are created by the operation of this pair. For liars (the worshippers of the devas, *i.e.* gods) existence will become an evil, whilst to the truthful it will be salvation.

5. Choose! an evil lot does he draw who chooses the wicked liar! But he who chooses Ahura-mazda, the All-holy and All-true, honours Him in faith by truthful word and holy deed.

6. You cannot serve both (*i.e.* you cannot be worshippers of the one true God, and of many gods at the same time). Behind the doubter lurks a foe! "Choose the Evil," whispers he; and hosts of evil flock around, to war against the holy life enjoined you by the seer.

7. But to the succour of this life comes Armaiti, mother of the corporeal world, with Power and with Truth and with Piety of heart. But the Spirit, the firstling of creation, dwells with thee, O Mazda, with thyself!

8. O Mazda! when on earth our Spirit is hardly pressed in the fight, come thou to our aid! The pious hearts dost thou give to inherit the earth; and dost punish those who are void of truth and false to their promise.

9. Thus let us all in our part faithfully labour to maintain such a life. For the wise are the true promoters of life; nay, verily, they are *the living* among you! Seek to understand this where alone true wisdom is to be found.

10. Wisdom is the shelter from lies, the annihilation of the Destroyer (the evil spirit). All perfect things are garnered up in the fair mansions of the pious mind (*Vohu-manô*), in the

heart of the Wise (Mazda), and the True (Asha), whom Fame honours as the Good.

11. Therefore perform ye the commandments which, spoken by the mouth of Mazda himself, have been given to mankind for the ruin and perdition of all liars, and the refuge and safety of him who believes in the truth; in them is the fountain of happiness.

The history of this hymn and the act which it proclaims is easy to explain, and is independent of difficulties of detail of various readings, or of the few emendations of the text found necessary by Dr. Haug. But its animating thought requires some elucidation. We are in presence of an Aryan intellect which is unable to separate the Good from the True; of an intellect, capable, as is proved by the whole tendency and working out of the Zoroastrian doctrine, of discovering new forms for speculative thoughts which are its own native product. The general result seems to be that in this case, too, the purely reasonable is also most probably the oldest portion of the system; while the mythological and mystical accessories are due to its corruption; or to the misconceptions of the prophet's disciples or of the populace. But this purely reasonable part certainly lies far beyond the grasp of the philosophy of our old rationalistic schools.

The exposition of Zoroaster's doctrine begins in the third strophe of this hymn. Evil is a primordial power in the existing world. It is true that it is only the human world which is here in question, still the expression is of universal character, and the recognition of a Principle of imperfection, repression, corruption in nature pervades all the oldest Zoroastrian utterances. But Ahriman is not mentioned by name, and is not conceived as a personal being; in other words, is not seated in eternity. He is Non-being, the necessary alternative of Finite Being, therefore destined to succumb before the progressive energy of Being; a theory which is, too, perhaps the only one that can be brought into harmony with the Semitic view. How

decisively it is that enunciated by Christ in his own person, is proved more especially by the Gospel of St. John.

The two first lines of the following fourth strophe run literally as follows:—"These two spirits meet together (co-operate) and create the First—Being and Non-being—and also the Last." In justification of our reading we submit the following considerations. The "First and Last" is the term constantly used to denote the antithesis between the earthly, or physical, natural life, and the spiritual existence, the life with God; this thought will present itself to us clearly enough in the sequel. Thus we have two antitheses: the one just mentioned, and that of Being and Non-being; and this ought to make our translation clear. "Being and Non-being" might, indeed, probably find its proper explanation in the antithesis of Good and Evil, after what we have said of the antithesis to the Good Spirit. Evil is the negative principle, therefore non-being; that which *is*, in order *not to be*; in order, that is to say, to form the stepping-stone to the Permanent. Hence, in Zoroaster's eye, it is also the Evanescent; and even in this world is destined gradually to melt away before the Good and Beneficent Principle. But here we must not forget that no full-blooded, genuine Aryan can bring himself to look at ethics apart from metaphysics. The Good and the True, Conscience and Reason, are to him one; and Reason finds the Good when she is seeking the True.

The seventh strophe is the one which is richest in meaning, and altogether the most important for the whole history of this doctrine, nay, of religious consciousness in general. Every one is acquainted with the reputed doctrine of Zoroaster; that is to say, the religion of the later degenerate Magism; the Parsee conception of the seven Amshaspands or "*Immortal Holy Ones*." The mystical number of seven is brought out only by representing Ahura-mazda—"the living Giver of Wisdom," the eternal, truly living God, the origin and fount of all life and true being,—as one of several beings, in conjunction with whom,

though occupying the highest rank, he constitutes one Whole. Such a conception is as foreign to Zoroaster as it is senseless. It is to place personality—conscious existence—what we may call the noun-substantive of speculative language,—on a level with the qualities of the finite phenomena, the adjectives of speculation. Of the former we can predicate no particular without destroying its idea; for its very essence consists in union; it is the converse of all qualities regarded as specialities. But with such a life as Zarathustra invites us to lead, are associated four Helpers, or good Geniuses to sustain and cherish our faith during this first stage of existence, namely: Obedience, Power, Truth, Good Intention.

First comes ARMAITI, a term also known to the Vedas, and therefore older than Zoroaster; it is the *Espendarmad* of the Parsees, from which at last has come *Sapandomad*. In the later phase of belief, she is called mythologically (as it were the genitive form of thought) a child, the daughter of Ahura-mazda. The meaning of this word is submission, resignation, obedience; therefore the renunciation of Man's stubborn self-seeking, of the selfish nature and will; that surrender to the divine will, in virtue of which we no longer wish for that which is pleasant or profitable to ourselves in our isolated capacity, but desire the victory of God over evil. Such a joyful, thankful surrender to the divine will is in the view of all men who have a native, independent intuition of God, the primary condition of a godly, free, truly good life on the part of the individual. It is easy to understand how in later times this should give birth to the idea of subjection; *i. e.* the subjection of believers to the priesthood, for this is in accordance with the constant law of the process of decadence. Since that idea of *self-surrender* in its physical aspect is used to explain the outward creation, it is no wonder that Armaiti came to be conceived as something material. One further step downwards leads on from this to the conception of Armaiti as the Earth,

and that is the first beginning of the senseless conception of the Amshaspands as the elements, an absurdity only to be surpassed by that held by all the Parsees and some moderns, namely, the conception of them as personifying the seven days of the week, or the seven days of creation! There is, however, no physical speculation or cosmogonic tradition underlying this word. We have no need to remember the cosmogonic planetary conception of the Kabiri ("the Strong ones"); for, in the first place, we have not to do here with the number seven but with six, and even seven would not suffice without the synthesis of those cosmogonic forces under the idea of the creative mind,—God the Creator,—who is therefore called "The Eighth." Nor is there any trace of such an idea in the deposit of the ancient Aryan physiolatry in the Indusland. The supposition of an allusion to the seven days of creation is obviously equally foreign and remote. This unfortunate suggestion, like the myth invented by German scholars of the "purely Persian origin" of the Hebrew traditions, belongs to the infancy and nonage of research into the Book of Genesis; a misleading hypothesis to which even Lessing has listened in an ephemeral essay which Herder ventured to bring forward, but which ought not in decency to be mentioned at this time of day by any scientific man, therefore not by thinking inquirers or inquiring thinkers.

The correctness of our view, based as it is upon philology and history, will be amply confirmed by the following considerations: Armaiti evidently takes precedence of the Triad in whose company she appears, as the patroness of a truthful, pious, and wholesome human life. Now these three answer to the third, fourth, and fifth Amshaspands, in that series of seven, at the head of which Ahura-mazda is placed. The names are the same, only changed into the modern form of the language. But what do they signify in the original representation?

The first of the three companions of Armaiti is called

KSHATHRA-VAIRYA ; pre-eminent Power ; from which the Persians have derived their well-known SHAH-RIVER.

The second is called ASHA, or Truth, a title which explains itself. This is the ARDI-BEHESHT of the Parsees.

The third is called VOHU-MANO, out of which has grown the later term BAHMAN : this word signifies the good, pious mind, or piety.

He therefore who, sacrificing his own selfish interests, devotes himself to the divine will, to goodness, shall receive earthly power, strength, possessions. This earth, with her gifts, is the heritage of the good, or is destined to become so. This view pervades all the sayings of Zoroaster, as it does the scriptures of the Old Testament, and finds its simplest and noblest form of expression in the introduction to the Sermon on the Mount : “the meek shall inherit the earth.” Thus the association of Armaiti with these three, imports that a willing surrender to God is followed by earthly well-being, the knowledge of the truth, and a good pious mind.

Armaiti and her three attendants have a double antithesis. First to Ahura-mazda. In this seventh verse, Armaiti appears as a mediator concerned with our earthly life ; but in the next strophe, Ahura-mazda steps forth himself as the saviour and helper, the redeemer of the spirit. The spirit of man in its inmost essence stands in relation with the Deity ; this relation is not founded on any one of the attributes of the Divine Being, but on unity of essence. The second contrast is this. Those gifts are the highest, *i. e.* as regards this life ; but two others (it is said in other passages of the ancient Hymn) appertain to them — perfection and immortality ; or HAURVATAT, wholeness, completeness, out of which has sprung the sixth Amshaspand of the Parsees, *Khordad*, and AMERETAT, immortality, the seventh Amshaspand of the Parsees, *Amerdad*.

We comprehend perfectly that of these two there could be no question in the present passage. But we see also

that the whole doctrine of the Amshaspands among the Parsees rests upon a misconception. The Zoroastrian scheme is an equally profound and distinct ethical thought, an automatic act; one element of the prodigious importance of Zoroaster in the development of the Aryan mind and of humanity at large.

When the Parsees ground the doctrine of Zoroaster concerning the resurrection, upon the ninth verse of this hymn and the various commentaries thereon, this is only the natural result of a debased and carnalized religious consciousness. In this hymn there is not the remotest reference to that; but no doubt here, as in other passages also, there is implied the doctrine of the originality and imperishableness of the human mind, *i. e.* of the mind of the good man, who by a truthful life and faithful service has manifested the Eternal Spirit of goodness, and attested his faith by the furthering of the kingdom of God. In the Zoroastrian development of the relation between the natural and the spiritual, we encounter a contradiction, which is, however, one only in appearance. The Spirit is called the first-born of life, of the creation, and this title is also given to him in another ancient psalm that we shall shortly have occasion to consider. The life of the Spirit, *i. e.* its heavenly, divine life, is termed not only here, but throughout these writings, the last or final life. In point of fact, in the sequence of phenomena, the earthly life of struggle comes the first, the untroubled life in God comes last; but in the mental conception, the ideal creation, that of the soul, precedes the corporeal, because the visible creation, being already the expression of a thought, presupposes the existence of that thought. From any closer philosophical definition of this theory as it existed in the mind of Zoroaster, we shall do wisest to refrain. We are, at all events, not yet in a position to attempt this task with any certainty or clear insight. Of dreams on this subject there are already enough; our knowledge chiefly consists in knowing that they are dreams.

But however cautious we ought to be in attributing sayings or doctrines to Zarathustra which may merely proceed from his school, yet we may pretty safely regard and avail ourselves of the simple leading ideas of the remaining Gāthās, which embody the same religious consciousness as that of our historical, documentary hymn of Zoroaster, as genuine commentaries upon this latter. And this will conduct us to the discovery that this hymn is certainly so far unique in the whole collection that it heralds and is itself the representative of a great public transaction in the life of the nation; but that it is by no means a unique or isolated phenomenon as regards its spiritual contents. The remaining Gāthās, whether they proceed from Zoroaster himself, or only bear the mint-mark of his mind, all exhibit similar characteristics. We do not from them discover Zoroaster to be a man exercising magical powers, nor a being exalting himself above humanity. On the contrary, he is a seer who announces the divine will, as unmistakably authenticated by the voice within him, after long meditation, during the course of an earnest and active life. In illustration, we lay before our readers the following fragment on the authority of Dr. Haug's communications:—

2. I would fain inquire of thee, O thou living God; open unto me the truth! How arose the best *present* life (this world)? By what means are the present things (the world) to be supported? Thou Spirit, all-holy (Vohu manô), O Mazda, art the sanctuary of all truth!

3. What I would fain ask Thee, tell me it right, thou living God! Who was in the beginning the father and creator of truth? Who traced their courses for the sun and stars? Who causes the moon to wax and wane? This, O Mazda, would I fain know.

4. What I would ask Thee, tell me it right, O thou living God! Who holds up the earth and the clouds above it? Who made the waters and the trees of the field? Who gave to the winds and storms their wings that they so quickly run? Who governs all things in his goodness?

5. What I would ask Thee, tell it me right, O thou living

God! Who made the gentle light and warmth, who made waking and sleeping? Who hath made day and night to remind the wise man continually of his duties?¹

Here we have the same theory of the world. The questionings of the mind respecting its own origin spring from faith, not from doubt. The good Spirit is the Creator of the world; He preserves it also and rules in the All as a gracious, beneficent Spirit. Darkness proclaims him as well as the gentle luminaries which gladden our hearts by day and night: frost and heat are alike salutary to man. All this the good man believes because he receives these blessings directly from the all-disposing Spirit of Good Himself. The world is God's; God is in the world, and it is the part of the good man to manifest Him there.

Thus from very early times, in the Aryan portion of our race, Mind was consciously recognized as the divine element, to which alone adoration is due. But this Mind is no less essentially adored as the Good, than He is in the conception of those Bactrians, the True. Only in virtue of this union is he recognized as the Wise, who is the giver of all wisdom. Now, in so far as the adoration of the Nature-gods is at war with this inward demand of human nature, must the ancient gods, the Devas, be regarded as demons or hostile powers, and as such be withstood. Nature is the high-priestess of God, but she is not herself God; her symbols may rightly be revered, but only in so far as the mind understands them spiritually, and gives them a moral significance and application. They are nothing apart from the Spirit; He is the Lord and Judge, and annihilates them at His will.

Good is destined to prevail on this earth; it will finally triumph through strenuous conflict. Veracity in intercourse with other men, and inward truth and conscientiousness, is the touchstone of all piety. Thus

¹ See Haug's "Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees." Bombay, 1862. Jasna xlv. Gáthá II.

here already we have the worth of all religious cultus measured by the inward disposition of the worshipper; and the evidence of such a disposition does not lie in any outward practices whatsoever, but in a holy life, spent in the active promotion of good. Rites are the vows of the congregation.

This speaks straight to the soul of every undegenerate Aryan! And Zoroaster's conception of life and history is not merely practical but ethical; it rests on an elaborate metaphysical theory and train of thought. The Lord of Spirits speaks to man in unmistakable language, but only to the good man. He is the wise man. Wisdom, insight, is the highest thing; but only that wisdom which loves and seeks goodness above all things.

Moreover, this combination of moral energy and intellectual sagacity, this irresistible strength of that which is the ground of all religion—a living faith in a moral order of the world—can alone explain the influence which Zoroaster has now exercised for 5000 years on the populations of Eastern Asia, and by which he constitutes an era in universal history. In the most sacred prayer of the Parsees, which assuredly dates from primeval times, and is known under the Persian title *Homover*, or the three times seven holy words, divided into three lines of equal length, Ahura-mazda is so intimately associated with his prophet, that the latter is called, first the Wise (Mazda), then the living (Ahura); of which two words, the divine name Ahura-mazda (Ormuzd) is composed. The words of this hymn, now only understood as a magical formula, are as follows:—

He protects the twofold life who is of truth the source and
 lord,
 Gives to the Wise the deeds of life, and to the faithful of heart
 gives he power,
 For the destruction of the children of life he created the lying
 brood.¹

¹ See *Jasna*, xxvii. 13.

From Bactria this doctrine spread into Media. This fact is undisputed; for the Medians possessed a Bactrian language and a Zoroastrian faith. But it is impossible not to bring another fact into connection with this. We now know, upon the authority of concurrent records and testimonies,¹ that a king of Media, who bore the name of the sacred seer and bard, conquered in the year 2234 B.C., the Semitic metropolis of Babylon, where the true Magism, or doctrine of the *Magavas* (*i. e.* "of the mighty or capable ones"), taught by the disciples of Zoroaster was soon mingled with Chaldean philosophy. The Persians next appear on the stage, and rise to greatness through the doctrine that veracity is the mark of piety; for this belief and this virtue they are unanimously extolled by antiquity. It redounded so much the more to their glory, since already half a century after the founding of the Empire, we find the complete Oriental system of government by palace intrigues, with all the physical enervation and moral debasement of the reigning family, which in Eastern countries is the invariable concomitant of such a government after the lapse of a few generations.

This circumstance, moreover, explains the degeneration of the Zoroastrian religion, and the obscuration in the minds of its adherents, of the faith in a moral order of the world. Under such a despotism as that which, after a brief interval of freedom, Deioeces had established in Media, and of which Xerxes, in Persia, furnished an example in its whole systematic atrocity, how is it possible for a nation really to believe that the Good, the Wise, the True, does ultimately triumph upon earth? Step by step with this progressive overclouding of the mind, we see even so early as the times of Artaxerxes, rites introduced into Persia, which stand in the most glaring contradiction to the ethico-spiritual nature of Zoroaster's religion.

¹ See *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. iii. p. 439, etc., Cf. vol. iv. p. 403.

On the other hand, however, we must not leave unnoticed the weak points and dark side of Zoroastrianism. One who places Spirit and Nature—the worship of the Spirit and the service of Nature—in an antagonism as direct as that between truth and lies, ought not to leave any relics standing of nature-symbolism or magical mysticism. It is true that to take such a course needs great courage; the courage of Christian faith, which tolerates no rival by its side, in the strength of which the first confessors broke the Roman yoke, and which has been displayed in our own days by the Christian Chinese in their uncompromising repudiation of offerings to the dead as an adoration of the Finite, and therefore an act of idolatry. But Abraham in his early times possessed this courage; and therefore it was that he, and not his contemporary, the Aryan prophet, became the Father of the Faithful. Hence it is that all nations are blessed in him, and knowingly or unknowingly praise God in his name, while Zoroaster's religion has degenerated into fire-worship and magical formulas. The worship of Mithra¹ is incompatible with the adoration of the Lord of the Spirits; the symbolical earth-bull sacred to the sun, and Zoroaster's "Soul of the earth," have no rightful place in the realm of Spirits and Sages which war upon Ahriman, the Prince of lies. But that was a concession to the superstition of the populace. In like manner, Agni, the Fire-god, remains on the domestic hearth, and receives in his character of high-priest, hymns of praise, which he bears aloft to the powers of nature, the self-created gods of the Æther. Magic, that is to say, all abuse of nature and her phenomena to the determination of moral acts, far from being sternly excluded, soon springs up once more in ranker luxuriance than ever.

But we know not what was the extent of Zoroaster's personal responsibility for this outgrowth. With his outward personal history and fortunes, we are as little

¹ See Appendix, Note E.

acquainted as with the inward conflicts which he had to sustain. So much only we see, that towards the year 3000 B.C. or soon after, the community of the originally persecuted prophet had already extended itself in great power towards the west, and founded an empire first in Media, then in the twenty-third century B.C., in Babylon. It is in this period, therefore, that the expulsion of the worshippers of the ancient Nature-gods, and their emigration to the lands of the Indus, must be placed. There, according to our theory, they found the Aryans already in possession of the country; for, according to the opening chapter of the Vendidad,¹ the earliest body of emigrants had left Bactria with the blessing of Ormuzd, and the Zoroastrian Church has placed the record of this occurrence at the head of its sacred books. The discovery of traces of acquaintanceship with the personal fortunes of Zoroaster, which our learned young friend Dr. Haug has found in the Seventh Book of the Vedic hymns, seems to lend a most satisfactory confirmation to this theory. We esteem ourselves fortunate in being able to announce that the important researches and discoveries of this distinguished scholar will come before the public simultaneously with our own work, forming part of the series of original documents now in course of publication by the meritorious founders and presidents of the "*Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*." An undertaking equally conducive to the honour of that society and of Germany, and the great advancement of science.

As regards the disciples of Zoroaster, had they really imbibed with their whole hearts the leading ideas of their master's teaching, they could not but have devoted their lives to the work of rooting out of the family and the community the falsehoods still left in existence, by means of faithful instruction and rebuke. Had they done so, the testimony borne by their life and death would have

¹ Containing an enumeration of sixteen Aryan countries over which the Zoroastrian religion successively spread.—Tr.

rendered it possible for them to withstand at once the establishment of despotism and the revival of superstition, which soon sent forth a fresh crop; those two great falsehoods of the world, which are the curse of mankind, and have desolated Asia for thousands of years.

But the person of Zoroaster stands high above his abortive scheme of a religion, and now for the first time, thanks to Haug's investigations, it rises in clear view out of the ruins of nearly 5000 years. Let these lines, taken from *Jasna*, xxxi. 7-9, stand for its witness and monument:—

He, who before all time, by His own light
Kindled to life the myriad lights of heaven,
By His own wisdom has brought forth the Truth,
Which is the source of all good thoughts and aims.
Prosper thy Truth, O Spirit only Wise,
Thou who abidest changeless without end!
Thee, O wise Mazda, Fount of all existence,
Lord of the earth and heavens, my soul adores;
Since I discerned Thee with my spirit's eye,
Knew Thee to be the parent of good thoughts,
The Essence of the Truth, the Cause of life,
That lives and works in all that moves and is.
The sacred Earth¹ rests evermore in Thee,
Who in Thy wisdom hast her frame contrived;
And travelling on the paths ordained by Thee
From dawn of time till latest age, she brings
Rich gifts and joys to him who tends her well,
But leaves unblest who scorns to till her soil.²

And this work she has been carrying on now for the space of millenniums, dispensing blessings, and bringing civilization in her train, and still will do so, forasmuch as she is the handmaid of that great moral scheme of the universe which Zoroaster himself discovered.

¹ Or *Armaiti*, the genius of the earth.

² The English translation has been made from Bunsen's German version of Haug's literal rendering.—Tr.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE ARYANS IN THE
COUNTRIES OF THE INDUS AND GANGES.

I.

The Religious Consciousness displayed in the VEDAS.

IN the most ancient historical record of the Zoroastrian Bactrians, the first Fargard or section of the Vendidad, the earliest settlement of the Aryans in the conquered country of the seven Hindus (or the land of the five or the seven rivers, from the Indus to the Hesidrus), is represented as an enterprise conducted under the guidance of Ahura-mazda. This realm was the last of the fourteen regions which he successively bestowed on the Aryans,¹ and on each of which he pronounced a blessing. As we have already remarked, such a mode of conception and statement excludes the hypothesis that the first emigration of the Aryans to India took place in consequence of a religious revolution and schism wrought by Zarathustra. For if the emigrants had been Zoroaster's enemies, the sacred records of his Bactrian followers would not have represented that migration as a pilgrimage hallowed by God's blessing; whereas this is not only the case with regard to the successive settlements of the Aryans in general, but on this particular occasion there is no fault whatever, as in other cases, found either with the country or with the conquerors and their descendants, nor any rebuke pronounced on apostasy or heresy. Still less possible, however, is it that the emigrants were themselves

¹ See "Egypt's Place in Universal History," vol. iii. cf. p. 457 with 462.

Zoroastrians, for nothing is more certain than that the gods adored in the land of the Indus are precisely those Devas upon whom Zoroaster made war. We have already noticed that in this document this word is only used in its original good sense, while Zoroaster always uses it to denote the demons. In the same way, all the other terms to which he affixes a stigma are here held in their ancient honour; the demonic Gandharvas are still good genii, the Kavis whom he brands as liars, are honoured minstrels; intoxication with the Soma-juice on occasion of the sacrifices, is a sacred rite, well pleasing to the gods. Thus the third course alone remains open to us, namely, to suppose that that emigration took place in an epoch anterior to Zoroaster. Indeed, in all probability it occurred several centuries before his date; for Zoroaster was by no means inclined to relinquish his right of property in the primeval epoch of the Bactrians; nay, we have seen that in the most inspired enunciation of his doctrines he never insists on the abrogation of the sacrifice of fire, nor of the oracle of the earth-spirit. Thus in his view, the state of things which he found in existence was a corruption of an earlier imperfect but innocent religion. To the supreme deity of his race, to that object of worship which approved itself to his mind as the meeting-point of symbolical titles, he gave the name of Ahura-mazda. It was a very appropriate appellation for the beneficent guide of his ancestors, for the first part of the word can be shown to signify in the old language of Bactria, *the Spirit*; while the second, *Mazda*, is the Wise, the Wisdom-giving. But who can say whether or no he found the two words thus combined already in use as the name of the Deity?

We arrive at similar results if we interrogate the infallible records of language. The language of the Vedas is still purer and older than the so-called Zend, or that of the Bactrian Zoroastrians: as the latter again, the genuine Zend, is older than the immediately succeeding Indian formation; namely—the oldest language of the Ganges,

the Sanscrit, out of which by the age of Buddha the Pali had developed itself as the vernacular tongue.

It was no false presentiment of the two last generations that the Vedas would eventually open to us a new vista into the history of the human mind; and (as the philological researches of Sir W. Jones had already revealed), most signally into that of the cultivated European nations, who lead the van of civilization. Now for the first time are these documents really beginning to disclose their meaning to us. But as yet we stand only in the vestibule of the temple, into which none can glance without being seized as with a sacred spell. The hymns of the Veda, especially those of the largest collection, the Rig-Veda, by their wonderful magnificence of language no less than by their contents transport us into that primeval epoch, when the fathers of the Hellenes and the Romans, nay, our own Teutonic forefathers too, were living in close brotherly communion side by side with the fathers of those Bactrians who afterwards crossed the Hindu-Kush. In its grammatical forms, the difference between the language of the Vedas and the Greek, Italian, and above all the Latin, is only one of dialect and stage of progress. The same holds good of the Slavic (in the old Slavonic), and the Teutonic (in the Gothic); nay, the nearest of all to it in many of its forms is the old Lithuanian or Prussian. In Europe at the present day, to a certain extent, we all speak nothing else than grammatically corrupt dialects of one or other sister-language of the Vedic. But that ancient fellowship of language becomes yet more apparent, significant, and attractive, when we find that all the terms denoting the most intimate human relationships, such as the words *father* and *mother*, *brother* and *sister*, etc., are those used by ourselves at the present day. It is the same with those denoting the domestic and many other animals; also with gold, brass, and other metals. Lastly, it is the same with intellectual and moral conceptions and the nomenclature of the spiritual world; the terms

denoting perception, knowledge, love and hatred, life and death, and even with those bright powers of light, and the Primal Forces environing us, which are conceived of as the Elements. Those earliest monuments of our race reveal the closest intercommunion between the primitive poetry and, if I may use such a phrase, the embryo mythology of language among our ancestors (although not mythology itself strictly speaking), and the poetry and language of those ancient Aryans. We have in common adjectives of mental qualities; there is but one step more to the transformation by which here and elsewhere these adjectives become sons of gods, or heavenly pairs of brethren, or else daughters and mothers. We find nouns connected with each other, whose genitive case cannot but appear as a mythological relation of father and son, that is to say, the emblem of unity of essence in process of development.

The deeper insight we obtain into the mental life which is reflected in the Vedic hymns, the more we are struck with its profound importance. In them we find that intermediate link between the Bactrians, the primitive races of Iran and the Aryan Indians, which before was entirely wanting to us; for up to this time, there was no ascertainable connection between Zoroastrianism and the hitherto known religion of the Indians, or Brahmanism, although the laws of language demanded such a connection. Indeed we may say further, that up to this time the key was wanting to our comprehension of Brahmanism itself, as the great product of the collective development of Indian thought; and consequently to the comprehension of the mightiest historical movement of Eastern Asia, the advent and success of Buddha.

The sacred books of the Indian Aryans touch us much more nearly in many respects than the records of the primeval epoch of the Hebrews, for in the former we see and feel the brotherhood of race; but on the other hand they are incomparably more a sealed book to us than are the sacred Scriptures of the Jews. We stand in presence

of a veiled life, a knowledge of which is presupposed in the oldest hymns, in a similar position to that which we should occupy with regard to the unfolding of the Hebrew mind from the age of Abraham to that of Jeremiah, if we possessed nothing but the book of Psalms. We have inspired hymns by unknown poets composed under unknown circumstances, in this or that quarter of the Punjab. They are evidently only in part originally sacrificial hymns, for many clearly owe their birth to other momentous and solemn occasions. The most recent names occurring in the superscriptions are demonstrably mistakes or inventions of the compiler. *Visvamisra* and *Vasishtha* were, no doubt, historical personages, which does not, however, exclude the circumstance that two schools were named after them; but these personages have no history, and their hymns give us no information about the history either of their own or a previous age. The older poets were evidently not always understood by their disciples, whose apprehension of both the real and the ideal world of the earlier epoch has grown dim. Moreover, the hymns that appear to be extremely ancient allude to traditions which the men of later ages have accepted without quite understanding their meaning. Hardly have we obtained a glimmer of light on some points, when we plunge into fresh obscurity, and beyond the dim background of the primeval age in the Indus land, lie the shadowy reminiscences of the original home and its language. To these last belong the story of Sunahsepa, who was about to be offered in sacrifice, but when already bound to the stake was released by a god.¹

The only portion of real life of which there is any delineation in the Vedic hymns, is the ceremonial observed at the obsequies of the dead. The picture afforded of these, however, is so dignified and lofty, so completely resembling in their spirit that of the heroes of our own

¹ See Appendix, Note F.

primitive age, as placed before us in the Edda, that they not only inspire us with admiration and reverence, but also with the sense of our blood-relationship and original fellowship of habits and customs. The social condition exhibited to us is that of separate Aryan tribes leading a pastoral life, combined with agriculture and fixed abodes. These different tribes feel themselves united by community of language and religion, and mutually recognize each other as the "*Aryas*" or nobles; yet at the same time are often, nay, as a rule, at feud with each other. On their borders we also find them engaged in contests with the aboriginal inhabitants. But even at this date, the Punjab is completely occupied by the Aryans and their gods. Each father of a family, or patriarch, offers sacrifices, and if possible, never without the "ornament of song." A silent ceremony at the sacrifices to Fire no more contents them than it did their forefathers; the mind must reveal itself, and the mouth breaks forth into measured accents artistically arranged. The genius which created the most perfect forms of language, continues its creative work in inspired speech. To have a man of the Spirit, a skilful singer, "the friend of the gods," present at the sacrifices as a spokesman, is an honour to the houses of princes and nobles. In the dwelling itself burns the undying fire of the sacred hearth. Around it collect the household; a separate fire is lighted in the courtyard. Here we have already the whole magic charm of the domestic hearth; or as the English call it, the "fireside," unknown to the dwellers in tents.

Already in early times, traces are visible of wider corporations, nay, perhaps of government by princes; but there evidently exists as yet no tyranny of caste, or priestly domination; nor yet anything resembling the princely despotism of later times.

But in vain do we look around for historical figures, nay, even for memories of ancient worthies; heroes in the true sense, that is to say, great leaders or teachers of

primitive times, who survive in the veneration of their descendants, and whose deeds are celebrated in song. Those who appear to be such, on further examination dissolve away into creatures of the ideal world.

This holds good more especially of two cycles of legend, which are of primeval date, and wear a delusive show of possessing a personal character. We refer to the legend of the *Ribhu*, the three sons of Sudhanvan, and to the poetic fiction of *Yama*, who is called *Yima* by Zoroaster: the Jemsheed of the Persians. An attempt has recently been made by a learned and ingenious Belgian scholar (M. Nève of Louvain) to exhibit the *Ribhu* as the heroes of the Indians. It is true that the expressions of the Veda concerning them are obscure and apparently point to heroes; but assuredly the track is a false one, and the three *Ribhus*, who out of the one spoon of Tvashtar (the carver, sculptor, demiurge) make three, and then carve a fourth spoon for Agni (Fire), are nothing else than the three personified primitive forces of matter, viz. Earth, Water, and Air, represented in the act of advancing to the production of living beings.

Yama (the Twin) wears but an illusory semblance of the Adam, or historical patriarch of the human race; he is really the divine Prometheus, the Demiurge, or creator of mankind, only viewed under the symbol of the sun; he is therefore a sun-god. As such he stretches out the earth, making her womb fruitful, and providing more space for the habitations of man; an ingenious conception, which both in the Vedas and in Zoroaster has already grown somewhat paler and fainter. This conception of the creation of the world, sometimes pictured in an ideal, sometimes in a more materialistic shape, is the most ancient of all these poetic fictions. Midway between that and the purely heroic conception, there comes, in accordance with a general organic law, the elemental or astral conception. But in the Aryan consciousness of Eastern Asia, it is only quite in late times, that the heroic

element enters on this phase. He who has not arrived at a clear idea of the existence and the sequence of these three strata of the mythological consciousness, must never hope to understand any part of the actual history and law of mythological development. This axiom holds good most pre-eminently of the mythology of the Asiatic Aryans.

The religion of the Vedas appears at first sight to be a mere adoration of the visible powers of Nature : of the sun, the sky (*Varuna*=*Ouranos*), of fire (*Agni*=*Ignis*), and in general of the eternal powers of light, the *Adityas* (the indestructible, eternal), which compose the twelve monthly periods of the solar year. The sun is further sometimes designated as *Mitra* (the loving, kindhearted), sometimes as *Savitur* (the progenitor) ; the former appellation supplies us with the missing explanation of the Bactrian *Mithras*, who afterwards, in quite a late age, and decked out with more modern ideas, re-appears under the shape of the primeval earth and sun-bull, as the patron-god of the mysteries. The heavenly symbol of the generative power is represented by Aryans, Khamites, and Semites under the form of the bull, the earthly, sustaining power under that of the cow.

Side by side with the supreme Nature-gods, the Sky and the Sun, stands Agni or Fire, the divinity who comes into the nearest contact with man while on earth. He is the high-priest of worshipping mortals, soaring aloft to the celestial deities (Rig-Veda I. 1. 94. 6). The hymns in his praise, as in that of the presiding divinities, display not only great beauty of language and imagery, but also discover a spiritual element, an inner purport of pure human meditation on God and the universe. Here, too, the inward spirit of man tries to find in the luminous Æther a God of the spirit ; while the sense of sin and of the imperfection of all things finite comes out in all its depth when he contemplates the Infinite and the Eternal, exalted above all that can be seen or named. The mind soars up beyond the unconscious orbs of heaven, and the

divided Elements. It is not even the spirit of light inhabiting the heavenly bodies, or the physical forces impelling their flight, which he seeks; the spirit towards which he turns, is the All-good and All-wise, the Infinite One, who, unrevealed to him by Nature, yet speaks to his inmost heart.

This desire, this yearning after the nameless Deity, who nowhere manifests himself in the Indian pantheon of the Vedas;—this voice of humanity groping after God, has nowhere found so sublime and touching an expression as in the 121st hymn of the Tenth Book of the Rig-Veda. Each of its strophes, the last as well as the first, ends with the question: “*Who* is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?” Now the Brahmanic expositors, in accordance with their unhistorical theory, must needs find in every hymn the name of a god, who is invoked in it; and so in this case, they have actually invented a grammatical divinity, the God “*Who*”! We are enabled by the kindness of our learned friend Max Müller, the editor of the Rig-Veda, to present to our readers this fine hymn, never before printed, in a version displaying the elegance which characterizes all his translations, as though it were an heirloom in his family. We preface it only by remarking that the first line seems to us to run thus:—

“In the beginning stept forth *hiranya garbha*.”

This is no mythological name, but a philosophical intimation which it is difficult to translate. The word signifies here *gold-fruit, golden embryo*. The seventh and eighth strophes of this wonderful poem prove, as it seems to me, that here it is used to denote the deity as the Primal Light, as the golden fruit, which emerged out of darkness replete with creative energy, before the genesis of all things.¹

1. In the beginning there arose the Source of golden light—He was the one born Lord of all that is. He established the earth, and this sky;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

¹ Professor Max Müller's German rendering of this hymn is in metre. His English version of it I have borrowed from his history of Sanskrit Literature, p. 569.—Tr.

2. He who gives life, He who gives strength; whose command all the bright gods revere; whose shadow is immortality; whose shadow is death; Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

3. He who through his power is the one King of the breathing and awaking world;—He who governs all, man and beast;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

4. He whose power these snowy mountains, whose power the sea proclaims, with the distant river—He whose these regions are as it were His two arms;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

5. He through whom the sky is bright and the earth firm—He through whom the heaven was stablished—nay, the highest heaven—He who measured out the light in the air;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

6. He to whom heaven and earth, standing firm by His will, look up, trembling inwardly—He over whom the rising sun shines forth;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

7. Wherever the mighty water-clouds went, where they placed the seed and lit the fire, thence arose He who is the sole life of the bright gods;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

8. He who by His might looked even over the water-clouds, the clouds which gave strength and lit the sacrifice, He *who alone is God above all gods*;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

9. May He not destroy us—He the Creator of the earth; or He the Righteous, who created the heaven; He who also created the bright and mighty waters;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

In this remarkable quest after the Spirit, two things are involved which we must carefully discriminate. Namely, an advance along the mythological path once entered upon; and yet at the same time, both as to history and idea, a return to the original. Misunderstanding assumes a previous understanding, although the original conception may have been simpler and more direct than that which has afterwards evolved itself out of the struggle with misconception. The so-called Nature-mythology is not the original element in religion, as many now-a-days seem once

more disposed to assume, who think they can afford to dispense with all philosophical culture. Religion can no more than language have been the product of a misunderstanding. It is a contradiction to all the laws of thought to imagine that the necessary universal expression of the religious consciousness can be a mere mental fallacy. How could both religion and language be universal, and develop themselves organically, if they were not based upon reason? Mythology has sprung up gradually out of a poetic, childlike, yet deeply significant playing of the mind with metaphors. But afterwards usage, legend, mystical teaching, have crystallized what was at first nothing more than a simile, while its real essence comes to be no longer understood, or is only seen under a mystical and distorted aspect. Nowhere else hardly has this remarkable phenomenon of universal history displayed a development so capable of being traced step by step as among the Vedic Indians. We have already hinted as much in reference to the Ribhu and Yama. But also in the hymns to gods, who appear to be pure Nature-deities, and in general forms of prayer addressed to the Sun-god, the original thought is discernible in the background, and reveals a consciousness of God in the world—an intuition of a Kosmos—which has proceeded from a mind capable of reasoning on moral subjects.¹

Such a consciousness is expressed also in the celebrated *Gajatrî*, or most sacred prayer of the Indians (literally, the songstress), which was recited before each holy act of sacrifice:—

We remember with longing the bright beams of Savitar,
May he prosper the handiwork of our piety!

For sustenance we supplicate the divine Producer:

That he may deign to bestow on us our portion do we
beseech him;

All who are wise of heart adore God the Begetter,

Bringing him offerings of a devout heart with hymns of
praise.

¹ Rig-Veda, iii. 62, 10-12.

This stage of religious conception corresponds to that of the Zeus-worship in the early Hellenic epoch. The bright god of the Æther procures us food, blessing, and contentment, guiding and sustaining with his mighty hand the order of the universe. The physical idea, however, is still more restricted than that of the Greeks; for “the Begetter” seems to be the name, not of the Æther-god, but of the sun; still our former observation is not to be lost sight of, that the proper astral god is called Mitra. Here it is rather the supreme generative and sustaining energy of Nature in the world of light that is denoted, whose grandest manifestation is the sun.

Varuna, the Uranos of the Indians, is likewise like *Indra*, a name of this supreme divine energy of light; both are deities nigh to the spirit of man, kindly disposed towards him, angry with the evil-doer, upholding order among men. Under this aspect *Varuna*, first alone, and then associated with *Indra*, is invoked in a Vedic hymn, of which we will give the three first and the concluding strophes.¹ We remark, in explanation of the third strophe, that *Varuna*’s messengers and the truthful seers are one and the same; the divinities descending from heaven to earth are physical agencies, such as *Agni* himself. They are called in another hymn, which we shall afterwards quote, *Varuna*’s spies² :—

1. The Sun has opened the path for *Varuna*,
 At his bidding the water-floods have gushed forth,
 He has marked out their course for the days
 Which haste along as the unyoked steed to his flock.
2. The air all around is full of the whispering of the wind,
 thy breath,
 Rushing all around like the herds who smell their forage
 when they break into a cornfield.
 Thus does creation, the work of thy love, lie outstretched
 before thee,
 O *Varuna*, midway between the two worlds.

¹ Rig-Veda, vii. 87.

² Ib. 25.

3. Thy messengers whom thou sendest out on every hand
Gaze on the beauties of two worlds ;
Those who are wise, the truthful seers, the ministers of sacrifice,
Who raise on high the hymn of praise to thee !
4. Even to evil-doers is he merciful ; may we all live before thee
without sin,
Faithfully observant of thy eternal laws.
Mayest thou with Indra evermore bless us with prosperity !

Still more vividly is the presence of a moral and spiritual apprehension of God (although in a purely personal relation to the singer himself) brought out in Vasishta's magnificent hymn to Varuna,¹ which will even remind our readers, as it has done ourselves, of the fifty-first Psalm, and others in the same sacred book. We are indebted for this translation also to the kindness of our friend Max Müller :—

1. Wise and mighty are the works of him who stemmed asunder the wide firmaments. He lifted on high the bright and glorious heaven : he stretched out apart the starry sky and the earth.

2. Do I say this to my own soul ? How can I get unto Varuna ? Will he accept my offering without displeasure ? When shall I, with a quiet mind, see him propitiated ?

3. I ask, O Varuna, wishing to know this my sin. I go to ask the wise. The sages all tell me the same : Varuna it is who is angry with thee.

4. Was it an old sin, O Varuna, that thou wishest to destroy thy friend, who always praises thee ? Tell me, thou unconquerable lord, and I will quickly turn to thee with praise, freed from sin.

5. Absolve us from the sins of our fathers, and from those which we committed with our own bodies. Release Vasishta, O king, like a thief who has feasted on stolen cattle ; release him like a calf from the rope.

6. It was not our own doing, O Varuna, it was necessity, an intoxicating draught, passion, dice, thoughtlessness. The old is near to mislead the young ; even sleep brings unrighteousness.

7. Let me without sin give satisfaction, like a slave to the

¹ Rig-Veda, vii. 86.

bounteous lord, the god, our support. The lord god enlightened the foolish; he, the wisest, leads his worshipper to wealth.

8. O Lord, Varuna, may this song go well to thy heart! May we prosper in keeping and acquiring! Protect us, O gods, always with your blessings!¹

The last strophe has probably been added when, in later times, the outpouring of the poet's heart was appropriated to the use of the congregation on occasion of sacrificial solemnities. For in it we hear the voice of the congregation or of the poetic school of the prophet, calling to remembrance the poet, while engaged in singing his hymn. The touching feature in the hymn is the earnest and child-like spirit which it breathes. The singer does not as yet himself venture to dive into his conscience; he shrinks back from doing so, just as we shrink back before an unknown power of Nature; but the rind is ready to burst open. The same tone of feeling is expressed in another hymn to Varuna, which again we owe to Max Müller, and subjoin with his notes upon it:—

1. However we break thy laws from day to day, men as we are, O God, Varuna,

2. Do not deliver us unto death, nor to the blow of the furious; nor to the anger of the spiteful!

3. To propitiate thee, O Varuna, we bind thy mind with songs, as the charioteer a weary steed.

4. Away from me they fly dispirited, intent only on gaining wealth; as birds to their nests.

5. When shall we bring hither the man who is victory to the warriors, when shall we bring Varuna, the wide-seeing, to be propitiated?

[6. This they take in common with delight, Mitra and Varuna; they never fail the faithful giver.]

7. He who knows the place of the birds that fly through the sky, who on the waters knows the ships.

8. He, the upholder of order, who knows the twelve months with the offspring of each, and knows the month² that is engendered afterwards.

History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, by Max Müller, M.A., pp. 540, 541.

² The thirteenth or intercalary month

9. He who knows the track of the wind,¹ of the wide, the bright, and mighty; and knows those who reside on high.²

10. He, the upholder of order, Varuna sits down among his people; he, the wise, sits there to govern.

11. From thence perceiving all wondrous things, he sees what has been and what will be done.

12. May he, the wise son of time (âditya), make our paths straight all our days; may he prolong our lives!

13. Varuna, wearing golden mail, has put on his shining cloak; the spies³ sat down around him.

14. The god, whom the scoffers do not provoke, nor the tormentors of men, nor the plotters of mischief.

15. He, who gives to men glory, and not half glory, who gives it even to our own bodies.

16. Yearning for him, the far-seeing, my thoughts move onwards, as kine move to their pastures.

17. Let us speak together again, because my honey has been brought: thou eatest what thou likest, like a friend.⁴

18. Now I saw the god who is to be seen by all, I saw the chariot above the earth: he must have accepted my prayers.

19. O hear this my calling, Varuna, be gracious now; longing for help, I have called upon thee.

20. Thou, O wise god, art lord of all, of heaven and earth, listen on thy way.

21. That I may live, take from me the upper rope, loose the middle, and remove the lowest!⁵

We could cite much more of the same kind from the specimens lying before us. It is to be hoped that Max Müller will soon open those treasures to all who take an

¹ R.-V. vii. 87, 2, the wind is called the breath of Varuna.

² The gods.

³ These spies or watchers are, most likely, the other Âdityas, of whom it is said (ii. 27, 3) that "they see into what is evil and what is good, and that everything, even at the greatest distance, is near to them." "With them the right is not distinguished from the left, nor the east, nor the west." (R.-V. ii. 27, 11.) See Roth, "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft," vi. 72.

⁴ Hotri does not mean friend, but the priest who is chosen to invite the gods. Perhaps it means poet and priest in a more general sense than in the later hymns.

⁵ History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, by Max Müller, M.A., pp. 535-537.

interest in the sacred records of our race, by publishing an anthology of the Vedic poetry.

A serious and spiritual view of the world, and the noble dignity of a proud race of Aryan heroes is displayed in the hymns relating to the dead, and used on occasion of their incineration; a practice prevailing also among our own forefathers in the earliest times, though burial was also customary. Max Müller has given a spirited account of the usages to be observed at their obsequies, in his "*Todtenbestattung bei den Brahmanen*,"¹ from which we translate the following extracts.

On the funeral pile of the deceased his widow and his bow are to be placed; the latter is to be taken down and broken while reciting these words:—

The bow I take from the hand of the dead,
To be our defence, our glory and shield;
Do thou lie there, we remain here as heroes,
And in all battles we smite down our foes.

But before this the brother, or foster-son, or old servant of the deceased, leads the widow down from the pile, saying:—

Rise up, O woman, to the world of life!
Thou sleep'st beside a corpse, come down;
Thou hast been long enough a faithful spouse
To him who made thee mother to his sons.

Thus here we have a direct contradiction to the horrible custom which the Brahmans upheld so long in defiance of the philanthropic expostulations of a Christian government, on the plea that the burning of widows was commanded by the Vedas! It has been proved to them that this monstrous interpretation rests upon a most unjustifiable falsification of the preceding verse, by which they have made the sacred book say precisely the reverse of that which it enjoins and praises as the sacred custom of the Aryans.²

¹ Published in the "*Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*," vol. ix.

² The verse referred to is addressed to the women present who are not widows, and these are bidden:—

When the pile is lighted, the following address to the spirit of the departed is to be recited :—

Depart, depart, along those ancient paths,
 By which our fathers have gone home to rest ;
 The god Varuna shalt thou now behold
 And Yama, the two kings who take our gifts.
 Go to the fathers, sojourn there with Yama,
 In highest heaven, fit meed of thy deserts,
 Leave there all evil, then go home once more,
 And take a form of radiant glory bright . . .
 There where the pious dwell, and roam in peace,
 Shall God Sāvitrī¹ bear thee to their ranks.
 Pūshan alone knows all those starry realms,
 In paths of safety shall he guide our feet,

“ Depart hence into the dwelling first (*agre*) ;”

By corrupting this last word into *agnes*, they brought out the precept (doubly absurd, moreover, inasmuch as these women were not widows) :—

“ Depart hence into the dwelling (place) of *Fire*.”

This is, indeed, a grand specimen of making the Holy Writ talk nonsense in order to erect a godless practice into an article of faith. Wilson was the first to point this false reading out in the “ Journal of the Asiatic Society ” for 1856, p. 201. Colebrooke had suffered himself to be led astray by it.

According to recent English journals (“ Saturday Review,” as quoted by Galignani of the 24th April, 1858), a pious priest of Vishnu has given vent to his indignation at the frequency of infanticide, in a very remarkable letter to the editor of a Hindu journal appearing at Madras, in which, after a prayer to Vishnu, and several quotations from Hindu poets, he goes on to say : “ If, in agreement with the Vedas and the sacred books of precepts founded upon them, it were permitted to women to marry again, much temptation and scandal would be avoided . . . Do we not read in the Vedas that a man may marry again up to four times, and a woman at least twice ? Is it not enough that there are many in this land who do not scruple to murder cows ? Must new-born children also be murdered ? ” The editor has the courage to acknowledge the justice of these observations. “ It is really so,” he says, and quite recently it has been acknowledged by a learned Brahman that the Vedas allowed of the re-marriages of young widows, but he adds : “ Men *read* books, but they *follow* custom. Who will venture to set himself against the custom ? ” No one, of course, in any religion where the historical truth of tradition is nothing, the dictum of the priests everything ! Alas for poor humanity !

¹ SĀVITRĪ (the Begetter) and PŪSHAN, mentioned in the succeeding verse, are appellations of the sun-god. Pūshan (the Nourisher) is the patron of herds and of travellers. Here he is evidently regarded as the sun of early morning.

Marching before us with his friendly lamp,
A warrior stanch, a giver of rich blessings.
Born at the source whence heavenly waters flow,
The trysting-point 'twixt sky and dewy earth,
He knows of both the fairest haunts of rest,
And travels to and fro from each to each.
Go to thy loving mother—home to Earth :
With wide-spread arms and blessing-bringing hands,
She takes the pious to her kindly breast,
As 'twere a maiden's bosom soft as wool,
And holds thee safe from danger's threatening edge.
Open thy arms, O Earth, do him no harm,
Receive him gently with a loving kiss,
And wrap him round, O Earth, as when a babe,
His mother in her garment folds to rest !

After the obsequies are ended, the chief officiating priest turns to the living, and says :—

Travel your course, rejoice in length of days,
Ye who are here, marching in due array.
Your loving Lord who offers you good increase,
He, the Creator, grant you long to live.

At the close of the ceremony, the mourners return in procession home to the village ; on the following day the household sit around a fire outside the house, singing of the deeds of the ancients, on into the silent night. Then the leader of the chorus admonishes the relatives :—

Be pure and pious, all ye who have joined in this sacrifice, that your way may not go down to the house of death, but that you may enjoy length of days, and abundance of cattle and of treasures.

After this he pours libations over a stone, repeating, among others, the following prayer, in the ears of the family :—

As days succeed days, changing seasons with seasons, lo, give, O Creator, these here to live, that the younger may not leave their parents desolate.

The women now approach to anoint their eyes, on which the priest looking at them, repeats these words :—

The women now draw nigh with oil and butter,
Not widows they, no, proud of noble husbands.
First to the altar let the mothers come
In fair attire and with no grief or tears.

Then turning to the men, he bids them rise up and return to daily life :—

The torrent flows away—bestir yourselves,
Rise up, and go your ways, ye comrades.
Let us now leave this mourning company ;
And all go forth to new and joyous strife.

Thus, on the next day, the mourning ends with a manly, gladsome sense of life, and the following words are chanted in allusion to the commencement of the ceremony, which consisted in leading round in procession the bull destined for the sacrifice, with whose fat and hide the corpse was covered on the funeral pile :—

To-day they led the ox around, they stirred up the bright fire, they brought to God a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving : who shall dare to lay hands on them ?

Here and in all the sacrificial ceremonies of the Aryans, we find expressed the sense of a beneficent deity, disposing with a kindly hand the affairs of his human children. “The sacrifice,” says Müller,¹ “is regarded as one unbroken chain of acts, which binds the present generation to their forefathers, and maintains intact the bond of humanity with God.” Thus it is said in the *Rig-Veda* (x. 130, 7) :—“I believe, I see with the mind, as with an eye, those who have aforetime offered this sacrifice.” Again, the ancient paths of sacrifice are often mentioned.

The connection of the deceased with his father and grandfather, in the offering to the dead, brought by his son, or whoever standing within the first three grades of

¹ Page 22, note.

relationship offers the sacrifice in the stead of a son, is not indeed, it would appear, expressly mentioned in the Vedas. But by all the law-books of the Indians it is so universally assumed as the sacred basis of the whole law of inheritance, that it must be referred to the times of the ancient Aryans. The basis of the latter dogma, too, is the sense that God is the divine judge of this earth. The earliest form of faith in the divinity of human existence is the conception of the family as forming a continuous community; the expression of this intuition is the acknowledgment that the right of inheritance is conditional on reverence for the fathers. Kindred become fellow-sacrificers in the holiest sense. There are reasons for supposing that the main features of that law of heritage and of this cultus date their origin back to the primeval epoch anterior to the dispersion of the Aryan tribes.¹

There is no trace discoverable of a conception of heroes such as might have developed itself out of this sentiment of ancestral reverence, in the same way that it did with the Hellenes and Teutons: what has commonly been supposed to be such is a mere delusive semblance. Moreover, in the ancient Indus land, there is as little ground for the assumption of a belief in the metempsychosis as among the Bactrians. No doubt, however, in the cultus of the dead there is an implied belief that the brave and noble after death lead a divine life, and that the souls of no good men perish; which amounts to much such a belief as that which Cicero describes as the ancient religion of his own nation:—"All souls are undying, but those of the best men are divine."

Here Yama again makes his appearance among the Indians: he is in their view the king of departed spirits, not in his character of the archetypal man, as Roth supposes, but as the Sun-God of the nether world; and by this we can explain the origin of his name—the Twin.

¹ See Appendix, Note G.

The sun which shines on us here shines there for the departed. They sit around him there, under the shelter of a tree with beautiful foliage, by the side of cool waters, in eternal repose. If this reminds us in some points of Kronos in the Isle of the Blest, "the Great Blessed One," as Pindar calls him, in some of Odin in the Valhalla, so will many of my readers find an echo of Pindar's thoughts and style in the hymn of Kasyapa, quoted by Roth¹:—

To the world where unfading Light, where Sunshine itself
 hath its home,
 Thither bring me, O Soma, where no harm and no death
 ever come ;
 Where Yama as sovereign rules, where the innermost heaven
 exists,
 Where the great Waters repose, oh there let me dwell an
 immortal !
 In the heavenly vaults, where man lives and moves at his
 pleasure,
 Where are the mansions of light, oh there let me dwell, an
 immortal !
 Where wishes and longing abide, where the sun ever beams
 in his glory,
 Where bliss that can satisfy dwells, oh there let me dwell,
 an immortal !
 Where gladness and joy may be found, where pleasure and
 rapture prevail,
 Where every wish is fulfilled, oh there let me dwell, an
 immortal !

The "fathers" dwelling in that region bless and protect the pious, bestow riches and possessions, vigour and power, like the Ferver of the Zoroastrian books, and like the genii of the old Etruscan religion, and perhaps we may add the Penates of the Romans. Mortals are conducted along the darksome way by two spotted dogs having each four eyes, *i.e.* double-headed ; they are called *the dogs of Saramâ* ; before them the guilty soul has cause to tremble, but the

¹ See "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft," ii. 225, iv. 427.

righteous they conduct to Yama under the protection of the gods. Beneath this imagery we recognize the morning and evening twilight, and the dusky gloaming hovering betwixt day and night; but when used in reference to the nether world, the twilight is the type of the shadow of death, the transit from the bright life on earth to the nether world, and the return again to life out of the realm of darkness. It agrees with this that Sarama is named as the dog which Agni or Indra sends forth with the Angirasas to discover the stolen cows and bring their milk to mortals.¹

This will enable us to explain and combine the two ideas which meet us in the hymn appointed to be sung during the burning of the corpse. The sacrificing priests exclaim to the deceased:—

On the right path shalt thou escape the dogs,
Sarama's brood, the pale and four-eyed Two;
Then travel onwards to our fathers wise,
Who dwell with Yama, in delight and joy.

Yama, thy hand shall save him from the dogs,
Thy sentinels, the guardians of thy way,
The two Four-eyed who lurk upon man's track,
And land him whole and grant him painless life!

Who is not reminded here of Odin's two dogs, of the Cerberus of the lower world, nay of Anubis too, the dog of Osiris—the accuser who will not suffer the souls to reach Osiris if they have not purified themselves?² This Aryan imagery at least belongs to the epoch when those who now speak its various dialects shared a common life; but it would be a logical fallacy to infer from that a mutual transmission of myths from so remote an epoch, still less any mutual transference of them taking place in historical times.

Do we now ask, what then, as with some secret spell,

¹ See Rig-Veda, i. 72, 8. Cf. 62, 3 and 6, 5.

² See "Egypt's Place in Universal History," vol. iv. p. 647.

has held so intellectual, earnest, and pious a nation captive in the bonds of nature-worship? What has condemned them to wander deedless and inglorious among the generations of mankind through protracted centuries? What, lastly, can explain the profound degeneracy at once of their religious consciousness and of their public and domestic life?

Certainly not alone the external circumstance of their crossing the Sutlej (Satadru, Hesidrus) and settling in a more southern and enervating clime. Of course this circumstance must not be left out of sight, for we observe that our Aryan stock suffers great deterioration in manly vigour and mental equipoise whenever it takes up its abode in a luxurious climate. But it is a real blessing that since on this subject a connected history neither exists nor can be constructed, we are at the same time spared any temptation to account for the overthrow and decay of the highest thing in man,—his consciousness of God's presence in the universe,—by this or that subordinate circumstance in his outward history. We have before us three stupendous facts, attested by extant records, from the co-operation of which the tragical catastrophe of India could not but have come to pass. We mean the catastrophe of that fearful nihilism, in which the great Sákya-muni found the millions of his suffering, despairing fellow-countrymen around him plunged in his day, combined with the utter externalization of the religious consciousness by superstitious usages, and the consequent fading of the sense of moral personality and responsibility. These three facts are: pantheism, the incubus of priestcraft, and despotism.

All the evil and misery that afflict nations proceed ultimately from the mind itself; but the decay of the sense of God, the coming to doubt of that innermost life-spring of humanity, the belief that there is a True and a Good, must even more immediately than any other phenomenon be ascribed to a spiritual source.

When the mind has once become conscious of its direct

relation to God, it needs to realize that belief by its action in life ; it is no longer satisfied with symbolizing it by ritualistic emblems and vows. It must needs behold a vision of the Divine in this world, or after a few generations it will find itself at sea and sink into scepticism. The most intellectual and seductive form of this scepticism is an indolent brooding pantheism of speculation, which necessarily evaporates all reality, and above all paralyzes the ethical virility, the vigorous resolve to make the good an actual fact, and to war upon sin, that God may be glorified by the actual condition of His world.

It was inevitable that so intellectual a people should fall into this pantheism if it were detained beyond the due period in those fetters of Nature-worship which, north of the Himalaya, Zoroaster had, if not broken, yet at least energetically striven to burst asunder. It does not by any means absolve the people from guilt, that through the combined oppression of overbearing priests and princes (to both of whom the religion of the Spirit is and must be abhorrent), they suffered themselves to be defrauded of their mission to realize the Divine by mighty deeds, through the power of faith in that Divine. Rather does their guilt consist in the very fact, that from cowardice they endured such ungodly oppression, and did not shake off the yoke as ungodly ; or in the circumstance that they themselves had nothing better to replace it with than negation and unbelief. But that one fact, a continual pressure on the conscience, protracted for thousands of years, is alone sufficient to explain the great tragedy of India—and of humanity ! The Aryan singers gradually became a guild which shaped itself into a priestly caste, the seers continued indeed to be called seers, but had long become, instead of inspired men, mere celebrants of sacrifice, therefore more or less charlatans. For a charlatan or a fanatic we must call every one who attributes to outward acts a magical efficacy ; tenfold so, if he preaches faith in them as religion. Those sacrificing

hierophants imposed their fancies and fables, therefore lies, on the conscience of the people, burdening the mind with a yoke at once intolerable and irremovable. The history of the Indians, according to their own very remarkable view, divides itself into four great series of princes, of which the three latter dispute or divide with the Brahmans the sway over the popular mind, and into three inter-regna of several centuries, during which a spirit of greater freedom discovers itself, without, however, giving birth to any permanent institutions or social structures, owing to the progressive subdivision of the Indo-Aryan empire.¹

That a dreamy pantheism grew up even so early as the Vedic age, therefore during the long centuries passed in the land of the Seven Rivers, or during the transition-period of the sojourn on the banks of the Sarasvati, the classical river of the Brahmans, is proved by a hymn contained in the last Book of the Rig-Veda, displaying the highest poetical beauty. Max Müller has given a graceful translation of it into English verse, and allowed us to insert it in a former work² :—

The Thinker's Question.

Nor Aught nor Nought existed ; yon bright sky
 Was not, nor heaven's broad woof outstretched above.
 What covered all ? What sheltered ? What concealed ?
 Was it the water's fathomless abyss ?
 There was not death—yet there was nought immortal,
 There was no confine betwixt day and night ;
 The only One breathed breathless by itself,
 Other than It there nothing since has been.
 Darkness there was, and all at first was veiled
 In gloom profound—an ocean without light—
 The germ that still lay covered in the husk
 Burst forth, one nature, from the fervent heat.
 Then first came love upon it, the new spring
 Of mind—yea, poets in their hearts discerned,

¹ See "Egypt's Place in Universal History," vol. iii. pp. 509-564.

² See "Outlines of Universal History," vol. i. p. 140. London. 1854.

Pondering, this bond between created things
 And uncreated. Comes this spark from earth
 Piercing and all-pervading, or from heaven?
 Then seeds were sown, and mighty powers arose—
 Nature below, and power and will above—
 Who knows the secret? Who proclaimed it here?
 Whence, whence this manifold creation sprang?
 The Gods themselves came later into being—
 Who knows from whence this great creation sprang?
 He from whom all this great creation came,
 Whether his will created or was mute,
 The Most High Seer that is in highest heaven,
 He knows it, or perchance even He knows not.

Thoughts such as these, however, did not stand there simply as the object of free poetic contemplation, but already formed the subject of metaphysical speculation, endeavouring to find an answer to the great questions concerning the origin of the All, the Divine agency in human affairs, the relation of the individual to the Universal Life and his consciousness of that Universal Life. This is incontestably proved by a passage of the Sama-Veda, to which we shall hereafter return. It belongs, like the Tenth Book of the Rig-Veda, to the latest period of the Indus life, and forms or indicates the transition from the loose, figurative Nature-worship of the Vedas to the apprehension of the connection subsisting between Nature and Mind, or Reason, as the cause of the world. The passage referred to occurs in the First Book of the Sama-Veda,¹ and is not intelligible in Benfey's translation. We give it in Haug's :—

Brahma was begotten before all things, from the beginnings of time. Out of Brahma did the pleasant brightness of Light unfold itself. To it belong the highest places (of existence), to it the lowest also. The sources of Being and Not-being are disclosed through it alone.

Here, therefore, we have the portentous word which

¹ Sama-Veda iv. 1, 9.

divides the India of the Ganges from that of the Indus, and in general the later religious consciousness of India from the Irano-Aryan. But we have by no means the noun-masculine *Brahma*, the supreme God of the Brahmans, who are his priests. We have the neuter *Brahma*, an abstract noun, belonging entirely to the ideal world; which has its tangible roots in no historical tradition, but rather in a thoroughly externalistic treatment of the ancient Vedic sacrificial rites. According to Haug it would appear from his researches into the Aryo-Zendic remains, that the word *Brahma* originally signified the strewing of the sacrificial grass on the spot appointed for the immolation; or the contemplation of this holy work; from which it was extended to the contemplation of every holy act. Here we find the stepping-stone to the objective meaning according to which the neuter *Brahma*, as an abstract noun, denotes the Divine, the Godhead; philosophically therefore the Absolute, Unconditioned, Eternal, which is placed in opposition to the temporal, the phenomenal, the imperfect, and conditioned. In this-sense evidently it is used in that sacrificial hymn from the *Sâma-veda*, which according to all indications must be referred to the latest period of the sojourn in the territory of the Indus. To this period also belongs the pantheistic hymn last quoted, "the Thinker's Question." Lastly, a hymn which mentions *Brahma* and *Vishnu* by name, is an interpolation of the Brahmans.¹

The Brahmanic period is separated by an interval of, at least, 1500 years from the time of Buddha, whose system is the last offshoot, and to some extent adversary of that Brahmanism which linked itself on to the latest philosophy of the physiolatry contained in the Vedic theology and cultus. It is within the compass of these 1500 years, that the Sanscrit literature, strictly so-called, has its rise and progress, first as a living and then

¹ See Appendix, Note H.

afterwards as a learned language, "the perfect;" and it is during this period that the system of Brahmanism elaborated itself. We behold this system with its closed castes, its endless purifications, atonements, sacraments, gradually organizing into a new religion, then gradually stiffening into rigidity, to put forth one vigorous outburst of new life, after Buddhism had resumed its victorious march; but this outburst only takes the shape of a fanatical exaltation of the Priesthood and hierarchical institutions. A bloody contest breaks out; but in the eighth century of our era, Brahmanism stands completely triumphant throughout India Proper, though Buddhism maintains its ground in trans-Gangetic India, and among the Turanian populations of Upper Asia; while in China, it gradually becomes the dominant religion of three hundred millions of human beings.

What was the prevailing consciousness of the Brahmanic Indians respecting God's action in history? that is the only question with which we are concerned. But it is impossible to enter on the response to that question with any hope of success, unless we keep two points constantly before our eyes.

First, that Brahmanism was to a much greater extent the contrary than the continuation of the Vedic religious consciousness. We find in it entirely new divinities, of metaphysical origin and import, side by side with a cultus belonging to the ancient Irano-Aryan physiolatry, which was constantly becoming less and less intelligible. By degrees the whole modern Indian pantheon rises into sight, headed by Brahma, Vishnu, and at last Siva, on which imaginary Trinity so many fantastical, not to say nonsensical, systems have been built up, as though it were a leading intuition and dogma of the Aryan Indians. In order, once for all, to lay this spectre which still haunts the great mass of the reading public of Europe, nay, is even believed in by such writers as take their information at second-hand, or give the rein to fancy, it

will be of the greatest importance to restore the true historical framework which the criticism of Indian chronology presents. Above all, we must take account of the successive strata of language. Thus we shall be enabled to see the baselessness of that imaginary theology, and the ground will be cleared for a true historical and philosophical theory. On this point we must be allowed to refer our readers to the chronological disquisition contained in the Fifth Book of our work on Egypt.¹

Secondly, however, we must keep a firm grasp of that definition of the true idea of pantheism, and its relation to a healthy religious consciousness, which we have briefly stated in the introductory chapter of this work. Pantheism, in the true sense of the word, is irreconcilable with a healthy apprehension of moral personality. The facts of history prove this incompatibility. Nevertheless, in dark and troublous periods of decadence, it has afforded a stay and comfort to many souls, struggling against the tendency towards a materializing of the conception of God such as has actually taken place in China and the Byzantine period, or battling with the idolatry into which every religion based upon historical records inevitably falls so soon as the sense becomes benumbed that the God who directs the march of history is one with Him who dwells in the spirit of man.

Thus, in India, for example, it was inevitable that with the downfall of liberty and the deadening of the sense of personality the pantheistic element should increasingly obtain ascendancy. For this pantheistic passivity is the curse of all periods of decline and progressive disintegration of society. The mind seeks something objective on which to base its speculations on the spiritual Kosmos; and there are stages of existence for the community as well as for the individual, in which this objectivity reflects itself in mythological symbolism, just as at a later

¹ See "Egypt's Place in Universal History," vol. iii. p. 509.

stage it is destined to authenticate its objective truth in the shape of conscious thought and practical life. Now the Vedic age was that mythological stage of Indian thought. But now the time had come when the ethical religion ought to have been brought forth. A reform should have been instituted such as that undertaken by Zoroaster, only with the absence of Magism. Had such a reform taken place, man's sense of the unity of mind would have been able (as was demanded by a healthy process of development) to work itself out into clearness, instead of evaporating as it did. But as it was, it was inevitable that a pathological development should take place, leading to fresh complications. After this, philosophy could accomplish no more than to lend a helping hand to freaks of mythological fancy, and to spread a lifeless deposit of pantheism or theism over the extinct world of childhood. In India, philosophy has, in the first instance, taken the former direction under the hands of the Brahmans, and revels in logical and metaphysical games of fence, with a complete repression of the moral consciousness. A smaller school among them of more earnest-minded thinkers, has so far not advanced beyond the stage of barren Deism. Meanwhile the ordinary Hindoo man of the world makes a compromise with the undisguised idolatry of unintelligible gods, that are half deifications of natural objects, half monstrous outbirths of the confused Brahmanic philosophy, by the payment of money and observance of prescribed rules in eating and drinking, while living either in godless indifference to all religion, or else in slavery to brutalizing superstitions. He is the blank page between the Bible of Nature-worship and that of Christianity ; but this page is black !

SECTION II.

*The Consciousness of God and of the Universe implied in
Brahmanism and its Philosophy.*

We must not refuse to recognize the deep truth latent in the ideal of Brahmanism, and which found expression first in a new mythology and poetry, by whose luxuriant vegetation the ancient religious belief of the Aryans was overgrown; and afterwards in schools of philosophy. But neither should we be justified in assigning to this whole development a high position in the history of man's consciousness of a divine government. Where the outward world is regarded as something wholly illusory, and life as a misery and curse, the history of such a consciousness must, perforce, to a considerable extent, suffer suspension. The great thoughts which pulsate in pious hearts belong to a bygone age or to that which is fast passing away. The Mind runs riot, now in sacrifice and prayer, now in the license of speculation. Such a condition is this whole phase of Brahmanism, which has generally in Germany been the object of such fervent and unqualified admiration, while English students have, for the most part, displayed a narrow-minded inability to appreciate its real depth of thought. It is the dream of a delirium produced by the overpowering apprehension of God and the universe; but the mind that dreams it is that of a noble and highly-gifted nation, which, fast-bound by its relentless priesthood in the fetters of a superannuated naturalism with its endless superstitions, and crushed down in slavery by selfish and voluptuous princely families, is losing its healthy sense of the presence of a divine, spiritual order, and thus becoming more and more a victim to its two tyrants, sacerdotal and secular, to fall at length a prey to its rapacious and sanguinary Mahometan conquerors.

Pantheism was the parent of the double decay on the one hand of the healthy Aryan national intellect, along with that which was a real living energy in the old Nature-worship, and on the other, of truly philosophical thought. It veiled with polytheistic forms that consciousness of Mind which is implied in the Vedic philosophy, while it hypocritically retained the old sacrificial hymns addressed to the Nature-gods, in whom none believed less than the inventors of the new pantheistic idols, and perhaps none more devoutly than their thoroughly indoctrinated successors a few centuries later. If these latter were not conscious deceivers, it was only because they were ignorant enough to be able to fancy themselves honest, when they preached for truth lies handed down to them by others. That they very soon were no longer able to understand the language of their own Vedic hymns, which in the mouth of the people had first been transmuted into Sanscrit and then into Pali and other vernacular dialects, must be reckoned the least of their sins; but moreover they no longer understood or believed in any of those leading root-ideas to which the sympathy with nature had given rise in the mind of inspired seers.

Now, while on the one hand this religious belief of the Hindoo people holding the creed of Brahmanism, having started from the naturalism of the Vedic pantheism, had gradually transformed itself into the naked and abominable idolatry of symbolical embodiments of Siva or Vishnu, so, on the other hand, did the indestructible spirituality rooted in the religious intuitions of every Aryan people evoke a philosophy which likewise, as we have seen, found its root and anchorage in the Vedic epoch of thought. In an age at all events prior to Buddhism, therefore earlier than the sixth century B.C., there arose a philosophical school, which sought to dive into the essence of Brahma, conceived as the Soul of the universe, the objective, causal ground of all existence. It has been customary to place this form of Indian religious

philosophy, called the philosophy of the Vedanta or Mimansa—the search after Wisdom (the end of the Vedas—the aim of learning), in direct antagonism to the Sankhya philosophy (deliberation—contemplation—knowledge derived from pure reason). The former is treated as a scholastic philosophy, which, basing itself on the Sacred Books and the popular religion, seeks for unity of thought only as a means of introducing some order amid the confusing multiplicity of divine personages and legends, while the Sankhya philosophy is contrasted with it as an atheistic or purely pantheistic system. On this view, the former system has simply sought to give a spiritual import—a sort of new birth to the gods of Brahmanism; while the latter has broken completely with the popular creed, and with the doctrine of the Vedas and Brahmans. The documentary records know nothing of all this. I for myself frankly confess that the only distinction which I can discern between those two systems, is that the second sets to work after a more dialectical and methodical fashion; or, at any rate, makes some attempt at logical demonstration and method. Both leave the Vedas unassailed; nay, the whole Brahmanic religion, in so far as it concerns rites and customs. The Sankhya philosophy occupies itself more with life in manifestation, therefore especially with the life of the individual spirit connected by its body with the outward world; but in both systems, the identity of the highest Being with Intelligence is a received axiom. In the Vedanta philosophy, Brahma is placed in the foreground as the Soul of the universe, the Primal Being, which alone has true Existence. To this school, not matter only was a semblance; even the soul was but a transient phenomenon, a bubble rising from the ocean of infinite Being only to burst asunder and sink into it again in eternal alternation. We might even maintain that the Sankhya philosophy issues in the more consolatory doctrine of the two, inasmuch as it regards the deliverance of the mind from the burden of existence as

the ultimate aim not only of the life of the Spirit itself, but also of Nature.

The Sankhya philosophy is no more atheistic than the system which culminates in Brahma, as the Primal Being. Both are alike pantheistic, inasmuch as the moral freedom of man, and with it the notion of sin, retreat into the background before that overpowering sense of a universal presence of God in all things, which produces a mental intoxication gradually destructive of all healthy religious perception. The priesthood did not declare war on the Sankhya philosophy any more than on the Vedanta dogmas, while it very speedily rejected Buddhism, and entered on a sanguinary persecution of its adherents, issuing in a war of extermination, such as we only find repeated once in the annals of mankind; namely, in that deadly struggle of the Romish hierarchy which ended with the yet more cruel 'Thirty Years' War. Whence this difference of attitude? Brahmanism was perfectly conscious that it was itself nothing more than a philosophy of the belief in the Nature-gods of the Veda; its enemy was not the speculative philosopher, even though (as is really the case with the Sankhya system) he place pure "deliberation" and the true knowledge grounded upon it above "tradition and revelation." Those schools left the hierarchy standing in undisputed possession of its absolute authority and exclusive privileges; Buddha attacked both at their very root. The former left the observances and sacraments of the Church intact. Buddha impugned the Brahmanic system and authority, and did away with the external religious cultus. And this is the sensitive spot with every hierarchy.

Now, of all this we believe ourselves able to adduce documentary as well as philosophical proof, although we are aware that we are running counter to the opinion generally received among philosophic writers. But in the following observations we will confine ourselves strictly to

the aim of our work. Considered from this point of view, one might be tempted to say that the Brahmanic conception of the universe bears the same relation to the history of Man's consciousness of the divine element inhabiting it, that shadow does to light. It is certainly in its strictly philosophical sense, a negation of the universe, but also a denial of the divine immanence therein. Even as an integral portion of the mental development of India, it belongs to the pathological part of that formation; for it rests on a thoroughly morbid view. On the other side, it opens to us a deep insight into the laws of this pathological development, *i.e.* into the course by which all religions verge towards their death. At the same time it is replete with sublime thoughts which we can look at apart from this morbid colouring, in order to refresh our minds with what is purely human and genuinely Aryan, and calls up the sense of kindred with ourselves. Lastly, too, it is important as paving the way for Buddhism. In the following pages, we shall content ourselves with bringing forward a few ascertained leading principles, omitting all that is only known to us by means of Anquetil Duperron's unreliable translations of the Upanishads, and all that is posterior to the Christian era. Under the latter head, however, must be included a large part of the extracts from the Brahmanic, Vedantic, and Sankhya writings contained in Windischmann's (otherwise very correct as well as ingenious) translations appended to his father's first volume, entitled "Die Philosophie in Fortgange der Weltgeschichte."¹ We shall, after our usual fashion, illustrate by some examples those views of the world bearing upon the topic of this work, which we find in the Puranas and Upanishads, or in the writings of the Vedanta and Sankhya schools.

¹ Theil iii. s. 4.

I.

Brahmanic Conception of God and the Universe.

The Absolute is *Brahma*, in the neuter form, according to the most ancient terminology, such as we find in use at so early a date as in a passage of the Sama-Veda, where it says :—

Brahma was begotten before all else from everlasting,
 From out of it was the loveliness of fair light unfolded ;
 To it belong the highest heights and lowest deeps ;
 Through Brahma is unveiled the ground of Being and Non-being.

Respecting this Brahma the Upanishads translated by Windischmann speak in the following manner :—

We know not how to teach that Brahma. It is something else than the *known*, but also something higher than the *Unknown*. That which is not spoken in speech, but *by* which speech is spoken, this, know thou, is Brahma. That which does not think by means of the heart, but that by means of which we think,—this, know thou, is Brahma. Not the eye itself, but that by which the eye sees,—this, know thou, is Brahma, &c. . . . If thou deemest that thou knowest it well, thou knowest then, in truth, very little of Brahma. He who has it unawares, he knows it, but he who is aware of it, he knows it not. By those who apprehend, it is not apprehended, by those who apprehend not, it is apprehended.¹

Again we read in the Kathaka-Upanishad²:—

Not by words can we attain unto it, not by the heart, not by the eye. He alone attains unto it, who exclaims : IT IS ! IT IS ! Thus may it be perceived, and apprehended in its essence. The Essence appears, when one has perceived it as IT IS !

[as *Istigkeit*, according to the old German terminology.]

¹ Windischmann's "Keneschitam-Upanishad," s. 1695.

² Windischmann, s. 1717.

Or again as it is expressed in the Tshandogya-Upanishad¹:—

The *Existent* is the root of all creatures; the *Existent* is their resting-place; the *Existent* is their foundation.

And thus that expression in the Mandukya-Upanishad becomes intelligible²:—

The highest Brahma is neither knowing nor unknowing.

Both these two thoughts, that the Absolute in its idea, is not cogitable by us, nor to be expressed in language, we have already found almost identical in conception and arrangement in the writings of Lao-tse.

The universe is the self-sacrifice of Brahma, or the offspring of his yearning after the Finite, which is called *Maia*, *i. e.* delusion. The earliest indication of this conception, which was afterwards spun out to great lengths, is contained in the Jadschnavindu³:—

As the spider draws her thread out of herself and then draws it back again,—as the plants shoot forth out of the earth, and as hair grows on the head of a living man, so does this universe spring forth from the eternal Being.

Sometimes this thought almost assumes a cosmogonic shape, as in Western Asia. Thus in the Tshandogya-Upanishad we read⁴:—

The sun is Brahma. That is the doctrine; this is its explanation: In the beginning this *All* was non-existent: THAT (Brahma) became existent; it *changed* itself, it became an egg: this lay for a year; it opened; the two halves of the shell were gold and silver; the silver is earth, the gold heaven.

Any idea of moral personality as one constituent of the universal order, such as meets us in the Vedas under the shape of a judgment-day, grows continually fainter and fainter. Such expressions as the following, taken from the Jadschnavindu,⁵ are quite exceptional phenomena:—

¹ Windischmann, s. 1738.

² Weber's "Indische Studien," ii. 56.

³ iii. 147, 148.

⁴ Weber's "Indische Studien," i. 261.

⁵ i. 348, 350.

On destiny and on the acts of men depends the success of an undertaking. But destiny is evidently only the act of a man in an earlier life. As a cart cannot go by means of *one* wheel, so destiny cannot receive her accomplishment without the aid of man.

In the later poems, the realizations of the Divine judgments are accomplished by means of the incarnations of gods, termed Avatars. In these representations, the human personality vanishes entirely; while, on the contrary with the heroes of Greece, the Divine personality is completely merged in the human. Still, in the poems treating of these incarnations, there are unmistakable traces of that early Aryan conception, according to which the Divinity descends to earth as the avenger of injustice, of arrogance and crime.

II.

The Vedanta Philosophy.

This school intensifies by speculative antitheses the expressions already cited respecting the Absolute. Thus Sankara, the most renowned master of this school, represents the Absolute as declaring¹:—

I am the great Brahma, which is eternal, pure, free, one, constant, happy, existent, without end. He who contemplates naught else, he who retires into a lonely place, he whose desires are annihilated, and whose passions are subdued, he understands that Mind is one and eternal. A wise man must annihilate all objects of sense in his mind, and contemplate continually only the one Mind, *which is like pure Space*. . . . Brahma is without dimension, quality, character, or duality.

Now all this may be taken in a different sense, in which it would be perfectly justified. But in the view of these philosophers, the world is Non-being. Thus Sankara says:—

¹ Atma-Bodha, 36, 38, 39, 60, 64, as quoted by Colebrooke in his "Essays."

As the deceptive play of a juggler is mere semblance, so is the spectacle afforded by this world a *show* without *substance*. As the world of dreams is a delusion, so is also the world of our waking hours like unto a dream.¹

Even the soul has no real existence ; in Brahma alone is there Being. Man has nothing to see in others save himself, and in all things nothing but an illusory show of Being. This is the sense of the words "*That art Thou!*" In reference to this point Sankara says :—

When by the words: "*That art Thou!*" it is recognized that distinction does not exist, then for the individual ceases the necessity of being subject to the vicissitudes of outward nature, and then for Brahma ceases the act of creation, because the whole process of distribution into parts has been occasioned by a false knowledge, and will cease by means of true knowledge. Whence, therefore, springs Creation? The cycle of the universe is an ERROR produced by man's failure to discriminate the mass of delusions concerning names, shapes, and the rest, all which have arisen from ignorance. The cycle of the universe has no reality in the true sense of the word.²

No other aim floats before the vision of this far-famed philosophy than that of absolute knowledge. Hence it lands us in the logical void of Non-existence; confounding the mere absence of the *particular*, or *Self-hood*, with the Eternal; that is to say, with the undivided Being, revealing Himself in Space and Time.

From such a doctrine there naturally springs that dreadful despair of the whole actual world, which to many now-a-days seems profound philosophy. Thus Sankara-Acharya says³:—

A drop that trembles on the Lotus leaf:
Such is this life, so soon dispelled, so brief.

The eight great Mountains, and the seven Seas,
The Sun, the Gods who sit and rule o'er these,
Thou, I, the Universe must pass away:
Time conquers all; why care for what must pass away?³

¹ See Colebrooke's "Essays." ² See Windischmann, s. 1767.

³ According to Hofer's translation.

III.

The Sankhya Philosophy.

The only trustworthy source of authentic information respecting this system which we as yet possess is the *Sankhya-Karika*, which Colebrooke was the first to discuss and quote from, but which was afterwards translated by Windischmann, Lassen, and Wilson, and expounded by the first of these in his Appendix to his father's "*Philosophie*."¹ This work professes to be a very succinct but faithful extract from the writings of the earliest disciples and apostles of Kapila, the founder of the school. In the Appendix to this volume we subjoin its leading Aphorisms in their proper order, omitting, however, those relating to physical topics. We give them in a free abridgment,² adding in brackets what is needful to complete the sense. It is important to the purpose of this work that the reader should comprehend clearly the metaphysical and ethical principles of this doctrine, no less misunderstood, as it seems to me, than those of Buddha, and hence it is necessary that the text given should be intelligible by itself. Of the literal translations of the text (Colebrooke's, edited by Wilson, Lassen's, Pauthier's, and Windischmann's) I have generally followed the last, availing myself also of the renderings and ingenious explanations given by Barthelémy St. Hilaire,³ which chiefly rest upon the authority of Colebrooke's Translation and Burnouf's Lectures.

In order rightly to understand the fundamental theory of this remarkable tractate, consisting of sixty-eight Aphorisms, we must bear in mind the following main points:—

There is a distinction made between the personal *Mind* (*Purusha*, which also signifies Man) and *Nature*. But Nature is twofold; first that which appears, *Prakriti*, the Derived, the Phenomena; secondly, the Root of the

¹ S. 1812.² See Appendix, Note I.³ Mémoires de l'Académie, 1852, t. viii.

Phenomena (*Mula-Prakriti*) or *Primal Nature*. Each human spirit appropriates out of this undeveloped Primal "Nature" what has an affinity with itself, and thus shapes for itself a body with its soul. Life consists in the compact of both. This compact is indeed a covenant of the lame with the blind, for the Mind itself cannot come into direct contact with matter, but communicates with it and with the universe, through the intervention of Developed Nature, which exists side by side with Mind: now this Nature is destitute of consciousness or intelligence, it is not an end in itself, but subservient to Mind unawares to itself. Nevertheless the whole creation reposes on this compact and cooperation. The ultimate aim of life, and of all active efforts of Man's nature ("of the creature," according to the language of St. Paul, and of the German mystics), is, however, none other than the perfecting of the spirit, and the liberation of Nature through the spirit. The Spirit contemplates the changing movements of Nature simply as a spectator, being only in appearance itself an actor; its instinctive impulse leads it first to enjoy Nature, and then to analyze it, and know it for what it is; *i.e.* to arrive at the perception of its nothingness. This is the only true knowledge. It conducts us to a solution, inasmuch as those qualities of Nature which are in accordance with Reason obtain the upper hand; more especially justice and intelligence. So soon as that unsubstantiality of Nature is recognized, the aim of man's life is reached. The compact of the Mind with Nature may still endure, as a wheel set rotating continues to revolve for a considerable time after the impulse has ceased, but Nature has no longer any charms for man or any power over him, and leaves him in peace; she retires behind the scenes like a dancer when the spectators have caught the meaning of her pantomime. Thus the aim of mind is complete emancipation from nature, and through this the emancipation of nature herself. From which we may surely draw the inference that the successive cycles of

existence are to come to an end, and that the Spirit when perfected shall be no longer subject to re-birth.

Looking at it from our point of view, it is clear at the first glance that in these statements the ethical principle is put very much in the background; and therefore also the consciousness of a moral Kosmos. Not that the ethical principle is wholly absent, or unrecognized. Among the qualities which in the life of man develop themselves out of that compact between mind and nature, the ethical is expressly mentioned. Righteousness and unrighteousness form the first of the antitheses here enumerated. But at the same time it cannot be disputed that the ethical freedom of the mind in moral action remains very much in the background. The essence of the mind is, after a very one-sided manner, placed in true knowledge, and not in the moral intention. Reason sits supreme as logical thought, not as conscience, and thus the harmonious balance in the reciprocal action of both is wanting. It is the unison between knowledge and practice—it is the belief that the Good is true, and the True good, which produces a healthy state of man's consciousness of God in history—that true harmony of man's being which is the parent of a life instinct with divine energy, and corresponding to the ideal of humanity.

But in conceding this we have said all that can be alleged against the essence of the Sankhya philosophy, according to the only reliable and authentic account which we as yet possess of that system.

It is in itself no more atheistic than is the doctrine of Buddha. It no more denies than does the Vedanta philosophy a Mind which has recognized its own distinctness from Nature. For else how could it place before all human beings alike the same end, namely—righteousness and knowledge? How maintain that by righteousness man's life tends upwards, by unrighteousness downwards?¹ Nay, the record before us further insists on this assumption of the oneness of all minds, by declaring expressly²

¹ See § 44, Appendix, Note I.

² See § 54, Appendix, Note I.

that the human creation is simple, therefore a Unity, and so is that of the gods (*i. e.* the spirits mentioned in the traditions) simple, while that of the terrestrial non-human creation is fivefold, from the four-footed beast down to the stone. We maintain, therefore, that this system does not teach the annihilation of mind, but rather the imperishable duration of the perfected mind, which is the principle of the Universe, the sole Final End of the Phenomenal (§ 17). Again, how can a philosophy be justly esteemed atheistic, which treats the essence of the individual mind as a unity, and challenges universal assent to its laws? Did the mind when perfected cease to exist, then, according to the fundamental doctrine of this philosophy, the whole universe must cease to be; for it has no other end and aim than to bring the mind to perfection. Personality resides in each separate mind, not in that which it receives from the Primal Nature common to all minds (§ 17). From this it would seem to follow, that that cannot perish which has not been derived from that Primal Nature, which is the root of the transitory phenomena. Now the mind has not been so derived, and therefore the life of the mind is not subject to that law of dissolution.

Consequently it is not a well-founded, although a generally-received opinion that the Sankhya school recognizes nothing beyond individual minds, or that these are destined to perish, or that it is without God, whom the Vedanta philosophy places at the head of all things under the title of Brahma. On the contrary, God, regarded as the undivided *Unity*, therefore the Eternal Essence of those minds when perfected, is an assumption or postulate running through the whole system, like that of the existence of light in a treatise on colours. If reason, knowledge, righteousness, be regarded as the common attributes of the individual minds, is it conceivable that there should be no assumption of a Primal Reason living in undisturbed blessedness, and a Primal Will having for

their aim the emancipation of the individual minds, nay, the spiritualization or divinization of Nature? If so, this is equivalent to a Divine order of the universe. Not, however, we admit, in this present actual life. Wherefore? Because there is no, or at least, so little fruition of those Divine blessings, that existence is a burden in itself, and not simply so by reason of the struggle of the mind with its own lusts and with sickness and death! The wise man *endures* life, he does not *live* it. He is not merely a Stoic but a passive spectator of a futile show!

The Sankhya doctrine is indubitably anterior to the age of Buddha; for it forms the speculative basis of the religion of Buddha. But this very circumstance involves a proof of the untenableness of the ordinary theory respecting Buddha, which for the rest, as we hope to show by irrefragable evidence, is also irreconcilable with the most distinct assertions and assumptions contained in the writings which are the most certain sources of our acquaintance with Buddhism in its original form. Kapila, or his master, was a philosopher—Buddha was a contemplative saint.

Lastly, in all that regards form, this Sankhya system, to judge from the brief record of it that we possess, is extremely deficient. It is indeed a step in advance of the Vedanta doctrine; but, like that, it is utterly without pretension to dialectic development of thought. In point of style too, especially in all that is stated concerning physical *principia*, it is extremely defective. It presents us with aphorisms, not theorems. The speculative propositions evidently have a connection with each other; but their logical framework is wanting altogether. Yet there must have been such a framework.

Those who have talked of an Indian source of the Greek philosophy, nay, even of that of Plato and Aristotle, or even fancied the possibility of such a thing, display great ignorance of the history and organic development of that philosophy; while those who descry atheism in the Indian

philosophy, have evidently not explored its authentic documents thoroughly, or not without foregone conclusions. More weighty, certainly, are the arguments alleged by our opponents on the field of Buddhism, to which we shall now pass on. We cannot, however, refrain from expressing our conviction that not only those who see in the Brahmanical system which we have been considering, nothing save negation and atheism, but also those who think we are compelled to take the word Nirvâna, in the religion of Buddha, in the sense of the annihilation, not of our desires but of our perceptions,—the annihilation of the thinking and willing intelligence,—must assume the same of all the Christian mystics, from Eckard and Tauler up to Fénelon and Madame Guyon.

While on the point of letting the records of Buddha speak for themselves, we pause for a moment to give a joyful welcome to the work of Rowland Williams, entitled "*Christianity and Hinduism*," which has appeared at the close of 1856. This work, which leaves all the previous historical disquisitions on the authentic sources of Hindu philosophy far behind, and at the same time breathes the spirit of a warm evangelical Christianity, is the solution of a problem propounded by a noble-minded and persevering Christian man, Mr. John Muir, formerly an Indian judge, and is the fruit of eleven years' research. The learned author, a clergyman of the English Church, and Principal of the Theological College of Lampeter in Wales, has availed himself of the materials at his command with fidelity and skill, and has discussed the relations of Christianity to Brahmanism and Buddhism in a series of dialogues, because that is the only form attractive to the Hindu mind. He has, moreover, performed his task with a perspicuity and elegance that often remind one of Plato without being an imitation of him. We rejoice to find ourselves in accord with him on the main points.

We will attach our conclusion to two Indian watch-

words. The aphorism of the Indian philosopher who has attained to blessedness through contemplation,¹—

<i>Na asmi,</i>	<i>na me,</i>	<i>na aham!</i>
(I am not),	nought is mine,	I am not,

is but the parallel to the exclamation of man contemplating God, the All, and each individual²:—

Tat tvam asi!
That art thou!

Both together say what all Christian mystics say; though certainly both find a much more sober and intelligible expression in these mystics. Thus, for instance, we read in the opening of the “Theologia Germanica:” “When that which is perfect is come” (that is, when it is known), “then that which is in part” (to wit, creature-nature, qualities, the I, the Self, the Mine), will be despised and counted for nought.” “That which hath flowed forth from it, is no true Substance, and hath no Substance except in the Perfect, but is an accident, or a brightness, or a visible appearance, which is no Substance, and hath no Substance except in the fire whence the brightness flowed forth, such as the sun or a candle.” “The more the Self, the I, the Me, the Mine, that is, self-seeking and selfishness abate in a man, the more doth God’s I, that is, God Himself, increase in him.” Of course we do not for a moment mean to deny the great disparity between the Hindu philosopher and these mystics. But certainly it would be very possible to draw conclusions from all the sighing of the “quietists” after annihilation (*anéantissement*) which would resemble the usual exposition given to the Nirvâna on this point. And yet no one would think of maintaining what would be so evidently false.

¹ See § 64, Appendix, Note I.

² Windischmann, s. 1733.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF BUDDHA AND THE SYSTEM
FOUNDED BY HIM.

We must steadily fix our gaze upon the protracted and tragical unfolding of Brahmanism, occupying not merely a few centuries, but more than a thousand years; we must vividly realize to ourselves the unhealthy influence exerted by such a theory of the world, and the intolerable contrast presented by the lofty flight of thought and poetry, to the horrible realities of society, not forgetting either the effects of a climate at once heating and enervating, in order to understand the personal character of Buddha, the strangeness of his mode of expression, the germs at once of social disintegration and yet of reconstruction contained in his ecclesiastical institutions, and the prodigious extent of the success that he achieved. It is only by giving due weight to all these circumstances, that we can escape the danger of losing our faith either in the prophet himself, in history, or in human nature, and arriving at utterly impossible conclusions. Sâkya the Penitent (*Sâkya-muni*, literally the atoner of the house of Sâkya), or Gotama (the Gotamide, after the ancient saint of this name, belonging to this princely family), was through and through a typical Indian. He was the son of a king, a philosopher thoroughly versed in the Brahmanic lore, who became of his own choice an ascetic and mendicant friar. He taught and laboured for twenty-one years, beginning in his ripe manhood, and ending in vigorous middle age at fifty-six. These years he spent amidst a crowd of disciples, very soon taking up his position as the man to whom all the poor and op-

pressed of the realm of Magadha and the surrounding countries to a great distance looked up as their defender and redeemer. According to the most credible of the accounts that have come down to us, we find in him a character so noble, self-sacrificing, and overflowing with brotherly love, combined at the same time with such sobriety in his mode of action that any idea of either imposture or insanity in his case is utterly inadmissible. We know that he laid an injunction on his disciples to hand down to others what they had heard from himself. And yet we very soon come to the conviction that up to the second Buddhist Council, held a hundred years after his death, scarcely anything about him had been committed to writing, although there existed an oral tradition. But it is making a too precipitate assertion to maintain, as some do, that the earliest and most reliable accounts of him do not reach farther back than the third Buddhist Council—that held under Asoka in the year 246 B.C.—or even the next, held under Kanishka, prince of Cashmir, about 150 B.C., amidst the turmoil of sectarian divisions and disorders. For we shall adduce facts which prove that Asoka mentions in his rescript to the Council, a collection of aphorisms or Sutras, and several hymns or Gāthas of Buddha; from which, at all events, it follows that the seven books cited at that Council, already at that date (therefore before the middle of the third century B.C.), enjoyed a high consideration, and that the two above-mentioned works passed for a faithful tradition of the sayings of Buddha. Such aphorisms and parables must necessarily have formed the kernel of all Buddhistic doctrine, just as the words (*Logia*) of our Lord, and the parables employed by him in illustration of his doctrine, form the kernel of the Gospel tradition.

But these simple aphorisms were by no means sufficient for the ever restless intellect of the Hindus. Already in the first assembly held after Buddha's death, Ananda, the only eye-and-ear witness from the beginning, and

he to whom Buddha had referred his disciples as the depository of what he himself said, was excluded from the deliberations as an unbeliever, and only readmitted after he had received the true enlightenment ; in other words, had so far at least given in his adhesion to the fanatics and hierophants, the party of dogmatism, as to leave the conduct of the deliberations in their hands. After such a beginning, in such an age, to expect of the Buddhists any sober narrative of actual facts, even after the lapse of a single century (therefore at the date of the second Buddhist Council), would be as unreasonable as to expect to obtain a faithful reflection of a man's countenance from a concave mirror. Criticism will confine its research within the limits of Asoka's mandate and rescripts, and the simplest and earliest accounts, and for all beyond this seek only to discover the laws of moral refraction. In this attempt, it will steadily hold fast by not the metaphysics but the life, the moral actions and practical aims of one of the most remarkable men of any age, as its only safe clue. In these investigations much though not all has already been accomplished. To our learned, acute, and cautious countryman J. J. Schmidt belongs the merit of having been the first to vindicate the main historical outlines against the fantastic Buddha of the later traditions, and against the mysticism of most German scholars and philosophers.¹ Wilhelm von Humboldt based his researches on this historical groundwork, and on the now universally received chronology of the Cingalese.² It was, however, the lamented Eugène Burnouf, whose untimely death is an irreparable loss to science, who in his unfinished work on Buddhism³ carried out the true critical principle. This masterpiece of research is based for the most part on the collection of the Buddhist documents in Nepaul, made by an

¹ See the "Abhandlungen der Petersburger Academie der Wissenschaften." 1831 and 1832.

² "Kavisprache," i. p. 299. 1836.

³ 1844.

ingenious and indefatigable English investigator, Mr. Hodgson, and which he generously presented to the Asiatic Societies of London and Paris in 1837. All the later accounts worth notice rest on Burnouf's researches, which lie before us in their complete form since the posthumous publication in 1852 of his translation, accompanied by critical notes of the Buddhist work entitled "The Lotus of the Good Law," together with the best translation and criticism of the Inscriptions of Asoka. A similar documentary groundwork was laid by Hardy's very instructive "Manual of Buddhism" (2 vols. 1846), the accounts given by Lassen in his "*Indischen Alterthums-kunde*" (1847-1852), and by Weber in his "*Indische Literaturgeschichte*," and in a popular Lecture which has just been reprinted by him in a collection of similar treatises. Of the Buddhistic writings that have appeared since the time of Burnouf, either in the original text or in translations, the most important is the text of the oldest Pali book, which is also regarded by all parties among the Buddhists, as the highest authority, the "*Dharmapadam*," or "Footprints of the Law," which is a Collection of Aphorisms. These, as well as Westergaard's labours, we owe to the praiseworthy encouragement of the Danish Government.

Rask brought this work to Europe in three MSS., and Fausböll published in 1855 the Pali-text in Latin type (which is really the only course at once scientific and practical, and meeting the wants of the age), accompanied by a literal Latin rendering. Till then we only possessed an English translation of this book by Gogerly.

"The Lotus of the Good Law" is one of the later Sutras or so-called gospels of the Buddhists. The metrical "Dharmapadam," on the contrary, with the "Hymn of Praise," and the "Sutra of the Forty-two Sayings," undoubtedly give us the most faithful picture yet known of the ethical spirit of Buddha's teachings. Their language is the dialect of the Pali, which holds the same relation

to Sanscrit that Italian does to Latin, and was regarded in Ceylon as the sacred language. It was Buddha's own mother-tongue and certainly one of the vernacular dialects of the kingdom of Magadha, where he taught and preached. The metrical form offers more resistance to any attempt at falsification than prose, which invites to endless amplification.

The last year or two have also brought us a masterpiece of classical solidity and perspicuity in Duncker's historical account of India in general and Buddha in particular,¹ and the same may be said of Professor Max Müller's "Monograph on Buddhism," expanded from two articles in the "Times," that appeared in April 1857. But the most important contribution to the literature of this topic is the copious work of K. F. Koeppen that has just² come out, entitled "*Die Religion des Buddha.*" In this history of Buddhism, the results of previous researches and disquisitions are placed before us in a lucid style, with the needful details, and accompanied by sound critical observations for the reading public. Hence with the increasing interest excited throughout Europe by this remarkable religious phenomenon, which even now, after the lapse of 2500 years, stirs the hearts, and to some extent has civilized the manners, of about three hundred millions of human beings, Koeppen's work forms a very useful manual for all who wish to obtain solid information on this subject, and to be guided along the path of more extended research. It is, too, distinguished by candour and independence of judgment. Certainly we can but regret that the author sometimes discovers nothing save confusion of thought in speculations which perhaps have merely been transmitted to us in a confused style, and that he sometimes seems to confound the final conclusions of Buddha himself with a modern nihilism that, out of humour with God and the world, coquets with the

¹ See Duncker's "Alte Weltgeschichte," B. ii.

² July 1857.

idea of annihilation, though again in other passages he discriminates clearly between them. To profess that you cannot find a speculation conclusive, but that you will proceed to expound it, demands in the case of a people inured to philosophical thought like the Hindoos, and in that of an earnest thinker like Buddha, that you presuppose reason and adaptation of means to ends in that of which you undertake to give an account. This we must especially insist on as regards the interpretation of the term "Nirvâna," and therefore of the last section of Koeppen's book; that on the Buddhistic metaphysics. On the relative attitude of Buddhism to Christianity also we cannot but regard Duncker's view as the more correct.

Our own conception of Buddha, however, is diametrically opposed to that of Burnouf and all his successors (with the exception of Mohl, Obry, and Duncker), in so far that according to them, the founder of the most widely diffused creed on the face of the earth, a creed which has introduced or revived civilization and softened manners among all these millions, was a teacher of atheism and materialism. For so we must denominate a system which should teach that there is absolutely nothing but non-existence, therefore in no sense a God; that annihilation is the highest happiness the soul can strive after, and that it is the highest glory of the great Saint to have taught the way to attain thereunto. If this were so, then Buddha would at least lie beyond the scope of our present survey. For there is no more utter denial of a Divine Order of the world, or of the science of its laws, than the assumption that existence is nothing but a curse, and that the aim of human effort is its own annihilation, and that of its motive-spring—the personality of each individual soul, which is precisely that which Buddha's philosophy aims to set free.

But a closer consideration of the passages we shall adduce from the records themselves will sufficiently show that this view, even if we are not prepared to reject

it at the outset as impossible, was as remote from Buddha the philosopher, as from Buddha the promulgator and reformer of religion. Of the twenty-six hymns contained in the "*Dhamapadam*," or "Footsteps of the Law," we will lay before our readers the three most important, in their original order in a faithful translation.

THE THOUSAND-PROVERB. (VIII.)

(Distichs 100-115.)

1. Though a thousand words should range themselves in the empty swell of thy speech,
Far better is one speech full of meaning that shall give One man rest.
2. Though a thousand words the hymn should number in the empty swell of thy words,
Far better is a single word that shall bring rest to One man.
3. Though thou shouldst rehearse a hundred of such hymns in the empty swell of thy words,
Better is one word of the doctrine that shall give One man rest.
4. He who should conquer in battle ten times a hundred thousand were indeed a hero,
But truly a greater hero is he who has but once conquered himself.
5. To conquer one's self is a greater victory than to gain a battle:
The victory of him who tames himself, who at all times knows how to rule himself.
6. Neither God nor Gandava,¹ neither Mara nor yet Brahma
Can frustrate such a victory, obtained by such a man.
7. Though one should offer a thousand sacrifices every month,
and offer them for a hundred years,
He who for only one moment contemplates himself in utter repose,

¹ *Gandava*, in Sanscrit *Gandharva*, good spirits; *Mara* (the tempter) seems to have been the name given by the ancient Buddhists to the Essence of the evil spirits.

- He has performed a better act of devotion than by a hundred years' sacrifices.
8. And though one should keep the sacred flame alight for a hundred years in a forest,
He who for only one moment contemplates himself in utter repose,
His one act of devotion is better than a hundred years' sacrifices.
 9. Whatever sacrifices the whole world might offer in a year,
Whatever sacrifice any might offer in the hope of reward,
That all is not worth one quarter so much as
He who cherishes reverence for the virtuous.
 10. He who cherishes reverence in his heart, and ever honours his superiors,
To him shall be ever added these four gifts: Long Life, Beauty, Joy, Power.
 11. He who lives in lust for a hundred years, ever unquiet in his heart,
Much better is a single day of a temperate, thoughtful life.
 12. He who lives in folly for a hundred years, ever restless,
Much better is a single day of meditation upon wisdom.
 13. He who lives a hundred years faintheartedly, without energy of mind,
Much better is a single day used with firm will and energy.
 14. He who lives a hundred years, not reflecting on the origin and end of life,
Much better is a single day of him who marks its origin and end.
 15. He who lives a hundred years, and does not behold the path to immortality,¹
Much better is a single day of him who descries that path.
 16. He who lives a hundred years and never discerns the loftiness of the Law,
Much better is a single day of him who beholds the heights of that same.

¹ *Immortality*, in the original *parattha*, literally "the other world." This other world is designated in the Buddhist writings as everlasting, eternal life. This word and thought is plainly irreconcilable with the ordinary idea

THE BUDDHA-PROVERB. (XIV.)

(Distichs 179-196.)

1. He who is invincible, whom no one in this world has power
to restrain,
Buddha, whose glance explores the Infinite,
Buddha, the Trackless, what track shall lead you to behold
him?
2. He whom no lust can ensnare, whom none can allure to his
soul's poison,
Buddha, the Trackless, what track shall lead you to behold
him?
3. The Gods themselves envy those who never grow faint and
weary of heart,
But rejoice in continual repose, full of remembrance, the
enlightened ones.
4. Man's birth is full of trouble, and full of toil is his life also,
Toilsome it is to hearken to true teaching, very toilsome is
the beginning of true enlightenment.
5. Not to do evil, to leave nothing good undone, to keep the
course of our thought ever pure,
This is commanded to Buddhas.
6. The best prayer is patience, ever gentle,
To Buddhas *Nirvāna* is the name of that which is alone
good.¹
7. No tamer of his senses will he become who smites another,
No penitent² he who does harm to his neighbour.

of Nirvāna, as the annihilation of the spirit. It is the ascending step from the knowledge of transitory things, referred to in the preceding verse, to an insight into the cycle of natural existence in the Transient. This ascending step is the apprehension of the Eternal, and the consequent emancipation from the yoke of the Transient, therefore especially from that of our own self-seeking, lustful *Me*.

¹ *Nirvāna*: Extinction: in this passage rendered quite clear by the context, according to which it is the companion virtue to "patience"; hence, not that which befalls the wise and righteous man after death, but that which is to be the aim of his effort for this life and in this life; viz.: the absence of desire, or, in other words, inward peace. The metaphysical Nirvāna belongs to the region of metaphysics, and according to what we know from the authentic accounts of the historical Buddha, no idea can be further from it than that of annihilation of being.

² PENITENT, *Samana*, in the Sanscrit, *Shramana*, literally hermit; whence

8. To refrain at all times from angry words, and never to do another injury,
To observe temperance in eating and in sleeping on a lonely couch ;
To live in profoundest meditation, lo ! this is enjoined on the Buddhas.
9. A shower of wealth will not suffice to our desires ; little joy will covetous desires bring thee, but many sorrows, and wise is he who understands this.
10. Not even revelling with the gods will give joy to a truly wise man ;
He who is truly wise, rejoices only in this, that desire is dead within him.
11. Men who are still enslaved to fear seek many ways of refuge,
They flee to mountain and forest, and resort for shelter to sacred trees.
12. But that is no sure sanctuary, the highest refuge it never is ;
Never will that man be freed from pain who chooses such for his refuge.
13. He alone who flees to Buddha, who clings to doctrine and the Church,
He will understand right purely and clearly the fourfold lofty Truth.¹
14. What pain is, and what the cause and end of pain,
That path he shall descry, that eightfold path, that leads to the quieting of all pain.²

is derived the name *Samanæans*, applied by Clement of Alexandria to the adherents of Buddha ; hence also the title *Shamans* given to the Buddhist priests in Northern Asia. *Tamer of the senses*, he who has overcome his senses, and with them the sensual element, the bondage to sacred rites, *pabbalshita*.

¹ " *The four-fold lofty truth*" refers to the " *Four Venerable Truths*" touching pain, its cause, and its end, of which we have given a brief account in the Appendix.

² " *The eight-fold Path*:" this refers to the eight right actions (see Burnouf, " *Le Lotus de la bonne Loi*," p. 430) ; the right perception, the right will, the right word, the right deed, the right life, the right application, the right memory, and the right contemplation.

15. That is the sure refuge to thee, of a truth the highest
refuge ;
And freed from pain he alone shall be, who chooses this for
his refuge.
16. To find such a marvel of a man is not easy ; it is not every
place that can show such an one ;
But where such a wise man dwells, there indeed is good
luck in the house.
17. Very lovely is the dawning of Buddha, very sweet the ways
of true doctrine,
Very sweet is the harmony of the Church, very sweet the
fervent prayer of the Brethren.
18. Venerable is he who venerates the Buddhas and their
disciples too,
The vanquishers of sin, the victors over pain are they
alone.
19. He who dutifully honours the men that are of quiet spirit
and without fear,
That is verily a good work, that can never be too highly
esteemed.

THE BRAHMA-PROVERB. (XXVI.)

(Distichs 383-423.)

1. Dry up the stream of desire, drive out thy lusts, O Brah-
mana !
The uncreated thou knowest, who knowest Annihilation, O
Brahmana ?
2. He who has discerned both shores, this one and that which
lies on the other side,
From him do all the fetters fall off that once held his mind
in bondage.
3. He to whom there is no difference of this life and the life to
come,
Whom nought alarms, who is unshackled by aught,
him do I call Brahmana.

4. He who sits meditating in innocence, free from cares and business,
Who undistracted by pleasure, climbs the highest summit,
him do I call Brahmana.
5. The sun beams in brightness by day, the moon shines by night,
The warrior shines in sheen of arms, in contemplation
shines the Brahmana.
But every night and every day, shines Buddha in the full radiance of his glory.
6. He who has put off sin is called Brahmana,
He who leads a silent life, is a penance doer,
He who is free from self-love is called a Tamer of the Senses.
7. Do no violence to a Brahmana, do not lay hands on a Brahmana,
Woe be to any who shall injure or lay hands on a Brahmana.
8. Abstinence befits the Brahmana from all that is pleasant;
when the storm of the soul is laid to rest, then is every pain soon assuaged.
9. He whose body, words, and heart are altogether without sin,
he who holds these three in rein, yea him do I call a
Brahmana.
10. He who has discerned the true meaning of the law of piety,
Let him reverence it evermore, as the Brahmana cherishes the sacred fire.
11. It is not jewelled hair, nor noble pedigree, that consecrates thee a Brahmana,
He alone who is truthful and pious, he is the blessed Brahmana.
12. What will jewelled hair profit thee, O fool, or garments set with costly fur?
Unclean hast thou left thy heart, while decking thy outside.
13. The man clothed in rags, lean of flesh, with swelling veins,
Who dwells in a forest in meditation, yea him do I call a
Brahmana.
14. In my eyes it is not birth that makes a Brahmana, nor having

- a Brahman mother; this may make a howling ministrant of sacrifice, may likely enough make him a rich man :
 But it is the poor man who covets nothing that I call a Brahmana.
15. He who has burst all fetters and trembles before nothing, the unshackled, the truly free, him do I call a Brahmana.
16. He who has broken the bridle, and the rein, and the harness, like a wise man,
 He who has broken through the wall of folly, him do I call a Brahmana.
17. He who guiltless suffers shame and smiting, and suffers himself to be bound in silence,
 Strong in patience, exercised in power, him do I call a Brahmana.
18. He who has learnt that with life ends utterly all pain,
 The unburdened, free man, him do I call a Brahmana.
19. The sage whose clear vision beholds high things, discerning the true path and the false path,
 Who has climbed to the heights of all things, him do I call a Brahmana.
20. He who needs neither household nor strangers, who wanders about without a home, needing little, yea him do I call Brahmana.
21. He who will not punish a beast that is weak, who will not strike or suffer others to strike one that is strong, him do I call a Brahmana.
22. He who when assailed does not resist, but speaks mildly to his tormentors ;
 He who grudges nothing to those who grudge him all, him alone I call a Brahmana.
23. He who has put from him desire and hatred, pride and hypocrisy
 As a grain that flies from the point of an arrow, him do I call a Brahmana.
24. He whose speech is gentle, truthful, and ever instructive,
 He who never utters a harsh word, him only do I call a Brahmana.

25. He who lays claim to nothing, be it long or short, small or great, sweet or bitter, whatsoever it be, him alone do I call a Brahmana.
26. He who has no desire for this world, none for the next, who is free and delivered from all lusts, him do I call a Brahmana.
27. He who strives not to obtain aught for himself, who never doubts after he has once perceived the truth, he who has come to know immortality, him alone do I call a Brahmana.
28. He who has triumphed over evil and good, and cast aside the bonds of both,
Good, devoid of sorrow, devoid of vice, him do I call a Brahmana.
29. He who is pure as the moon, whose even spirit nought can ruffle,
Who has quenched all lusts, him do I call a Brahmana.
30. He who has overcome this world which has been to him a wrathful foe,
He who is free from disquietude, whose heart and longing are on the other shore of the two worlds,
He who lives in meditation, unassailed by desire or by doubt,
He who calls nothing his own, him only do I call a Brahmana.
31. He who has cast behind him all lusts, and wanders harmless abroad,
He who has quenched his lusts, him only do I call a Brahmana,
32. He who has left all desire behind, and roams without shelter or home, him only do I call a Brahmana.
33. He who, loose from all human ties, has risen to the divine communion,
He who has thus laid aside every weight, him alone do I call a Brahmana.
34. He who has left joy and sorrow behind, who lives at rest, without a pang,
He who has overcome all worlds, this hero I call a Brahmana.

35. He only who knows the beginning and end of the creatures, who seeks not books, who is a wise and happy man, him only do I call a Brahmana.
36. Whose course the gods do not understand, neither Gandava nor yet mortals, the venerable one, who has renounced all lust, him only do I call a Brahmana.
37. He who has nought before, behind, or around, who is altogether poor,
Who has renounced for himself all pleasure, him only do I call a Brahmana.
38. The Noble one, standing like a stately bull, the Hero, the Seer, free from all lust, the Pure, the Wise, him only do I call a Brahmana.
39. He who knows the ancient abodes, whose eye has ranged through heaven and hell,
He who knows the end of all that is born, the Hermit, full of wisdom, quite perfect, faultless, him do I call a Brahmana.

These three poems, to which the remaining twenty-three are similar, though less important, exhibit to us an earnest, energetic, enthusiastic reformer, who bases everything on true piety and works of mercy, and regards these as consisting respectively in the recognition of what is true and enduring amid the delusions of sense, and in love to our suffering fellow-creatures, both men and beasts. The means by which these are to be attained are in his view the taming of the senses, self-renunciation. The aim is a knowledge conferring supreme blessedness, and a state free from all desires.

With this the whole life and labours of this wonderful man are in perfect harmony. He did not enter into open hostility with the established religion as regards the ancient rites connected with the worship of fire. To him also Brahma is the highest of the gods, in the sense of the Sankhya philosophy; but the wise man covets nothing either from gods or men; the Brahman, if he is worthy of the name, deserves all honour for his devotion

to meditation and prayer. All the castes may continue to exist; but he abolishes the monopoly of the teaching functions in the hands of the Brahmans, by enlisting out of all castes, even the very lowest, a body of mendicant friars and nuns, bound by a vow of chastity and poverty, whom he constitutes teachers and guides of the Ecclesia, and by their instrumentality forming communities, around which there gathered the main body of adherents; those, in fact, whom we should call laics; and among whom, again, the elders were distinguished from the rest of the community.

Now to the disciples themselves, of whom he began with five, he recommends a life in common, spent in incessant preaching, meditation, and labour. This teaching has its roots in similar ethical principles to those preached by the "Friends of God" in Strasburg and Cologne, Eckard, Tauler, and Suso. To get rid of self is the condition of all divine life; he who is without desire, dead to himself, he alone truly lives. Buddha prescribes to every disciple and follower certain initial commands, of which four are purely ethical, and the fifth a perfectly general injunction to temperance. Here is the text:—

- I. Not to kill that which has life.
- II. Not to steal.
- III. Not to commit any unchaste act.
- IV. Not to lie.
- V. To drink no intoxicating liquor.

Only in later times were these expanded into ten, and then into fifteen commandments, by the addition of precepts about externals.¹ That he did not wish to have the third commandment obeyed after the fashion of Origen is shown by a fine saying, forming the twenty-ninth of his forty-two Theses:—

If the spirit, which is the Master, be kept under control, it follows of itself that his servants will also be restrained. What does it avail if the power, but not the wish, to do wrong be vanquished?

¹ See Koeppen, s. 334, 473, 565, cf. 495.

How strongly he was opposed to bodily austerities is proved by this sentence in his first sermon¹:—

He who desires to become an object of respect (Arya) must beware of two things: of sinful lusts, and of the bodily austerities of the Brahmaus.

Unregenerated, isolated, is every one who remains subject to his desires, whether he be a layman or an Arya.² The oldest comprehensive formula of the Buddhist faith, which has been found under an ancient Buddha pyramid in India, on innumerable inscriptions, and which regularly forms the conclusion of the sacred books, and in Ceylon, as well as in Burmah and Thibet, all, even women and children, know by heart, is this:—

The states of all beings which proceed from a cause, the cause thereof has the Blessed One declared; what can heal these states has the Hermit also declared.

What we have translated *states* or *conditions*, is called in Sanscrit, *Dharma*, in Pali, *Dhamma*; and signifies originally Law, Duty; and in a secondary sense, that which exists as a legitimate, necessary consequence of a cause; hence, a condition of being. If we ponder this simple aphorism, we see that it involves “the four venerable Truths,” which form the substratum, laid by Buddha’s own hand, of the later metaphysical erections:—

- I. Existence is suffering (pain).
- II. Suffering is seen to be the necessary consequence of causes.
- III. To this suffering an end ought to be put.
- IV. To this end there is a means, and this also has Buddha taught.

In the acknowledgment of these also all the Buddhist communities agree. Both among the Southern and Northern communities, however, we often find associated with that former aphorism, that other aphorism which we have cited above as the fifth strophe of the fourteenth chapter

¹ See Hardy, vol. ii. p. 187.

² See Koeppen, s. 397.

of the Dhammapadam: "To do no evil and omit no good," &c., a fresh proof that in this collection of Buddhistic aphorisms we possess a really genuine, canonical portion of the primitive tradition. We are pleased to see that Koeppen regards it in the same light.¹

To the same circle of genuine Buddhistic ideas, belongs Buddha's Address to the Church, contained in the "*Sutra of Forty-two Sayings*,"² which is held in the highest veneration throughout all Central Asia, as well as in China. We give in the Appendix those of the Sayings which bear a clear impress and are of permanent importance, like the twenty-ninth Aphorism cited above.³ A comparison of this Sutra with the Dhammapadam has brought me to the conviction that these Aphorisms are in part derived from the latter ancient document, which was preserved from unlimited expansion by its division into strophes and verses. Let the reader compare the extracts we have given from the Sutra (from which no essential aphorism has been omitted) with the fourteenth chapter of the Dhammapadam.

Finally, the most ancient and authentic monument of all, Buddha's own Confession of Faith made during his lifetime, respecting God and the world, accords with the views here propounded. We refer to the prayer called by Koeppen the Hallelujah hymn of Buddha, which is in use throughout all the Buddhist communities, and which is found already in existence in the Dhammapadam. We shall cite this incontrovertible and unambiguous confession of faith at the close of this chapter.⁴ An inscription of Asoka, found at Bhabra, on the road from Delhi to Jaipore, and containing his rescript to the Council of the Thousand assembled 246 B.C., has been printed and critically explained by Burnouf, in his "*Lotus de la bonne Loi*," p. 724. If we find quoted in this document, as documents acknowledged to be a canonical authority for what Buddha has said, "a Sutra of the Saint: the

¹ See p. 255.

² See Appendix, Note K.

³ See Appendix, Note L.

⁴ See p. 372.

Gâthâs (hymns) of the Hermit ;” the hymn to which we have referred must be placed in the latter category. For the rest, Asoka’s rescript proves further, that at that date there already existed a Metaphysic of the Buddhistic doctrine ; for such a metaphysic is referred to at the conclusion as a refutation of heretical systems.

Now the history of mankind shows that when speculation and a historical popular belief combine with this fundamental idea of all ethical philosophy which we find in Buddhism, speculation has a tendency to volatilize the popular creed and to intensify the apprehension of an inward divine life, the sense of “being made a partaker of the divine nature” (to speak with the *Theologia Germanica*), to that point in which the distinction between the finite and the infinite vanishes or threatens to vanish. This loss of mental equilibrium may assume the shape either of a pure Idealism, or of an objective Pantheism, or even of a Cynicism wearing the garb of Nihilism. Two counteractives to this tendency are provided by the order of the Universe. In the first place, a sober, strictly dialectic philosophy of science, in which all historical materials are sifted by searching criticism, together with a sound national culture. Secondly, that the body politic should present a practical realization of the religious consciousness by means of free, progressive institutions, recognizing mental rights. On the contrary, nothing gives so strong an impetus to that speculative exaggeration as indifference towards correctness of reasoning and earnestness of investigation, or that extinction of public morality, whose ultimate issue is despair of moral amelioration in public affairs.

We have seen how the oldest records indisputably prove that Buddha availed himself of the usual Indian expedients to effect the deliverance of his disciples and adherents from the sense of dissatisfaction which oppressed them, *i. e.* he endeavoured to emancipate them from evil lusts ; and by degrees from all craving after any outward objects. In the course of this inquiry we have encountered expres-

sions which evidently exclude the idea that by this he can have meant anything else than the annihilation of desire. It now remains for us to ascertain whether in the best authenticated speculative utterances of the Buddhists, which express the personal metaphysical conceptions of Buddha himself, we can really, as it is assumed, find any proof that by the term Nirvâna, Buddha understood a complete annihilation, involving the extinction of the thinking essence of the soul, or that he denied a supreme Principle of Being, or God.

Among the Sutras evidently possessing an historical kernel, Burnouf mentions that of Mândâtri.¹ In this the scene is depicted where Buddha, accompanied by his disciple Ananda, three months before his departure, takes leave of the beautiful Vaishali (Benares). Having finished eating the rice collected there as alms, he sinks into profound meditation and contemplation, and at length exclaims :—

The Hermit has renounced an existence which has like and unlike qualities, and also the elements which make up this life.

Keeping fast hold of the spirit, absorbed into himself, he has broken his shell, and hastens away from it, as a bird slips from the egg.

Now comes the mythical part of the story: a great commotion in the spiritual world announces itself by a violent earthquake. The Saint explains this by saying that all spirits, even the evil ones, are made aware when one who is enlightened begins his earthly career, and still more when he becomes perfect through utter dying to all things; they all exclaim :—

Behold, other beings are born among us!

Whoever will compare this representation with the earliest authentic traditions already quoted, will agree with us in saying that here we have no legend but misunderstood poetry of the oldest tradition. Considered in this light, this account is doubly remarkable, because the narrator

¹ Burnouf, p. 74.

has evidently received it as history and relates it as such. In any case, these words are not the language of an atheist, and this story is not the panegyric and apotheosis of a priest of mental annihilation. The narrative ends with Buddha's own prosaic account of his state of mind, of which the reporter evidently can make nothing, because it is much too humble and human for the feeble-minded and superstitious disciples who narrate his life, or for the communities which formed their audience. Either on the same occasion, or on some other, when he had nearly reached the close of his career (he died three months later), Buddha thus described his own state:—

I have attained the highest wisdom, I am without wishes, I desire nothing. I am stripped of selfishness, personal feeling, pride, obstinacy, enmity. Till now I have borne hatred, been passionate, erring, in bondage, a slave to the conditions of birth, of age, of sickness, of sorrow, of pain, of suffering, of care, of misfortune. May many thousands forsake their homes, live as saints, and after they have devoted their lives to meditation and renounced all pleasure, be born again to a portion in the worlds of Brahma, and fill those worlds in countless hosts!

Here we have Buddha's Nirvâna. He lives still, but the burden of *self*' is taken off him; he desires nothing, he hates nothing, all within him is love and peace. This interpretation is the only one that is compatible with the words, "Till now I have borne hatred," &c. We have already, in the *Buddha Proverb* of the Dhammapadam, found the same thought, and the Nirvâna regarded as the state of blessedness for the spirit while on this earth. Thus in this tradition we have, first, the confession of the worthlessness of his previous condition in this life, when the Gotamide was still sighing under the burden of desire, and then, in contrast to this, the description of his present blessed state, concluding with his prophetic wish that many, awakened by his life, experiences, and teaching, may renounce the world and live in the blessed communion of spirits. This is the farewell of a historical personage, these are the

words of the real Buddha, the king's son, who had preferred poverty and self-denial to the enjoyment of the world. No one could have invented this, least of all the actual reporter, who is the real, historical Ananda, the "witness from the beginning." The mythological garb of this lofty speech is easily stripped off; and beneath it we certainly do not discover the extinction of man's spirit, but its glorification. We have, however, still more unimpeachable testimonies to produce.

In one of the stories that have been worked up into legends (*Aradana*) from which Burnouf gives extracts, there occur the following words addressed by the Saint (*Bhagavat*) to the Church, which are similar in tenor:—

Brahma dwells in those families in which the children render complete honour to their father and mother, and faithfully serve them. For in the eye of the law (the law of Buddha) the father and mother are to a son Brahma himself. *The Teacher* is in those families in which father and mother are honoured and faithfully served. *The sacrificial fire* is in those families in which father and mother are honoured and faithfully served. *The Fire of the heavenly hearth* is in those families in which father and mother are honoured and faithfully served. *The God (Deva, probably Indra)* is in those families in which father and mother are honoured and faithfully served.¹

This is Buddha's honest compromise with external rites, but it is also their abolition.

But perhaps (some may urge) this only exhibits to us the lower grades in the doctrine of the Enlightened One, and it is in those speculative declarations which we can refer most nearly to Buddha, that we shall first find the undisguised doctrine of Atheism and Annihilation. So far we have found precisely the reverse; but the *Abidharma*, or Buddhistic metaphysic, is held up for our terror. We will soon look this Medusa in the face. But first we will allow the most considerable champion of the opposite view to speak for himself.

¹ See Burnouf, p. 133.

The substance of Burnouf's view of the Buddhist doctrine, so far as that doctrine has been ascertained, may be reduced to the following propositions. The visible world is subject to incessant change, life and death alternate perpetually. Man, too, is doomed to pilgrimage through this creation; as his present position has been determined by his previous appearances in human existence, so will his future position be dependent on his actions in this present state of existence. The virtuous will be born again with a godlike body, the guilty with that befitting a condemned soul. But all such rewards and punishments awarded during the pilgrimage of the soul through manifold repetitions of human existence, will continue only for a limited period, and are not eternal, that is to say, endless. Such was the doctrine of Śākya-muni.

Now the hope which he held out consists in the possibility of man's escape from the law of ever-renewed migration by means of what is called *Nirvāna*. This word signifies passing away, the extinction of an existence like that of a flame. It is brought about by means of death; but there is a sure sign, as it were a precursor of Nirvāna, and that is, illumination, the perfected condition of a Buddha, the knowledge of the truth in reference to this world; *i. e.* the knowledge of its nothingness. In his preaching and his sayings Śākya-muni made his appeal to two attestations; to his holy life and to his enlightenment as a perfected Buddha; the two combined, the knowledge and the sanctity, make up the perfect Buddha, who has not exhibited and attested himself solely as one filled with knowledge, but also as a Saint (*Bhagavat*). Hence Śākya-muni is as often designated by this title of *Bhagavat* as by that of Buddha.

We will for a moment leave unnoticed the unauthorized assumption that Nirvāna can only be entered on at death. Hitherto we have only seen reason to suppose the contrary. In any case no student who is familiar with the deeper phenomena of Christian as well as pre-Christian religious

experience, will be able to detect anything atheistic or materialistic in these statements. With respect to the metempsychosis, the philosophical following out of the belief in it had already brought the ancient Egyptians to regard the termination of this perpetual change in the shape and circumstances of earthly existence as the goal of true blessedness. We have elsewhere¹ proved from the sacred text itself of the hieroglyphical Book of the Dead, that that goal was the union of the soul with the Supreme God, Osiris. This was by no means a pantheistic cessation of conscious being; the Egyptians are with justice esteemed the first who taught the immortality of the soul. Now the combination of both these well-substantiated theories yields us such a belief in immortality as readily coalesces with the Christian view expressed in the Gospels, or with the Socratic theory of Plato and Aristotle:—the soul is immortal as a spirit; her separate, individual, or to speak with Tauler, “creature” life is not her proper, divine life; this is hidden, but it may be approximated to during this life by a man who has penetrated the nothingness of outward objects, which have not their substance in themselves but in God. Why should Buddha, who says exactly the same, have meant the reverse?

Again, concerning the path to this blessedness, Buddha says nothing that may not be paralleled in the theosophic writings of the more profound Christian Fathers, especially those of the German mystics of the thirteenth century,—not to say in the words of the Gospels, especially that of St. John. These speak of self-renunciation, tell us that a man shall die unto himself. Others, again, use such phrases as “*to be stripped of self, of being.*” “All that is mortal must be annihilated, must be absorbed into God,” says the pious Gottfried Arnold, and the same expression occurs

¹ “Egypt’s Place in Universal History,” vol. iv. p. 638 seq. See also pp. 643, 662, &c.

in a hymn of the excellent A. H. Franke. No one has ever accused the professors of this faith of denying God; except indeed when Caiaphas brought this charge against Christ,—the pagan Emperors against Christ's disciples, Pope John XXII. against the Friend of God, Master Eckard, and the Lutheran theologians against Luther's favourite book, the "Theologia Germanica!"

But let us hear Burnouf again where he sums up the result of his investigations, starting from the assumption, that the Sankhya philosophy is anterior to Buddhism, and taking his stand more especially on the Buddhistic books of the Nepalese.¹

— The atheistic doctrines of the Sankhya were ontologically the absence of a God, the multiplicity and eternity of human souls: physically the existence of an eternal Nature, which is endowed with qualities, assumes new shapes spontaneously, and contains the elements of the forms in which the soul clothes herself during the progress of her pilgrimage through this world. Sâkya-muni borrowed from this doctrine the idea that there is no God, and likewise that theory of the multiplicity of human souls, of the metempsychosis, and that of the Nirvâna or emancipation, which was common to all the Brahmanic schools. Now it is difficult to ascertain what he meant strictly speaking by this term, for he nowhere gives any definition of it. But as he never speaks of God, this Nirvâna cannot be in his view the merging of the individual soul into the bosom of a universal world-soul, as the orthodox Brahmans taught; and since he says equally little of Matter, neither can his Nirvâna be the resolving of the soul into the lap of the physical elements. The expression "the Void," which occurs in what are evidently the oldest monuments, has led me to the supposition that Sâkya saw the highest Good in the complete annihilation of the thinking principle. He represented it to himself according to an oft-repeated simile, like the extinction of the flame of a dying lamp.

A little further on our author continues as follows:—

Thus his doctrine differs from that of Brahmanism in being

¹ P. 520, &c.

a system of Ethics without God, and an Atheism without Nature. What he denies is the eternal God of the Brahmans, and the eternal Nature of the Sankhyas : what he accepts from them is the multiplicity and individuality of human souls of the Sankhya, and the metempsychosis of the Brahmanic systems. The goal of all his efforts is the deliverance or emancipation of the spirit ; and this was the aim of all Indians. But he does not, like the Sankhyas, confer freedom on the mind by drawing a line of absolute demarcation between it and Nature ; nor yet like the Brahmans by merging it into the abyss of Brahma, the Eternal and Absolute. He annihilates the conditions of its relative existence, by plunging it into the Void ; that is to say, so far as we can see, into Nothingness or Annihilation. The Pyrrhonism and Nihilism of the later Buddhist schools are not found in so many words in the ancient Sutras, but the elements of those views are unmistakably present there.¹

If we compare this sharply-defined sketch of Nihilism with the contents of the Dhammapadam, and with the other writings which we have reason to consider the most genuine, we cannot but see that these conclusions scarcely seem borne out so long as we are concerned only with the historical Buddha. It is admitted that Sâkyamuni has appropriated many important items from the notions generally current, whether of the popular creed or of its philosophical elaborations, because he has given these items no new form, or at least has not brought them prominently forward in his teachings. This is the case with the doctrine of transmigration. Thus we are justified in presuming such a transference wherever we should otherwise be compelled to attribute to this great man a self-contradiction, or at least a positive absurdity. Now, how can an earnest minded and profound thinker, which it is certain that Sâkyamuni was, no less than a self-sacrificing philanthropist, have denied at the same time either the existence of a Matter absorbing all things into itself, or of a Soul of the universe, simply in order to keep his hearers within the boundaries of the Indian

¹ Cf. p. 484, &c.

speculative theories? No one could have done this who had not renounced his reason as well as his senses; nor has such an idea ever entered the brain of any philosopher. If, in his earlier disquisitions, Fichte appears to concede *Being* only to the individual souls, and does not advance to the idea of an *Absolute*, existing extraneous to them, while he regards material existence only as the *Non-Ego*, of which "Being," in the proper sense of that term, is not strictly speaking predicable, yet it is evident, on any attentive study of his doctrine of the Ego, that he starts from the assumption of a moral order of the world, and therefore of a consciousness of that order of which the highest reality is predicable. But as yet we lack any proof whatever for the supposition that Buddha ever carried the theory of Idealism to a similar extreme. He has been trained in schools of speculative study, but in his inmost nature he has by no means a speculative bent. He feels that the paths pursued in those schools will never lead to a solution of the grand problem, either for the individual inquirer or for the community. On the contrary, the ethical ideas underlying his aphorisms, the success of his teaching, and, lastly, his hints respecting the worth of pure speculation, would rather impel us to the conclusion that in his view a piety manifested by love and mercy was the goal of existence *in this life*: which irresistibly involves the recognition of a moral order of the world. In the hymns of the Dhammapadam, we meet with the actual word immortality, and everywhere we find the idea of an inherent inseverable connection between a man's circumstances and his own specific deserts. In common with all the Hindus, and nearly all nations, Buddha starts from the belief in a metempsychosis, because the enigma of the present moral order of the world seems to him insoluble on any other hypothesis. But if he denied the existence of a God in the proper sense of the word, how could he assume that of divine beings who are exalted above mankind and above the Genii (the Gandharvas of the Vedas)

and who yet have no power to coerce the mind of the holy thinker when once it has attained to freedom, but rather look up to him? On this point we may venture to plead for him what Socrates urges for himself in Plato's report of his words, when he was accused at once of atheism and of belief in a Daemon (or divine voice within him)—“How can any one believe in something divine, and not in a God?”

Thus the question revives again with increased force, where, then, are the proofs that Buddha denied the existence both of God and of the outward universe, and held a conception of the soul's destinies, according to which the aim of a wise and pious man could be none other than to attain extinction? If so, it must have been difficult to escape the conclusion that suicide or absolute recklessness would lead more surely to that end than an arduous and painful process of sanctification, to be reached by a life of incessant self-denial and privation. He would have found it easier to eradicate the popular belief in the transmigration of souls, which would deter a man from suicide, than the longing of the created being for an existence of blessedness.

In support of this very incomprehensible metaphysical theory, Burnouf adduces the representations contained in the “*Nidānas*, or *The Twelve Causes of Existence* ;” a work certainly very widely diffused, although the product of a later age. This learned and ingenious scholar has discussed this knotty point at considerable length,¹ and also given in his notes the remarks of Goldstücker, where the latter has suggested a different explanation. The latter writer has not, however, anywhere presented us with a connected account of the Sankhya philosophy. Indeed both these inquirers confess at last their own inability to unravel the whole thread of thought as a philosophic unity. Koepfen despairs altogether of any

¹ Pp. 483-520.

solution of this enigmatical theory. Some support, however, for its metaphysical views our readers may find in "The Four Venerable Truths," and then already further developed in the "Brahma-Proverb," of the Dhammapadam, to which we therefore refer them. On account of the high authority which the Nidāna enjoys, we have in the Appendix given a complete analysis of this certainly very difficult document.¹ Here we will confine ourselves to stating the results for which we there submit our philological and philosophical reasons.

We have first to take up the two ends of that twelve-linked "Chain of Causes," in order to link on to it the leading idea of our exposition. It follows a retrogressive arrangement. *Extinction* ("the death by syncope") is the last link of that chain; the *Absence of Knowledge* ("Unknowingness") the first. Between Death and the "knowing-nothing" there intervene ten links, of which the three last are, *Sensible Perception*, *Desire*, and *Birth*. Now, as Birth is the Ground of Death, while the ground of birth is *Conception* and *Desire*, and that of Desire *Absence of Knowledge* (forgetfulness of the true life), all the other remaining conditions of the earthly existence of the soul are also shown to flow from this "Absence of Knowledge."

Now we maintain that this disquisition, with its acumen and subtle web of thought, cannot, at least in its present expanded form, be referred either to Buddha himself or to the time of Asoka, although its pervading fundamental idea may, no doubt, have been taught then as the speculative basis of Buddha's doctrine. As a simple formalization of it translated into our present philosophical language, we may submit the following propositions:—

In the soul there is an immortal germ, the Spirit, the sole truly divine element; its finite existence rests on the perception and desire of the nugatory external world, to

¹ See Appendix, Note M.

which also the body belongs. But the aim of human life is that all desire should cease, that the man should die to himself utterly and once for all, nay, even to every thought of a reward for goodness or punishment for sin. Not till he does this will the godlike element shine forth in its native power, and this is the true divine life.

We have been led to this result simply by an impartial consideration of the facts which, amidst the chaos of Buddhistic traditions, stand out as the best ascertained and most decisive. We found them consistent with each other, and they alone harmonized with the character, life, mode of action, and success of that great man. Our metaphysical exposition does not profess to be the justification, but only the statement, of the theory to which we are led by the study of all authentic records, by the incontestable character of this wonderful man, and by the prodigious successes obtained by his doctrine. The opposite view appears to us irreconcilable not only with the practical aims and objects of a wise, deep-thinking, benevolent, and holy man, but also with the most authentic and unambiguous testimonies respecting that which he actually said, taught, and professed up to his death.

Having arrived at this point, we may now turn to notice the distinctly theistic version of the system of Buddhism also extant. It rests on the conception of a double series of Buddhas. There are, first, earthly (human) Buddhas. Sâkyamuni's reign will last a thousand years; after him will come another whose name will be *Maitreya* (the Gentle). But there are also Heavenly Buddhas or Enlightened Ones, and of these there are three. Of the former, or earthly Buddhas, there were six who preceded Sâkyamuni: three in our own epoch; three in an earlier age of the world. But of the heavenly Buddhas there are three. At the head of all stands *Adibuddha*, *i.e.* the Primal Buddha, the eternal light, the true Only God. The Magyar scholar, who

follows Thibetan authorities, says that the name Adibuddha does not occur in the books which are older than the tenth century A.D.¹ Wilson, on the contrary, bears witness to the presence of the dogma of the Seven Buddhas in other places besides Nepal; according to Burnouf, it is widely diffused in the South. The outline of the doctrine is as follows²:—Each of the heavenly Buddhas begets a son, in the state of a *Bodhisattva* (one who is in process of being enlightened), and these sons are the Creators of the world, or Demiurges. According to the accounts given by Schmidt,³ each Buddha has three natures, of which each belongs to a particular world:—

- I. Buddha in the first world: this is called the Void, Nirvâna.
- II. Buddha in the second world: this is called Jani-Buddha; the Heavenly.
- III. Buddha in our world: Buddha-Mameschi, the Human.

It is almost impossible to see in this anything else than a scarcely veiled formula for the acknowledgment and expression of the metaphysical Triad:

Of the Absolute or Infinite, of which no finite affirmation can be predicated—the Self-Existence of God:

Of the mediatory, creative Thought, indwelling in God—the Being of God as the Informing Idea of the world.

Of the human realization of the divine Idea—the Evolution, and that which has been evolved.

All this has indeed, in my opinion, but very slender basis in the more ancient accounts of the Buddhist belief, still it bears witness at any rate to the fact, that the opposite, or atheistic, fundamental view was not the creed universally received.

The theory which we have broached respecting the theological belief of Buddha is the only one capable

¹ Burnouf, p. 230.

² *Ib.* p. 116, &c.

³ "Abhandlungen der Kaiserlichen Akademie von Petersburg," vol. i. p. 104; vol. ii. p. 57, 223.

of being carried out consistently as historically true. That alone agrees with all the other notices which have been transmitted to us respecting the oldest Buddhistic conceptions and doctrines regarding the Moral Order of the world and Destiny. The forty-two Aphorisms and the Inscriptions of Asoka agree with the Dhammapadam, that knowledge and a holy life are what alone can bring forth good, and consequently usher in a better condition of society at large. That Buddha himself confessed his own age to be irremediably corrupt, especially as regarded the priesthood and the princes, has been shown already by the extracts we have given from the hymns of the Dhammapadam; and Asoka depicts his own age, and his own life previous to his conversion, in the clearest terms, as abounding in all sorts of crime and unspeakable misery. Nay, unless the stories of Bralmanic tradition be a complete tissue of lies, this monarch did not refrain from committing murders in his own family even after his reception of Buddhism. On this point we refer our readers to Lassen's historical account in his "*Indische Alterthumer*," ii. 213-273. In the "Lotus of the Good Law" the idea of the "quagmire epoch of the world" in which Buddha lived, is carried out in considerable detail.¹ The future Buddha, the true Redeemer, will have his advent in the coming age. He is called *Maitreya*, the Loving, the Merciful. This article of belief is shared by all Buddhists. The arithmetical numbers assigned in connection with these prophecies are mere fantastic conceits, like the calculations of our own day respecting the duration of the *sæculum*. Maitreya will restore the true doctrine that has been first corrupted and then forgotten, and cause justice to reign over the earth. The restoration, the revivification of all things, is the last word of Buddha touching actual reality.

¹ Burnouf, text, 28, 42. Notes, 324, 364. Cf. with Koeppen, s. 327, and the whole section entitled, "Vom Kreislauf und von der Erlösung, und von den Buddhas," s. 289-328.

The degeneration of the Buddhistic religion has an internal and an external cause. The internal cause consists in the omissions and mistakes in the system and procedure of its author. The Church which he founded was one only in appearance. Its real members were mendicant monks and nuns; and thus side by side with the real, divinely-instituted, domestic and political communities, there rose up an artificial one which could not fail to develop itself into a new priestly caste. So, too, the whole internal organization of the religious corporations was blemished by defects. The preaching, with its ethical accompaniments, was the good and healthy influence; but that was dependent on the personal character of Buddha, everything else was lacking, or was pure externality.

The process of decay began all the sooner, inasmuch as the spiritual reform, imperfect as it was, was not seconded by any civil or political amelioration whatever. Buddha had abandoned all hope for the actual world; and, consequently, when his faith came to be disseminated through the mass of society, the religious practices which ought properly to be simply means to an end, became an end in themselves. Thus the intellectual defects of Buddha's teaching were not compensated by its practical efficiency. If it was the weak side of his system that he did not succeed in establishing on its proper basis the Primal Fount of Being, the conscious Eternal; and consequently failed to apprehend the oneness of the Divine in its dual manifestation—in the personality of each Individual and in the Totality of Mankind—and so likewise the unity of the True and the Good, of Thought and Life; still less was it possible that the actual state of society should supply any concrete exemplification of such a finite realization of the Divine. The inevitable result was, that the intellectual *lacuna* gradually came to assume the shape of actual negations; and the personal one-sidedness of its author that of positive denial.

Thus, in a very short time, the self-abnegation involved in giving up a worldly life, was exchanged for a life of selfish or cowardly seclusion, spent by fanatics in yearnings after annihilation, by gentler natures after an enervating quietism. With the first suspension of an aspiration soaring into heights unintelligible save to a few, the religion which overleaped all earthly piety collapsed into a religion of forms, and a Pharisaism equally irrational and immoral. The ceaseless insisting on the doctrine of the Spirit, the progress of spirituality, and the duty of preaching this to our fellow-men which Buddha inculcated, issues at last in the perfect praying machine! The godly work is indeed prosecuted; but it is by means of a wheel furnished with scrolls covered with prayers, to set which in motion is a notable act of piety! In the original simple religious service, prayer in its lowest form, that of supplication for benefits, was indeed wanting; but not in the shape of confession, vows, aspiration after holiness, praise of the Divine. This was from the very outset accompanied by exhortations and instructions, consolations and encouragements, addressed to the congregation, all, of course, in the intelligible mother-tongue. Out of these simple gatherings there grew up a pompous external ceremonial, which excites the frankly expressed astonishment, not to say admiration, of the Romish missionary Hue, and many of his co-religionists. It is the same with the worship of relics. All is said, when we only remember that the representative of the Enlightened One, the living oracle of the Divine, is a Dalai-Lama, who sits enthroned in Thibet, a human Apis!

The tragical consequences are replete with warning. It is true that Buddhism has introduced some civilization of manners among the Mongols; but it has nowhere called into existence a healthy and organically progressive state of society. In Upper India it had gradually, by the introduction of a pretty extensive Indian Pantheon, approximated to a Brahmanism only differing

from the original by having Buddha instead of Brahma for its centre; yet it took a thousand years before the Brahmans succeeded in completely suppressing Buddhism. Among the other Aryan races it has never been able to obtain a footing, and what has been asserted by some recent authors respecting its possible influence on the Syrian and Egyptian Gnostics of the first centuries of Christianity, increasingly evinces itself to be not only baseless but demonstrably impossible, as we become able to trace Buddhism back to its historical roots. We have already adverted to the resemblances and contrasts between the teaching of Buddha and of Christ. The fundamental error of his system, the curse which the desperate condition of his own age threw like a shadow of night across the enlightened divinely-inspired mind of Buddha, is the weakening or rather the complete obliteration of a healthy faith in the actual constitution of things. We mean such a faith as that proclaimed already in Deuteronomy, and afterwards propounded in all its breadth and depth by the Gospel which Christ sealed by his life and death;—that the love of God and of our neighbour is the fulfilling of the law, because God is love. In other words, because the realization of the Good is the end of creation and the law of the Moral Order of the world; and because the intuition of God, that magnetic needle of humanity, which is implanted in every single soul, points to that end, by means of conscience and reason; insomuch that those who in a Christian age deny this, must be accounted, if they know what they say, “insane of conscience,” to use Luther’s expression.

Looking at its general bearing on the world’s history, Buddhism may be regarded as a sort of repose of humanity after its deliverance from the heavy yoke of Brahmanism and the wild orgies of nature-worship. But this repose is that of a weary wanderer, who is withheld from the prosecution of God’s work on this earth, by his utter despair of the triumph of justice and truth in actual

life, especially in the sphere of the State. In the plan of the world's order it seems even now producing the effect of a mild dose of opium on the raving or despairing tribes of weary-hearted Asia. The sleep lasts long, but it is a gentle one, and who knows how near may be the dawn of the resurrection morning?

“The greatest happiness is, not to be born, the next greatest is for those who have been born to die soon.” This was the dogma, which at that epoch resounded over the world from the far East; half as lamentation, half as a divine lesson and the highest wisdom.

This mournful cry was heard in Judæa also in the time of Buddha; but there a divine consolation prevailed over the anguish of the national death-throes. Coeval with the birth of the son of the Hindu king, Jeremiah, the greatest of the Hebrew seers, was preaching in a remote corner of Western Asia, the new kingdom of God, consisting in inward righteousness, though he had the downfall of the national polity before his prophetic eye. By the time Buddha was released from the sorrows of existence, the disciple of Jeremiah, with words issuing from the same inspiration, but taking a still loftier flight, had kindled a new life on the ruins of Jerusalem.

But in Asia Minor, an Aryan stock had already then for some centuries bloomed out into a new life, which, transplanted to Hellas, was now beginning to unfold the fairest blossoms under the fostering shelter of lawful order, just when Buddha was born. Thither does the path of man's consciousness of God in History now lead us, and it becomes our task to inquire whether, and, if so, under what conditions, a progress in man's perceptions of the Divine took place in those regions.

Let us now, in conclusion, survey the Aryan development in Eastern Asia as a whole, and seek to discover the formula of its meaning in history, regarded from our present point of view.

This development, like the Aryan languages, in its incipient stages and distinctive features evidently points to an intuition common to mankind in the earliest epoch of our race. Not only can it be shown that the Aryans have passed through the same stages with the Semites in the progress of religious thought, but we have also found an indubitable coincidence in the symbolical representations of tradition, which cannot be accounted for by the general laws of the Kosmos, or of the nature of Man. With both these races, their religious conceptions start from the origin of our race. In both cases, we have a narrative of the Creation, of which man forms the conclusion and climax; in both, there is a bond of association between the primitive cradle of the race and a life of blessedness in God; in both, a story of the Flood and the escape from it. In both, the transparent speculatively-ethical imagery employed to symbolize demiurgic powers is succeeded by a conception of the Primitive Forces as matters or substances, and as celestial bodies. In the dim background, we discern reminiscences of violent convulsions of nature, anterior to the date when land and water, ocean and river, had found their equilibrium, and the regular course of the seasons ceased to be interrupted by subterranean disturbances and destructive cataclysms.

To this creative or demiurgic period succeeds that in which Man's attention was chiefly fixed on the contemplation of the elements, or the astral or solar bodies. Among the heathen Semites this period is one of pure materialism, in which the moral consciousness of man falls prostrate beneath the sway of bloody superstitions.

Now, among the Jews after the time of Ezra, the religion of the proper Abrahamic Mosaism transforms itself into a dry Theism, which shrinking back in sheer

terror from the Eternal, places God outside the world, and by so doing severs Nature and Man from God by an impassable barrier; therefore makes Man Godless and Nature Mindless. This is equivalent to repelling and shutting out the Aryan. For the belief that God is in the world and the world in God, is the central point of his sober intuitive thought. But already the Aryans of Eastern Asia, as once before in the formation of language, so now in the growth of religious consciousness, had put forth a fresh shoot. In Ancient Iran and in the Indus land, the genius of the Aryans continues to play with the allegorical imagery suggested by the phenomena of Nature, yet evidently retains the perception of its meaning. The oldest hymns are still sufficiently transparent to us to bear witness to this fact. The poet has not yet lost the consciousness that it is Man's mind which has framed these Gods; but he feels too that they are the depository of the treasured sanctities of his heart, that he is living under a divine law and a divine guardianship. Neither the radiant orbs of heaven, nor the sacred aether of its starry vault, nor yet this vault itself, is the Deity, to whom he brings his offerings through the high-priest, Nature. Those bright luminaries are but the reflection of a Divine Power, the apprehension or at least glimmering sense of which lives in the pious heart. But he is pious who acts in obedience to his conscience and to whom the Divinity is not simply an object of terror, but of loving reverence and thankful praise. When the gods are invited to invigorate themselves with the intoxicating soma-juice without which they remain feeble, the whole context shows that it is the consciousness of the poet which is depicted, and of the heroes in whose name as well as in his own, he raises the song of praise to the god. It is only when the afflatus comes on him that the god within him becomes mighty, and the finite dissolves into its own nothingness before the Infinitude which beams out towards him in the refulgent sun and the dazzling

noontide sky, and towards which the flame of the household hearth rises up laden with the measured accents of the Spirit. Zoroaster prohibits this intoxication, while the Aryans of the Vedic hymns account it a sacred rite. But this intoxication is not that of the barbarian, who deprives himself of his senses; it is an excitement that really imparts inspiration; and the Deity loves to be honoured with the measured music of the inspired hymn, making mention of the glorious acts of the gods among men, and of the dangers and deliverances of the forefathers of old.

Similar in character were the lays of the Teutonic Skalds, of whose spirit we have an echo in many of the Edda lays; and so, no doubt, were the songs of the priests of the olden time, whose deeds are extolled by Homer.

The sense of God's presence in the world does not forsake the Indian Aryans even under Brahmanism, nor the Iranian under the degenerate forms of Zoroastrianism. That God manifests himself on earth as the avenger of crime, is the belief displayed in the Epos of the Brahmanic period. Meantime the people have the Brahmins for their spiritual guides, and they in turn have their law and their prophets. The former consists of the Vedic hymns and the sacred observances handed down by tradition; the prophets are the anchorites, and those who leading a life of penance have earned lofty revelations concerning the meaning of the law and the nature of the gods. But a healthy feeling of the Divine purpose and eternal significance of this earthly life is wanting, and the sense of sin is stifled under the mass of outward rites, purifications, and priestly absolutions.

Among the Iranians no new personage of creative, transforming genius arose after Zoroaster. Among the Indians such a person arose first in Buddha. His system in its original shape is no atheistic or materialistic modification of the existing creed, but a real step in advance of that, and an honestly intended religious reform reaching into the deepest recesses of man's religious self-conscious-

ness. Had the son of Gotama been courageous enough to fling away all that he did not find in that sanctuary of the heart, that is to say, to reject the gods in whom he did not believe, and the mythus of the transmigration of human souls into the bodies of animals, which had no essential connection with his fundamental conceptions—in one word, had he simply poured forth his personal religion into the actual life around him, in the faith that the Spirit is truth, and that the Real has its ground in the Eternal, then he would either have passed through this life leaving no apparent track behind him, or he would have regenerated the whole Aryan world. But we should speak foolishly, if we were to condemn him on that account, or to interpret his sayings as those of a madman or an idiot. Who of all the founders of religions has dared that great deed—except Christ? Sākya-muni achieved a great work; he recognized morality to be the main constituent of all religions, more clearly than any other of the leading Aryan thinkers of Asia, and alleviated the sufferings of mankind so far as the limitations of his own mind, and the sad results of centuries of decline, permitted such an amelioration. May his memory be blessed for ever that he did so!

Buddha himself bears witness against the Buddhists and Buddhism. Out of many such testimonies let us give here as our last word on this subject, the best authenticated of all, namely, that hymn of praise or thanksgiving used in all Buddhist communities, which research has at length succeeded in discovering in its earliest and perfectly intelligible form. This we will now present to our readers as the Confession of Faith and parting thanksgiving prayer of the saint when he felt himself to be approaching the end of his days, and as a direct proof that the extinction after which he strove is no other than that of selfish desire, which all wise and holy men have laboured to attain.

Buddha's Confession of Faith.

A countless circle of new births awaited me,
Had I not found him whom I sought, the Master of the building;
Of a truth these endless births are full of sorrow,
But now have I beheld thee, the Master of the building,
Now thou wilt not need to build the house again,
The beams are broken in thy hand, the house's roof hath fallen in;
The spirit that hath entered into nothingness,
Hath wholly quenched in me the thirst of desire.

Brahmanism too at its outset seems to have differed widely from its later phases, but on this field there arises no great historical personage. We have already indicated the circumstances which impeded a healthy development of the Brahmanic theory of God and the universe, when the Aryan emigrants after crossing the Hindukush descended from the country of the Five Rivers into the intoxicating magnificence of the region of the Ganges. However fully we may recognize the poetical beauty, and however highly we may estimate the metaphysical profundity which is displayed first in the Vedic hymns, and afterwards more fully developed in the epic poems and their philosophical episodes, it is nevertheless incontestable,—and the present seems a fitting opportunity to say so,—that though they discover rudiments of a typical, that is to say, a healthy and universal human consciousness, yet these never succeed in developing themselves. All actual realization of them, *i.e.* any unfolding of the collective life, national or human, disappears long before the age of Buddha. History is a blank, which means that actual life, if not a curse, is at best a void; the universe itself a mere delusive “*Mâyâ*.” The incarnation of God in humanity is blasphemed, where this reality of historical development is not acknowledged but denied. Life becomes a mere acted show, bedecked with the flowery garlands of poetry which ill conceal the mouldering decay of reality. The lofty conception of the Deity himself becomes even more degraded by the bondage of the endless superstitious ceremonies, than by the

myriad of deities that crowd the pantheon. All moral energy is paralyzed. “*Kali-yuga*,” the last evil age, is come; what can usher in a better? An improved method of speculation, perchance? Or the demonstration, that the earth neither rests upon an elephant nor a tortoise, but, on the contrary, revolves in space around the sun, and not the sun around the earth? Assuredly neither the one nor the other! Nor yet even a merely historical Christianity! But among our Aryan cousins on the banks of the Ganges, and still more on those of the Indus, the Gospel will create for itself the Apostle of a spiritual, truly scriptural and evangelical Christianity. No doubt any regeneration of the Hindoo religious sentiment must take its source from the conscience, the ethical intellect; but this must be supplemented by two auxiliaries. On the one hand by a sound physical science, and on the other by the directing of that inordinate craving after knowledge which has always distinguished the Asiatic Aryans, upon the facts of universal history. But a no less indispensable condition of Hindoo regeneration is the bold and honest overthrow of all tyranny and brute force; above all, therefore, the removal of the heaviest curse of these regions, the impious and immoral power of the Brahmans, by the conferring of civil rights upon all natives, and by a humane civilization based upon intelligence and freedom of conscience. Meanwhile let us not, amid these anticipations, forget the permanent conquest already achieved by these races.

In the first place, they have placed God really in the universe, and, moreover, as the Conscious Intelligence, which reflects itself again in the well-balanced human intellect, and is not only felt in the conscience, but also recognized by the reason, although restricted within the limits of finite forms of thought.

By so doing they have supplied a truly life-giving force in the general history of the world, that forms a counter-

balance to the overweening tendency of the Jewish conception of God to concentrate itself upon His relations to the individual, and have thus rendered it possible for man to apprehend the specifically unique personal consciousness of God in Jesus of Nazareth, in other words, true Christianity.

Secondly, Though they have not indeed founded a free polity, they have built up piety and freedom on the domestic altar, which is the type, the beginning, and the condition of all political sanctities and liberties.

This sanctity of the domestic relations was the condition that rendered possible the development of society among the Hellenes, Romans, and Teutons. We must now turn to see how the Hellenic mind in Ionia availed itself with youthful energy of this conquest, and applied it to actual realities with true creative power, producing results that are in certain spheres unsurpassable models for all time, the embodiment of what is most inward, not the crystallization of what is most superficial; and then, in later times, how the Italian Romans, and at length the Northern Teutons, commence the task of coining a new world with the impress of their combined intelligence.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A (p. 246).

THE POEMS OF THE SHI-KING.

THE oldest poems which present any point of connection with history, relate to the dynasty of *Shang*, which, according to the Imperial chronology, began to reign 1766 B.C., but according to that of the *Bambus-book*, which is the only really reliable authority, not until the year 1559 B.C. After twenty-eight reigns, lasting fifteen generations, this dynasty was succeeded by that of the house of *Tsheú*, in the year 1050 B.C., or according to the common calculation based on the official annals 1152 B.C. Of the sway of this dynasty, the first eleven reigns last 269 years; therefore up to the year 782 B.C. The date of the first Olympiad, 776 B.C. falls in the sixth year of the twelfth of these monarchs, in which year occurs also the eclipse of the sun, which is recorded with perfect accuracy. Thus, the first year of this king *Yü-Yang*, will be the year 781. Hence the poems written under the sovereignty of this house will reach back from 781 to 1050 B.C. It is only during this period that we can point to assignable authors, and we can scarcely doubt that it was during this epoch that the allusions to the former *Shang* dynasty and reminiscences of events occurring under their rule (therefore from 1559–1051 B.C.), received their poetical investiture. On this point we would refer our readers to *Gaubil, Observations*, ii. p. 1051, and to *Egypt's Place in the World's History*, vol. iii. p. 401. The *Wen-Wang*, in whose honour we find hymns, is the founder of the *Tsheú* dynasty, who overthrew the last worthless king of the *Shangs*. He is, as we shall see, the author of the ethical exposition of the *Symbol-philosophy* of the Chinese. His grandson's hymns are contained in the “*Shi-*

King," book iv. chap. 1, 2. Those belonging to the dynasty Shang in chap. 3. (See Mohl's *Ausgabe der Uebers*, s. 192-212. Cf. his notes to Kap. 3, s. 319.)

The fine old hymn we have cited in the text is one of which Johann Cramer has given a graceful translation in his "*Shi-king, oder Chinesische Lieder, von Confucius gesammelt*," and referred to in his preface as a prophetic presentiment of a future renewal. When we consider that it is a product of the eighth century before our era, if not even of still earlier date, it discovers a surprisingly vivid sense of the utter decay of internal life among this ancient nation of mankind. The tree of Chinese life has long indeed been a hollow trunk, but it is standing even yet. And there are perhaps other Chinese outside the precincts of the Celestial Empire.

NOTE B (p. 255).

THE EIGHT AND THE SIXTY-FOUR SIGNS OF THE I-KING AND THEIR MEANING.

This problem, which tasked the mathematical and philosophical acumen of a Leibnitz, is now no longer a secret; but it deserved a more thorough treatment than it has found, since Julius Mohl, in 1830, rendered accessible to the general public the long concealed posthumous work of the Jesuit, Father Regis. Here I can do no more than present a very slight outline of the results to which my own study of that work has conducted me. From the time of Confucius, the Chinese commentators are unanimous on the point that three periods are contained in that enigmatical Book of the Signs. The Ethical Exposition of the Sixty-four Signs is confessedly the latest of these, and there is no doubt that those Signs must be referred to the decade preceding the elevation of the third dynasty, or House of Tschéu, to the throne, which took place in the year 1050 B.C. This book is a game of dice with ethico-physical antitheses, with the addition of enigmatical allusions to the dreadful condition of political affairs at that epoch, which is well described in Gützlaff's work. This is accompanied by a crude representation of physical antitheses. A few of the arithmetical conjuring feats must be still older. Among these are tables which appear to be intended to re-

present the relations of the quinary system of notation, which was no doubt once in use, to the decimal system. So, too, we find here already the magic quadrangle (*Lo-sha*), or the quadratic combination of the numbers 1 to 9, so arranged that each row, on addition, should yield the number 15. This is the table :

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

It appears to me no accidental circumstance that the corner numbers of the top row (4 and 2) when added respectively to the corresponding numbers of the lowest row (6 and 8) yield 10, like the two inner numbers of the top and bottom rows. Here, too, the reference to the invention of the two-handed system ($2 \times 5 = 10$), and its substitution for the quinary, may be not accidental. This table is assigned to the great Emperor Yü, the great teacher of agriculture, who delivered the country from the inundations caused by the two great rivers. Father Regis,¹ following the official chronology, places the commencement of his reign in the year 2207 B.C., but it ought properly to be assigned to the year 1991.² The execution of his immortal work in securing the bed of the two rivers from periodical overflow is a sufficient proof that this emperor was a good mathematician, and thus we have no reason to doubt the correctness of that tradition. The learned Jesuit himself tries to prove (i. p. 8), that the figures of the celebrated table of the 64 *Kua* (Signs) resulting from the Eight Signs, which are ascribed to so early a date as the time of Fo-hi, represent a progression, and, moreover, a binary one :

$$2 \quad . \quad 4 \quad . \quad 8 \quad . \quad 16 \quad . \quad 32 \quad . \quad 64 \quad .$$

¹ I-king, i. p. 260.

² Egypt's Place in Universal History, vol. iii. p. 381.

The lines, on the contrary, yield the arithmetical series :


1 . 2 . 3 . 4 . 5 . 6 ;


therefore the exponents of the six first powers of two. While, however, we merely give this supposition for what it is worth, as also that of the equally high antiquity of the Eight Signs and of the Sixty-four Signs (in which we can discover nothing but a meaningless expansion of the original four or eight antitheses) we hold firmly to the record, that so early as about the year 1000 B.C., an alteration in this expanded Table of Signs was made by the *Tsheü* dynasty, so that the Table itself must be of older date. It is very conceivable that at this epoch the mere playing with physical antitheses should be superseded by the exhibition of political ideas, by means of an apparently mysterious and yet very innocent sporting with ethical notions.

Thus the Table of the Eight Signs is all that we regard as forming the original work, which is ascribed to the genuinely historical Emperor Pao-hi (Fo-hi). This Emperor must, in any case, be placed before the year 3000 B.C.¹ The Table of the Eight Signs (omitting the Chinese names) presents itself thus as a permutation of the two supreme principles (Yang, A, the male principle, and In, B, the female) as the extreme members of the series.















1. AAA.	Heaven (Æther).	The damp principle.
8. BBB.	Earth.	The dry principle.
2. BAA.	Watery (rain, springs, lakes, &c.)	The light principle.
7. ABB.	Mountain.	The heavy principle.
3. ABA.	Fire,	The hot principle.
6. BAB.	Water.	The cold principle.
4. BBA.	Thunder.	The fixed principle.
5. ABB.	Winds.	The movable principle.

The figurative representation of the two fundamental Signs among the Chinese is as follows :


 Yang: the unbroken Line:
 The Heavens above.


 In : The broken Line :
 The Earth below.

But the Table of the Eight Signs appears like the following :

						
						
Heaven.	Vapour.	Fire.	{ Thunder and Lightning. }	Winds.	Water.	Mountain. Earth.

¹ See "Egypt's Place in Universal History," vol. iii. p. 382.

This is the whole text of the oldest "I-king." Of course, these riddles must have been accompanied by an oral tradition of their physico-philosophical meaning. However, these Eight Signs are not the beginning but the end of a primeval conception; namely, the idea that the universe had sprung, and continued to subsist, from the reciprocal working of Two Supreme Principles. The one is the Perfect, the male principle, or Heaven; the other the Imperfect, a recipient female principle, or the Earth. Next, out of the reciprocal action of these Two Principles, one pair of purely physical antitheses is formed. Now, no philosophy can *begin* with this. The duality in the metaphor of Heaven and Earth is already a derived or secondary idea; the definition has given birth to the image, not the image to the definition. Thus we find the moon really represented as "Ix," the imperfect or receptive principle. In other words, what we discover as the oldest element in the I-king is the most extreme realism.

This realism becomes the source of materialism, inasmuch as the antithesis of two supreme active agencies, once conceived as Thought, comes to be conceived as Matter. Such a starting from a mere numerical metaphor, devoid of any idea or any poetry, presents a faithful image of the outcome of Sinism. The religious consciousness of the Chinese is the metaphysical deposit of a primeval system which was arrested in the first stage of its development, and became fossilized. The essential characteristic of everything Chinese, from the most ancient monuments onwards, is the incapacity to develop any sequence of ideas out of a given intuition or perception. Force is turned into dead matter; the Deity into the firmament; organism into mechanism. Hence in the modern Chinese we find, along with the greatest aptitude in the construction of a machine, an almost total incapacity for understanding anything beyond its visible mechanism. The Chinese imitation of watches is well known; an historical trait which I heard from the lips of Gützlaff is still more characteristic. After the peace of Nankin, Ki-ing, the viceroy, had ordered a steamboat to be constructed by his Chinese engineers exactly on the model of an English one. On the day when the rival boats were to be tested, the two were to start together, but the Chinese vessel could not stir from the spot. One of the chief officials flew into a passion, went up to Gützlaff the interpreter, who was standing among the English authorities, and exclaimed in their

lingua franca,—"Number one the same, but not walkie he;" that is to say, "the principle of the two ships is the same, but ours will not go." Of course, the explanation turned out to be that the Chinese had never studied the dynamic principle of steamships, and consequently in starting had neglected to open the necessary valves, but were at the same time too proud to accept the assistance of the English. What they call a "*principle*" (the first, or one, as *principium* from *primus*) is in their eyes nothing more than dead mechanism. Thus Heaven is to them, since they have become philosophers after the fashion of Confucius, the same that it was to the ministers of Queen Anne, who (on the testimony of an historical document) struck out from the Queen's speech on the opening of Parliament, as "meaning nothing" the words in which the Queen expressed her thanks to "*Heaven*" for the prosperous state of affairs. In this instance, the idea of Providence (*πρόνοια*, *providentia*) bears the same relation to Heaven, as the motive principle of the steam-engine does to its mechanism.

Thus it was already a progress, when the Chinese contemporary of David or Solomon imparted an ethical significance to that game of numerical signs (which, moreover, was not unconnected with the primitive superstition of drawing auguries from the coloured spots of the tortoiseshell when exposed to the fire). No rational conceptions could be based on the alternation of warmth and cold, fluid and solid. The more the fundamental thoughts were spun out by a mathematical multiplication of antitheses to which no reality corresponded, the more meaningless and inane did the process inevitably become. The metaphysical substratum was entirely lost sight of, and the physical speculation was neither based upon a truth of thought, nor yet of fact, and became a mere futile trifling with words.

On the other hand, we must certainly confess, if we wade through the second part of this work, that the ethical philosophy did not profit much more by the modification attempted under the Tsheú princes, than speculative philosophy, or mathematics, or natural science had done from the earlier mode of thought. The ethical considerations are linked into the old games of riddles in the most arbitrary and absurd manner, and issue at length in no wisdom even comparable to that of the old fables of the beasts in the later popular philosophy of Egypt, India, or Persia.

The most important result of the whole grotesque outgrowth seems to be this. The Chinese started from the same original intuition with all the other thinking nations of the ancient world, namely from the interplay of two supreme antitheses, beyond which the most modern philosophy is as unable to advance as was Plato's *Timæus*. But they very soon lost the faculty of discriminating between Phenomena and Mind, Matter and Force. It is the same in their language; the same in their view of the relation of God to the universe and to man. But Thought was nevertheless the starting-point of this development, and this much can even now be demonstrated.

NOTE C (p. 261).

ON LAO-TSE.

If there is any part in the life of Confucius which distinctly marks the position he himself took up in reference to a higher religious consciousness, it is the story of his conference with Lao-tse. This took place shortly after his political downfall, which he had not yet had time to recover, when he resolved to visit the strange sage, who had always held himself somewhat aloof from him. Confucius began, on his side, with laying before the hermit some scholastic or theological questions, more especially in regard to the relics of the dead and the respect due to them. Lao-tse gave him an answer which in effect amounts to the *dictum*: "Let the dead bury their dead." But he evidently seems to have exposed to Confucius the hollowness of his theologico-philosophical efforts and system, and takes this opportunity of expounding his own view of the Absolute. For in this sense do we understand that very remarkable saying of Confucius, which is reported by his disciples, and is much too characteristic and profound to have been invented by them. His words are much to this effect: "The game I bring down with my arrows, the fish I catch with a hook, but I cannot reach the dragon, when he soars up into the air." This speech does the greatest honour to this honest man. He had felt in that hour, that he was standing in presence of a superior mind, which he had no faculties to comprehend, but whose words were full of power, although he no doubt regarded the system of Lao-tse as mere moonshine. He forgot the insulting language and personal disrespect with which he had been treated, (and which we may be

sure would deeply wound the disciples who accompanied him), and faithfully reproduced the impression which he had received of the sage : an involuntary confession that he himself moved in a lower, if also a safer, sphere.

NOTE D (p. 276).

THE GĀTHĀS, OR HYMNS OF ZOROASTER.

Here, as in the case of Buddha, the palm of research belongs to the lost and lamented French scholar, Eugène Burnouf. The indefatigable industry of German and Danish scholars is now employed in gradually sifting the texts of the Zendavesta, and rendering it accessible ; and the labours of Brockhaus, Spiegel, and Westergaard in this field are to be mentioned with all praise. But the earliest and most important of all these hymns, to the understanding of which insuperable obstacles have hitherto opposed themselves, we may now soon hope to see satisfactorily cleared up by the completion of Haug's work upon the Gāthās. For this distinguished scholar has undertaken the task of a critical editing and exposition of the oldest part of the Zendavesta, comprising the so-called Gāthās, or Hymns of Zarathustra, which in many portions discover so strong an impress of personal action and thought, and of the personal experience of a Founder of Religion, that even from this internal evidence alone we could scarcely help recognizing in them the work of Zoroaster himself. The severe, prophetically concise form, and the antique grandeur of the language, point also to the same conclusion. The personal communications I have received from the same distinguished scholar, whom I am proud to call my friend, through literal Latin renderings or oral explanations, have placed me in a position to avail myself for the purposes of this work, of what appeared to me decisive for the appreciation of the man and his doctrine. In my German rendering of these hymns, I have made the ancient metres conform to the classic models to which we are accustomed, while scrupulously maintaining the greatest fidelity.

NOTE E (p. 291).

THE MITRA OF ZOROASTER AND OF THE VEDAS.

The early Vedic hymns are our only sources of information respecting the ancient Bactrian conception of the Sun-God

Mitra, whom we encounter among the later Persians. He is not mentioned in the Gâthâs of Zoroaster. With the Zendic conception of him we have been recently made acquainted through an able essay by the learned and ingenious prelate Windischmann.¹

We may assume it as established that in the Vedas it is the sun in his aspect of kindly beneficence which is invoked under the title of Mitra (the fellow-traveller, friend, or friendly one). In the very numerous instances in which invocations are addressed to him, he scarcely ever appears alone, but usually in association with Varuna, the celestial vault.

It is only in this conjunction with Varuna that Mitra precedes him in the dual title of Mitra-Varuna, when he represents the Day, while Varuna (the starry sky, or properly speaking the whole firmament) represents the Night.² Both are manifestations of Agni, the fiery vital element. In preceding passages Agni has been said to have two mothers, Heaven and Earth :—

The child of two mothers slumbers in the west : then it steps forth without let or hindrance. Such are the deeds of Mitra and Varuna ; great beyond compare is the power of the gods.

In another hymn of the same book, it is said that the noble Sun-steed (Dadhikra) has been bestowed upon men by Mitra and Varuna.³ Lastly, Mitra is called in another hymn of the same book,⁴ the soft-bellied, fiery-tongued.

In the later Zendic writings, we find clear tokens of a further theological expansion. In these, Mitra is the divine light of the celestial luminaries created by Ahura-mazda ; therefore the radiance shed by the sun, the moon, and the stars. He precedes the sun, and lights up the mountain-peaks first. Everywhere visible, he is also all-seeing, all-pervading, therefore omnipresent, omniscient : the symbol and representative of truth and constancy. He is the janitor of the regions of immortality, towards which his own path tends, and hence he is called the Guardian of two worlds.⁵ In this aspect, Mitra is the intermediary between the eternal light and the celestial orbs.

Thus in later times, by a reaction of the old Iranian religion, this Mitra has been brought into connection with Zoroaster's

¹ *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, i. 1. 1857.

² *Rig-Veda*, iii. 55, 7, p. 97. Wilson.

³ 39, 5. Cf. 38, 2. Wilson, iii. 198.

⁴ 25, 10, p. 93.

⁵ xxiii. 93.

system, in such a mode as to subordinate him to Ahura-mazda by making him a genius side by side with the other Yazatas. Thus in the "Mitra-prayers" addressed to him, he himself prays to the supreme God in the following words:—

Ahura-mazda, most holy Spirit, Creator of the embodied living ones, Pure one! If men sacrificed to me with offerings to my name, as they do to the other Yazatas, I would hastily flee away from the fleeting, transitory age; and would ascend to my proper, enduring, immortal, unbounded life.¹

Mitra is called² a priest of Ahura-mazda, because he is ordained of Him; just as in the Vedic hymns, Agni is called the high-priest of the celestial Gods. The special adjectival epithet of Mitra in the primitive hymns is "the Watchful;" there still remains a sense of the original import of his name (the Friendly One), for he is called the Mitra-Lord, where Mitra is used as an adjective.³ The feminine Mitra of Herodotus is no doubt a mere misunderstanding of the Persian word *Mitrâni* (the Friendly One). We have no instance whatever of the appellation of Anahitâ, or the adoration of this feminine divinity prior to the reign of Artaxerxes,⁴ on whose inscription in Susa⁵ her name occurs in association with that of Mitra. Nay, in the writings of Clement of Alexandria we have the express testimony of Berosus, taken from the Third Book of his Chaldaean history,⁶ that this Artaxerxes (the son of Darius Ochus) was the first who set up the statue of Anaitis in all the chief cities of his empire, and enjoined on the Persians the worship of the "Aphrodite Anaitis." That Herodotus was still living at the date of this king (therefore after 404 B.C.) is proved not only by his mention of Amyrtaeus, but also of his son Pausiris, whose vicerealty cannot fall before 400 B.C.), as I have shown in my researches upon Egypt and the Synchronistic Tables there given. Hence in this statement we have an additional proof that Herodotus worked on at his History up to the latest years of his life. But it is equally certain that there was no question of the worship of a feminine Mitra divinity among the Persians prior to Artaxerxes. Even the worship of a personal Mitra dates from no ancient times, and assuredly not from those of Zoroaster. It

¹ xix. 74.

² xxiii. 89.

³ xxxv. 145.

⁴ ii. 404-359.

⁵ Norris in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," xv. 159.

⁶ See "Egypt's Place in Universal History," &c. vol. v. p. 150.

was not until the century preceding the Christian era that it was transplanted into the West.

NOTE F (p. 298).

SUNAHŚÉPA AND THE SUPPOSED HUMAN SACRIFICES.

This legend was first made generally known by A.W. Schlegel's translation of it in the "Ramáyana," i. 61. Since then (in 1850) Roth has devoted a searching investigation to it in two essays (printed in Weber's "Indischen Studien," i. 2, § 457, &c. and ii. 1, § 112, &c.), which are based on the much older source of the "Aitareya-Brahmana." Roth comes to the same results as Wilson has done in the first volume of his translation of the Rig-Veda, which appeared about the same time; namely, that the story of the legends is foreign to the Veda.¹ The question may, however, occur, whether the Rig-Veda assumes the story to be known already. There is no mention of it in that hymn of the first-book; still less is this event the subject of that hymn. On the contrary, there is nothing beyond an allusion to it. Now certainly there may have also existed a tradition of this very ancient incident; but in those accounts which we possess of it the single details are limited to imagined omissions of the Veda hymn. They cannot have sprung from any other ancient source, but must be regarded as creations of fancy intended to supply the loss of history. I would remark further, that on this point it is only the first Sukta of which there can be any question, for in that alone does the name of Sunahśépa occur; in the remaining six of this division, there is no mention either of his name, or of that incident. Again, the only passages referring to it are the two following verses (the 12th and 13th, according to Roth and Wilson):—

12. This do they say unto me by day and night,
 This does the voice of my own heart declare unto me;
 He, whom Sunahśépa called when he was bound,
 The king Varuna shall set us free.
13. When Sunahśépa was seized and bound
 To the three stakes, he called on Aditya,
 That Varuna the king might release him,
 That he the wise, the mighty one, might loose his bonds.

¹ Anuváka, vi. p. 59. Note to Suktas i. and ii. 78; note to the end of Sukta vii.

The other passage instanced by Roth runs thus:—

Thou hast loosed from a thousand pillars
 Him who called upon thee in his bonds, Sunahsépa :
 So likewise loose our bonds also, O Agni !
 Coming hither to our side, O thou all-seeing priest !¹

Here Agni himself (Fire) is the deliverer, and the pillars or stakes to which Sunahsépa is bound are innumerable. Thus we see that the Vedas treat the story as an ancient obscure legend with poetic freedom. No doubt some story of a sacrifice lies at its foundation ; but how and where offered is quite another question. Still less are we justified in drawing any parallel between the original ancient legend and the myth of Phrixos, or the sacrifice of Iphigenia, or even that of Isaac. One point only may be considered as fixed, namely, that the legend has not sprung up in the country of the Indus, but in Central Asia, and, moreover, in Bactria, since the name is of Bactrian origin.

NOTE G (p. 313).

THE LAW OF INHERITANCE AND THE OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD.

It was in my essay, "De Jure hæreditario Atheniensium," printed at Göttingen in 1813, that I first suggested the idea thrown out in the text, and worked it out so far as the limits of an academical prize essay and the measure of youthful attainments permitted. Gans appropriated these ideas in his learned and ingenious work on the law of inheritance, but disputed my opinion that the six inheriting degrees of affinity and companionship in sacrifice were to be traced back to three generations, upward and downward. Klenze has supplied a sufficient answer to his arguments on this point. I still hold to the limitation I have just indicated, and to the opinion that it forms the primitive ground, common to all Aryan tribes, both of the law enjoining the duty of offering libations to the dead and of the right to inherit *in the stead of a son*. The son makes offerings to his father, and with him to his father's father and grandfather on the paternal side. Three generations compose the original unit of a family ; hence the descendants, both in the direct and in the collateral

¹ v. 1, 2, 7,

line, inherit only to the third remove. Hence also on failure of heirs in the direct line, it is only the son of the father of the testator (the brother of the deceased), his son or daughter (therefore the son of a brother or sister, ἀνεψιός), and in the last resort, the son of a brother's son (ἀνεψιοῦ παῖς) who are heirs. But, on failure of these, the heritage returns to the line of the grandfather, down to the third degree, therefore to the uncle's son (ἀνεψιάδης) and his son (ἀνεψιάδου παῖς). A whole oration of Isæus and the victorious speech of Demosthenes against Demaratus turn upon this point. Hence also the concurrent definitions of parents in the Code of Solon and that of the Twelve Tables.

“Parents are father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, and their father and mother.”

The fundamental idea is certainly not metaphysical, but derived from the relations of actual life; in which, as a rule, we find three generations living at once; and their conjunction forms the unit of the family.

NOTE H (p. 320).

THE NOTICES OF BRAHMA AND VISHNU IN THE VEDIC HYMNS.

The word Brahma occurs in a hymn of the Rig-Veda,¹ as a name of Indra.

“With hymns will I call on Indra, our friend, who is *Brahma*. Prayer shall call him to us, him who is worthy to be adored, that we may milk him as a cow.”

In several hymns of the Veda there also occur invocations to *Vishnu* as an epithet of Indra (the *advancing* or *Gradivus*). Hence it is under the character of Indra that, when creating the world, the three steps are ascribed to him, with which he strides through the three worlds—of heaven, of air, and of earth.²

But the hymn referred to in the text³ is a very late effusion of the Brahmanical mysticism, then in process of formation—a pantheistic enigmatical poem. This longest of all the hymns consists of two parts; it had originally forty-one strophes, but afterwards the strophes 42–52 were added in a different metre. Now already in that earlier portion, “the imperishable

¹ iv. 22, 7. Wilson, iii. p. 462. ² i. 6, 16, 17. Wilson, i. p. 53.

³ ii. 164. Wilson, ii. 125–144.

Veda" is mentioned in strophe 39, as a then existing sacred book. In the second part, there is a reference to the goddess Sarasvati, who is no other than the sacred, classical river of the Brahmans in the Ganges-land. Hence we see that the ancient India of the Seven or Five Rivers of the Indus-land has been already quitted. This proves that the hymn in question is decidedly of recent date and pantheistic tendency. Thus in strophe 32, after speaking of the sun in the preceding strophe, as the protectress of the universe; the poet proceeds as follows:—"The workmaster (the framer of the universe) knows it not; he who has beheld it comprehends it not; imprisoned as yet in his mother's womb, he has already undergone many births, and has entered on an evil course (that of gradually evolving existence)." The final answer to all inquiries after the solution of the terms of the enigma, accorded in the first portion of the hymn, is as follows:—

35. This altar is the extreme end of the earth,
 This sacrifice the navel of the world;
 This Soma-draught, the fertilizing power of the rain-bestowing
 steeds:
 This Brahma (this sacrificial grass) the highest heaven of speech
 (Veda).
36. The Seven, the Germ, fertilizing the world for a half year,
 [*i.e.* the sun's rays, the rain, the fertilizing power]
 Rest, as they are ordained beforehand, in the manifold workings of
 Vishnu:
 With their searching glance they penetrate all things around,
 For they are of piercing vision, and spread themselves far and wide.
37. I am not able to descry whether I am all this:
 Confused and with fast-bound senses I wander around,
 But when the First-born of thought shall reach me,
 Then shall a part of the word be disclosed to me.¹

But even here, too, *Brahma* is a neuter word, a thing, an external object, the sacrificial grass. *Vishnu* is the metaphysical unity of creative primeval forces, which is adored in Indra.

The more we have before us of the text of the Rîg-Veda, the stronger becomes our persuasion that we have to distinguish within it many successive strata separated from each other by

¹ Strophes, 35, 36, 37.

long intervals of time. A criticism of its contents is only now for the first time beginning; but it is so at length upon a firm and secure basis.

NOTE I (p. 333).

THE ETHICO-METAPHYSICAL DOGMAS OF THE SANKHYA-KARIKA,
OR A SUMMARY OF THE DOCTRINE OF KAPILA, THE
ASCETIC, CONCERNING THE ORIGIN, THE PRESERVATION,
AND THE DESTRUCTION OF BEINGS.

§ 1, 2. The suffering of existence is threefold (it springs either from ourselves, or from the external world, or destiny. (Cf. § 51.) Neither that which is visible (apprehension, § 5), nor yet tradition (the observances and actions prescribed by the sacred books), may avail to remove this threefold pain of existence. For even tradition is burdened with impurity (that is impure which is not permeated by thought), with transitoriness (every object sought for that is external to the mind), and with excess (of external rites and the like). The truly saving knowledge is the threefold knowledge of the Developed, the Undeveloped, and the Apprehending Mind. The Developed is the existing Phenomenal World; the Undeveloped is the Primal Nature—the root of the *Prakriti*, the infinite primal energy of the things as such; the Apprehending Mind is the Spirit, *Purusha*, the pure intelligence which finds its representative in man (Purusha).

§ 3. The Primal Nature (*Mula-Prakriti*) is itself ungenerated, but it generates the psychical energies: these are (perceptive) reason, impulsive (or natural) will, and fancy, or the power of conception. The Mind (living in the individual beings) does not generate (the things), and is itself not generated (not a product of the Primal Nature).

§ 4-7. The true knowledge alone has the power to prove. Proof is sought after in three degrees (it is wished for, not obtained): first, by means of the visible objects; secondly, by means of what is derived from those (empirical knowledge; experience derived from sensible perception); and lastly (the highest grade of imperfect proof), by means of revelation (tradition, or its historical presentation in the sacred books and observances). All that is connected with sensible perception and external objects, has but an imperfect power of proof.

§ 8. The *Mula-Prakriti* (Primal Nature) is perceived only by means of its effects. All phenomena, beginning with reason as exerted upon the objects perceived by the senses, are the effects of this *Mula-Prakriti*, but not itself.

§ 9. The percipient Reason and all other natural phenomena are necessarily the effect of some substance or being (*Sat*), which is their cause. The effect has its being or substance in the cause. Non-being (*Asat*) has no efficient power. A single phenomenon (such as the air, the wind) cannot be the cause of the origin of things. The *Possible* can only be rendered *actual* by an adequate efficiency.

§ 10–16. The Phenomenal is *developed* or unfolded *Nature*; its root is *non-developed Nature*. Developed and Undeveloped Nature have some points in common, in others they are direct contraries of each other. Developed Nature is caused—not eternal, not all-pervading. It is busy, manifold, derivative, bounded, composite, dependent (conditioned). The Undeveloped is the contrary of all these (§ 10). But both have in common with each other that they possess a triplicity of qualities (*Gunās*) (§ 18), and further that they are not discriminative (therefore that they are unconscious); that they are objective (to the mind), that they are common (to all individual minds), not living, productive (that is, they do not generate and bring forth). Mind or spirit forms a contrast to both, inasmuch as it alone is life and has life; but it forms a special contrast to Undeveloped Nature, inasmuch as, in point of number, it is a plurality (like Developed Nature, § 18). Every mind (*Mana*) has its own idiosyncrasy, but all have a common nature. Mind does not spring from Undeveloped Nature, but it borrows therefrom (from the undivided) that which constitutes its apparent or phenomenal personality: and it does so for the purpose of beholding, enjoying, and coming to understand Nature (the Finite).

§ 17. Mind alone is. The multifarious collective objects all subserve somewhat else as their end (therefore are not their own end). Consequently the Fount, the Cause of Being, cannot lie in the apparent phenomena.

§ 18. The multiplicity (of minds) is proved by the fact that their birth, death, and organs are diverse in the individual existences; that these existences are not all in action at the same time, and that lastly they discover the triple antithesis of qualities; this is denoted by the terms *Sattvam*, *Radshas* (§ 13), and *Tamas*

(cf. § 54). *Sattvam* is the existent (*οὐσία*); hence in physics the buoyant or imponderable, the light-giving principle. *Radshas* is the impulsive or energetic principle (*θυμός*), literally, the gyrating; hence the atmosphere is called *Radshas*. Lastly, we have *Tamas*, the dark (*τὸ ἄλογον*), hence in physics, the principle of weight, in ethics, that of repression or fixity.

§ 19, 20. From this antithesis it further follows that the mind inhabits this state of existence simply as a passive spectator, and is ever striving after a self-sufficing existence. The visible development is simply the play of the qualities of Nature. The subtle germ of the body which Mind takes up (*Lingam*), and which is in itself devoid of life, becomes by its union with Mind, in some sort living, as a phenomenon (*Prakriti*). In like manner, also, the non-participant mind becomes in some sort an agent, in virtue of the efficiency of the qualities.

§ 21. The union of the two, on the one hand that of the Mind with vision (in order to the apprehension of the non-being of Nature), and with a return to a self-sufficing state of being, and secondly that of Nature with Mind, is the compact of the lame with the blind. Nevertheless from their union springs the creation.

§ 22-42. From Nature proceeds in the first place grandeur. This is *Buddhi* (Reason, Apprehension), which directs itself on either side in two contrary directions: on the one hand towards justice, knowledge, passionlessness, and lordship (here we have the four virtues of the Greek philosophy); the *Sattvam*, the existing (§ 23); on the other, towards the antithesis of all these, the *Tamas* (§ 18). From the *Buddhi* proceeds the *Ahankāra*; this is pride; literally the Me, the self-will. This latter, again, has a twofold direction, according as it is of a brighter or obscurer sort; and from this again are derived further antithetical developments. The third in this series is *Manas*, the faculty of imagination, which the senses reconcile with the *Buddhi* or Reason by means of conception (*Sankalpa*, the gathering up into one of sensible perceptions). To these are added the ten senses, *i.e.* the five faculties of sensation (our five senses), and the five faculties of action (speech, grasping, walking, excreting, engendering). These thirteen compose the Organon; the former three, the inward, these ten the outward Organon (§ 28-34); Reason (*Buddhi*) is the harmonizing element of all, making them subserve the *Purusha* (§ 35-37). The primal body (*Lingam*)

—the subtle corporeal essence that is antecedent to the body actually engendered—subserves the objects of the *Purusha*, in accordance with the laws of the *Prakriti* (§ 38–42).

§ 43. The states appertaining to Nature are necessarily those appertaining to development, such as justice and the like. These are perceived as existing in the totality of the organic forces, just as the physical states (such as, for example, conception, and the condition of the embryo), are perceived as existing in that which is brought about by the organic forces.

§ 44. Through *Justice*, life ascends upwards; through injustice it sinks downwards. By means of *knowledge*, deliverance (release) is effected; by its contrary, men are brought into bondage.

§ 45. By *freedom from passion*, comes the cessation of nature (the cessation of the preponderance of the *Prakriti* and its developments); *the impulse of passion* (the *θυμός* of Plato) is what gives rise to all the movements of the world. In like manner, from *lordship* (the mastery over the excitements of the passions), comes the state of being unchecked (*freedom*), from its opposite, the reverse.

§ 46–50. The spiritual creation consists, in the first instance, in three things; in the *resistance*, in the *weakness*, and in the *satisfaction* (of the sensual desires), but afterwards in the *perfection* which progressively supersedes those three things. Those former are all multiform; thus the resistance (to the external world) is divided into five modes: thus again *darkness* is said to be eightfold; so is *folly*; the *grand folly* tenfold; the *darkening of the mind* is eighteenfold; its *profound obscuration* the same. The *weaknesses* are the defects of the senses and of the *Buddhi*; the *satisfaction* is ninefold.

§ The eight PERFECTIONS are:

1. Conduct in accordance with Reason.
2. Revelation.
3. Investigation.
- 4, 5, 6. The three defences against pain (against the threefold sorrow of existence).
7. The acquisition of a friend.
8. Generosity (almsgiving).

The former triad, *resistance*, *weakness*, and *darkness* are the three kinds of *impediment* to perfection.

§ 52-54. The germ, or primitive body, cannot but exist under certain states or circumstances; but these circumstances cannot arise unless the primitive body be there. Hence there is a double creation, a creation having reference to the primitive body, and a creation corresponding to these various conditions. Creation is, as to its elements, of three kinds: the divine, the animal, the human. On its highest grade, the *Sattva* predominates (§ 18); on its lowest, the *Tamas*; in its middle grades, the *Rādsha*, beginning with Brahma, and ending with fixity (inorganic matter?). The animal creation is fivefold, from the four-footed beasts down to plants and inorganic bodies. The human creation is single. The divine is eight-fold, viz. :—

1. Brahma (Pradshavati).
2. The Devas: Indra and the other gods of the Brahmanic Pantheon.
3. The Pitris: the Fathers of the Stars.
4. The Ghandarvas: (Jakshas) the voiceful spirits in the atmosphere, who sing the praises of Brahma.
5. The Apsarasas: the spirits of air.
6. The Genii of Kuvera: the gods of love.
7. The Rakshas: evil spirits.
8. The Pisatshas: ditto.

§ 55. Pain is for the *Purusha* inseparable from existence, up to the extinction of the body-germ or *Lingam*.

§ 56-61. Nature produces the various conditions of life without knowing that she does so, apparently for their own sake, but really for the sake of another, namely, that by their means the individual spirit may attain to freedom. She renders manifold services to the *Purusha*, which is not her servant. She quits the *Purusha*, so soon as the mind has beheld her (recognized her nullity).

§ 62-63. Mind in itself is neither made free nor reduced to bondage; nor does it have any participation in the movements taking place in the world. It is Nature attaching herself to the Manifold, which participates in the movements and changes of the world, and is fettered or freed. She brings herself into bondage for her own sake in seven modes; she frees herself by one mode for the sake of the Spirit.

§ 64. True knowledge springs from diving into the nature of the Essential. Such a knowledge is entire, contains no self-contradiction, and has for its object the unconditioned. It may

be expressed in this formula: *no Being, no Mine, no Me* (no somewhat, no attribute, no self-hood):—

<i>Na asmi,</i>	<i>na me,</i>	<i>na aham,</i>
(not <i>am</i> I,	not <i>is</i> mine,	not <i>I am</i> .)

§ 65. By virtue of this knowledge, the Mind gazes on the unfoldings of Nature, as a calm spectator, and beholds how she ceases to bring forth, and how, in subservience to Mind, she retreats out of the seven aforementioned forms under which she is bound.

§ 66. The satisfaction of the Mind is expressed in the words,

“ She has been seen of me.”

The satisfaction of Nature in the words,

“ I have been seen.”

In this condition of satisfaction, the connection of the two continues to subsist, but there no longer remains any end to be subserved by creation, that is to say, by the progressive unfolding on the part of Nature; and consequently there no longer exists any necessity for re-birth.

§ 67. After the Mind has, through the acquisition of true knowledge, recognized that the various conditions under which the individual being exists are not their own end (not even that of righteousness or good works in itself); its further connection with the body continues merely in the same way that the wheel, once set in motion, continues to revolve by virtue of the impetus given.

§ 68. But it is not until the Mind has obtained its severance from the body, and Nature has fulfilled her appointed purpose, that it attains to complete and infinite self-existence.

The conclusion of this Tractate informs us that this compendium has been composed in Sanscrit verses by Iswara-Krishna, the Venerable, free from mythical addition and from the doctrines of other schools; the whole being in accordance with the doctrine of the great sage (Kapila), and faithful to the genuine tradition. This conclusion runs literally as follows:—

In behoof of the Purusha, this secret wisdom was set forth by the great Sage, in which the origin, subsistence, and termination of

Essences are explained. This preparatory means of purification was by the MUNI (Penitent, viz. Kapila) bestowed in mercy on *Asuri*, and by *Asuri* on *Pantshasikha*, and by this latter the doctrine was disseminated. Handed down by the traditions of a succession of schools, it has been briefly set forth in Sanscrit verses by *Iswara-Krishna*, the venerable-minded, after he had come to apprehend the doctrine aright. The subjects which are treated of in the seventy (68) verses are the same that constitute the whole doctrine of the sixty (the Purusha, the Prakriti, the Buddhi, the three Gunas, the Alankara, Sense, the Ethereal Element, the coarser element, and the fifty states) divested of myths, and free from the opinions of other schools.

NOTE K (p. 357).

THE SUTRA OF THE FORTY-TWO SAYINGS OF BUDDHA.

[Extracted from Schiefner's Translation of it in the "Mémoires de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg," tom. ix. 1855, p. 67 seq.]

2. *Shramana* (Penitent) is he called, who, after he has abandoned his relatives, quitted his home, sojourned long as a disciple, has come to apprehend the nature of mind, and to understand the law of the non-complex.

5. There are ten modes in which men may practise virtue or contrariwise vice. Of these ten vices, three have reference to the body, four to speech, three to the mind. The three vices of the body are: murder, theft, and unchastity. Those of speech are: lying, talking nonsense, harsh words, false witness; of the mind: avarice, malice, stupid unbelief in the three precious truths, together with the cherishing of false opinions.

6. When men have done many wrong things without feeling repentance, the fruit of the evil that they have gradually heaped together in themselves will come to ripeness; just as rivers which are about to discharge themselves into the mighty ocean, and are already deep, spread themselves out wide so that they can with difficulty be crossed. In men who perceive when they have done wrong, and then reform, the laws of virtue gather strength, and evil subsides more and more, so that they are able to come to the way of perfectness.

8. When wicked men would fain do injury to good ones, it is as though they cast forth their spittle against Heaven. Heaven cannot be defiled by their spittle, but only themselves. In like manner, when one tries to throw ashes upon another against the wind, and the dust cannot reach the other, but falls back on him who throws it; so is he who shows no honour to the good himself degraded by the fact that he wished to injure a good man.

11. In the world there are twenty things which are difficult, viz. it is difficult to confer a gift when one is poor: difficult to learn the way (the true religion of Buddha) when one is rich: difficult to renounce life through the power of the Spirit; difficult to desery the law of the excellent doctrine; difficult to be born again in the region where true Buddhas come into being; difficult to have no desire when one has looked on something pleasant; difficult it is for the powerful not to make use of his power; difficult not to be angry with those who revile us; difficult to set about a work when one has no clear idea of it; difficult to arrive at perfection, even when one has learned much about it; difficult not to despise those who have learnt nothing; difficult to conquer self-seeking pride; difficult to meet with a friend of virtue; difficult to learn the way, when one knows the self-will of one's own heart; difficult to sustain a collision unmoved; difficult to put in practice the means conformable to wisdom; difficult to act in consonance with nature; difficult to attain to equanimity; difficult not to speak of that which has to be done and to be avoided.

13. What is the highest virtue? To keep one's feet in the way is the highest virtue. What is the chief greatness? To act in accordance with the laws of wisdom is the chief greatness. Who is the chief of the powerful? He who, while he himself is full of toleration, commits no sinful act, men will assuredly honour. Who is preeminently enlightened? He who is without spot and pure, has no unrighteous courses, is wholly clean, and who knows in every age, from the beginning of the world until now, all that is to be found in all the ten regions, though it be unknown, invisible, quite unnoticed and unheard, without desiring the least thing for himself, such a one is to be called enlightened.

14. A being whose soul is affected by passion, cannot perceive the way for his blinded eyes. If you throw five different colours into turbid waters, and then stir them up together, the persons who look therein will be unable to discern the reflection of their bodies. Just so, those whose souls are agitated and obscured by passion, are unable to discern the *Way*. Those, on the contrary, who, full of faith, confess the whole string of their faults, improve their ways, and show kindness to the friends of virtue, will discern the *Way*, just as a reflection becomes visible in water, so soon as it is cleared from impurities. . . . When the spots of the soul are wholly cleansed away, apprehension discovers whence she has come, and how she has arisen, and toward what fields of Buddha she will travel after death, and at the same time she comes to perceive the virtues of the *Way*.

17. When we gaze on the sky and the earth, we ought to reflect that they are not eternal. When we behold hills and valleys, we ought to remember that they are not eternal. When we see the form and figure of objects increase and expand, we ought to reflect that they are not eternal. If we think thus, we shall soon reach the *Way*.

19. Although we attribute being to the elementary components of the body, yet have they nevertheless no real subsistence. For since their being ceases after a short time, and does not endure for ever, they are like illusory semblances.

20. It is with those beings who, impelled by passion, strive after glory, even as it is with the vapour of a smoker. When the vapour of the tobacco is perceived and has diffused itself abroad, it cannot continue to subsist after the tobacco is consumed. So will those foolish persons who strive after the vain glory of the world, and do not labour to win the true glory, when they have obtained that which they seek for, be poor and a prey to regrets.

21. Beauty and wealth are like honey on the edge of a knife. When little boys taste them, they wound their tongue and feel pain.

22. Greater is the danger of him who is bound by children, and wife, and riches, and family, than the danger of him who is in prison, bound by fetters and chains. For while a man may by a happy accident be delivered from the dangers of his prison, those who cling to wife and child and the like are like one who is in the tiger's jaws, and cannot be released therefrom, when he has once got there by his own imprudence.

24. He who yields himself to passion is like a fool who takes a candle and walks against the wind. Unless he throw the candle away he will assuredly suffer smart by his hand being burnt. He who suffers himself to be carried away by lust, by anger, or by illusion, is, forasmuch as he has not been beforehand enlightened by the *Way*, like unto those fools who, refusing to throw away their candle, burn their hands and suffer severe pain.

26. As a tree that has fallen into a river, if when swept away by the current it do not touch either shore, if it be not caught up by men, or stopped in its course by gods, or evil spirits, if moreover it do not lie in a stagnant pool, and do not decay, may actually come to reach the ocean; even so I tell you, that men who, if they learn the *Way*, are not befooled by passion, nor seized by perverseness, who do not become unstable, but strive with earnestness, of a truth may attain the *Way*.

27. O Shramana! trust not in your own hearts. We must in no wise trust to our own hearts. Exercise watchfulness; do not be ensnared by beauty, else it will bring you sorrow. . . . You must regard an old woman as a mother, those only a little older than yourself as elder sisters, those younger, as younger sisters.

28. As one must run away with all speed if flame be kindled among dry grass, so must men who would learn the *Way*, cast far away from them all objects calculated to excite passion.

31. If a man surrender himself to passion, it brings pain, and pain brings fear. If passion remain far from him, no pain springs up; and if no pain, no fear.

34. As iron when it has been smelted and purified, gradually

wrought and refined by hammering, may be converted into all sorts of vessels, so also will those who are learning the *Way*, if their mind is gradually freed from all impurity and if they sedulously exert themselves, no doubt attain to perfect insight. In the contrary case, they earn to themselves vexation; from vexation springs tribulation, and under sharp tribulation they turn back from the *Way*; thus do they heap sinful actions one upon another.

35. Both the men who walk in the *Way*, and those who do not do so, alike experience sorrow. It is indeed hard to measure how much suffering a being has to undergo from birth to old age, and then in old age from sickness till his death. But if the mind be bewildered through trouble, and have heaped sinful acts upon itself, then the sufferings that will befall him on account of all that he has done from his birth to his death, cannot be put into words.

43. O Shramanas! as a laden ox that has fallen into a slough, in spite of all weariness struggles out to one or the other side without ever thinking of rest, so must a right-minded man labour for nothing but the *Way*—seeing that the danger arising from the slough of passion is much more urgent—and avert from himself the pain of the cycle [thus the “cycle” must be in this life].

NOTE L (p. 357).

THE SO-CALLED HALLELUJAH HYMN OF BUDDHA, AND THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA.

a. Buddha's last Words.

[Taken from Hardy, ii. 180.]

This short, but ever memorable speech, has been very variously translated, according to the different texts from which it has been rendered. The only version which is to be regarded as authentic, is the citation of it in the *Dhammapadam*,¹ in which it was originally inserted as a marginal explanation. It was only through a misconception that it was afterwards interpolated into the body of the text, where it breaks the sense absurdly. For further details we refer our readers to Fausböll, s. 319, &c., in which the explanation of the ancient commentators is first given, and then the different translations of Turnour, Gogerley, and Hardy, together with the exposition which Fausböll gives us in his last work, and which we have followed.

¹ Hymn xii. v. 153, 154.

b. Asoka's Rescript and his Inscriptions.

*The Rescript of Asoka, or Pijadasi, to the Council of the
Thousand, in the Year 246 B.C.*

[Extracted from Burnouf's "Le Lotus de la bonne Loi," p. 725, cf. p. 862 seq.]

Burnouf has proved in opposition to Wilson, by irrefutable arguments, relying more especially upon the express testimony of the Chronicle of Ceylon,¹ that the name Pijadasi (the loving-minded) is only an honourable epithet of the celebrated king Asoka, the Asoka mentioned in the Law. He is called the grandson of Tshandragypta (the Sandrocottus of the Greeks), and the son of Bindasara. The language itself is exactly the Maghaadi of the columnar inscriptions of Asoka. Upon this point, the reader may compare Lassen, ii. 488, fg. with Weber, "*Akademische Vorlesungen*," 256, fg. and his "*Neueste Forschungen auf dem Gebiete des Buddhismus*," s. 59, fg.

Respecting the date of this monarch, the annals of Buddha's own life, and the whole Buddhistic chronology, we refer our readers to what we have said on this subject in the fifth book of "Egypt's Place in the World's History," vol. iii. p. 532, 538-544. Koeppen is mistaken in calling Buddha a contemporary of Darius and Xerxes (therefore about 480 B.C.). According to the Mahavansa, the sacred book of Ceylon, this council was convened in Pataliputra (Palimbothra) for the healing of schisms, and took place in the seventeenth year of the reign of Asoka. The Rescript runs thus:—

The king Pijadasi to the Assembly of Maghada, greetings and best wishes that they may have little sorrow and a pleasant existence!

It is well known, honourable sirs, to what length I go in reverence and faith towards Buddha, the Law, and this Assembly. All that has been said, honourable sirs, by Buddha of blessed memory, all this, and this alone has been well said. But it is further needful to show what are the guarantees (for that which has been said by Buddha). By this means the good Law will be made more permanent. This it is which appears to me most urgent. Meanwhile, honourable sirs, these are the matters (sacred documents) which are included in the Law.

The limits assigned by the *Vinaya* (discipline).

The Supernatural Powers of the *Arja* (of the venerable, or saints).

The Perils of the Future.

¹ Burnouf, p. 648-781, Appendix. Cf. Koeppen, s. 174, fg.

The Hymns (Gâthâs) of the Hermit.

The Sûta (Sûtra, or Collection of Aphorisms) of the Hermit.

The Metaphysics of Upatissa (Shariputtra) and they alone.

The Injunctions of Laghula (Ragula), with the rejection of the false doctrine (contained therein).

This is (these books contain) what Buddha of blessed memory has said.

Now I wish, and that is the highest glory to which I aspire, that pious men and pious women, as also the believers of both sexes, may continually give ear to and meditate upon these matters, which are comprised in the Law.

This is the reason why I cause this epistle to be written to you; such is my will and my proclamation.

Thus it seems that even at that date the sacred books of the Buddhists were divided into the disciplinary precepts (*Vinaya*), and into collections of aphorisms. The prose aphorisms were contained in a single Sûtra, forming one collection; but besides these, we find mention of "hymns" (Gâthâs), in a larger number. Now the Dhammapadam is such a collection of aphorisms in the form of hymns. Even now we find many single metrical strophes interwoven into the Buddhist Sûtras. The harmony between the two representations, that of the prose narrative and of the hymns, may be best seen by comparing the "Sûtra of the Forty-two Sayings" with the Dhammapadam.

With the "Supernatural Powers of the Arja" we are not indeed acquainted as a book; it is, however, not only mentioned by Asoka, who avers that he believes in it, but we often find it alluded to as a work that has proceeded from the virtue of the profoundest meditation, and as revealing itself by magical effects.¹

As for the "Perils of the Future" we possess indeed no particular book on this subject, but pictures of the peril of souls are often held up. Thus the Cinghalese Mahavansa begins with a delineation of the future fate of mankind, and of the punishments which sinners may expect.

A very remarkable circumstance is the citation of a metaphysical treatise regarded to some extent as canonical, and mentioned here as a trustworthy bulwark to faith. Burnouf has made out that its author, Upatissa, also called Shariputtra, counts among the Buddhists for a very learned metaphysical writer.

¹ See, for instance, Burnouf's "Le Lotus," &c. p. 818 seq.

The last-mentioned work in the Rescript is evidently also of a metaphysical character, but is here mentioned as one to be only used with caution, since it contains false doctrines; a dogmatic work of the Indian Constantine in behalf of the Assembly! According to the analogy of the Pali dialect, its author, "Laghula," can scarcely be any other than Ragula, the son of Buddha; and to this personage, heretical writings are in fact ascribed. From all this, we discover how much the earliest authentic documents have been overgrown by the luxuriant crop of the later Buddhistic literature, amounting to many hundred volumes; probably because, in the eyes of later generations, these original works appeared too homely and commonplace for the symbolical fictions and legends founded thereon, and continually being screwed up to a higher pitch, no less than for the illimitable vagaries of pantheistic speculation. These circumstances cannot but render the importance of the Dhammapadam still more evident.

c. Extract from the Fourth Decretal of Girnar; Twelve Years after Asoka's Consecration (Seventeenth of his Reign).

[See Burnouf's "Lotus," p. 730.]

In the ages that are past, for many centuries, men have beheld nothing prosper but the murder of living beings and the ill-usage of animals, the absence of reverence towards parents and towards Banhanas (Brahmans) and Samanas. But to-day there resounds the beating of drums, for the voice of the Law is heard, processions of carriages, elephants, and fireworks are exhibited to the people. . . . The abstaining from the murder of living beings, or the ill-usage of animals, reverence for parents, obedience to father and mother, and to the elders (*Theras*), these and many other practices in conformity with the Law have increased. Pijadasi

d. Extract from the Eleventh Decretal of Girnar.

[Burnouf's "Lotus," p. 736.]

After similar praises of the Law to those contained in the former ordinance, the king proceeds:—

Benevolence towards slaves and servants, and obedience to father and mother are good; so is liberality towards friends, relatives, parents,

Brahmans, and Samanas; so in respect for the life of all creatures. These we ought to practise and perform, and also recommend to a father, a son, a brother, a friend, an acquaintance, and even a simple neighbour. Whoso acts thus, will be honoured in this world, and for the other world there will accrue a store of infinite merit from this gift of the Law.

Again a speech worthy of Constantine and no more! The celebrated Edict of Toleration (the Twelfth Decretal)¹ does, however, go beyond Constantine and Theodosius, and deserves to be ranked beside Joseph the Second's Edict of Toleration. But the mention of the future life at the close of the edict above cited is a very important circumstance, for it implies a continued existence of the spirit.

NOTE M (p. 368).

The Nidānas, or the mutual Concatenation of the Causes, viz. the Twelve Causes of Creature Existence, according to the Buddhists.

[Extracted from the "Lalita Vistara" in Burnouf's Introd. p. 485 seq.; "Lotus," p. 530-544].

The sequence of the Twelve Causes of Being, beginning with the last number of the series, is as follows:—

I. *Dsharamāraṇa*, decline = dying = extinction. Now death, the termination of the decline of the body, is conditioned, as the effect of a cause, by

II. *Dshāti*, Birth.

The three next conditioning steps are :

III. *Bhava*, Existence.

IV. *Upādāna*, Assumption (namely, of earthly existence in conception).

V. *Trishna*, Desire.

Of these five steps, the fourth is incontestably that which we call conception in the womb, here regarded as the necessary condition of birth, just as much as birth is the necessary condition of death to a now living man.

¹ See Burnouf, p. 761.

Now it must be admitted either that that conception is wanting, or that it is placed in this stage. However, as Burnouf shows, the original denotation of the word thus translated is the "taking upon one's self," therefore something active, and hence he renders it by the terms "*prise, captio*," which answer to our German word *annehmen*, for which the English *assumption*, both according to its ordinary and philosophical acceptation, seems the most fitting equivalent. For in the whole series there can be but one subject, namely the individual man born into this world. Nay, the whole view of Buddha proceeds upon the supposition that the soul which has thus entered the sphere of humanity, is the agent, and consequently responsible. Thus it is precisely an active verb which we need,—the consent of the soul to enter the mother's womb.

If this be established, the next or third step called *Bhava*, can be nothing else than what the word undoubtedly signifies,—*Existence*, namely that of the embryo, the congenital existence, the newly-formed human creature, made capable of a man's life and death. Hence we cannot but wonder that Burnouf should have suffered himself to be led astray by the nonsensical explanation of the Brahmans, that in this place we are to understand by "Existence" the moral life with its merit or guilt, conditioned by dark periods of existence. As little can we concur with Goldstücker, who even in this passage has ascended to the regions of metaphysical being, and will have it that we are to understand by *Bhava*, potential existence (virtual existence, the *δύναμις* of Aristotle), and by *Dshati*, actual existence (the *ἐνέργεια* of existence). In point of fact, we are here still entirely on the physical domain, in our travels backwards toward the first cause of death.

It is the stage antecedent to the entrance into the maternal womb, that first introduces us into the ideal existence of the finite soul which is in the act of entering upon its earthly being. The soul must have a yearning after this earthly coming-to-be, in order to form the resolve to enter into this condition which issues in birth and death. Now the word *Trishna* signifies precisely "yearning" or "desire;" and in this sense it is understood also by Hodgson, upon the authority of a Nepalese expositor, for he takes *Trishna* to be "existence in its archetype." Goldstücker's explanation of the *Trishna* comes to pretty much the same thing, when he calls it *appetitus*; and, in its relation to

the steps just discussed, terms it the *Dynamic Being* of the *Upaúlúna*.

At this point, a reasoner concerning himself only with the practical, might certainly well stop. The soul is made subject to death, in consequence of her desire to enter on an earthly existence. But we can also very easily understand that a Hindoo thinker would be unable to rest satisfied with this, even though the two Brahmanic systems of metaphysics, of which we have given an account, had not been as yet in existence, or attained to maturity.

And thus the next three antecedents, which in their mutual interdependence form an organic whole, will be quite intelligible to us as that which is presupposed in the yearning after incarnation. They are:—

VI. *Vedana*. “Sensation” (Goldstücker’s organic irritability).

VII. *Sparsha*. “Contact” (Goldstücker’s organic faculty of sensation).

VIII. *Shadâjatana*. “The Six Seats” (Senses).

That the longing of the soul after earth must be preceded by a sensibility to earthly objects, is self-evident. Nay, in this is already involved, if you will, the origin of desire, of pleasure, and, therefore, of the pains of earthly existence. Again, the faculty or the act of sensation presupposes a contact of the volition or desire with finite objects; and this again, the relation of the primary desire, or primary volition of the soul, to the six senses which the Hindoos assume, viz. our five senses with the addition of the *Manas*, or inward sense. Now this inward sense is assuredly nothing else than what we call instinct, or natural impulse. This, man does indeed possess in common with the lower animals. But he does so as the Microcosm, not as a self-contained individual animal. But as in this whole representation, it is man alone that is in question, we cannot agree with Goldstücker in seeing nothing more in those seventh and eighth steps of *Sparsha* and *Shadâjatana*, than the common animal irritability and sensibility, which are equivalent to the principles of the nervous and muscular systems. Instinct, even in brutes, rises far above that.

But having reached this point, we further perceive that he who has gone so far, must at least make one step back into the ideal existence. And such a step we now come to in the

IX. *Namarûpa*, “the form of name.”

That is to say, the entrance into individuality, the personal, or, so to speak, nameable existence. But on further reflection this supposition proves unsatisfactory. The assumption of an individuality as an antecedent step to the assumption of existence, with the intermediation of the principle of sensible perception lying between these two, cannot be the primary cause. It is only after he has travelled three steps farther back, that the Hindoo thinker arrives at the point at which he must needs arrive by one or other of two modes of thought: a perverted will, or ignorance; a violation of the conscience, or infirmity of the reason.

Goldstücker's interpretation of the *Nāmarūpa* as "*substantiality*," appears to me to be very remote from the term in question, and at all events from the fundamental conception of Buddhism. Any philosophical explanation of the remaining three first causes this ingenious writer gives up. Let us see whether they will not, without forcing, reveal their meaning when looked at from the point of view we have hitherto taken. The sequence of the three last antecedent steps is as follows:—

X. *Vidhūāna*. "Consciousness."

XI. *Samskara*. "Imagination" (conception).

XII. *Avidja*. "Ignorance" (absence of knowledge).

We had arrived already at the (ideal) entrance of the soul into individuality, therefore into a state of personal identity. According to the former sequence, this presupposes a consciousness of finiteness, into which the soul plunges herself by the previous step, as this latter again presupposes an entrance into that delusive show of existence, which we call life. On what can this at last repose, but the negation of consciousness, therefore the absence of knowledge or ignorance; now it is clear that if the eternal and divine subsistence of the soul be assumed, in this first cause is seated a double evil; a fall, at once of the thinking faculty or reason, and of the ethical perception or conscience; the ignorance of the True and of the Good. But since, and especially by Buddha himself, the unity of the Good and the True is at least assumed as possible, the expression "ignorance," was sufficient to include both. In this passage, however, we can perceive nothing else than that antithesis running through the whole history of mankind to which we have already directed the attention of our readers in our Second Book,

and with which we concluded our review of the Semitic conception of God's agency in History. We cannot fail to detect here the Aryan mode of expressing that unity of the Good and the True, notwithstanding its apparent contrast with the equally unvarying Semitic type. The Aryan establishes this unity on the domain of thought, the Semitic on that of the moral life and inward experience. This antithesis between the two races runs through the whole pre-Christian world.

We cannot agree with Burnouf in importing the idea of non-existence into the Hindoo word, nor should we wish to do so on philosophic grounds; for the non-being of the true Being is indeed a non-existence, in so far as (whether through error or sin) it attributes to nothingness a substantive Being; but in this whole series we have various states of the souls which have subsisted as a multiplicity from before the beginning, and which therefore must have in themselves a first principle of being. On the other hand, the only meaning of *ignorance* which agrees with that given of the word in the Lexicon, would of itself lead us to the necessity of the Buddhistic assumption of an Absolute Being. For how else could Buddha have called the first step towards death, *ignorance*, or "absence of knowledge?"

It is, properly speaking, by this means that we have already proved that, speculatively as well as ethically and practically, the *Nirvâna* of the Sankhya could be nothing else than the cessation of the concupiscent condition of the soul in this life in which that condition is the cause of all pain. In its relation to the Absolute, the Primal Being, the *Nirvâna* is therefore identical with the "*being made perfect*" of the Egyptian and old Semitic religions. As compared with the orthodox Brahmanic system, this conception not only sets aside the Brahma of the national religion, who has no intrinsic substantial being, but also avoids the tendency to pantheism involved in man's losing himself in Brahma. For no one who starts, as Buddha confessedly does, from the multiplicity of souls, can make the loss of their selfish existence equivalent to the loss of personality; rather must it be the recovery of personality, that is to say, of the full consciousness of God in true substantial being. And this must hold good of this life, as well as of the next. But that what we have submitted is really the meaning of the more speculative than dialectic sequence we have been considering, will become yet clearer to us, if we regard this sequence, taken

from its very outset as intended to present us with the primal cause of the tragedy of human existence:—

The SOUL'S IGNORANCE or absence of knowledge (I.) is the cause (or coming to consciousness)
 of her CONCEIVING AN IDEA OF FINITENESS (II.): this again
 of her CONSCIOUSNESS OF FINITE OBJECTS (III.): this again
 of her ASSUMPTION OF (ideal) INDIVIDUALITY (IV.): this again
 of her SIX SENSES, including the perception of THE TOTALITY OF FINITE OBJECTS AS A COMMON SENSE (V.): this again
 of her CONTACT WITH EXTERNAL OBJECTS (VI.): this again
 of her SENSATIONS DERIVED FROM EXTERNAL OBJECTS (VII.): this again
 of her YEARNING AFTER FINITE EXISTENCE (VIII.): this again
 of her ASSUMPTION OF LIFE IN THE EMBRYO (IX.): this again
 of her EMBRYONIC EXISTENCE (X.): this again
 of BIRTH (XI.): this again
 of the GRADUAL DECAY, of which the consummation is the death of the body (XII.).

According to all testimony, this whole subtle train of thought is foreign to Buddha himself. To him, personally, we can only refer one saying, which is ascribed to him on the authority of the *Abhidarma-Kosha*:—

Decay and death are consequences of birth which is their cause, and towards them we are tending.

But no doubt at a very early date, even prior to the time of Asoka, its pervading idea was put forth by the schools as a metaphysical substructure “for the *Four Truths*,” and similar ethico-metaphysical sayings of the Gotamide in prose and in verse. He had been familiar with the Sankhya philosophy in his academical years; he had also, when a teacher and leader of the people, inculcated meditation on the transitoriness of all things earthly, and the doctrine of an obscuration of our original consciousness of God through the act of entering on the series of successive existences; but the goal of our efforts was in his eyes the quenching of all desire in this life. How remote from this is the logical *tour de force* we have been considering, or the notion that Nirvâna is synonymous with the annihilation of the soul! On the contrary, according to Buddha’s “*Four Truths*,” the annihilation of the hindrances to the soul’s true life was the necessary condition of her restoration to blessed rest during

¹ Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 492.

this earthly being. As this earthly life is, properly speaking, death, so is death to an enlightened and holy man, the entrance into life; but a life which we are to strive after in this present state of existence, and which may be reached here. In our opinion this is, too, the last word of that twelve-linked chain of propositions.

But if, on the other hand, no proper sense of God's presence be unfolded in this present actual life, in the community at large;—if the individual sinks down exhausted and despairing, what else can ensue than that he should place the aim of the wise man's efforts not in this life, but in the cessation of all consciousness!

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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