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THE
IDEALS OF EAST & WEST

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THE IDEALS OF EAST & WEST

by

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TO

H.H. THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR

THIS ESSAY IS

AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

AND TO

MY STUDENTS

EASTERN AND WESTERN

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PREFACE

"Men are alike in nature—sundered by custom."

This little book does not aim at completeness or claim originality. Undertaken at the suggestion of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda its aim is to be useful in an age of transition, when ethical ideals, like everything else which has come down to us, are being tried and tested. "What is likely to elevate conduct should be perpetuated", said the great Chinese altruist Mo-tse in the sixth century before Christ, and there are things in the traditional ethical systems which cannot be shaken, for they are rooted in the nature of man, and come like that from the hand of God.

Not only in the parallels and similarities between these great systems but in the contrasts which emerge from a comparative study is there useful matter for thought and conduct. For while human nature may develop along similar lines, and the truth which each nation finds come closer to that of other nations as each comes closer to the centre of truth, yet we shall find a marked difference between these ideals, each of which has been moulded and shaped by its environment.

I have therefore given some account of the context of each developing system as well as a brief anthology. And in these I have sought to bring out not only the high peaks reached by each people but the lower levels through which they have struggled, and at which the masses have often remained. "Not only from the garden of the cultivated but from the common fields of the people", not only from their great classic teachers but from proverbial wisdom and songs. For a double process is always at work. Not only do the fertilizing rivers pour down from the great mountain peaks; these mountains themselves draw their snows from the mists of the plains. So great classical teachers have returned to the people their own popular ideals sub-

limated and purified. In our own time we have seen a Tagore giving back in songs for the people what he has himself culled from the people's songs. The great founders of religion, even those supreme and sublime figures Jesus of Nazareth and Gotama Buddha, were heard by the people gladly, because they gave back in new and perfect form common ideals, such as loyalty and courage and kindliness, changed, it is true, by a new relation to the Eternal, yet familiar and lovable. To put this in another way we must seek the roots of Socratic wisdom in the confused ideals of Homeric bards, and the high intuitions of Upanishad and Sutta are to be found in germ in the parallel anthology of Vedic times. So in China Confucius is ever drawing upon the Odes, the ancient bardic wisdom of his people, which he makes a source book for his principles.

It is very interesting to see how the ideals of these teachers differ from one another. The Christian ideal of the Suffering Servant, drawn as it is from Hebrew vision and experience, is very different from that of the Superior Man of Aristotle and from the Chun-tse of Confucius: yet how closely at times it approaches the Mahatma and the *bodhisattva* of India. The Buddha again has affinities with Jesus as well as with Confucius and Socrates, and in the long succession of the torch-bearers of each race certain types of ethical ideal recur.

If East and West are to enter into real partnership these great teachers must be understood by all men of goodwill to-day. "Men cannot work together", says Confucius, "until they have similar principles": or, we might add, until they understand where their principles differ.

What does each people mean by the ideal it has evolved? Where can one supplement the other? In the history of civilization what matters most is the spiritual and moral core, and we must seek to understand this central strand in the life of the great peoples. By choosing characteristic figures and ideals I hope I do not give a false emphasis, or suggest that these are exclusive of one another. The process of mutual

give and take began long since, and the great peoples themselves are too complex for any one ideal type to satisfy them. China, of whom Confucius is the Norm, has also produced the great mystic anarchist Lao-tse and for two thousand years has reverenced Sākyamuni, India's greatest son. Japan has learnt almost everything from these three, as she is now learning from Jesus: but all have adapted as well as adopted the ideal built up on another soil. The *samurai* of Japan is a new type rooted in Confucian ideals of loyalty and good-form, but also learning much from Buddhist quietism, and is to-day being transformed from the servant of the overlord to the servant of the people. It is by such adaptation and modification that old ideals continue to be of value, and it is fascinating to watch the twofold process by which a nation at once expresses its natural genius in such ideals, and corrects and ennobles that genius by importing new teachings from outside. The warlike northern peoples of Europe have produced their own ideal of romantic courage and hospitality and loyalty, but they have also turned wistfully to the Sermon on the Mount with its corrective ideals of meekness and forbearance and its passion for righteousness. The "mild Hindu", who finds this man of the Beatitudes akin to his own ideal of the saint, has turned with equal enthusiasm to the Gītā with its emphasis upon the duty of the warrior and the claims of the nation. So pacifism and civic duty, nationalism and internationalism are seen with their rival claims to loyalty; and this conflict is another interesting aspect of our study. Out of it emerge certain great contrasted leaders in India: an Asoka is seen face to face with a Kautilya with his somewhat Macchiavellian *Realpolitik*; so in China the rationalist is confronted with the mystic, the orthodox teacher of Confucian morals with the cynic and the sceptic, the teacher of other-worldly wisdom with the utilitarian; and in Japan the wise and gentle Shotoku who is her Asoka, and from whose activities has sprung so much of the true and beautiful in her life, finds his pietism confronted with a whole school of Confucian humanists. Nowhere to-day is

the conflict more acute between nationalism and internationalism, militarism and pacifism, the rights of the common people and the power of the privileged.

It is very significant to see in China how the people are demanding intellectual leadership, and are asking "What is philosophy?" and "Which teacher shall we follow?" This scene is to be contrasted with that of Indian peasants adoring, and often obeying, their Mahatma; while Japanese crowds are looking to the Christian Kagawa for leadership in social reform and in peaceful revolution.

The ideal type, in other words, is still the sage teacher in China, the other-worldly saint in India, and the practical reformer in Japan.

In the western world, which draws its ideals so largely from Greece and Palestine, there is a curious fusion taking place of the ideal of the seeker after scientific truth and of the religious teacher. The walls between religion and science are wearing thin, and there are many who are finding religious and moral inspiration in the man of science detached and seeking no rewards other than those of his quest for truth. This is the Greek Ideal. Yet the Jewish type of Saint, suffering for a great cause and identifying himself with the common people, has still an immense appeal, and it is perhaps in these two types that the western world is making its greatest contribution to Asia, whose contemplative ideal has turned its eyes too much from this world to the unseen, but whose mysticism will undoubtedly reinforce that of Europe.

In making a selection from the rich material at hand I have chosen, then, passages which reveal a conflict of ideals as well as those which may be said to resolve this conflict, and I have attempted to suggest that from the great age of the Bards with their intuitive guesses at truth and their half-formulated ideals of conduct there emerge the philosophical and religious Masters who become classic and formative for subsequent ages: and following selections from these great seers and teachers I have set proverbs and aphorisms in which their peoples embodied the impression which they made upon

them, and the ideals which have emerged at later periods from the impact of their lofty idealism upon the more pagan ideals of the masses. Thus the Gītā is quoted, but also the equally popular Panchatāntra, the dialogues of Plato but also the Memorabilia of Xenophon and the satires of Aristophanes, the prophets but also the sages and psalmists of Israel. Nor have I hesitated to note the weakness as well as the strength of these peoples and of their ideals.

"It is by observing man's faults that we come to realize his virtues", says Confucius, and only if we realize the vice of Greeks, the vindictiveness of Jews, the fatalism of Hindus, and the caprice of Chinese can we realize what a Socrates, an Isaiah, a Gotama, or a Confucius accomplished in their immense task of correction and sublimation.

These are great and creative teachers of ethics whom all must know. They belong to us all: and East and West must cease from provincialism in a world now made one.

As in the West it is from Greek and Hebrew that we derive our ethics so Asia derives hers from Indian and Chinese teachers. With these four gifted peoples this book deals, and with the derivative systems—Christian on the one hand, Japanese on the other.

That both these show profound and creative originality in choosing and in remoulding is clear: and that these ideals are now in the process of cross-fertilization and conflict.

As in the West Christianity marks a great new era so in the East Buddhism. I have paid therefore special attention to them and to the notes of originality in them.

To my students I am indebted for help with translations —and to others acknowledged in the text, especially to Dr Hu Shih of China and Dr M. Anesaki of Japan. Given as Earl Lectures at the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley, California, and at the University of London, these short chapters on great themes depend much upon these illustrative readings.

K. J. S.

London School of Economics
Easter, 1933

O Thou great Sculptor of the Soul of man,
In fear of whom the Jew grew wise and meek,
Thine are the Beauty and the Truth Divine
Which lured the eager footsteps of the Greek:
Thine is the Gentleness of India: Thine
Are China's Reason and her ordered plan
Of human life: the Courage of Japan
And her high Loyalty Thou canst refine
To serve mankind. May Christians also seek
To reach that lofty Way of which they speak,
That Love which transmutes pagan attitudes
To something nearer the Beatitudes.
Give us the single eye, the loving heart
To see Thy light, and in it do our part.

PROLOGUE

AN EVENING AT EPHESUS

(first century A.D.)

I

In the City of Ephesus there lived a Jewish merchant Mordecai, given to hospitality, and living at peace with his Greek neighbours. Himself partly Hellenized, he was yet a devout member of the Synagogue, and much interested in religious discussion. Towards the close of the first century of our era we find him developing a great trade in silk, as a middle-man between the Chinese caravans and the Greek-Roman world.

To his house there gathered one evening Li-Fêng, a Chinese, his associate the Hindu Ramananda, and the Greek Sosthenes. They began to talk of Alexander's dream of uniting East and West, and Ramananda showed them a coin on which the Macedonian posed as Zeus, thunderbolt in hand. "To me", said his host, "that is enough to explain his failure; but as one of our rabbis has said, 'Let thy house be a meeting place for the wise, and drink their words with thirst'; let me hear from you how God is thought of in your lands, and what is the meaning of man's life. Another of our rabbis has said, 'Upon three things the world stands, Truth, Judgment, and Peace', and we hold that these are the gift of God." "I suggest", said the Greek, "that our friend from China who has travelled farthest, and whose people are the most ancient should speak first. I have long desired to hear of Truth and Beauty as that gifted nation see them."

"Your courtesy is as great as your hospitality, and my poor words must be unworthy of this occasion", said Li-Fêng, "for I am but a humble follower of Truth, and much occupied in business. Yet I concede that in our trade we have many opportunities of learning Truth, not only in just

dealings, but in seeing with our own eyes something of other nations. I have been travelling through the Uplands into India, and I go on to Rome with gifts from the Emperor of Han. Him we call the Son of Heaven, which we conceive to be just but inscrutable. We seek to order society in accordance with its will, and in accordance with reason. I understand that the Emperor of the Romans claims, like Alexander, to be a god; but we in China hold that the Emperor is a Son of Heaven so long as he behaves in a heavenly way. He should be as the Pole Star to his people; our loyalty is to him as it is to our ancestors and to our parents, so long as he is a father to us."

"Our great Emperor Asoka claimed that he was the father of his subjects, but he sought worship of no man; and indeed our Indian theory is that the King is elected to do service to the people. We have, however, another theory expressed in the legend that the gods created and appointed kings, and our *dharma* assigns to each man his sphere and his duties. Can you give us in a sentence the whole duty of man?"

"One of the disciples of Confucius said that in duty to others and in loyalty to self lies man's happiness, and in India a monk of the Middle Path of the Buddha gave me as his ideal of life this saying of his Master—'To cease from evil, to do good, to purify the innermost heart'. This ideal and those of peace and harmlessness are not unlike the teachings of our great sage Lao-tse, who said that man must follow nature's law, and that gentleness and non-resistance are the way of wisdom and happiness. My friend and I, as we have travelled together, have indeed found much in common. Shall we not hear from him?"

"As I have said we too conceive of a way, the *dharma*, which means Nature, but also Custom. Our life is regulated by custom, and by *varna*. This is the law which divides our society into four great groups, each having its special duties. According to the *sāstras*, the Creator made the merchants from his thighs, the ruling group from his arms and chest,

the Brahmins from his head, and the *sūdras* from his feet."

"Like our free men and slaves?" asked Sosthenes.

"Or rather like our philosophers, merchants, farmers and soldiers", said Li-Fêng.

"Yes and no; for we place the soldier high; and our lower class, the *sūdras*, while their duty is service, are not slaves. But there is a deeper difference, for we believe that each is born into the group which he has merited by his former deeds. I, who am a trader and indeed outcasted by my travels, may at some distant date be reborn as a warrior, or even as a brahmin. Our view of the Unseen is that it is the One reality, unlike all that we know, yet best described as Truth, Consciousness and Bliss. Man reaches true happiness when he knows that he is it, and not separate from it. 'Then evil falls away from him, and sorrow.' The Buddhists teach that the great enemy is Thirst or Evil Desire; and we accept this, but our ways of overcoming it differ. They reject all ritual and offerings to the gods, and especially animal sacrifices. Life is sacrosanct to them: and I, as a silk merchant, have to take the life of countless creatures, and so I should not be accepted as a Buddhist; nor will they acknowledge the duty of soldiers to fight, and we maintain that no nation can live according to these gentle ideals. Yet our religious teachers also insist on the meditative life, and on detachment from desire, and one of our sages, when the Macedonian invited him to return, told him that he was too much occupied with things of this world to understand Truth."

"Ah", said their host, "that was well spoken. One is the wisdom of this world, another is the heavenly wisdom. We Hebrews conceive this world to be but a corridor to the next. We are but fragments of the Divine, whose Wisdom has taught us through great tribulation that our people are to be glorified in suffering, and are to spread His light among the nations, until the earth is full of His righteousness as the waters cover the sea."

"We Greeks also believe that it is our mission to spread the light of Truth and Beauty. Was not Socrates guided by his daemon; and was not Alexander, the pupil of Aristotle, inspired by a great vision of making humanity one?"

"Asoka too sought to spread the Buddha's *dharma* as a bond binding all peoples. They say that his ambassadors reached the courts of Antiochus and of Ptolemy, inviting them to accept this way."

At these names the Jew could hardly restrain a shudder, as he remembered the "abominations" of the Egyptians, and the revolt of the Maccabees against the House of Antiochus. "It is easy", he said, "to speak of friendship between the peoples, and of the spread of civilization from one to another, but for us Hebrews there has sounded down the ages the Word of Yahweh, 'Come ye out from among them'. While we live at peace with our neighbours in this city, there are many things in its worship and its practices which are anathema to us...."

The Chinese at this point tactfully interposed, "The people of Han believe that as to the Chinese, 'all within the Four Seas are brothers'; but they also have another teaching of Confucius that there is a *tatung*, or a Great Brotherhood, where men are guided by the principle of *shu*, or Sympathy. And Mo-tse went further, and taught Universal Love. He opposed war and saw its futility as well as its unreasonableness. For this he was bitterly attacked: and I am not convinced. If each of the peoples is to spread its ideas and ideals it can only be by war, as Alexander believed, or by the slow spread of the better overcoming the good. Is there a third way?"

"Nay", said the Hebrew, "unless it be the way of a people carried off into captivity, to be at once the leaven and the atonement for all nations. As the Prophet saith of the suffering nation, 'Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our iniquities'. But come, I have allowed my spirit to become bitter within me, and there is in this city an aged Saint, by

birth a Hebrew, who as a young man joined the Sect of the Nazarenes, and to him many are resorting; for he loves men, and they say he is a Daniel for wisdom."

"Another Socrates", said the Greek.

"Another Confucius?" asked the Chinese.

"Well", said the Indian, "let us by all means go and ask him concerning the Way of Life."

II

After a visit to the Gymnasium the four friends crossed the great square of Ephesus, and watched the crowds going up to the Temple of Artemis, and coming down from the Stadium. "How restless they are", said Mordecai, "they come seeking Oracles, or looking for salvation in the mysteries, or consulting wizards in the Temple. Well do I remember the riot in this city when the makers of images, enraged by the preaching of Paul the Christian, kept shouting 'Great is Artemis of the Ephesians!' It was then that the aged John attached himself as a learner to the Sect of the Nazarenes. Men say that he is filled with the madness of his teacher, Saul, whom may Yahweh forgive, that in this Joshua whom the Romans killed the Eternal Himself dwelt among men."

"We have the teaching of Avatara, that God, who cannot be seen or named, appears from age to age when the world has most need of him. And indeed I have with me a copy of our Gītā, which I must show you. 'I am the eternal: I incarnate myself': says Krishna, 'Whoso loveth me, him I love'. This is the way of salvation for us who are busy and cannot spend long hours in meditation."

"It is not strange to us either", said Sosthenes, "for we have in the mysteries a way of salvation in ecstatic devotion to the gods, and we have conceived Hermes as the Divine Logos."

"What is *logos*?" asked Li-Fêng.

"It means Word or Reason."

"We call it *tao*, the Way of Nature, I think", said Li-Fêng, "it is in listening to this voice that man attains wisdom. 'Let the *tao* speak through thee, as the wind speaks through a flute', says the poet."

"We too", said the Hebrew, "live by the Divine Wisdom, and indeed Philo calls it *logos*. I often use his prayer, 'Hasten my soul to become the abiding-place of God, pure and holy; strong where thou art weak, wise where thou art foolish, guided by reason where thou art wandering'."

"And I", said the Greek, "use one which is not unlike it. It is the prayer of Socrates: 'Beloved Pan, and all ye gods who haunt this place, grant me beauty of the inward soul, and make the outward and the inward man to be but one'. It is by such prayers, I think, that men become good; well has Seneca said, 'No man is good apart from God'. On this we all seem agreed, that human goodness must be patterned upon the Divine."

By this time they had reached the house of the Elder John, and in the courtyard they found a company of men and women seated about a venerable figure who seemed blind, yet whose face was full of light. "My little children, love one another: if ye love not one another whom ye have seen, how can ye love God whom ye have not seen?"

"We are answered", thought the Chinese. "Here is a sage indeed like our Mo-tse."

The Saint went on to speak of one who had dwelt among men, full of Grace and Truth, who was the image of the unseen beauty, in whom men can see Light and find Life.

"He has the mind of a good and true disciple of Plato", said the Greek to himself: and the Hindu seemed to understand clearly, as his face lit up, the great terms Light and Life: "*jyoti*", he murmured, "*amritam*".

"I am the Way and the Truth and the Life. I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me", continued the Saint, and he spoke to them of the great sacrifice of the Cross, and of love revealed in self-forgetfulness.

As they went out into the starlight the four friends felt that a solemn and sacred influence was with them. The Indian was the first to break the silence.

"Love truly is the way of life", he said, "but how hard to practise."

"Without the grace of God", said the Jew, "it is impossible."

"Yet we four have found that in the quest for Truth race is no barrier", said Sosthenes.

"If man would only live by reason", pondered the Chinese; "yet our scholars have rejected the universal love of Mo-tse, and we are continually at war, until our people perish for lack of peace and leisure to till their fields."

"And ours", said Sosthenes, "are perishing of lust. It was Hubris and Evil Desire which laid Athens low, and within the Empire to-day slaves are the victims of lust, and prostitutes haunt these very temple courts. Evil is the corruption of the good, and in vain did Socrates seek to transmute lust into love."

III

Before they left Ephesus the three travellers paid a farewell visit to Mordecai. "We have been discussing the saintly John", said Sosthenes, "and seeking to discover the ideal for Man."

"Our friend from China has told me of the Princely Man of K'ung: will you not repeat what you said last night?"

"Willingly", said the Chinese, "for our Master has given us full details of the qualities of the Chun-tse. He is truly benevolent and free from care: truly wise and free from delusion: truly brave and free from fear."

"These are the Master's own qualities: he lived a life of princely goodness, as a teacher who appealed to reason, yet transmitted ancient wisdom; harmonious and sincere, he was ever firm, but never contentious."

"What in a word were his guiding principles?" asked the

Hindu. "*Li* or good form was his inner rule: without this courtesy becomes ceremonious, prudence becomes timid, valour violent, and candour rude."

"Your teacher reminds one of the Superior Man of Aristotle", said Sosthenes, "he too followed a golden mean, and taught men to live according to reason."

"Yet it is better to be meek than proud, better to humble oneself before the wisdom of God. In His fear is the beginning of wisdom", said Mordecai.

"Our Lao-tse would agree", said the Chinese, "he also spoke of three great qualities or jewels—gentleness, frugality, and humility: and his words and spirit remind me of the Elder John, who says that his Master taught saying, 'Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth'."

"It is a saying from our Wisdom books", said Mordecai, "John is a true son of Israel". "And worthy to be called a Hindu", said Ramananda, "for we too make much of *ahimsā*, gentleness, and of the strength of the meek."

"He that bends himself shall be made straight, he that humbles himself shall be saved", says Lao-tse.... "Is man by nature a being of reason or of emotion? Is his nature good or evil?" asked Li-Fêng.

"Man is a shadow and vanity", said the Jew. "Yet God has made him a little lower than the angels."

"He is by nature good", says Meng-tse; "what says the Indian wisdom?" "'Man is part of the universal Soul, and must awake to his true nature.' This is Salvation—the true man is the *yogi*—awake to reality."

"Our Scriptures", said Mordecai, "hold that the greatest is the servant of all, and here too the Elder John is an Israelite indeed."

"Let me be a very sweeper for humility, a doctor to the sick, a guide to the blind, a friend to all", quoted Ramananda. "So saith Job and we are all agreed that to serve man is to obey God."

"Yet I dislike this emphasis on humility", said the Greek.

"That is for slaves, not for freemen. While we seek to avoid insolence we believe in a proper pride of station and of attainments."

"I think I am with K'ung rather than with Lao-tse—with Aristotle rather than with the Buddha", said the Chinese.

"Yet Yahweh exalteth the meek and bringeth to nought the pride of man. We Jews are like the Indians—more interested in the Divine Will than in human wisdom."

"For that reason it may be", said Sosthenes, "that Greeks and Chinese have looked to Israel and to India for light complementary to our own."

"And we of India have need of such light on man and his work. We have lost sight of the human in our quest for the Divine. Maybe in such brotherhood as we have enjoyed the peoples will see new light."

CHAPTER I

THE ETHICS OF INDIA

"All other ways are not worth a fraction of love." THE BUDDHA
"Ahimsā is India's greatest glory." SIR CHARLES ELIOT

I

As in Judaea so in India the coming of a great heresy marks the beginning of a new era—and it is a new era in each case for half humanity. Whether it is India, China or Japan that we are considering, we may divide the history of Asia into the pre-Buddhist, the Buddhist, and the post-Buddhist epochs.

As Christianity came to bring new light and life to the West, so Buddhism came to Asia: and the modern era begins for both when the ancient heritage is re-examined in the light of this new Way and a synthesis is made.

In the pre-Buddhist epoch we see the Aryans becoming Indians as they settle in the north-west, and spread slowly east and south—defending their culture against earlier settlers and aborigines, yet gradually fusing with them, and adopting many of their ways and ideas.

Then, as the priestly caste becomes dominant, we see them enter upon a more reflective stage, work out the doctrines of *karma* and *samsāra*, rebirth according to action, and rationalize the caste-system, which had its roots in a colour-bar and in a division of function.

This first period is from about the fourteenth century B.C. to the sixth, when Sākyamuni the Buddha by his new emphasis on morals and his revolt against priestcraft ushers in a new era of freedom and of moderation, and paves the way for the Imperial house of the Mauryas.

Hinduism replies to the *dharma* or Way of the Buddha, and in the third epoch the life of India is unified by a re-

formed *dharma*, and a new fusion of the secular and the religious is fully worked out as a social code binding on all Hindus. From about the second century A.D. to the seventh this creative period is at its height: but it continues to the present time with intervals of stagnation. Barbarian invaders, Great Moguls and the commercial West are all incidents in this reformation of Hinduism which is the central core of the Indian Renaissance—as the reformation of Christianity is of the Renaissance in Europe, and of Confucianism of the Renaissance in China.

If this view is too schematic it is convenient, and accurate enough for our purpose—the study of ethics. The pre-Buddhist era sees the ethical ideals of India develop from the folk-ways of a nomadic people to those of settled communities; from a naïve to a reasoned stage, and from a lay to a priestly emphasis. Yet the ethic is always twofold. For the layman there is one set of duties, for the religious there is another: and by the beginning of the Buddhist era there is a fairly clean-cut distinction between the duties of the various castes and of the various stages of the individual life. This is a distinctive note of great importance in Indian ethics: moral ideals are relative, regulated by the sanctions of an all-encompassing religious Norm—the Web of Hindu custom.

II

Of the earliest settlers in the Indus Valley we have now enough remains to know that they were not a primitive people. Their fine brick cities, their great baths (perhaps for ritual ablutions), their use of bronze, their many works of art—vigorous statues and seals of great beauty—prove that by the fourth millennium B.C. this part of India, the Indus Valley, was at an advanced stage of culture. But mingling with its higher elements are more primitive things such as tree-worship, human-sacrifice, and phallicism, indicating that their religious and moral ideals were in a state of transition; and something of the same sort is found when we come,

nearly 2000 years latter, to India's earliest writings, the Rig-Veda and the Atharva-Veda. These are the hymns and charms of an aristocratic group of nomads of Aryan stock. They are concerned with the worship and placation of the gods, who are themselves not fully moralized, and some of whom reflect only too faithfully the greed and drunkenness of an army on the march. Yet these early invaders (who seem to know nothing of their "Sumerian" predecessors) have their moral standards. Distinguishing between the "straight" and the "crooked",[1] they are brave and cheerful; they condemn the phallic worships which they find; and they despise the niggardliness of the merchants, who even "withhold from the gods fitting gifts". We get glimpses of their cheerful pastoral and agricultural life, of their rather high ideal of marriage, of the large but vague powers of the father, and above all, of an emerging sense of righteousness, and of sin as separating man from his gods, thought of as closely akin and often called "Brother" and "Father" as well as "Friend". If Indra is a brawler and a drunkard, Varuna is a just god whose forgiveness they are continually seeking. Yet it is necessary to notice that this righteous god, who "stretches the wide heavens like a tent" and looks in upon the guilty conscience of his worshippers, ready to hear their claims and to forgive, gives way to the parricide and drunkard Indra. In other words the concept of *rita*, a natural and moral order which seems to have come with them into India (for it is found also among their Persian cousins, and is akin to the Greek concept of *moira*, harmony), has to struggle against gods who sit loosely to it, yet are gradually brought under its sway. Of these gods there are variously said to be thirty-three, seventy-six and even 3300: but the lines between them are not clearly drawn, and of many of them it is claimed in turn that he is "first among the gods". The Aryan sense of order, however, keeps them within their orbits, eleven of

[1] *Riju* and *vrijna*—words akin to our right and wrong. This distinction is already made among pre-Indian Aryans.

the main deities belonging to each of the three storeys of the sky.

As in the Homeric hymns we have to seek among the inchoate ideas of the people for the germs of the Socratic principles of courage, temperance, and justice, so in the Vedic hymns we find germs of certain great moral concepts emerging. There is first the idea of *tapas* or heat, which comes to be used metaphorically of the fervour of devotion, and then of the fire of austerity, burning up evil. In the tenth book of the Rig-Veda we meet a company of long-haired monks wearing yellow garments, who attain fellowship with the gods by their austerities. Here is the germ of Indian monasticism. Here too is the beginning of *bhakti*, passionate devotion to a god, which was to yield some of the noblest and also some of the most ignoble fruits. If it developed into romantic mysticism it also degenerated into eroticism. If it is given to-day to the Krishna of the Gītā it is even more lavishly given to the Krishna of the Purāna—a lewd godling.

The ideas of sacrifice and of gifts to the priests are also in the Rig-Veda: these produce merit which man will find waiting for him after death in the highest heavens.[1] From such sources develop the master-thoughts of later India—that by asceticism and by alms man attains rebirth in the heavens: and that devotion to a god is an even better way.

We may say then that by about 1000 B.C. India has arrived at certain vague concepts which are to become articulate as the age of poetry passes into that of speculation; and by this time, when Israel was developing her ideal of a theocratic kingdom, India begins to ask who is the One behind the many, to demand order in the chaos of her pantheon, and to seek an ethical concept great enough to guide the gods themselves to truth.

She finds this first in the idea of a Creator of gods and men, and then in the intuition of a Supreme Reality, Brahman-Atman as at once "that from which words turn

[1] R.-V. x, 14, 8.

back" and "that from which evil turns back"[1]—the Ineffable and the Pure. Somewhere between the ninth and the seventh centuries B.C. we see her struggling through the swamps of magic and ritual to the high peaks of mysticism. The Upanishads are, almost solely, concerned with this one reality; and the old legend that Uma, beautiful daughter of the Himalayas, revealed it to the gods, embodies more than a poetic idea. For it is a pictorial expression of the truth that these forest-dwellers in her high mountain-fastnesses discovered what the gods themselves had sought in vain.

The ethical ideals which spring from this monism are characteristic of India: individuality is an illusion: hurting others I harm myself. But there is no self and no others; and morality is regarded sometimes as a means to the end of mystical realization, sometimes as a hindrance. It is a ladder which the bold climber must leave behind.

The law of *karma* and *samsāra*—which is hinted at in the earlier Upanishads—is the law that rebirth follows action in exact retribution: "As a man sows so shall he reap". This now begins to mould all thought. Two great steps were taken in the sixth century when two reformers, both of the Gautama clan, systematized on the one hand this law of *karma*, and on the other the *dharma* or way of moral living which would ensure either a good rebirth or emancipation from the whole process. The *dharma* of the Gautama whom we know as Buddha—the Enlightened—is one great moral system: the *dharma* of his namesake and contemporary is another. Both accept *samsāra* as the evil to be escaped, and *karma* as the way of escape: but one is orthodox, the other heretical in his interpretation.

Karma is a concept of great ethical significance. From it follows the teaching that salvation is not a gift of capricious gods to erring men, but that it can be won by earnest seeking and self-discipline. "According to his deeds and to his mystic insight is a man born as worm or insect, as fish or bird, as lion

[1] Chāndogya Up. VIII, 4.

or boar or serpent or tiger, as man or some higher being." Similarly *dharma* is a developed concept of *rita*—the fitting or orderly is the basis of the Law or Norm of conduct.

To those who would escape rebirth, goodness is defined as "penance and fasting, gifts and purification". Our illustrative readings will make clear the moral qualities of the earnest seeker; it is the glory of India that *ahimsā*—harming no sentient being—is early found amongst them, and is one of the essentials of the good life. It is arresting that this emphasis on gentleness is most characteristic of men of the warrior-caste—Krishna, Sākyamuni, Asoka. It is not weakness but strength.

The *dharma* has as its basis a fourfold division of Hindu society, the first in which the boy passes from the free life of his father's home to the austere school of his *guru* or teacher, the second in which he goes on to the no less disciplined life of the householder, and the third in which he is largely detached from any duty but meditation, until he is ready for a whole-time devotion to religious truth. This is the hall-mark of Indian ethic—that it is relative to the age and to the station of each.

Another great development of *dharma* is the system of caste, which has played so great a part in Indian society, and which is her characteristic social achievement. In an early hymn, which is recited daily from every Vaishnavite altar, is found the claim that the Brahmins are sprung from the head of the primaeval man, the Kshatriyas from his chest and arms, the Vaisyas from his thighs, and the Sūdras from his feet.[1] And soon there follows the more philosophic theory that men are born into a caste fitting their deeds: "They who have done well will soon be born as Brahmin or Kshatriya or Vaisya, but they who have done ill will soon be born as dog or hog or outcast".[2] Thus within the wheel of transmigration moral conduct determines all; the caste-

[1] The Purusa-sukta hymn of Rig-Veda.

[2] Chāndogya Up. v, 10, 7.

system is rationalized; duties accompany privilege, and an ethical ideal is provided for each group: the Brahmin and Kshatriya are expected to live on a higher moral plane.

But soon, in the Brāhmanas or priestly writings, Brahmin claims are becoming so preposterous that Indian ethics are to concern themselves for many centuries with protest and reform. And against morality and true religion magic asserts itself as the priests claim to be gods, and to control the world by the power of sacrifice and the magic of *mantras* or charms. The background for these claims is to be found in the settled order of society in the holy land of the Brahmins between Indus and Jumna, and in the passing of the old family-cult into the exclusive keeping of the priesthood. Thus by the beginning of the sixth century B.C. we find India passing through a transition period in which childish cosmogonies accompany sublime speculation, magic and mysticism strive for the mastery, and religion seeks to control all life. But moral principles all round the globe are also beginning to penetrate ritual and animism, and it is of great interest to watch the process at work. We see, for example, the teacher in one Upanishad interpreting the rumblings of the thunder as meaning *da* (*damyata*) self-discipline, *da* (*datta*) charity, and *da* (*dayadhvam*) alms. This is childish enough,[1] yet towards the Vedic period thunder is still believed to be the elephants of Indra clashing in battle with the Demon of drought, and the new idea has some moral notes. Progress is now rapid: as in Israel the eighth century is a great flowering period in India.

In the Katha Upanishad we find Death himself revealing to the boy who has been sacrificed to him that knowledge of the eternal is only for the pure and self-controlled, and that man must guide the chariot of the senses with wisdom for his charioteer: so only will he come to the goal of his

[1] Curiously enough it has attracted the mind of T. S. Eliot—most intellectual of modern poets.

journey.[1] This is a great advance from the dim Vedic concept of an underworld or "world of the fathers" which awaits the soul after death, and from the hell of the Atharva-Veda, which is a place of darkness and torture, where those who injure Brahmins are seen seated in rivers of blood, eating human hair, and tortured with all the ingenuity of the Inferno.

Another great advance has been made in the concept of Thirst or Desire, *trishnā*, as the great enemy, a thought soon to be worked out by the Buddha, and by contemporary Upanishadic teachers. These early thinkers see that egoism rather than individuality is the root of evil, and they hold out as the ideal man the *muni*, or wandering friar who has "risen above the desire for sons, for wealth and for domination". From such "forest-dwellers" indeed many of the Upanishads proceed, and it is noteworthy that in this period laymen, especially of the warrior-caste, begin to play a great part, challenging the supremacy of the Brahmins; and that women are among the teachers and seekers whom we meet at the courts of kings in argument and debate. It is only by a late and deliberate forgery that an early hymn is changed in the sense that wives are to be burned upon the funeral pyre of their husbands, and at this early stage India knows nothing of *tabus* against beef, or of unnatural practices such as child-marriage.

But we have to wait till the Gītā (first century B.C. to first century A.D.) for an articulate and systematic statement of Hindu ethical teachings. This book, which is India's great source-book for lay religion and ethics, faces concrete issues raised by war and by pacifism, by "nationalism" and early attempts at internationalism, by the conflict between the monastic and the secular life, and especially by the competing systems which are now to demand the attention of the masses. It is part of the Great Epic, which is itself a fruitful

[1] Katha Up. II, 7; III, 9. From this source the Greeks may have got the simile.

field for the ethical ideals of the people, and we see the *dharma* or social code emerging from their folk-ways and customary ethics. But before this great book can be understood we must look at the Buddhist and Jain reforms and their characteristic ethical concepts, and at the great figure of Asoka who raised the issues faced in a concrete form.

Salvation is the object of all alike, and India has come to a clear sense of a connection between sin and suffering, and between moral discipline and emancipation. Escape from rebirth by overcoming evil—this is common ground to the great Upanishadic seers and to the heretical teachers. But Buddhism and Jainism were distinct in what they denied as well as in new emphases. *Ahimsā*—harmlessness, for example, is expressly commanded in the early Upanishads: men are to take no life except for sacrifices. This exception the new movements condemn, but like the Upanishads they make much of asceticism and contemplation: without these there is no wisdom.

III

The great reform movement which Sākyamuni initiated must be understood in the light of the Upanishads as well as of the religion of the masses. Both, in his judgment, had gone to extremes, and his was a Middle Path between them. It was a Middle Path between credulity and scepticism, but also between the life of indulgence and the life of austerity. It is thus largely an ethical reform, and the ethics of the Buddhists have become one of the great systems of the world. But it must not be forgotten that Buddhism was, from the beginning, a religion as well as an ethic, and that it became the vehicle for Indian culture to the Far East and to Southern Asia. Thus while its ethical ideals are to-day more Asiatic than Indian, and it belongs to Southern and Eastern Asia more than to the land of its birth, yet they are in origin and in essence the spiritual and moral ideals of India expressing

themselves through her greatest son. He is in the line of succession of her great *rishis* or seers, as Jesus is in the line of the great prophets of Israel, and Socrates in that of the sophists of Greece.

Born in 563 B.C. Sākyamuni of the Gautama family belonged to the north-east country of the foothills, and is sometimes claimed as of Mongolian stock. But his language was a dialect of what we know as Sanskrit, and his whole setting is Indian. One hall-mark of his movement was its call to moral earnestness. He saw that the mystic ideal of the Upanishads was often "beyond good and evil" as the Vedic gods were often below them, and that the masses were perishing for lack of clear guidance. "Not of one essence are good and evil" is one of his great sayings, and another is "Know truth as truth and untruth as untruth". Himself of the warrior-caste he saw that men needed a guide to action, and himself a mystic he realized that insight depends upon purity of life. In this lay not only the way to freedom, but freedom itself. Thus while he accepted the doctrines of *karma* and *samsāra*—act and rebirth—he filled them with new moral content, teaching that salvation was primarily liberation from evil, and that if man was to find reality he must be guided to right living. To lose himself he must first find himself. So he analysed the hydra-headed monster of desire, *tanhā*, into its constituent parts, *rāga* (lust), *dōsa* (malice), *mōha* (stupidity), and taught that *nibbāna* or freedom consists in the ending of these evils as well as in escape from *samsāra*. The *arhat*, "who has cut the bonds", is accordingly the ideal man of this early Buddhism, akin to the free man of the Stoics, and like him seeking a kingdom of the mind. He is the old Indian *rishi* fully awake to moral values: *nibbāna* is enlightenment and emancipation from evil: it is more ethical than its Upanishadic equivalent.

But the Buddha himself was no stoic, in the sense of detachment from the world: he had too deep a sympathy with misguided and sorrowing humanity, and led too active a life

of preaching to be confined within this ideal. Dr Anesaki has given the following account of him:[1]

He was a mystic visionary, but he lived nearly fifty years of his ministry in constant activities. He sometimes passed nights under forest trees, conversing with spirits or angels, as it is told; he lived often, in complete seclusion among the woods of Icchānangala, or elsewhere, for weeks and months. But more significant were his activities as the teacher and benefactor of mankind. Visiting of sick people, itinerating in the regions attacked by pestilence, mediation between two combatants, consolation of mothers afflicted by loss of children—these and other things are frequently told in the Pāli books. His care for health caused him to instruct his disciples in the number of meals to be taken, or in the method of bathing, and even in the minutiae of using the tooth-pick. Though he himself did not go outside of India, some of his disciples emulated his missionary spirit and went to the west and north-west, beyond the Indus. Thus, the two sides of training—self-culture and action—found a perfect union in the person of the Buddha, but it was inevitable that there should exist differences in the character and tendency among his disciples, as described in the *Anguttara* and shown in the poems ascribed to them.[2] The consequence is easy to see. It resulted in the division of the *Sangha* into the conservative and liberal sections, and finally in the contrast between the ideals of *arhat*-ship and *bodhisattva*-ship. Though these divisions were not precisely the direct results of the different characters, we may roughly say that the former represents the tendency to self-seclusion, while the latter is daring enough to emphasize the sanctity of lay morality.

Thus in the Buddha's own personality monk and layman unite, and if in the early texts we find the teaching of detachment (*upekhā*) we find also the teaching of *mettā* (love), and *karunā* (sympathy).

Seeking a right understanding of him his disciples began not only to call him "elder brother of men" and "great

[1] *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*, "Buddhist Morality".

[2] *Anguttara*, I, 14 (vol. I, pp. 23–6); "Thera und Theri-gāthā", trans. K. E. Neumann, *Die Lieder der Mönche und Nonnen* (Berlin, 1899).

monk", but also to find in the folk-lore of India stories of self-sacrifice which seemed to fit him. After his death at the age of eighty they remembered how he had endured hardship, and had actually given his life by his kindliness in accepting the hospitality of a poor blacksmith and eating the impossible meal prepared for him. Gradually they filled out the story, until he was said to have died "from compassion for the world" (*lokassa anukampāya*). They began also to tell of his lives in many forms, now as a hare dying to feed a Brahmin, now as a monkey-king giving his life for his tribe, and teaching men that it is better to preserve life than to take it; now as a monk, hurling himself from the cliffs to feed a hungry tigress who had no milk for her cubs. These old stories were full of didactic material, and they began to preach very early from the sculptured walls of Buddhist chapels. They are, in fact, a source-book of morals, and India was soon to see Asoka converted from militarism to pacifism, and to realize that the Buddha's Middle Path was a practical way of life with lessons for the laity as well as for the friars or mendicants of his Order.

His leaving home, his quest for truth, his toils to preach the truth that he had found, his formation of a brotherhood of preachers—were themselves not new to India. What was new was the moderation, the broad humanity, the tone of authority which proceeded from an authentic experience. Others had prayed the prayer

> From the unreal to the real,
> From the darkness to light,
> From death to the undying.

He had found reality and light and a quality of life which he too called *amritam* (ambrosia). He is described as of so shining and so serene a countenance that men immediately began to ask what was the source of these great and luminous qualities. His own summaries admirably express the dual purpose of his mission: "one thing only do I teach,

sorrow and freedom from sorrow" and again "to depart from evil, to lay hold of good, to cleanse the inner heart". His religion existed in a word to impart the mystical experience of *nibbāna*, or freedom, and to teach the path leading to it by moral conduct. To the inner circle of his disciples he taught the more difficult way of "the eightfold noble path", which was to lead them from the transient to the eternal, and from sorrow to bliss. By sorrow he meant the disharmony of things, and by bliss that inner peace which is the goal of all mystic search: and his eightfold path, which begins in right views, is a ladder for the mystic, a series of moral steps, insisting upon right thoughts and occupations, but culminating in transcendental and ecstatic bliss.

Buddhism has, like Hinduism, more than one ethical ideal. Side by side from the beginning and on through the ages are these monastic rules and formulae and the lay ethic of such ancient documents as the edicts of the great pacifist ruler Asoka, written upon rocks and pillars about 250 B.C. They are of first-hand importance as ancient and authentic evidence to illustrate the lay passages which are embedded in the monastic books. They emphasize filial piety and the duties of citizens, and make it clear that not all men were expected to be monks, but that when they did join the Order they were to tread the more difficult way of the *dhamma*. This is epitomized in anthologies such as the Dhammapada or "Verses of the Law", and Buddhism is seen to be not only a Middle Path but also a twofold path. Our selections from these anthologies reveal an ideal severe but not ascetic, detached yet kindly, an ideal of happiness yet not of the pursuit of happiness; and there is no doubt that these early monks and nuns had found unspeakable joy in breaking from their earthly ties, or rather in exchanging them for the spiritual ties of the new Order.

It is also clear that kings and rich men began very early to see the value of this Order, and to make gifts of land and buildings. Thus the insidious and unethical teaching of

"merit" crept into early Buddhism, and Buddhist monks, like the Brahmin priests against whom the Buddha had revolted, began to claim that they were the "field of merit", until even noble words like *kusala* (good) came to mean "that which produces merit". As calculation enters love departs, and the springtime of the movement passed into its autumn, until there grew to be a strong line of cleavage between the ideal of the solitary seeking his own salvation, and the servant seeking the salvation of men, and between the laity whose duty was to support the monks, and the monks whose one duty was to exhort the laity. This monasticism and this dualism have been enemies of the Buddhist ethic, which in its purity insists upon detachment and disinterestedness, upon the greatness of spiritual truth which is bought without money and without price, and teaches that the monk is to live in the village "like a bee visiting a flower garden", taking nothing except his food, and harming no man. It teaches too that spiritual truth is as pervasive as the fragrance of jasmine, and that neither monk nor layman is to injure others, but rather to overcome anger with kindliness, and to return good for evil.

In the Buddha's own method of teaching there was a Socratic irony which might at times seem harsh, but which was surgery intended to heal, and in his own person are combined the true *arhat* with the true *bodhisattva*. If he is detached he is also full of compassion. A glance at our illustrative readings or a visit to one of the great museums will make it clear that these are complementary ideals, expressing the rhythm of solitude and service, of meditation and labour, which we find in the Buddha as in Jesus: world-denying they are also world-affirming. The servant of humanity must have his periods of withdrawal from the world, and the Buddhist practice of retreat during the rainy season is but one example of the Buddha's recognition of this rhythm. In fact, his monastic rules were made as experience dictated, and it is this pragmatic quality which

gave a sense of reality to all that he did. Glorified common-sense has a large part in all the great monastic systems. Thus while he seems to say harsh things about women he also says them about men.[1] For a monastic order of celibates of both sexes has to be as a disciplined army, and sex must be rigorously curbed.

Like Ignatius Loyola, Sākyamuni was of the warrior-caste, and he taught that men must be ready to "endure hardness", and to be continually on the watch.

He was also an artist in words, and his parables, though lacking the brevity and picturesqueness of those of Jesus, are often unforgettable. They embody both ethical and mystical teaching. Drawn from the life of village, or jungle, or court, they are in fact a form of fiction which was to find its most artistic expression in the great romance, "the Questions of King Menander", where an Indian sage answers, often in parabolic form, the questions of a Greek king. In this great work, which belongs to the first century B.C., we see that Buddhism was tending on the one hand to become more negative as it became more scholastic, and to become more monastic in the process. But side by side we see it in such books as the Lotus Scripture meeting the needs of the masses with its gracious figures of compassion, its promise of paradise to all the faithful, and its brilliant parables of the divine physician, and of the kind father disciplining his children.

Reading these later books we see how the early contrasts become more marked, until Buddhism begins to reflect the one or the other. Thus the Lotus Scripture opens the doors of paradise to women, to outcasts and to others whom the more austere Path of the Elders would not recognize. We see too that the old meditation-hall develops into a cathedral, the relic-shrine into an altar, and the Buddha into a god upon the altar; and as corporate worship develops the walls of these cathedrals are decorated with magnificent

[1] *Itivuttaka, i.e. obiter dicta* of the Buddha.

frescoes illustrating the contrast between the transient and the eternal, and setting forth the glory of self-sacrifice as well as the splendours of paradise. Compassion and innocence are the great lessons of these paintings, and they reveal a Buddhism of mystical piety as well as moral effort.

From what does this great development grow? Germs of it are in the early emphasis upon compassion: "all other means to enlightenment are not worth one fraction of the way of love", says an early anthology, and even the scholastic southern commentator, Buddha-ghosa, sums up the Buddha-legend in the words "more than the ocean has he shed of his blood, more than the stars has he given of his eyes". There is an attempt on the part of some to insist that the spirit of service is to confine itself within the Order: "let the monk wait upon his sick companion, and he is serving me", says one very touching passage, in which the master finds his sick disciple lying in misery and loneliness on a bed of sickness. Indeed many monks insisted that to do anything other than preach was to miss the true meaning of their Order, so that the words "service" and "self-sacrifice" are not to be read in their western or Christian connotation. The Indian saint, whether Buddhist or Hindu, is, like the lotus undefiled by the mud in which it lives, unwetted by the water, and good works may entangle him no less than bad ones.

Yet Buddhism does teach universal benevolence, and is contrasted by so critical and learned a scholar as E. W. Hopkins with its rivals in India in these striking words: "knowledge is wisdom to the Brahmin: asceticism is wisdom to the Jain: purity and love is the first wisdom of the Buddhist".[1] For the Buddha embodied love and purity in a long life of friendliness and sincerity, which led rich and poor, man and woman, the simple and the learned, the sinner and the saint to find in his Order a new and creative movement. And

[1] *Religions of India*, p. 306.

so great was his insight that they call him "eye of the world" as well as its "great elder brother" and "wise physician". He is *arhat* but also *bodhisattva*. The qualities of the *bodhisattva*—called *pāramītas*—are liberality, morality, forbearance, rapt contemplation, and transcendental wisdom—and after the introduction of the decimal system (fourth century), they were increased by the addition of five others—intuitive knowledge, strength, resolution, skill in teaching, and compassion. These are not very different from the qualities of the *arhat*; but the emphasis is upon liberality and compassion rather than upon stoic endurance and strength.

These great qualities were exemplified in the Buddha's life, and nobly embodied in his death.

Contrasting and comparing his death with that of Socrates and with that of Jesus, we shall see much which separates as well as much which unites these great teachers. The dying Socrates leaves as a last request to his friends that they shall punish his sons if they seem to care more for riches than for virtue, and if they seem something in their own eyes when they are nothing. He assures them that he has done no evil, and will never do what he knows to be wrong, that he can do no other than he has done, and that death after all is no great ill. "But, my friends, I think that it is a much harder thing to escape from wickedness than from death; for wickedness is swifter than death, and I who am old and slow have been overtaken by the slower: and my accusers who are clever and swift have been overtaken by the swifter pursuer."

He assures them that the sign of God which he has been wont to receive at critical moments has not been manifest during his trial, and that for this reason he believes that what has befallen him is gain and not loss; and he ends with the words "And now the time has come for us to go hence, I to die and you to live. Whether life or death is better God knows and he alone".

In this calm resignation to the will of God Socrates is akin

to Jesus, who is reported to have said, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit", and to have prayed "Thy will be done". In his friendly attitude to his accusers and judges he is akin to the spirit in which Jesus prayed "Father forgive them for they know not what they do". Both preferred death to compromise, and both refused to acknowledge that they had done wrong, for both were illumined by an inner light which spoke with divine authority.

The dying Sākyamuni shows the same calmness in the face of death, the same consideration for his friends, and the same sense of having accomplished his work. But there was at this time in India no concept of a supreme God whose will men were to obey; and the Buddha turns the thought of his disciples rather to the transiency of things, to the inevitableness of death, and to the task of working out their own salvation. If the concern of Socrates was with Truth, and that of Jesus with Divine Love, that of the Buddha was with the *dharma* or Nature of things, and each has become classical for humanity by his selfless devotion to his high quest. In each quest is developed a characteristic ethic of which the notes are: for the Greek, beauty; for the Christian, selfless service; for the Buddhist, self-control.

These are three great Ways, not mutually exclusive, but each having its distinctive quality and its own type of saint-hood. It may well be that each has for the modern world abiding ideals and fresh inspiration. None of these three great teachers is outmoded, and few indeed have even sought to live at these heights.

IV

For the post-Buddhist ethic of India our best sources are the Great Epics. In them the secular and the religious, the lofty and the mundane morality of India are preserved and popularized. They are the sources from which at well-side and camp-fire as well as in temple-courts the masses derive their ideal of the hero, the devoted wife, the ascetic and the worldly-

wise. And in the great chapter of the Mahābhārata known as the Bhagavad-gītā an unknown author of genius has summed up the religious and moral ideals of his people in immortal verse.

Not only is this little book an epitome of the recognized systems of Hindu religion in the making, it also reveals the great influence of Buddhism upon Indian ideals. The scene is laid upon the classic field of Kurukshetra, the plain near Delhi where so many battles have been fought. Arjuna, an epic hero, is seated in his chariot with the God Krishna beside him. In the no-man's land between the two armies engaged in civil war, Arjuna makes a magnificent statement of the pacifist position which India had seen so well exemplified in Asoka. His horror at civil strife is met by Krishna's argument that this is a righteous war, that pity is in reality weakness, that the soul is indestructible, and that it is after all only bodies which are killed. But the ethical core of his teaching is that there is nothing better for a warrior than righteous war; for a man is born in the warrior-caste to do his caste-duty, and this may be done in a detached spirit, and as a religious exercise. "Hold equal pleasure and pain, loss and gain, victory and defeat, and gird thyself for the battle. So shalt thou be without sin....Thy concern must be with action, not with its fruits....He who forsakes desire and goes detached through life, with no thought of I or mine, attains to peace."

So the battle changes from the material to the spiritual sphere, and as in Buddhism, Desire is seen as the great enemy, with its threefold division of lust, anger and greed. "These are the three gates of hell", and over against them is the gate of immortality.

There are many admirable summaries of the Hindu ethic in this book, which is a living inspiration to millions. The ideals of duty, of detachment, of desirelessness, spring from devotion to the Lord, who is himself the prototype and the embodiment of these qualities. And in this book, *bhakti*,

whose roots go back to the Vedic hymns, finds its finest expression. It is a whole-hearted love of God, free from that erotic tendency which weakens much later Hinduism. "Whatsoever thou doest, do it unto me....Even if he is a great sinner who worships me with sincere devotion, count him good."

Here also is set forth the idea of the *yogi* "still as a lamp in a windless place". Even in the midst of battle he is to concentrate his mind and to control his senses, freeing himself from fear and from passion. And like Plato and the earlier Upanishads, Krishna teaches that Reason must be man's charioteer, controlling the horses of sense.

Like the Buddha he makes much of *ahimsā* (non-injury); and it is remarkable that in a book which deals so much with the duties of the warrior, these milder qualities, renunciation, compassion, simplicity, and humility are set side by side with fearlessness, energy and courage. If a Gandhi draws his teachings of non-violence from the Gītā so do the anarchists. As in Russia to-day we see Plato divided against himself as the ideals of the Republic wage war upon the mysticism of earlier dialogues, much of which has entered into Eastern Christianity, so in India we see the Gītā at war with itself, as anarchy dismisses the gentler teachings and justifies murder by claiming that it is done with detachment. In the Western world, too, the pacifism of the Sermon on the Mount, which has so much attracted the leaders of Asia, is far from having overcome the warlike spirit of much organized Christianity.

It is remarkable that the best expression of pacifism in the Gītā is put into the mouth of a layman, and that it is the god Krishna who dismisses it as unnatural and unmanly, using every argument of religion to dispel it. This is, in effect, a reply of the Hindu nation to the experiments of Asoka and other pacifists, and to Buddhism in general, which had undermined the caste-system. It is also a restatement of the monist position which the Buddha had attacked, and nowhere in

literature is there a finer expression of pantheism, which is here made as ethical as it can be made.

The Gītā is the layman's Upanishad, and the Indian source-book for ethics. Each caste is given its appointed tasks, and all systems are quoted in support of the main arguments of duty done with singleness of eye and sincere attachment to the god.

If the religious ideal of India is the *yogi*, aloof, benevolent, detached, serene in mystic contemplation, the Gītā seeks to bring this spirit to earth and to attach it to the busy life of men. From such sources it has seeped into homely wisdom and proverbial saying.

If India has lapsed into eroticism on the one hand and into other-worldly detachment on the other, the Krishna of the Gītā and the Buddha of the Pāli texts have called her continually to return to balance and to sanity. Her great glory is that she has not only praised *ahimsā* but practised it, and if like the rest of mankind she sometimes quotes Scripture to justify evil, her conscience is now sensitized by the teaching and example of her Mahatmā—who is pouring new wine into the old bottles, and making what was negative and passive positive and active. His cardinal principles, Truth, Purity, Love, are rooted in the teachings of Jesus as of the Upanishadic *rishis*, and linked with a prophetic passion for social righteousness worthy of a Hebrew prophet. Is he not her "suffering servant"?

V

There have been lawgivers as well as prophets in India, such as Manu, whose code belongs in its present form to the first five centuries of our era. Originally representing the customs of the Brahmins it has become binding on Hindu society, for it sets forth not only rules for religious observance but also for the administration of justice, and regulates domestic life in all its details. A Hindu is, in fact, one who observes this *dharma*, and the ethical life of India in the classic period

is mirrored in the Great Epics. Here, too, the hand of Brahmin editors can be clearly traced, and their influence through these immense poems has been incalculable. The Mahābhārata, which is more than twenty times as long as the Aeneid, deals with vast civil wars in North and Mid-India. The Rāmāyana, which is much shorter, deals with the advance of the Aryans into the south. If the earlier epic tells us of the Lunar race of the middle country, the latter deals with the Solar people of the west and sets before us Sīta, the ideal wife, and Rāma her husband, the ideal warrior of India. Their adventures and their alliance with the monkey-people of the south are favourite themes of art and song. Whether these are actual tribes of men or not they are represented as animals, not the grotesque ape of our western humour, but man's prototype and friend. To help Rāma they build bridges and go on embassies, showing a loyalty and intelligence which often put their human brothers to shame.

India has also her science of politics, and in Kautilya she has her early Machiavelli. During the Guptan era natural science too made great strides. We know that Indian astronomy was already far advanced when the Greeks arrived, and that India learned from the invader a new system. It was Indian astronomy which passed on to Europe in the Middle Ages in Arab translations.

In medicine, both Hindus and Buddhists made considerable advance, the former practising dissection of animals and demonstrating operations upon wax figures. If doctors in India to-day are largely Muslims this is because of the Mohammedan conquest which destroyed the older schools, and also because of a growing system of *tabus* against handling diseased or dead bodies.

In music India has exerted a great influence, not only upon the West but upon Asia, where its quarter-tones and subtle harmonies can be found everywhere, as they may be found in Spain and other countries where the Arabs carried

them. As in everything else in India, there is here an intimate relation between nature and art. The *rāgas* or modes of Indian music correspond to the six seasons of the year, and each has *rāginis*, variations appropriate to the day and hour and season. As Rajput painting deals with the legends of the gods and with the *dharma* of India's daily life, so her music is intimately concerned with both. And as the Indian artist painted for a small coterie of connoisseurs, so the Indian musician with his stringed instruments, flutes and drums was content with chamber-concerts for the elect, or with the small audiences which gathered about village wells and in the shade of banyans. To such audiences court musicians on the one hand and wandering minstrels on the other have sung from time immemorial of the loves of Krishna or of the heroic deeds of Rāma. They were India's popular teachers of morality.

The caste-system helped to maintain the skill of the guilds, handing on traditional crafts and training apprentices. It is still possible, in spite of the industrial age with its mass production, aniline dyes, and ruthless competition, to watch the weavers of Benares and the shawl-makers of Kashmir at work on crafts which have survived the vicissitudes of 2000 years. The caste-system has indeed been a conservative force for good as well as for evil, and in the mediaeval Hindu city with its streets of the silver- and goldsmiths, of the brocade-makers and the *sari*-sellers there survives an epitome of the Middle Ages which reveals excellent city-planning and an ordered social life. At the centre is the great temple, and about it lies the city in concentric squares, where each guild pursues its calling. In such achievements and in the self-supporting village with its *panchayat* or Council of Five, we may find typical achievements of Aryan and of Dravidian India, and in the south Hinduism takes on its most luxuriant and devotional expression. This has its characteristic ethical notes—humility before the irresistible grace of God, love as passionate to men, a sacramental interpretation of secular life.

And in Tiruvalur of the third century A.D. Dravidian India has its own poetic Manu.

VI

Perhaps the chief conflict which is now agitating India is the rebellion of morals against religion. As a distinguished Brahmin has said, "We must make war upon the priests", and such evil practices as child-marriage, while they are very far from universal, are strongly entrenched in the Scriptures. India, in fact, like the rest of the world, has been harmed as well as helped by religion, and its canonization is a graver menace to her than to the rest of us, until she too lays hold upon the free spirit of truth. To this Mr Gandhi calls her, reminding her that there is no God higher than truth, and that the human values are the divine. A devotee of Hinduism, he is also a heretic, who while reforming Hinduism sees that there are eternal truths in the old faith, and especially in the Gītā, which fit the needs of the new India. These are devotion to the Godhead, and to duty, detachment in doing it, and victory over Desire, the arch-enemy. But as he himself frankly and fully confesses, he has found much inspiration in his colossal task of remaking the soul of a nation from such Christian writers as Tolstoy, and from the New Testament, as well as from missionaries. It is indeed clear that his God is more like Christ than Krishna, and it is significant that he prefers to call himself *sūdra*, that is, servant, and that his people continually refer to him as the most Christlike figure of our times.

In accepting Christ as *bhagavan*, many Indians are already making a great contribution to the enrichment of the Christian ethic, and to the proper understanding of the Son of Man. India's gentleness is, in fact, not that of defeat, but that of victory; and it has largely won over the British people to a recognition of her natural aspirations. Nor must we forget that if Gandhi is the champion of her starving masses, he is also the spearhead of a vast race-movement in which

Asiatic peoples are making their claim to enter into full partnership with the West. The keynote of Mr Gandhi's fivefold programme is indeed partnership, and in his very practical idealism there is little with which the Christian cannot fully sympathize. If there remain strange practices and attitudes like the veneration of the cow (who eats her way through the impoverished fields of India at the expense of humanity), and if his wholehearted acceptance of the caste-system may seem to us reactionary, yet he is, and will remain, a Hindu, sure that his usefulness to India is conditional upon his doing so. "Desert not your *dharma* for that of another" is an Indian axiom.

Indian acceptance of the fundamental law of *karma* has its weakness: personality is merged in the mass and its nerve is too often cut—a fatalistic attitude being very usual. And the pantheistic soil of India is not good for those virtues most valued in the more individualist West—energy, initiative, and determination to harness nature in the service of men. Every Hindu frankly confesses that in social service the West has set a new and creative standard: and many own that even *ahimsā* and detachment need the control of logic and a sane scale of values. Can India retain her gentleness and add energy, preserve her devotion to God in serving men, practise detachment in acquiring zeal? If so she can help to cure us of the worship of the machine, and can work out with us a more humane order of society.

THE SOUL OF INDIA

I. From the Rig-Veda

(about 1000 B.C.)

(*a*) *Funeral Hymn*

From the dead hand I take the bow he wielded,
To gain for us dominion, might, and glory.
Thou there, we here, rich in heroic offspring,
Will vanquish all assaults of every foeman.

Approach the bosom of the earth, thy mother,
This earth extending far and most propitious:
Young, soft as wool to bounteous givers, may she
Preserve thee from the lap of dissolution.

Open wide, O earth, press not heavily on him,
Be easy of approach, hail him with kindly aid;
As with a robe a mother hides
Her son, so shroud this man, O earth.

Adapted from the translation by Arthur A. Macdonell.

(*b*) *The Dice*

Downward they fall, then nimbly leaping upward,
They overpower the man with hands, though handless.
Cast on the board like magic bits of charcoal,
Though cold themselves, they burn the heart to ashes.

It pains a gambler when he sees a woman,
Another's wife, and their well-ordered household:
He yokes these brown steeds early in the morning,
And, when the fire is low, sinks down, an outcast.

"Play not with dice, but cultivate thy cornfield;
Rejoice in thy goods, deeming them abundant:
There are thy cows, there is thy wife, O gambler."
This counsel Savitri the kindly gives me.

Ibid.

(*c*) *The Beginnings of Bhakti*

All my thoughts praise Indra, seeking bliss, longing for him: as wives embrace a fair young bridegroom they embrace him—divine giver of gifts.

II. From the Artharva-Veda

(700 B.C.)

Charm for Luck

Oh dice, give play that profit brings,
Like cows that yield abundant milk:
Attach me to a streak of gain,
As with a string the bow is bound.

Ibid.

III. From the Aitareya Brahmana

(about 600 B.C.)

On the Importance of Having a Son

In him a father pays a debt
And reaches immortality,
When he beholds the countenance
Of a son born to him alive.

Than all the joy which living things
In waters feel, in earth and fire,
The happiness that in his son
A father feels is greater far.

At all times fathers by a son
Much darkness, too, have passed beyond:
In him the father's self is born,
He wafts him to the other shore.

Food is man's life and clothes afford protection,
Gold gives him beauty, marriages bring cattle;
His wife's a friend, his daughter causes pity:
A son is like a light in highest heaven.

Ibid.

IV. From the Upanishads

(*a*) *Rebirth follows Action*

Considering sacrifice and good works as best, these fools know no higher good, and having enjoyed their reward in the height of heaven, gained by good works, they enter again this world or a lower one.

But those who practise penance and faith in the forest, tranquil, wise, and living on alms, depart free from passion... to where that Immortal dwells whose nature is imperishable.

Let a Brahmin, after he has examined all these worlds which are gained by works, acquire freedom from all desires. Nothing that is eternal (not made) can be gained by what is not eternal (made).

Mundaka Up. 1, 2 (adapted from the *Sacred Books of the East*).

(*b*) *What is Needed for Salvation*

The right—the true—penance—self-restraint—tranquillity—the fires of sacrifice—hospitality to guests—duties and begetting children—all these, and the practice of the Veda.

Taittirya Up. I, 19. *Ibid.*

(*c*) *The Four Asrams and Ahimsā*

He who has learnt the Veda from a family of Gurus in accordance with the Dharma, and has come into his own home as householder shall remember what he has learnt by repeating it at regular seasons in some sacred spot. He who has begotten virtuous sons and fixed his mind upon the one reality, who hurts no living thing (except for sacrifice): he who so acts throughout his days shall be no more born, but reach the Brahmā world.

Chāndogya Up. VIII, 15. *Ibid.*

V. From Buddhism

(*a*) *The Ideal Life of the Monk*

O joy! We live in bliss: amongst men of hate, hating none. Let us indeed dwell among them without hatred.

O Joy! In bliss we dwell; healthy amidst the ailing. Let us indeed dwell amongst them in perfect health.

Yea in very bliss we dwell: free from care amidst the careworn. Let us indeed dwell amongst them without care.

In bliss we dwell possessing nothing: let us dwell feeding upon joy like the shining ones in their splendour.

The victor breeds enmity; the conquered sleeps in sorrow. Regardless of either victory or defeat the calm man dwells in peace.

There is no fire like lust; no luck so bad as hate. There is no sorrow like existence: no bliss greater than Nirvana (rest).

Hunger is the greatest ill: existence is the greatest sorrow. Sure knowledge of this is Nirvana, highest bliss.

Health is the greatest boon; content is the greatest wealth; a loyal friend is the truest kinsman; Nirvana is the Supreme Bliss.

Having tasted the joy of solitude and of serenity, a man is freed from sorrow and from sin, and tastes the nectar of piety.

Good is the vision of the Noble; good is their company. He may be always happy who escapes the sight of fools.

He who consorts with fools knows lasting grief. Grievous is the company of fools, as that of enemies; glad is the company of the wise, as that of kinsfolk.

Therefore do thou consort with the wise, the sage, the learned, the noble ones who shun not the yoke of duty: follow in the wake of such a one, the wise and prudent, as the moon follows the path of the stars.

Dhammapada

(from *The Buddha's Way of Virtue*. Wisdom of the East Series).

(*b*) *The Layman's Way to Bliss*

Thus have I heard:

Once when the Blessed One was at Jetavana in Anathapindika's Park, as night came on, a beautiful deva (god) drew near, lighting up the whole place with his presence. He greeted the Blessed One, and then standing on one side, addressed him in these verses:

"What countless men and deities,
Desiring Bliss, have sought to find—
Come tell me, Master, what it is
That brings most blessing to mankind.'

To whom the sage made answer:

"To shun the fool, to court the wise,
This is the highest Paradise:

Pay ye respect where it is due,
So will true blessing wait on you:

Seek a fit place and there remain,
Striving self-knowledge to attain:

If in past lives you've stored up merit,
The fruits thereof you'll now inherit:

Let wisdom, skill, and discipline,
And gracious kindly words be thine:

Tend parents, cherish wife and child,
Pursue a blameless life and mild:

Live thou devout, give ample alms,
Protect thy kin from life's alarms.

Do good, shun ill, and still beware
Of the red wine's insidious snare:

So do thou persevere in good:
This is the true Beatitude:

Be humble, with thy lot content,
Grateful and ever reverent:

Study the Law of Righteousness,
This is the path that leads to Bliss.

Be patient thou, the Saints frequent
And ponder still their argument:

The Noble Truths, the life austere
And chaste that brings Nirvana here:[1]

The life from eightfold bond secure,[2]
The life of peace that crowns the pure:

This is the Highest Bliss to find,
This the chief blessing of mankind."

(*c*) *A Buddhist St Anthony*

Fragrant with sandal-wood and garlanded,
A girl was dancing gaily in the street
With softest strains of flute accompanied.
I chanced upon my begging round to meet

[1] Nirvana in this world is the calm and serene state of mind of the Arhat, wholly detached from the things of time and space.

[2] From eightfold bond. The eight attachments are: sorrow and joy, fame and contumely, wealth and poverty, gain and loss. If a man is moved by none of these things, he is a happy man.

Another very popular summary of Buddhist ethics is found in the Dhammapada 183:

"Eschew all sin;
Good deeds begin;
Cleanse every thought;
Thus Buddhas taught".

The harlot, as she plied her shameful trade:
"O Snare by Mara set, licentious jade"—
My gorge arose—my mind was free!
The Dharma's work behold in me,
Fruit of the Sage's husbandry!

This poem provides an instructive contrast between Christian and Buddhist ethics. An Egyptian hermit of the Early Christian Church also met a dancing-girl plying her shameful trade. He burst into tears, exclaiming, "Alas! that she should be at such pains to please men in her sinful vocation: whilst we in our holy calling use so little diligence to please God".

The Buddhist saint is disgusted, but rejoices that he himself is not tempted. The Christian saint weeps that the children of this world are more zealous than the children of light.

From The Heart of Buddhism: *Heritage of India.*

Asoka's Edict XIII

(*d*) *True Conquest*

His Sacred Majesty desires that all animate beings should have security, self-control, peace of mind, and joyousness.

This is the chief conquest in the opinion of His Sacred Majesty—the conquest of the Law of Piety.

Let all joy be found in effort, because that avails for both this world and the next.

Delight is found in the conquests made by the Law. The delight, however, is only a small matter: His Sacred Majesty regards as bearing much fruit only that which concerns the other world.

After the translation by V. A. Smith.

(*e*) *The Rewards of Faith*

All are destined to Buddhahood

If men build stupas in brick or clay—even if they pile up heaps of dust in mountain or forest with devotion:

If little children, as they play, make mounds of sand in honour of the Jinas... all these enter into Enlightenment.

If on painted walls they set out figures of the Blessed Ones well and truly painted or cause painters to portray them—such too become partakers of Enlightenment.

All, even boys who in sport have made images of iron or wood

—or sounded cymbals and drums, or sung melodies to the Blessed Ones—all these become Buddhas in this world....

Even they who offer a single flower...or join the palms in worship but once, or make but one bow before a stupa, or cry once, "Glory to the Buddha" with wandering mind—even such enter into Enlightenment.

Yet the Monk has still his place

Let the monk live apart and pure, doing his duties: let him shun kings and princes.

Let him hold no converse with courtier, or outcaste, with drunkard or heretic:

Let him pay no court to the proud, but rather to the disciplined....

Let him shun Jains and giggling chattering nuns, and lay-sisters who are incontinent...matrons and maids...butchers, panders, dancers, fencers, wrestlers and all such folk.

Let him preach to women, but not jest with them.

Saddharma-pundarīka Sūtra, 47–8
(from *Lotuses of the Mahayana*, translated by K. J. Saunders. Wisdom of the East Series).

(*f*) *Faith*

Faith is the guide, the womb, the guardian, the begetter and the cherisher of all virtues.

Expelling lust, bridging the stream, Faith shows to us the City of Bliss.

Faith is the calm of pure thought: rooted in honour, freed from pride.

Faith is the foot on which we go to find great treasure, the hand with which we grasp happiness.

Faith gives gladness even in self-denial. Faith gives delight in the Law of the Victor.

Faith gives the pre-eminence in knowledge of virtue: it guides and crowns the Buddha with victory.

Faith is a power unto keenness and clearness of morality, keeping the five great qualities from extinction.

Unconquerable by passion, Faith seeks out the noble traits of Buddhahood.

Unattached to carnal joys, delivered from evil, Faith is the truest and only joy.

Faith goes beyond the realm of Mara, and reveals the way to Deliverance.

Faith is the seed and root of virtues, Faith nourishes the tree of Wisdom, Faith increases the joys of knowledge.

Faith it is which reveals the Victorious Ones.

They who put faith in Buddha leave not the Way of Virtue... They who put faith in the Dharma thirst after knowledge of the Victorious Ones, and aspire to their incomparable traits....

They who put Faith in the Sangha... will never fall from the strength of the true way.

Ratnalka Dharani (after Bendall and Rouse). *Ibid.*

(*g*) *Servants—Above Good and Evil*

When disease is rife these high ones become medicine for healing and for happiness of men.

When famine is abroad they become food and drink; dispelling hunger and thirst, they preach the Law to all.

In time of war they are intent upon compassion, and persuade millions to do no hurt.

Impartial in the midst of strife, they smile upon reconciliation —these mighty Bodhisattvas.

Whatsoever hells there be—thither they set their faces for good of men.

In the worlds of animals they are known preaching the Law; therefore are they called Guides.

Amongst those sunk in sensual pleasures they disport themselves: where men sit in meditation they meditate: they destroy Mara and leave him no entry. As a lotus exists not in fire, even so they show, by meditation, that there is no lust. Yea, as courtesans they entice men, and catching them with the hook and bait of lust establish them in Buddha wisdom.

For the good of the world they become all things to all men.

Vimalakirtinidesa Sutra, 325–6 (*c.* third century A.D.). *Ibid.*

VI. A South Indian Moralist

(Tiruvalur, second to fourth centuries A.D.)

(*a*) *Love*

Is there a bolt that can avail to shut up love?
The trickling tears of loving eyes would tell it out.

All for themselves the loveless spend;
The loving e'en their bones for others give.

The link of soul and body, say the wise,
Is but the fruit of man's own link with love.

Love doth the trait of tenderness beget;
That, too, begets true friendship's priceless worth.

The bliss of earth and heav'n the blessed gain,
The learned say, is rooted in a loving life.

The foolish say, "Love helps the good alone";
But surely 'tis a help 'gainst evil too.

As the sun's heat burns up all boneless things,
So virtue doth burn up all loveless things.

To live the home-life with a loveless heart
Is like a withered tree flowering in barren sand.

To those who lack the inward means of love
What use is there in any outward means?

The living soul subsists in love;
The loveless are but skin and bone.

Translated by H. A. Popley. *The Sacred Kural.*

(*b*) *Home-Life*

He lives home-life who stands in Virtue's path,
And helps the orders three in their good paths.

He lives true home-life who's a help
To the lost, the poor and to the dead.

Pitris, gods, kin, one's guests and self—
To serve these five is duty chief.

Ne'er shall be lack of offspring in his house,
Who fearing ill, gives ere he enjoys.

If in the home true love and Virtue dwell,
Home-life is full of grace and fruit.

If home-life's lived always in Virtue's way,
What good is there in leaving house and home?

He, who lives home-life worthily,
Shall first among all strivers be.

Home-life, that helps the saints and swerves from Virtue ne'er,
Endures more trials than lonely hermit-life.

Home-life itself is Virtue's way;
The other, too, is good, if men no fault can find.

He, who lives home-life worthily on earth,
Will win a place 'mong gods who dwell in heaven.

Ibid.

VII. From the Gītā

(*a*) *Bhakti*

If one with devotion offers me a leaf, a flower, a fruit, or water, that offering made with devotion I accept from the striving soul.

Whatever thou doest, or eatest, or sacrificest, or givest, whatever thy austerity, O son of Kunti, do that as dedicated to me.

Thus from the fruits of good and evil shalt thou be released, from the bonds of action; with thy self trained by the Yoga of renunciation thou shalt be freed and come to me.

IX, 26.

(*b*) *Duty*

Better is one's own duty without seeking reward than the duty of another however well done. Better is death in doing one's duty. That of another is full of peril.

III, 35.

(*c*) *Desire the Enemy*

It is desire, it is wrath, that is the voracious one, the wicked. Know thou that in this world there is the great enemy, as a flame hidden in a cloud of smoke, as a mirror dulled with dirt, as the embryo in its wrappings, so is this world enveloped by desire.

III, 37.

(*d*) *A Summary of Ideals*

Worship of the gods, of the twice-born, of teachers and wise ones, purity and uprightness, celibacy and non-injury—these are called the austerity of the body.

Speech which does not agitate but is true, pleasant and useful—this and the study of the Scriptures is called the austerity of speech.

Kindliness of mind, gentleness, silence, self-control and inward purity—these are the austerity of the mind.

From *The Song of the Lord*, translated by E. J. Thomas. Wisdom of the East Series.

VIII. *From* KAUTILYA'S ARTHASĀSTRA

(*a*) *Kingship*

The King's most religious duty is preparedness: His truest sacrifice is duty. Accessibility is his almsgiving and consecration.

In the happiness of his people lies his happiness—in their well-being his.

Princes, like crabs, have a notorious habit of devouring their begetter. Let the King tend them well!

(*b*) *Spies, lust and cupidity*

A woman, in the guise of a religious much esteemed at court, may approach the chief ministers one by one whispering "The Queen has fallen in love with you: all is set for you to come to her chamber: and much wealth will also be yours"!

IX. POPULAR MORALITY

(*a*) *The Lawgiver Manu*

A wooden elephant, an antelope
Of leather, and a Brahmin without knowledge—
These are three things that only bear a name.

II, 157.

Who searches eagerly for truth will find
The knowledge hidden in his teacher's mind.

II, 118.

With pain the mother to her child gives birth,
With pain the father rears him; as he grows
He heaps up cares and troubles for them both;
Incurring thus a debt he ne'er can pay,
Though he should strive through centuries of time.

II, 227.

Think constantly, O son, how thou mayest please
Thy father, mother, teacher—these obey.
By deep devotion seek thy debt to pay.
This is thy highest duty and religion.

II, 228.

From poison thou mayest take the food of life,
The purest gold from lumps of impure earth,
Examples of good conduct from a foe,
Sweet speech and gentleness from e'en a child,
Something from all; from men of low degree
Lessons of wisdom, if thou humble be.

II, 238, 239.

E'en as a driver checks his restive steeds,
Do thou, if thou art wise, restrain thy passions,
Which, running wild, will hurry thee away.

II, 88.

"I am alone": but there resides within thee
A Being who inspects thine every act
Knows all thy goodness and thy wickedness.

VIII, 85, 91.

Daily perform thine own appointed work
Unweariedly; and to obtain a friend—
A sure companion in the future world—
Collect a store of virtue like the ants
Who garner up their treasures into heaps;
For neither father, mother, wife nor son,
Nor kinsman, will remain beside thee then,
When thou art passing to that other home—
Thy virtue will thine only comrade be.

IV, 238, 239.

Be courteous to thy guest who visits thee;
Offer a seat, bed, water, food enough,
According to thy substance, courteously;
Naught taking for thyself till he be served;
Homage to guests brings wealth, fame, life, and heaven.

III, 106; IV, 29.

In childhood must a father guard his daughter;
In youth the husband shields his wife; in age
A mother is protected by her sons—
Ne'er should a woman lean upon herself.

V, 148; IX, 3.

A faithful wife who wishes to attain
The heaven of her lord, must serve him here
As if he were a god, and ne'er do aught
To pain him, whatsoever be his state,
And even though devoid of every virtue.

V, 154, 156.

The Lord of all in pity to our needs
Created kings, to rule and guard us here;
Without a king this world would rock with fear.

VII, 3.

A king, e'en though a child, must not be treated
As if he were a mortal; rather is he
A god in human shape.

VII, 8.

That king is equally unjust who frees
The guilty or condemns the innocent.
The wicked he must treat like thorny weeds,
They must be rooted out with active arm;
The good and virtuous let him shield from harm.

IX, 252, 253.

He who by firmness gains the mastery
Over his words, his mind, and his whole body,
Is justly called a triple-governor.

XII, 10.

Exerting thus a threefold self-command.
Towards himself and every living creature,

Subduing lust and wrath, he may aspire
To that perfection which the good desire.

XII, 11.

(*b*) *The Rāmāyana*

Truth, justice, and nobility of rank
Are centred in the King; he is mother,
Father, benefactor of his subjects.

II, lxvii, 35.

Whate'er the work a man performs,
The most effective aid to its completion—
The most prolific source of true success—
Is energy without despondency.

V, xii, 11.

He has wealth who has strength of intellect;
He has wealth who has depth of erudition;
He has wealth who has nobleness of birth;
He has wealth who has relatives and friends;
He has wealth who is thought a very hero;
He has wealth who is rich in every virtue.

VI, lxxxiii, 35, 36.

(*c*) *The Māhābhārata*

Thou thinkest: I am single and alone—
Perceiving not the great eternal Sage
Who dwells within thy breast. Whatever wrong
Is done by thee, He sees and notes it all.

I, 3015.

A wife is half the man, his truest friend,
Source of his virtue, pleasure, wealth—the root
Whence springs the line of his posterity.

I, 3028.

Conquer a man who never gives by gifts;
Subdue untruthful men by truthfulness;
Vanquish an angry man by gentleness;
And overcome the evil man by goodness.

III, 13253.

Triple restraint of thought and word and deed,
Strict vow of silence, coil of matted hair,
Close shaven head, garments of skin or bark,
Keeping of fasts, ablutions, maintenance
Of sacrificial fires, a hermit's life,
Emaciation—these are all in vain,
Unless the inward soul be free from stain.

III, 13445.

To injure none by thought or word or deed,
To give to others, and be kind to all—
This is the constant duty of the good.
High-minded men delight in doing good,
Without a thought of their own interest;
When they confer a benefit on others.

After Monier Williams. *Indian Wisdom.*

X. Proverbial Wisdom

(*a*) *Dame Fortune*

Not for kings the craven quibble
"Fortune takes as fortune gave":
Do thou treat her as a master,
And she'll be thy willing slave.

(*b*) *Passion*

Passion will be slave or mistress;
Yield and she will lay you low,
Be her master and she'll lead you
Where dame Fortune bids you go.

(*c*) *The Family*

Let the family hold together,
Though it be both poor and small,
Leave the rice and husk uncovered
And it will not grow at all.

(*d*) *A Son*

Food for man's life and clothes for his protection,
Gold for adornment, marriage for enrichment,
A wife for distraction, a daughter for affliction,
A Son alone is as the Sun in its perfection.

The Sage Narada to King Harischandra,
c. ninth century B.C.

(e) *When Silence is Golden*

Needlebeak, an interfering bird, is admonished by a monkey:

If you are wise and court success,
On busier men yourself don't press,
Nor speak to gamblers who have lost
Or hunters who have missed the scent—
Or you will soon be sorrow-tossed!

The bird refuses this advice and the monkeys wring its neck—their leader continuing:

Wood that is stiff cannot be bent
Nor is hard stone by razor dressed,
So seek not, friends, a fool to teach,
Silence is wiser than the wisest speech.

Panchatāntra—written in prose with verse summaries for the instruction of princes about the first century A.D.
Translated by A. W. Ryder.

CHAPTER II

THE ETHICS OF THE CHINESE

"A great man is in harmony with Heaven and Earth." *Shu Ching*

The Chinese are in many things the Greeks of Asia. If the nerve of Greek culture is the quest for beauty and truth, that of the Chinese is the search for harmony, and for right and reasonable social relations. The foundations of Chinese society are to be found in two different civilizations, that of the Shang or Eastern people, and that of the Chou who came from the West and conquered them towards the end of the twelfth century B.C. Thus Chinese civilization in its present form has its beginnings at about the same period in history as that of India, Greece and Judaea, and light is thrown upon it, as upon them, by ancient poetry and by archaeology. We have the Odes, which were collected by Confucius in the sixth century B.C., many of which go back at least six centuries before his time, to tell us of early Chou ideals, and deposits of inscribed bones to tell us much of the primitive religion of the Shang. From these sources we learn that what we may call Sinism, that is, the religious civilization of Ancient China, was a fusion of the ancestor-worship of the Shang and their practice of divination, with the theistic beliefs of the Chou, whose Odes are concerned with the worship of Shang-ti or Hao-T'ien, God or Heaven —conceived as mighty and just. In other words, Sinism is akin to other early civilized cults in blending belief in a god of moral character with the older, more superstitious cult of the dead, and of divination.

But while the Hebrews allowed the "fear of Yahweh"[1] gradually to banish these superstitions, the Chinese, with a

[1] This is a poor translation: "love for Yahweh" is nearer the meaning of the Hebrew.

characteristic spirit of compromise, allowed the two to go on side by side, and built up a pantheon in which ancestors and the forces of nature were given their due place. Dr Hu Shih, who finds the essence of the Chinese spirit in humanism and rationalism, yet recognizes how great a place superstition has played in their history:

The importance of divination in the history of Chinese civilization cannot be over-estimated. As far as we know, the earliest writings in China were those engraven on the Oracular bones... regarding the subject for divination, the date, and the reading of the Oracular answer. This was the beginning of writing, of chronology, of history and of literature. This, too, marked the beginning of literary education and of an intellectual class. For the tremendous importance attached to divination and worship and the difficulty in deciphering the mysterious signs on the bones and mastering the art of ideographical writing, all these gave rise to a class...especially trained for performing such duties. These were the priests and priestesses, the interpreters of the gods and the teachers of men...the custodians of knowledge. It was natural that the office of the Imperial Historian was always connected with the state priesthood. Moreover, since astrology early became a part of the science of divination, the priests were the first readers of the secrets of the heavens, the keepers and reformers of the calendar, and the fathers of astronomy. They were the first scientists and the first philosophers and, insofar as the object of divination was to guide state action and human conduct, they were also the first moral philosophers who sought to understand the will of the gods for the warning and guidance of men.[1]

We may follow this clear and systematic thinker in dividing Chinese history into three main periods:

I. The Sinitic Age, which begins with the Shang Dynasty in the second millennium B.C., and continues to A.D. 300, when the triumph of Buddhism brought profound changes.

II. The Buddhist Era, from the fourth to the twelfth centuries A.D.

[1] *Symposium of Chinese Culture*, pp. 28 and 29, published by the Institute of Pacific Relations, Shanghai.

III. The Chinese Renaissance, which begins with the triumph of Neo-Confucianism, and lasts to the present day.

Within the first period comes the great and classical age of Chou (1122–255 B.C.), when the foundations were laid upon which all Chinese civilization was to be built. The second period follows the era of Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 221), another epoch in Chinese civilization when the Confucian systems were reorganized, and when Buddhism began to make its characteristic contribution. It includes the artistic and literary efflorescence of the Chinese spirit under the influence of Buddhism, and of the invigorating blood of barbarian invaders. This is the T'ang Era (A.D. 618–907) when China reached its greatest achievements in art and poetry. The third period begins with the enlightenment of Sung (A.D. 960–1280), and is marked by a great development of printing, and the publication of vast encyclopaedias, histories and anthologies. It is essentially the reassertion of rationalism and humanism against the mysticism and transcendentalism of Buddhists, and the magic of Taoists: but its leading scholars absorbed much Indian philosophy, and Buddhism in fact triumphed in yielding.

I

The great teachers of the Chou Dynasty are all concerned with the *tao*, or Way of life, some finding it in the spontaneity of nature, others in her orderliness. And, as in India, some found grounds for Theism and Mysticism in her workings, and some for Atheism and Rationalism. Some emphasized the Divine Way, some the Human. The concept is of central importance in the study of China. The character for *tao* is made up of two others—one meaning "to go", the other "leader". It means then, norm, way, standard, law of nature, nature itself. "Do not violate *tao* to win the favour of men", says the Shu Ching, which attributes the saying to the great ruler Yu: "To revere *tao* is to win the

favour of Heaven".[1] Behind and above Heaven and *shangti* (the Ruler) is the cosmic order—like the *rita* of Vedic India and the *moira* of Homeric Greece—which the gods themselves must obey.

It cannot be too much emphasized that Chinese ethics are rooted in this concept, which is itself the outgrowth of early folk-ways. Having learned, perhaps after long wanderings, the values of an ordered social life the early Chinese read the lessons of nature, and attributed to the cosmos itself a Norm or Order in sympathy with human endeavour and to be followed in their further progress. "The *tao*", says the first Taoist, "is that by which the highest man guides the people."[2] As in India and Greece men and nature are one cosmos and must work in harmony. *Li* (propriety) and *h'u* (harmony) are with *wu-wei* (spontaneity) keywords to this early cosmic sociology: "The former refers to the body of *mores* according to which it was necessary to live in order to win social approval and prosperity, and to avoid disturbing the order of the cosmos (conceived as including men on very intimate terms). The second is very often used to denote that harmonious state of nature which was the normal and beneficial thing.... Men must follow the customs of the group in order to maintain both social and cosmic harmony".[3] The third, *wu-wei*, is the way of natural and spontaneous conduct. Man is essentially nature's child: let him be natural.

This was exactly the view of the early Greeks, and it persists in China to the present day. Natural disasters are regarded as the result of unnatural conduct. The cosmic order is the *tao*, and ancient China saw in it a dualism of male and female, heaven and earth, north and south, light and darkness—*yang* and *yin*. When these opposites are in harmony all goes well. "The people being at ease, *yin* and *yang* are

[1] *Shu Ching*, pp. 55, 183.
[2] Kwân-tse in the seventh century B.C.
[3] Creel, *Sinism*, p. 13.

in harmony, and when they harmonize all things grow and develop.... When they are at variance calamities occur", says the Shu Ching.[1]

Early Chinese rituals were fertility-cults—like the corn-dances of New Mexico—which ended in sexual intercourse; and these, M. Granet maintains with good reason, are the origin of the *yang* and *yin* philosophy of opposites. Thus literally in the harmonies of dance and song and in the mating of men and women the rhythm of nature expresses itself, and the *tao* finds embodiment. So good and bad are defined in terms of harmony with nature. To follow the *tao* is for ruler and people the way to prosperity and peace. "A great man is in harmony with Heaven and Earth", says the Shu Ching, and the conservative K'ung Fu-tse (Confucius) no less than the rebel Lao-tse makes the *tao* fundamental in his teachings. All goes well if men follow the *tao*—all goes wrong if they desert it. "The *tao* of Heaven is Truth: to attain truth is the *tao* of Men."[2]

In this the great teachers agree: they differ as to methods of embodying the *tao*. As Sākyamuni takes the word *dharma* and fills it with new meaning, so Lao-tse and Confucius take *tao*—a much older concept—and seek to make it the basis of new ways of life for the men of their day.

Theirs was a time of decay and disillusionment, and the three great teachers of this age, Confucius, Lao-tse and Mo-tse, are best understood, as Dr Hu Shih has pointed out, in their relation alike to the old Sinism and to the critical and sceptical spirit of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. "The world had fallen into decay—truth had faded away. Evil doctrines and deeds of violence were rife. Unnatural acts—regicide and parricide—were done. Confucius was afraid." So wrote Meng-tse (Mencius) in describing the dark days of the decline of Chou. This great Dynasty had set a model of a state well-ordered, and of families modelling

[1] II, 192, 16.

[2] "Doctrine of the Mean", XX, 18.

themselves upon the royal house, which, in its turn, represented *tao* the cosmic order, and worshipped Shang-ti as Lord of Heaven. Filial piety had originated in ancestor-worship, but had gradually taken so important a place that Confucius and his school were to make it the foundation of their system. It is clear that they idealized the past, for the Odes show us that there was very early in China a resentment of the extravagance and callousness of rulers, and also much questioning of Heaven. Our illustrative readings make it clear that side by side in folk-songs and early lyrics went the old cosmic religion and the spirit of revolt. To Confucius (551–478 B.C.) the way of reform was the way of ancient wisdom. "I am a transmitter," he said, "not an innovator."

His contemporary, Lao-tse, represents an attitude of revolt, alike against the old religion and against the formalism of the court and of the walled city. Among his sayings is an echo of the sceptical note in the Odes, and he interprets the *tao* as the unchangeable and primaeval Mother of the Universe. Man's Wisdom is to embody its spontaneity in human society, and this principle of *wu-wei* has played a great part in Chinese political thought. It has often been interpreted as *laissez-faire*, for certain emperors discovered that the people prospered in proportion to the inaction of their rulers; and Lao-tse is reported to have said, "Govern a great country as you cook a little fish [*i.e.* don't over-do it]". He believed that the ideal society was that in which men lived simply, according to nature, and that the spontaneous life was the beautiful life. There is, indeed, in the little "Tao-te-Ching",[1] a book of sayings attributed to this great master, much that reminds us of the Sermon on the Mount, its pacifism and meekness as well as its mysticism and poetry. Was either intended as a set of principles for rulers? Is not Lao-tse a mystic anarchist?

Much more orthodox was Confucius, who sought a

[1] "A ridiculous little book", says Dr H. Giles of this masterpiece.

social ethic to reform his people, and as an official for many years endeavoured to persuade the state of Lu to "return to ancient wisdom". A disciple has left us this tribute:

> While reading the works of K'ung Fu-tse, I have always fancied I could see the man as he was in life; and when I went to Shantung I actually beheld his carriage, his robes, and the material parts of his ceremonial usages. There were his descendants practising the old rites in their ancestral home, and I lingered on, unable to tear myself away. Many are the princes and prophets that the world has seen in its time, glorious in life, forgotten in death. But K'ung, though only a humble member of the cotton-clothed masses, remains among us for many generations. He is the model for such as would be wise. By all, from the Son of Heaven down to the meanest student, the supremacy of his principles is fully and freely admitted. He may indeed be pronounced the divinest of men.[1]

In the Analects, a collection of his sayings, we get many vivid glimpses of him at his Socratic task: and his description of the gentleman, Chun-tse, is a picture of himself. "He sorrows not nor shows fear. If there is no guilt in him why should he either grieve or fear?" If the Man of the Beatitudes gives us a clear picture of the Christian, the *yogi* of the Hindu, and the *bodhisattva* of the Buddhist ideal, the Chun-tse is the ideal of the Chinese. He is the princely man of Chinese society, and his roots are in the principles of *jên* (sometimes translated benevolence, but better humanity) and *chung* (loyalty). The first is the sum-total of those qualities which make up a perfect man, and when a disciple asked Confucius what it meant, he replied, "To love one's fellow man".[2] "*Jên*", he says in another place, "means to be a true man"; for he believed that man is by nature good, and that by disciplining himself he can grow to princely stature. Akin to *jên* is the ideal of *shu*, or generosity, and when asked for a rule of life, Confucius is said to have summed

[1] H. A. Giles, *Chinese Literature*, pp. 103 ff.
[2] *Analects*, XII, 22.

up his teachings under the head *shu*, "not to do to others what you would not that they should do to you". In fact the Confucian ethic may almost be summed up in the words, "Loyalty to self and generosity to others". Confucius, when told that Lao-tse was teaching men to love their enemies, said drily, "Return good for good, and justice for injustice"; for he was, after all, concerned with an ethic for the state, and he could not reach the romantic heights of his great contemporary, who was anarchist as well as mystic. "To-day", he is reported to have said after an interview with Lao-tse, "I have seen the dragon, and who can follow his footprints in the air?" This was in 518 B.C. when as a young man he was for a time a disciple of the Old Master.

He too realized that people were not to be drilled by laws and regulated by punishments, yet could be led by virtue and given a pattern of good form (*li*), till they should have a trained conscience and become good.[1] The people in fact need a pattern: "If the ruler is good the people will be good".[2] And to help in this reform he not only served the state of Lu and its weak prince in several official capacities, but wrote a summary of Chou history, The Annals of Spring and Autumn, which is dry reading, but notable for its accurate use of words, and its moral judgments. Failing to reform a perverse age and a sensual prince and realizing that "rotten wood cannot be carved", the great reformer turned to teaching, and, like Jesus, Socrates and Sākyamuni, entrusted everything to a band of disciples. To them he taught by example and by precept lessons which have become almost too binding upon the Far East.

Confucius was at once a man of his age and the norm or type of the Chinese: reasonable, precise, humorous and a little formal. He is perhaps more typical than Lao-tse, the detached and sceptical critic of the man of affairs, but China has sterilized much of her best effort by canonizing Con-

[1] *Analects*, II, 3.
[2] *Ibid.* XVI, 2.

fucius, and has too often missed the affinities between him and Lao-tse in her age-long strife of words.

These two great teachers have much in common—a certain calm and humorous detachment, an authority which appeals to reason, an ideal of self-control and even of asceticism in the pursuit of truth.

"Living on coarse rice and water, my elbow for a pillow, I can yet be merry", says Confucius, a Chinese Epicurus: "Preserve simplicity, conserve inner beauty, curb self-will, limit desires", says Lao-tse, a Chinese Zeno. They too turn away from an evil world.

"Ill-gotten gains and honours are a wandering cloud", says Confucius: "There is no calamity like ambition", says Lao-tse, "the root of honour is humility".

Confucius, in fact, while he is the ideal Chun-tse or sage, comes near to being a saint after the pattern of Lao-tse: "Benevolent, wise, courageous"—that is the Confucian ideal: "Frugal, gentle, humble"—that is the Laoist.

Lao-tse in his turn fulfils the ideal of Confucius: for he too is reasonable and wise and kindly. Both too are critics of the existing order. But their diagnosis differs: "Too many laws and prohibitions", says Lao-tse: "Too great laxity", says Confucius.

Let us look at the saint of Lao-tse:

> He teaches not by words but by acts:
> He acts but seeks no reward:
> He works out perfection, seeking no credit:
> His preoccupation is with the inner life:
> He puts away excess, and egoism, and softness:
> Honour and dishonour are alike to him:
> All are his children.

The three jewels of Lao-tse are akin to the three cardinal virtues of Confucius. But they have a more quietist tinge, and Lao-tse is much more a rebel against the classical religion, which was sacrificing freedom to form and the people to the officials. It is to the honour of China that

poets like Li Po and humanists like Hsun-tse have voiced the cry of the poor, to her dishonour that they have been voices crying in the wilderness. One great voice is that of the altruist Mo-tse, who saw where Confucian reason was leading his people.

It was a note of universal love which Mo-tse made central in his teachings. Representing the conservatives who clung to the old worship of Shang-ti, Mo-tse attempted to purify it and to widen its applications. His date is about 470–390 B.C., and he opposed the orthodox Confucians as being agnostic and determinist. "We *can* know God, and we must base our conduct upon his moral character. His will is love, universal and without distinction: war is against his nature and nothing will work except love." His critic, Mencius, accorded to him this magnificent tribute. "Mo-tse loved all men, and was ready to wear himself out for humanity. For in a long life of service he endured hardship and opposition in his ministry of reconciliation."[1] Mo-tse also opposed the code of *li* or propriety, now becoming a burden, and as a champion of the poor protested against expensive ceremonies such as funerals.

In his monotheism and his ethical ideals Mo-tse is like a Hebrew prophet; and has been almost ignored until now, when Christian ideals have awakened China to the ideal of the love of God and man. In his pacifism he agrees with Lao-tse, and in his doctrine of universal love he shows a reasoned and balanced ethic, and makes a pragmatic appeal to history.

The great ideal of Mo-tse was "impartial love for all". He insisted that this mutual love was to be expressed in such a way as to be of actual benefit to one's fellows. All his great principles, of which there are ten, result from the application of this ideal to various questions. The first five of these principles embody the main theses of his doctrine, and are discussed in his writings under the following headings:

[1] Mencius, Book VII, I, 26.

The importance of promoting men of character to public office;

The importance of securing a unified method of public administration;

Love for all without distinction;

Opposition to taking the initiative in war;

Economy in public expenditure.

These are ideas already familiar to Confucian China. The last five are heretical, containing attacks on Confucianism, which led to his ostracism. They are:

Economy in funeral rites;

True obedience to the Will of Heaven;

The Existence of Spirits;

Opposition to ceremonial Music;

Emphasis on Free-will.

He endeavours to trace all the confusion, crime, and oppression of his time to one root—selfishness or lack of mutual love: and in this he agrees with Jesus and with Sākyamuni as well as with Lao-tse.

Mo-tse's lode-star is "the will of Heaven", and this is "to love all people everywhere"; but there is a sturdy note of hard work as well as of logic which keeps him from sentimentality. His economic views we should label socialism, and his altruism we should dismiss as a vain dream—so far is our world from having outlived the ancients.

Our illustrative readings will throw light upon the essential teachings of these great founders who were followed by distinguished disciples for many centuries, and whose teachings are indeed the core of Chinese civilization. To the fourth century belongs Chuang-tse, who developed the anarchism and naturalism of Lao-tse until it became a sceptical fatalism. Man can do nothing except submit to destiny; and Chuang-tse, true to his teaching, refused official appointments, and poked fun at the Confucians and at the futility of the court. Nor did he hesitate to attack Confucius

by name. The Confucians in turn accused him of being so absorbed in his mystical naturism as to forget man. If Chuang-tse represents the mystical and world-denying element in China many others were busy with humanism: they never forgot man however much they neglected men; and the following dialogue is typical of the unceasing discussion which engaged their best minds and which continues unabated. It is a classical passage:

Kaou-tse said: "Man's nature is like the willow; righteousness is like a cup or bowl. Fashioning benevolence and righteousness out of man's nature is like making cups and bowls from the willow".

Mencius replied: "Can you, leaving untouched the nature of the willow, make of it cups and bowls? You must do violence to the willow, before you can make cups and bowls of it; (on your principles) you must in the same way do violence and injury to humanity in order to fashion from it benevolence and righteousness. Your words alas would certainly lead all men on to reckon benevolence and righteousness to be calamities".

Kaou-tse said: "Nature is like water whirling round (a corner). Open a passage for it to the east and it will flow to the east; open a passage for it to the west and it will flow to the west. Man's nature is indifferent to good and evil, just as water is indifferent to the east and west".

Mencius replied: "Water indeed (will flow) indifferently to the east or west; but will it flow indifferently up or down? The tendency of man's nature to good is like the tendency of water to flow downwards. There are none but have this tendency to good, (just as) all water flows downwards. Now, by striking water and causing it to leap up, you may make it go over your forehead, and, by damming it and leading it, you may force it up a hill:—but are such movements according to the nature of water? It is the force applied which causes them. When men are made to do what is not good, their nature is dealt with in this way".

In Hsun-tse and his followers China found a new voice urging her "to domesticate and regulate Nature, instead of praising her and meditating upon her". This little-understood teacher of the fourth century B.C. is of great import-

ance. He sought to divorce Confucianism from its cosmic sanctions. Calamities are due not to man's conduct, but to natural causes: and prosperity is the reward of industry. Pacifism pays, not because it is an expression of the *tao*, but because a good ruler would not antagonize people. Such a ruler rules not by mandate of Heaven but by consent of the people.

Men are not by nature good as the Confucians teach, but evil: nurture must correct nature, as man must control its forces. But too much is made of *li* (good-form) and of *i* (righteousness). Man must be educated, not put into a strait-waistcoat. The old morality has indeed become a bed of Procrustes, and the old cosmic philosophy is neither useful nor true.

A radical empiricist, Hsun-tse met with much opposition: yet he is a splendid example of Chinese rationalism. There have indeed been, in the long history of Chinese social ethics, many teachers like the great Wang-an-shih, who believed that man must use the resources of nature, and that human salvation lay largely in better conditions. But the continual emphasis upon a literary education, and the insistence that only by this channel could the public service be entered, have turned China away from material progress; and the coming of the Buddhists with their emphasis upon the monastic life and upon transcendental experience and the joys of Paradise have further separated China from scientific achievement. Having invented printing from movable type, she used it for printing the classics; and having invented the marine compass, she went on believing that outlying parts of the world were barbarian, and not worth her attention.

II

Yet to India she turned eager eyes, and the Buddhist Era is a time in which much secular civilization accompanied the new religion. Into the dim, flat, sad world of Han China, where men were given over to fatalism and necromancy,

came these teachers of the Middle Path of the Buddha, and Dr Hu Shih, who is no great admirer of other-worldly religion, has well said, "Buddhism came with irresistible force...it broke down the fatalism of Confucianism and Taoism...and brought home to the Chinese the idea of the indestructibility of the soul". As in the weary world of Rome Christian missionaries began to tell of a life beyond the grave, and of a power unto salvation in this world, so these Indian missionaries called men not only to the Paradise of the Buddhas, but to an ordered and sane ethic in this life. And though they were bitterly opposed by Confucian scholars as teaching celibacy, and so encouraging unfilial conduct, they replied that they made up for it by looking after the departed soul through orderly stages in the next world. And they compelled first Taoist and then Confucian scholars to come to terms with them.

It is interesting to trace the stages by which China adapts the new religion. Staggered at first by its very complexity and by the grandeur of its metaphysic (Han Era), she proceeds to simplify and to fit it next to Taoist ideas (T'ang); and lastly wins a complete victory over it by rethinking Confucianism in its light (Sung).

That is, I think, a true, if schematic, account of what happened; but some critics would say that it was rather Buddhism conquering first one fastness of the Chinese soul, then another. And some go so far as to call this the domination of Buddhism and the sterilization of China.[1]

In either case it is true to say that Buddhism was gradually adapted to fit the Chinese. It, too, began to make much of returning to nature and of the joys of simplicity, and to adapt itself to the needs of secular life until what had been an other-worldly, even a world-denying, mysticism became a mighty force for making men more efficient as leaders in the world-affirming and utilitarian life of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. Chan-Buddhism is, in effect, a Chinese modification

[1] *E.g.* Messrs Wu Chi-hui and Hu Shih. See *China's own Critics.*

of the old meditation, to set free intuition and to mature judgment.

What Buddhism did for art and for philosophy, there is no space even to suggest here. What it did in the field of ethics is our concern. Bringing a new and impressive story of a great personality deified as "God above all gods", it laid emphasis on God and man in a new relationship of love and adoration: it called attention to the destiny of man after death, and by its other-worldliness emphasized the importance of morality in this life. Compassion, gentleness, purity—these were new notes in China, and the *bodhisattva* ideal is a very different one from that of the Chun-tse.

If filial piety, good-form and loyalty to family and ruler are the keynote of the older ethic they were now to be harmonized with the new: Chinese and Indian ideals were to be blended in Asia, as Greek and Hebrew were to be blended in the West. In both hemispheres in fact a God-centred ethic was meeting with a man-centred ethic: the one largely world-denying, the other world-affirming: the one "mystical", the other "practical". And the challenge of the more religious group to the more secular group was in each case that the ethical traits of the other-worldly are full of value to the world. The Buddhists claim in China to teach a more practical filial piety than the Confucians, a more practical mysticism than the Taoists, and a better philosophy than either. The Christians, accused of lack of natural affection and of loyalty to the state, show that they "out-live" as well as "out-think" the Greek world. Both Christians and Buddhists claim to have the key to life in a Master who is man and also God—whose qualities are the Divine attributes of Justice, Wisdom and Mercy: and both are able to demonstrate in saintly lives of service the practical values of their idealism.

During the second period of Chinese history these schools—Laoist, Confucian and Buddhist—lived side by side, sometimes in conflict, sometimes in mutual tolerance. For the

Buddhist missionaries adopted a wise policy of conciliation, and the Chinese are by nature and by heritage tolerant. There is a marked tendency to fusion, and it is very clear that, as in the T'ang Era Laoism and Buddhism were blent in *zen* or intuitive enlightenment, so in the third great period of Chinese religious development, the Sung Era, Confucian and Buddhist ideals were fused. The leading Neo-Confucians were men like Chu Hsi (1129–1200), who re-interpreted classical Confucianism in the light of Indian philosophy. Seeking to combine reverence with intellectual development, he and Cheng-I turned the mind of China into a Middle Path between superstition and scepticism, and in their emphasis upon intuition as the reward of hard study they learnt much from the Buddhists.

The following are typical maxims of Chu Hsi (1130–1200):

We need not talk about empty and far-away things; if we would know the reality of *Tao*, we must seek it within our own nature.

Each has within him the principle of right: this we call *Tao*, the road along which we ought to walk.

Love itself is the original substance of love; Reverence is love in graceful expression; Righteousness is love in judgment; and Wisdom is love in discriminating.[1]

But Chu Hsi is not only a moralist. He is in effect the subtlest metaphysical mind of China—the architect of the only system of philosophy she has produced; a synthesis of Indian quietism and Chinese rationalism. His aim is to account for the world and man: and he begins with non-being (*wu-ki*), a potential cosmos, and with the Absolute (*tai-ki*) Pure Being—"nearer to the transcendental God of Saint Thomas than to the Brahman of the Vedantist". It is in effect spirit—"everywhere, most exalted, most excellent... conscious soul, self-conscious, conscious of its workings".

Now for the first time China develops a systematic

[1] Translated by J. B. Bruce.

philosophy: a philosophy of spirit and matter. *Li* (spirit) moulds matter (*ki*)—"it is as it were the master of the house, the host who abides while the guests come and go".

It liberates energy-in-matter: it is thus the creative power immanent in this Cosmos—which is "a reflex and an emanation of the Absolute".

"Like the moon which lights up the night: one with the sky it spreads its gentle radiance on waves and lakes, and is reflected in their surface—yet it is one indivisible, and keeps its own identity."

So the *tai-ki* is at once the Source of all, the Soul of all—akin to the Wisdom of the Hebrew, and the *logos* of the Greek.

And if it is akin to the *dharma* of India, it is also akin to the *tao* of China. Like both it leads on to a doctrine of love: and Chu Hsi does not hesitate to bid his emperor meet a great drought (1179) by putting the army to work at agriculture: "You will then have more harvests and fewer mercenaries". Nor did the philosopher hesitate to attack Court intrigues: and for his boldness was exiled by Kuang-tsung. This was the fate, too, of the great statesman, poet, and artist Su Tung-po (1036–1101), who used his exile to good purpose—draining the marshes and widening the canals of Hang-chow, and saving the people in a flood at Soo-chow. The disgust of such men with politics is one note of Chinese ethics, but the old activism of Yu and the early rulers revives in the men of Sung: even those who took opposite sides—Wang-an-shih who persecuted Su Tung-po, Sze-ma-kuang who attacked Wang-an-shih—are in their various ways men who believe that the country must be ruled in the interests of the people, and that man can control the forces of nature.

And in its intellectual activity the Sung Age is one of intense vigour, when *zen* concentration contributes to worldly success, and stimulates artist and poet to a new insight and a new love of nature.

Yet Chinese critics of great insight and ability see in the

Neo-Confucianism of Sung a victory for Buddhism in paralysing the real mind of China—rationalist and humanist —with its other-worldly mysticism.

III

When we turn from ideals to practice and from the sages to the masses, we see that China is not yet the citadel of reason. If self-control is inculcated, it is often lost in the flood of passion: if reason holds sway, it is often dethroned: and as the impartial student reads the long story of China's evolution, he will see that with many noble qualities she has stagnated and degenerated after each period of progress and vigour: that without constant accessions of barbarian blood she has allowed her *vis inertiae* and her detached aloofness to ruin what her strong men have achieved.

"A strong man builds a city: a weak woman lays it low", is a classical rationalization: but who has given concubines and eunuchs their power to destroy? In the last analysis, it is their own sensuality and cruelty, their own low estimate of women. Their other enemies are, as Hu Shih says, ignorance and corruption in high places: and another critic in the same volume[1] gives a striking estimate of their strength and weakness.

Mr Lin Yu-tang names as the chief qualities of his people sobriety, simplicity, love of nature, patience, indifference, old-roguishness, fecundity, industry, love of family life, cheerfulness and sensuality! They are, he maintains, all passive—all typical of an old people with an old culture. "They can all be included under the term *mellowness*, suggestive of calm and passive strength rather than youthful vigour and romance", and his comments on three outstanding qualities are especially illuminating. "I believe that the quality of patience is developed largely through the family system, indifference is largely due to lack of legal protection, and old-roguishness is due, for lack of a better word, to a

[1] *China's own Critics.*

Taoistic view of life". He believes that the Chinese is by nature more Taoist than he is by nurture Confucian—and that these qualities of patience and detachment have been produced by "the deep, slow, very wearing effect on character of the joint family" on the one hand, and by the "absence of legal protection for personal rights" on the other—a form of self-protection developed "as the tortoise develops its shell".

Chinese history is in some ways parallel to that of the Greeks. Both peoples inherit an older culture and develop a classic civilization with a succession of notable thinkers who influence their whole future. If their Socrates is Confucius and their Protagoras Lao-tse, they have also their scientific humanists like Thales and Anaxagoras, and they owe much to an imported mysticism akin to that of Pythagoras.

As with the Greeks, too, individualism and rivalry defeat early attempts at federation, and while there is a parallel quest for harmony and reason, there is also a constant struggle against them of superstition and a persecution of innovators, who are judged by outworn codes and crushed by the dead hand of tradition.

But China's men of science make no great or consistent progress as do those of Greece, and barbarians, while they are civilized by Chinese culture as Rome by Greece, are more continually at the gates. These three enemies—individualism, classicism and invading hordes—trouble the long history of China, and though, like Greece, she develops an upper class of scholars and a measure of social democracy through education, she is almost to the present the milch-cow of dynasties founded by strong rulers and petering out through their own sensuality and superstition. In aesthetic achievement she is the peer of Greece, and in sculpture, bronze-casting and landscape painting has had no rival: yet in drama and other forms of literature, most will agree that a day of Athens is worth a "cycle of Cathay". Perhaps her chief glory is in merchants of a unique integrity and in a sturdy peasantry

undaunted by famine, flood, and evil men. Of them a missionary of fifty years' experience has lately said: "Their enemies...fear them for their virtues rather than for their vices"—and a recent novel, 'The Good Earth', has made the West familiar with their simple, uncomplaining heroism and stoic endurance.

China's scholars, too, are often men of industry, courage and integrity, devoted to the service of their country; yet in their special field of moral philosophy their age-long logomachies as to action and knowledge, and as to man's essential nature do not give the impression of profound insight or sanity. Not till some thirty years before the Christian Era does a Chinese thinker appear, to insist that man is by nature neither good, as the orthodox maintain, nor evil as Hsun-tse insists, but of mixed qualities, until environment moulds his character. To this teacher Yang-hsiung China has paid scant heed, and her sages have too often failed to see the real issue in their squabbles. Her great teacher Mo-tse she has ignored till now, chiefly because he objected to expensive funerals! And in general she has shown more aptitude for making numerical lists than for building systems of thought. She has made great inventions, but not carried them further, and has not yet fully synthesized her Sinitic and her Buddhist heritage. She is, in fact, tending to reject both.

Is the true Chinese a rationalist or a mystic? If both are present in him has his national story been that of rationalism misled by mystics like Lao-tse and the Buddha, or of romantic mysticism racked on the procrustean bed of a rationalist ethic?

The answer is "Neither". He has been a man desiring to believe in the cosmic philosophy of the traditional Sinism—and intending to be guided by reason. But as the harmony has been jangled by famine and flood and misrule he has sought refuge in necromancy and other superstitions, and has revolted against an imposed and artificial morality. If he has been the model son and subject he has also been the

rebel, and if he has been law-abiding he has also had wild bursts of anarchy. Women and eunuchs have ruled the Sons of Heaven, and a smug provincialism has prevented the Middle Kingdom from learning from the outside world, and so being mistress in her own house. If there is a prouder type than the Brahmin it is the Mandarin, and China's sorrows are largely of her own making. But if China is true to her great minds, yet not their slave, she may adopt what is best in Western civilization and yet maintain a strong emphasis upon older values. Her essential social democracy should fit her for political reconstruction, and her innate pacifism should keep her from the blunder of militarism. Much provoked, she is yet richly blessed, and her position as a great and largely self-supporting people in a land of great fertility and in the North an invigorating climate will make her future secure. In village and guild her life goes on largely undisturbed, and here is the real China.

Meantime her intellectual leaders are renewing ancient logomachies,[1] but also taking stock in order to put their national house in order. One of them is supported in his caustic and realistic interpretation of her history by Dr Hu Shih, who quotes him as follows:[2]

Mr Wu Chih-Hui, the veteran thinker of contemporary China, once gave this summary interpretation of the cultural history of China:

"The ancient Chinese were characteristically simple farmers. They were not an imaginative people and were incapable of establishing religious systems. They prayed and worshipped fetishes as their descendants have been doing to this day. They worked hard and were contented with their lot.

"It was only after the rise of several great sages from their midst, such as Confucius and Mencius, that they were emboldened to become an urban people. And they succeeded in

[1] *E.g.* Is "Knowledge hard—action easy" with Sun Yat Sen or are "both difficult" with Hu Shih; or is the old philosophy that "Knowledge is easy, action hard" true after all?

[2] *China's own Critics.*

founding States and Empires. But this life never suited the wishes of the vast majority of the agricultural population who only wanted good crops and no governmental interference. Probably out of respect for this class, the Confucianist thinkers, too, had to preach the blissfulness of contentment and joyous acceptance of fate.

"Before the age of Buddhism, Chinese society was a combination of the farmer and the country squire. The Taoist philosophers Lao-Tze and Chuang-Tze represented the laissez-faire psychology of the farmer, while Confucianism expressed the more active political desires of the country squire.

"But the introduction of Buddhism from India created a new atmosphere. It gave China a religion. At first, the Chinese Buddhists merely interpreted the Indian religion in terms of the nihilistic philosophy of Lao-Tze and Chuang-Tze, and the new religion only furnished fresh material for leisurely and harmless gossip. It had not yet acquired for itself the element of governmental authority.

"As time went on, however, Confucianist thought became unconsciously influenced by the religion of India. The Confucianists of Sung, and Chu Hsi (d. 1200 A.D.) in particular, unwittingly incorporated much of Buddhism into their new interpretation of Confucius and Mencius, and they succeeded in remaking the political principles of the country squires of old. The harmless gossip of ancient farmers and their rustic philosophers sitting on their faggot piles and sunning their backs in the wintry sun, now became the authoritative codes of morals and of government.

"Buddhism was a religion which teaches man to forsake this world and prepare for life in the other world. But, when Chu Hsi and his co-workers unconsciously adopted this religion of the other world and super-imposed its ideas upon the moral and political codes for life in this real world—then the new codes became terrors and made Chinese society a tragedy. How lifeless has Chinese society become since the twelfth and thirteenth centuries!"

Upon this summary Dr Hu Shih makes this comment:

The...history of the last fifteen centuries represented China's long struggle to free herself from the conquest and domina-

tion of Buddhism.... This emancipation has never been fully achieved.... Buddhism has transformed the Chinese conception of many of the fundamental values.... While most painstaking in its care for the life of an ant or a mosquito it regards human life as not worth living.... Another revolution was in the conception of the family which had formed such an important part of Confucian ethics....

This is putting the cart before the horse. China has in fact habitually frustrated men who sought to rouse her to action, from Han Fei in the second century B.C. and his master, the First Emperor, to Wan Yang Ming, in the sixteenth, and to Sun Yat Sen in the twentieth. A glance at our illustrative readings will reveal this double core of Chinese thought—akin to that of Greece, from Thales on through the many centuries of scientific thought on the one hand, and from Pythagoras on down through Plato on the other.

China has her Laoists and her Confucians, her mystics and her humanists, her pragmatists and her idealists, and to them she has added the imported Indian metaphysic of transcendental moralism and monasticism. But her Confucian minds have dominated her history, and Confucius is still her master.

The critics are right in insisting that Buddhist monasticism weakened family life—wrong in idealizing the Confucian ethic, which in practice gives woman a low place. It is essentially patriarchal, and Hu Shih is surely unfair in attributing such horrors as foot-binding to Buddhism. In Burma —a very typical Buddhist land—women are freer than anywhere else in Asia: and in Japan, whose Confucian leaders have lowered the status of women, no such barbarism can be found; yet Japan is much more strongly Buddhist than China.

The critics are right, too, in accusing Buddhism of loosening Chinese roots in "the good earth" and of strengthening their other-worldliness. But no Buddhist was ever more mystical than Lao-tse, more other-worldly than Chuang-

tse, and the monasteries have been largely recruited from famine orphans whom neither the good earth nor the joint-family has provided for.

The Buddhist would reply, quite fairly, that what China needed most in the Han Era they supplied—a middle path between the too-mystical and the too-rationalist, as between the too-sceptical and the too-credulous.

Are Lieh-tse and Chuang-tse on the one hand or Hsun-tse and Han Fei on the other better guides to sane and moral living? And if Buddhism is pessimistic, it is not so pessimistic as Han Confucianism. It may also claim that its attack on *tanhā* (lust, malice, and ignorance) is what China has needed to reinforce her resistance to her own pet vices.

And the Christian will not fail to see that in his Master's Person and teachings China is offered a better social and individual ethic, and a more constraining motive.

Of all China's own teachers the neglected Mo-tse is the greatest and the most Christlike in example and teaching. He would say of our distracted age what he said of his own: "A world which condemns a petty wrong and praises the greatest of crimes—war—knows no true distinction between right and wrong".

THE SOUL OF CHINA

I. From Ancient Wisdom

(*a*) *Man*

Man is the heart and mind of Heaven and Earth—the visible embodiment of the five elements. He lives enjoying all flavours, distinguishing all notes, clad in all colours.

Li Chi.

A great man is in harmony with Heaven and Earth.

Shu Ching.

(i) *God punishes the wayward*

The people of Miao abandoned reason...killing the innocent....

The Lord on High was angry: and misfortune befell them.
They could not escape punishment;
They perished from the earth.

(ii) *From the* Code of the Tenth Century B.C.

Let both parties be heard by the Judges. Let them consider whether the crime merits one of the five punishments or one of the five fines. If not, let them declare it an involuntary misdemeanour....Let them beware of doing so from wrong motives such as fear, or favour, or for disgrace or for bribes....

Branding is one punishment for a thousand crimes. Amputation of the nose is another. Amputation of the foot is one for five hundred, castration for three hundred, death for two hundred....

As to ransom from each—from six hundred ounces of copper for escape from branding to six thousand for escape from the death penalty.

II. FROM LAO-TSE

(sixth century B.C.)

(*a*) *The Tao and Te*

Pervading all is this Great Way!
Behold It on thy right and left!
From It proceeds whate'er exists,
It gives all life and spurns them not.
Yet when Its task is duly done,
It makes no boast of sovranty;
All things It loves and cherishes,
Yet claims no lordship over them.
In smallest things It may be found,
As in the greatest: all return
To It; yet know not this Great Way
As Lord and Guardian of their life.
Hence is the Sage by It empowered—
Humbling himself he groweth strong:
To him the world for rest resorts,
And findeth peace who holds this Way.

Tao-te-ching.

(*b*) *Wu-wei*

When naturalness is obliterated, there is "benevolence" and "righteousness". When "wisdom" and "knowledge" appear, there is great hypocrisy. When natural relations do not harmonize, there is "filial piety" and "parental devotion". When a nation is in disorder and misrule, there is "loyalty" and "allegiance". Therefore, "Abandon wisdom, put away sagacity.... Abandon benevolence, put away justice....Abandon smartness, give up greed...".

Ibid. 18–19.

The more restrictions and prohibitions there are in the world, the poorer grow the people. The more inventions and weapons the people have, the more troubled is the State. The more cunning and skill man has, the more startling events will happen. The more laws and mandates are enacted, the more there will be thieves and robbers. Therefore the wise man says: I practise non-action, and the people of themselves reform. I love quietude, and the people of themselves become righteous. I initiate no policy, and the people of themselves become rich. I desire nothing, and the people of themselves become simple.

Ibid. 57.

(*c*) *The Pacifism of Lao-tse*

He who seeks to rule men in harmony with Tao will not subdue the empire by force of arms. Such action brings retribution.

Weapons however handsome are instruments of ill-omen and hateful to all things. Who has the Tao will leave them alone...they are not the instruments of the princely man. Peace and tranquillity are what he prizes....He who rejoices in the slaughter of men is not fit for rule.

(*d*) *The Saint of Lao-tse*

This is the way of heaven, which benefits and harms not. This is the way of the Sage, in whose acts there is no element of strife.

The Sage embraces humanity and is a teacher of all under the heavens. He is free from self-display, and so he shines abroad; free from self-assertion and so he is distinguished: free from self-glorification and so he must be worthy. Free from self-exaltation

he rises superior. As he does not strive there is no one in the world who can strive with him.

He who acts destroys: he who grasps loses: therefore the Sage does not act nor grasp.

The Sage attends to the inner and not to the outer: he puts away the objective and holds to the subjective.

Living in the world he is careful lest his heart be soured by the world. The people fix their gaze upon him and listen for his words. He looks upon all as his children.

(*e*) *Lao-tse's own Graces*

I have three precious things which I cherish and prize. The first is gentleness, the second is frugality, the third is humility.

Be gentle and you may be bold, be frugal and you may be liberal; avoid putting yourself above others and you may become a leader.

He who humbles himself shall be saved. He who bends shall be made straight.

He who is empty shall be filled.

III

(*a*) *The Princely Man of Confucius*

(after L. Giles)

The princely man has three virtues, which I cannot claim for myself. He is truly benevolent and free from care: truly wise and free from delusion: truly brave and free from fear.

"These", said Tse Kung, "are our Master's own qualities."

The princely man is modest in his speech, liberal in performance.

He is firm but not quarrelsome, sociable but not clannish.

He pays special attention to nine points, striving to see clearly, to hear distinctly, to look kindly: respectful in his bearing, careful in his speech, earnest in business: when in doubt he is careful to seek advice; when in anger he thinks of the consequences; when offered opportunities of gain he is mindful only of duty.

He makes the sense of duty the ground of his character, blends with it a sense of harmony, manifests it in a spirit of unselfishness, and perfects it by the addition of sincerity and truth.

The Master said, "It is not easy to find a man who has learned for three years without coming to be good".

VIII, xii.

The Master said, "There being instruction there will be no distinction of classes".

XVI, xxxviii.

(*b*) *Other Moral Teachings*

Shu: Generosity

Tse-kung asked saying, "Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" The Master said, "Is not Shu such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others".

XV, xxiii.

Chung-kung asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, "It is, when you go abroad, to behave to every one, as if you were receiving a great guest; to employ the people as if you were assisting at a great sacrifice; not to do to others as you would not wish done to yourself; to have no murmuring against you in the country and none in the family".

XII, ii.

Hsiao: Filial Piety

The Master said, "When a man's father is alive, look at the bent of his will; when his father is dead, look at his conduct. If for three years he does not alter from the way of his father, he may be called filial".

I, xi.

The Master said, "A youth, when at home, should be filial, and abroad, respectful to his elders".

I, vi, *a*.

Mang-E asked what filial piety was. The Master said, "It is not being disobedient".

Fan Che asked, "What did you mean?" The Master replied, "That parents, when alive, should be served according to propriety; and that when dead, they should be buried according to propriety; and that they should be sacrificed to according to propriety".

II, v, I, 3.

The Master said, "In regard to the aged, give them rest; in regard to friends, show them sincerity; in regard to the young, treat them tenderly".

V, XXV, 4.

(*c*) *Government*

To be a prince is difficult.

XIII, XV, 2*a*.

The Master said, "To rule over a country of a thousand chariots, there must be reverent attention to business, and sincerity; economy in expenditure, and love for the people; and the employment of them at the proper seasons".

I, V.

The Master said, "When a prince's personal conduct is correct, his government is effective without the issuing of orders. If his personal conduct is not correct, he may issue orders, but they will not be obeyed".

XIII, VI.

The Master said, "To govern means to rectify. If you lead on the people with correctness, who will dare not to be correct?"

XII, XVII.

(*d*) *The Ideal Curriculum*

The Master's frequent themes of discourse were—the Odes, the Book of History, and the maintenance of the Rules of good form. On all these he frequently discoursed.

VII, XVII.

The Master said, "My children, why do you not study the Book of Poetry?

"The Odes serve to stimulate the mind.

"They may be used for purposes of self-contemplation.

"They teach the art of sociability.

"They show how to regulate feelings of resentment.

"From them one learns the more immediate duty of serving one's father, and the remoter one of serving one's prince".

IX, XVII, 1–7.

The Master said, "In the Book of Poetry are three hundred pieces, but the design of them all may be embraced in that one sentence—'Have no depraved thoughts'".

II, ii.

The Master said, "It is by the Odes that the mind is aroused". The Odes stimulate, music polishes, rules of morality discipline.

VIII, viii, 1.

The Master said, "Though a man may be able to recite the three hundred Odes, yet if, when intrusted with a government post, he knows not how to act, or if, when sent to any quarter on a mission, he cannot give his replies unassisted, notwithstanding the extent of his learning, of what practical use is it?"

XIII, v.

IV

(*a*) *Mo-tse opposes Fatalism and teaches Theism*

There are some men who hold that there is fate. Why do they not try to look into the facts of the wise rulers of the past? When King Cheh (1818–1784 B.C.) had ruined the kingdom, King Tang (1783–1753 B.C.) took over the kingdom and again restored it to order and prosperity. When King Chou (1154–1123 B.C.) had again brought the kingdom to ruin, King Wu took it over and restored it once more to order and peace. The same kingdom and the same people found peace and prosperity under a Tang or a Wu, and disorder and ruin under a Cheh or a Chou. How can one say that things are predetermined?...If all the people were unified in the Son of Heaven, and not in Heaven itself, then there might yet be calamities.

XI.

The Will of Heaven is to me what the compasses and the try-square are to the artisan. The artisan judges all circles and squares by his compasses and try-square, saying "That which agrees with my standard is right, and that which does not is wrong". Now there are teachers in our age who write numberless books and make numberless speeches, persuading all classes of men from the prince to the student. But they are all far from true love and righteousness. I know it is so, because I have found the best standard whereby to judge them.

XXIII.

(*b*) *The True Altruist*

Seeing his friend hungry he feeds him; cold he clothes him; sick he cherishes him and nurses him; dead he gives him burial.

Partiality is to be replaced by universality....Now when everyone regards the states of others as he regards his own, who would attack the other's state? Others are regarded like one's self. When everyone regards the houses of others as he regards his own, who would disturb the other's house?...Now, when the states and cities do not attack and seize each other and when the clans and individuals do not disturb and harm one another—is this a calamity or a benefit to the world? Of course it is a benefit. When we come to think about the several benefits in regard to their cause, how have they arisen? Have they arisen out of hate of others and injuring others? Of course we should say no. We should say that they have arisen out of love of others and benefiting others. If we should classify one by one all those who love others and benefit others, should we find them to be partial or universal? Of course we should say they are universal. Now, since universal love is the cause of the major benefits of the world, therefore Mo-tse proclaims universal love to be right.

After Y. P. Mei. *Works of Mo-tse.*

V. The Goodness of Human Nature

Meng-tse (*Mencius*)

(fourth century B.C.)

Man's impulse is to do good, for his nature is good. That he does not do good is not the fault of his natural faculty. A feeling of sympathy everybody has; a feeling of shame everybody has; a feeling of deference everybody has; a sense of discrimination everybody has. The feeling of sympathy is humaneness (*jen*); the feeling of shame is justice (*i*); the feeling of deference is propriety (*li*); and the sense of discrimination is intelligence (*chi*). Humaneness, sense of justice, propriety, and intelligence are not what is moulded into us from without. They are inherent in us, only men are not conscious of them....

Therefore, a man without a feeling of sympathy is not human; a man without a feeling of shame is not human; a man without a feeling of deference is not human; a man without a sense of

discrimination is not human. The feeling of sympathy is the starting-point of humaneness; the feeling of shame is the starting-point of justice; the feeling of deference is the starting-point of propriety.

VI. Chuang-tse's Scepticism

(i)

Chuang-tse one day saw an empty skull, bleached yet preserving its shape. Striking it with his riding whip, he said, "Wert thou once some ambitious citizen whose inordinate yearnings brought him to this pass?—some statesman who plunged his country in ruin, and perished in the fray?—some wretch who left behind him a legacy of shame?—some beggar who died in the pangs of hunger and cold? Or didst thou reach this state by the natural course of old age?"

When he had finished speaking, he took the skull, and placing it under his head as a pillow, went to sleep. In the night, he dreamed that the skull appeared to him, and said, "You speak well, sir; but all you say has reference to the life of mortals, and to mortal troubles. In death there are none of these. Would you like to hear about death?"

Chuang-tse having replied in the affirmative, the skull began: "In death, there is no sovereign above, and no subject below. The workings of the four seasons are unknown. Our existences are bounded only by eternity. The happiness of a king among men cannot exceed that which I enjoy".

Chuang-tse, however, was not convinced, and said, "Were I to prevail upon God to allow your body to be born again, and your bones and flesh to be renewed, so that you could return to your parents, to your wife, and to the friends of your youth—would you be willing?"

At this, the skull opened its eyes wide and knitted its brows and said, "How should I cast aside happiness greater than that of a king, and mingle once again in the toils and troubles of mortality?"

(ii)

The Grand Augur, in his ceremonial robes, approached the shambles and thus addressed the pigs:

"How can you object to die? I shall fatten you for three months. I shall discipline myself for ten days and fast for three. I shall strew fine grass, and place you bodily upon a carved sacrificial dish. Does not this satisfy you?"

Then speaking from the pigs' point of view, he continued, "It is better perhaps after all to live on bran and escape the shambles".

"But then", added he, speaking from his own point of view, "to enjoy honour when alive one would readily die on a war-shield or in the headsman's basket."

So he rejected the pigs' point of view and adopted his own point of view. In what sense then was he different from the pigs?

Translated by H. A. Giles.

VII. Later Confucians

(*a*) *Tseng-tse on Filial Piety*

This body is inherited from our parents. How dare we act irreverently with this inheritance of our parents? Therefore, to live carelessly is a sin against filial duty, so is disloyalty to our princes, so is dishonesty in official duty, so is faithlessness to our friends, and so is lack of courage on the battlefield. Failure in any of these five duties will disgrace one's parents. Dare we act without reverence?

Translated by Hu Shih.

(*b*) *An Early Utilitarian*

(Hsun-tse, third century B.C.)

You glorify Nature and meditate on her:
Why not domesticate her and regulate her?

You obey Nature and sing her praise:
Why not control her course and use it?

You look on the seasons with reverence and await them:
Why not respond to them by seasonly activities?

You depend on things and marvel at them:
Why not unfold your own ability and transform them?
You meditate on what makes a thing a thing:
Why not so order things that you may not waste them?
You vainly seek the cause of things:
Why not appropriate and enjoy what they produce?
Therefore, I say: "To neglect man and speculate about Nature
Is to misunderstand the facts of the universe".

Ibid.

(*c*) *Han Fei on Government*

(second century B.C.)

A wise man does not expect to follow ancient ways—nor to set up principles for all time. He studies the conditions of his age and then devises means to meet them.

When laws are adjusted to the times there is good government.

Subtle speculation is no business of the people...the actual need is common-sense.

Ibid.

(*d*) *Progress not Evolution* (Hsun-ching)

Such progress as man has made is not the result of blind force, automatic in its action. It has come from conscious effort and intelligent leadership.

Ibid.

(*e*) *Business Men*

(Chen-tzu-ang, A.D. 656–98)

These business men to vaunt their skill are wont,
Yet they are children in philosophy.
They boast of cunning in chicanery,
To the end of life itself they give no thought.
What should they know of that Master of Mystery
Who saw the world reflected in a bowl,
Till soaring clear of earth and sky his soul
On wings of change achieved Changelessness?

(*f*) *The Cost of War*

(Chien-fun, A.D. 879)

The hills and riverbanks of this fair land
You soldiers turn into a battlefield.
How shall the villagers beneath your hand
Make them grow hay, or even fuel yield?
Let me not hear one vain ambitious word
Of titles or promotion to be got.
To make a reputation for a single lord
Ten thousand poor men die and rot.

(*g*) *A Blanket for the Poor*

(Po-chui, ninth century A.D.)

What can I do to help the cold and poor?
No use to warm a single shivering wretch.
Would I'd a rug ten thousand feet or more
To cover all the city at a stretch.

VIII. Confucian Criticism of the Buddhists

A Petition of Han-yu

(addressed to Hsien-tsung, 820 A.D.)

The religion of Fo is barbarous and unknown to antiquity. It was brought in in an age of decadence and when the T'ang Dynasty was founded by Kao-tsu he considered exterminating it. Alas! His ministers, unskilled in the wisdom of the ancients, dissuaded him. I am furious when I think that this salutary step was not taken—And you, Sire, a clear-sighted, wise and scholarly ruler the like of whom we have not seen for long—you at your accession forbad the building of new temples or the making of novices. Alas! Your orders were not carried out: And now, what do we hear? Can it be that you have ordered that a bone-relic of Fo be brought in state? Maybe you do it—not yourself believing—to make a show for the people. But they in their ignorance will think you believe. Their rustics will say "See the Son of Heaven, how he honours Buddha—and shall not we?" They will burn camphor on their scalps and scorch their

fingers with incense. They'll throng the temples and cart their goods to the monks to get redemption and salvation from dangers to come!... These things ruin our morals and make us ridiculous in the eyes of strangers. For after all it is a barbarian we honour who could not speak our tongue, who knew nothing of the Sages, who disregarded filial piety. And you allow a dry-bone, a dirty bit of his corpse to be presented to your Majesty!...

Ah, have it sent, I beg, to the headsman that he may throw it into the fire, and get rid of this root of calamity. So will you preserve your people from seduction and error. And if the Buddha learns of it and can act—well—I take the responsibility: let him take vengeance on me.

After H. A. Giles.

IX. Neo-Confucian Realism

Chu Hsi (1130–1200)

We need not talk about empty and far-away things; if we would know the reality of *Tao* we must seek it within our own nature.

Each one has within it the principle of right, what we call *Tao,* the road along which we ought to walk.

The means by which we all may day by day banish human desire and return to Divine Law lie within our reach, and to use them is our duty.

The one thing we must realize is that we must use our earnest effort and master it, get rid of its excesses, and restore the Mean.

Virtue is the practice of Moral Law.

Virtue is what is received into the heart. Before serving one's parents and following one's elder brother, already to possess a perfectly filial and fraternal mind: this is what is termed Virtue.

Love itself is the original substance of love; Reverence is love in graceful expression; Righteousness is love in judgment; and Wisdom is love in discriminating.

Sincerity is the principle of reality. It is to be the same whether before men's faces or behind their backs.

To be devoid of anything false is spontaneous Sincerity; to allow no self-deception is Sincerity acquired by effort.

X. Pragmatism and Intuition

Wang Yang Ming (1472–1529)

There are no crises and problems beyond those of passion and change. Are not pleasure, anger, sorrow, and joy passions of men? Seeing, hearing, talking, working, wealth and honour, poverty and lowliness, sorrow and difficulty, death and life, all are vicissitudes of life. All are included in the passions and feelings of men. These need only to be in a state of perfect equilibrium and harmony, which, in turn, depends upon being watchful over one's self.

Pleasure, anger, sorrow, and joy are in their natural condition in the state of equilibrium and harmony. As soon as the individual adds a little of his own ideas, he oversteps and fails to maintain the state of equilibrium and harmony. This implies selfishness. In subduing oneself, one must clear out selfish desire completely, so that not a bit is left. If a little is left, all sorts of evil will be induced to make their entrance.

If a person unceasingly applies himself truly and earnestly, he will daily better comprehend the subtle essence of the moral principles of the mind, as well as the subtlety of selfish desires. If he does not use his efforts in controlling himself, he will continually talk and yet never comprehend the meaning of moral principles or of selfish desire.

That the sage is a sage is due solely to the fact that his mind is completely dominated by heaven-given principles, and not hampered by passion.

The great defect of students is to be found in love of fame.

Education means learning to expel passion and harbour natural law.

The little intuitive knowledge of good you have is your own standard. If your thoughts are right it is aware of it, and if they are wrong it also knows. You must not blind it nor impose upon it, but must truly follow its lead.

If you leave your daily affairs in order to devote yourself to study, it will be in vain.

To be a sage, a man need only love and desire virtue as men love and desire beautiful colours; he need only despise and shun evil as one despises and avoids an evil odour.

The great disease of mankind is all expressed in the word *nao*

(meaning "pride" or "haughtiness"). The proud son certainly is not filial, nor the haughty minister loyal, nor the proud father loving, nor the proud friend sincere. The reason why Hsiang and Tan Chu both were degenerate was their pride. Sirs, you should appreciate that the mind of man is *ab initio* natural. It is discriminating, clear and without the least spot of selfishness. Selfishness should not be cherished in one's breast, for its presence engenders pride. The many good characteristics of the sages of most ancient times were due to a selfless mind. Being selfless, they were naturally humble. Humility is the foundation of all virtue; pride is the chief of vices.

No one who really has knowledge fails to practise it. Knowledge without practice should be interpreted as lack of knowledge. Sages and virtuous men teach men to know how to act, because they wish them to return to nature. They do not tell them merely to reflect and let this suffice.

Knowledge is the beginning of practice; doing is the completion of knowing.

Translated by F. G. Henke.

XI. A Buddhist Apology

The Monk's Family

Thy mother is the true Wisdom:
Thy father is skill in teaching:
Thy kin are all beings everywhere:
Thy home is in the Void of Nirvana:
Thy wife is joy, thy daughter love,
Thy son truth—a household indeed
Which doth not bind thee to the Wheel of Life.

Ta-Hsien, an eighth-century monk of Korea.

XII. Chinese Humour

(after H. A. Giles)

(*a*) *A Tactful Host*

A guest at dinner sat on and on and showed no sign of leaving. So the host said:

"Do you see that bird? I'll cut down the tree and catch it, and we'll eat it together."

"Good," said the guest, "but I fancy the bird will have flown first!"

"No, no," said the host, "it is a very stupid bird: it doesn't know when it's time to go."

(*b*) *A Less Tactful Guest*

A guest at dinner when all the bowls had been emptied said to his host:

"Could we not have the candles lit?"

"A bit early, isn't it?" said the host.

"Well, at any rate we can see nothing on the table."

(*c*) *A Good Mathematician*

A wealthy man said to a miser:

"I'll give you a thousand pieces of silver if you'll let me beat you to death."

"Make it five hundred and you can half kill me!" said the miser thoughtfully.

After H. A. Giles.

XIII. Proverbs

If a boy is born with fingers like a girl he will make a living easily.

If a girl is born with a face like a boy her dignity will be unsurpassed.

For a person to be large and yet not a fool—here is a real treasure.

Parents can do without children, but children can't do without parents.

There are loving parents, but no loving children.

One may desert one's father tho' he be a magistrate—but not one's mother tho' she be a beggar.

The gate of charity is easy to open, but difficult to close.

At a distance men are judged by what they wear: nearer home by what they are.

The man whose face is stout and tough
At feasts will always get enough:
But he whose face is mild and thin
Can't get a look or a chop-stick in!

Clouds pass but the rains remain.

He who cannot sleep finds his bed badly made.

The water that bears the ship is the same that engulfs it.

Stir not a fire with a sword.

To pretend to satisfy one's desires by possession is like putting out a fire with straw.

In clothes we value novelty: in men old age.

You can't strip two skins off one cow.

A hair's breadth at the bow is a mile beside the butt.

No needle has two sharp points.

The pleasure of doing good is the only one that will not wear out.

To look at a plum is not to quench one's thirst.

Better return home and make a net than go down to the river and desire to get fishes.

If the current is not rapid the fish do not jump.

CHAPTER III

THE ETHICS OF THE JAPANESE

"Reflect Truth as a mirror: Be clean within and without."
SHINTO ORACLE

If the Chinese are the Greeks of Asia in their love of reason and harmony the Japanese are also Greek in their eagerness for novelty, in their love of beauty, in their bravery and devotion to the State, and in their identification of its service with religion. In these and other ways they are very Athenian. In stoic endurance and asceticism they are Spartan. In their quickness to assimilate other cultures, in their utilitarianism, in their readiness for discipline, they are more like the Romans, versatile rather than profound, apt rather than original. Indeed it is the Chinese who have civilized the Japanese, as it was the Greeks who gave culture to Rome, and the Chinese are Athenian in their strong aestheticism as well as in their sense of harmony and proportion.

Buddhism, which came bringing with it much Indian culture, has done for both Chinese and Japanese much of what Christianity did for the Greek and Roman world, bringing it new hope and a clearer image of the Divine.

The long process of the ethical development of Japan falls then naturally into three periods: as in India and China, it is the coming of Buddhism which divides the archaic from the modern. For Buddhism has had a strange power of stimulating new life, and in the end of calling out opposition to its immense claims.

I

The first or Archaic Period ends in the seventh century of our era and goes back into the mists of legend and folk-lore, in which it is hard to distinguish fact. There remain, indeed, very few authentic deposits from these early days—burial

objects which imply a cult of the dead, and the slow infiltration of Chinese and Korean culture; and for the rest, legends and snatches of ancient song and ritual prayer. The first impression we get is of a people naïvely joyous, rejoicing in the beauty of their country, and using religion to control fire and pestilence and to secure good harvests. They do not clearly distinguish yet between ritual and moral purity, and this comes out clearly in the service of national purification, reproduced as our first illustrative reading. Here it will be noted that when the official clan set up floral offerings and recite the words of the liturgy all offences are purged away, and the gods are brought in to carry them bodily into the open spaces of the ocean, and in other ways to destroy them. We find that as in other early religions the presence of death and corruption, of sex-acts and childbirth, bring uncleanness, which can be removed by ablutions and ritual, and we see that not only is there the nucleus of a priesthood in the official reciters of these liturgies,[1] but that the drama which has played so great a part in Japanese life begins in certain ritual dances of the gods and of their priests. Official diviners and regulators of religious observances were gradually organized as *be* or guilds.[2]

If we find in these early rituals the beginnings of the love of the beautiful and of the clean, we find also gratitude to gods and rulers.

A nature worship, of which the mainspring is appreciation rather than fear is not to be dismissed as base and fetishistic animism, and much that is kindly and gracious in the life of the Japanese to-day can be traced to those sentiments which caused their remote ancestors to ascribe Divinity not only to the powerful and awe-inspiring, such as the sun and the moon and the tempest, or to the useful, such as the well and the cooking pot,

[1] The *Nakatomi* were a family of liturgists: the *Urube* diviners.

[2] The *Imibe* were a guild of abstainers from things tabu, *imi* meaning tabu, *be* meaning guild.

but also to the lovely and pleasant, such as the rocks and streams, the trees and flowers. The worship of such objects has its counterpart in that delicate sensibility to the beauties of nature which is one of the most endearing characteristics of the modern Japanese.[1]

Coming from less lovely lands—the uplands of Asia or the islands of Polynesia—they rejoiced in the beauty of their new fatherland, its winding valleys, its white sandy beaches, its gnarled pine trees, and above all the cherry blossoms and the snow-capped volcano, itself a god. Coming in small groups and pushing their way up narrow valleys they were welded into a nation which has one essential culture.

The earliest Chinese records[2] describe these islanders as not without moral qualities such as honesty and regard for law, and speak of the ceremonial dignity of the higher ranks of society, and of the industry and chastity of the women. The following early song gives us a pleasant picture of family devotion in high places. It is attributed to the Emperor Ojin in the third century A.D., and the occasion is his discovery that his own son is in love with the "long-haired maid" whom he himself desires.

Lo! my son!
On the moor, garlic to gather,
Garlic to gather,
On the way as I went,
Pleasing of perfume
Was the orange in flower.
Its branches beneath
Men had all plundered,
Its branches above
Birds perching had withered:
Midway its branches
Held in their hiding
A blushing maiden.
Lo! my son, for thee
Let her burst into blossom.[3]

[1] G. B. Sansom, *Japan*, p. 45.
[2] Dating from the third century A.D.
[3] W. G. Aston, *Japanese Literature*, p. 8.

Here is early evidence of that strong family loyalty which was to develop into the devotion of the *samurai* to their Lord and of the people to their Emperor. It has been often said that the Japanese claim to be too moral to need a very elaborate religion or code of ethics. "Fear the gods, honour the throne"—this is enough for a people naturally good. Yet they soon began to take with eager hands religious and ethical ideals from the mainland, and of these they have made a new synthesis. Adopting much before they really understood it they have slowly adapted it to their national needs. In this process is the chief interest of their history: and in their eighth century chronicles, Kojiki and Nihongi, it is difficult to discover how much has been read back into earlier days from these imported cultures.

But in their purification rituals[1] there is much of great antiquity, and the offences (*tsumi*) mentioned reveal a mingling of ritual and moral ideas.

The sins of the god Susa-no-wo are, as Sansom has pointed out, just those "most abhorrent to an agricultural community". As the early Hebrews cursed "him who removed his neighbour's landmark", so this unruly god is taken as a type of antisocial sinner, who breaks down divisions between rice-fields, sows tares in them, and diverts the water for their irrigation.

Human sinners are such as desecrate the grave or the home, and the main idea of evil is pollution. These early concepts persist in Japan.

"At the core of all Shinto ceremonial is the idea of purity, and at the core of all Shinto beliefs is the idea of fertility."[2]

Coming into these mountainous islands the invaders of mainland and of Polynesian stock have to work hard to produce enough food, and their religion is much concerned with this primary need. Inari—the rice-god—is still the most ubiquitous of their gods, and phallic worships go on at harvest time. All early religion in Japan is in fact Nature-

[1] Illustrative Reading 1.

[2] Sansom, *op. cit.* p. 52.

worship, and the chief families, while they claimed descent from the gods, only learnt ancestor-worship from the Chinese. "Making your god into an ancestor" is the Japanese way: "making your ancestor into a god" the way of the Chinese.

Purification was much emphasized in worship, and exorcism as well as ablutions played a part in it. A system of fines for ritual as well as for moral offences was early instituted, and with the coming of Chinese and Korean influence clearer distinctions were made.

Before the coming of these cultures the Japanese had achieved a fair measure of unity and an aesthetic sentiment which have been twin forces in their ethical life. And the very difficulties of cultivating their mountain-slopes in terraces and of irrigating them called out the qualities we still admire in a sturdy peasantry. As to their leaders their eager adaptation of higher civilizations reveals remarkable gifts, and their genius for simplification begins to be early manifest. If the prehistoric era lasts till about the fourth century A.D. that of adoption and naturalization of Chinese culture occupies the fifth to the eighth. During these centuries attempts are made to achieve centralization of authority and state ownership of land, but the inveterate clan spirit asserts itself and for nearly a thousand years powerful families, Fujiwara, Taira, Mimamoto, overshadow the throne, and the Divine Emperor is a puppet of Regent (*kwampaku*) and of Generalissimo (*shogun*).

II

Confucianism filtered into Japan from about the beginning of the Christian Era, and Korean tutors were imported by the Emperor Ojin in the early fourth century.

Buddhism was introduced officially by the Prince Regent Shōtoku, and the Japanese look upon him as the true founder of their civilization. Born in 543, he died in 621, mourned by all as an incarnation of the goddess of mercy. His code is an ingenious blend of Buddhist and Confucian ideas,

adapted to the needs of his people. Here the filial piety of China is emphasized, but with the new meaning of loyalty to the throne; and harmony between ruler and people and between class and class is taught. The Chinese theory of kingship is outlined, and officials are reminded of their duty of consulting one another, of working hard, and of keeping faith with inferiors. All this is good Confucian teaching, and for the rest the code is like the edicts of Asoka in moral maxims condemning envy, anger and other faults of the spirit, and commending good faith, obedience, benevolence and piety.

> Hidden in these apparently harmless exhortations...is a new view of the State, for while they exact obedience from inferiors to superiors, they insist equally upon the duties of superiors to inferiors, and, what is most significant of all they enunciate very clearly the theory of a centralized state in which the ultimate power resides in the emperor.[1]

The code does, in fact, lay down that "The sovereign is master of the whole country".

Of how variously these sovereigns played their part there is no space to speak. Some were powerful leaders, devoted to the interests of the people, others were little better than puppets in the hands of masterful ministers. In the edict of one of the greatest of them, the Emperor Shomu, we have a fine devotion to the Buddha and a gratitude to the gods, which may be studied in our second illustrative reading. Here we see that the Emperor claims to be a god who expresses his gratitude to the unseen, and his devotion not only to monks and nuns and other religious, but to the aged and the poor, scholars and peasants.

Buddhism had already done much to develop the native aestheticism of the Japanese, and their sense of awe, wonder and gratitude, and though it was for some centuries an aristocratic cult, and though its monasteries became the feudal castles of proud and overbearing abbots, yet it held

[1] Sansom, *op. cit.* p. 72.

up before the people the ideals of compassion and of meditation. These the Japanese adapted, so far as they could be adapted, to fit their feudal society. Meditation, which was meant by the Buddha to turn men's minds away from this transient world and to breed a spirit of forbearance and piety, became a technique for soldiers and feudal lords. Like Christianity in the Western world, this other-worldly religion was made the basis, in the early middle ages of Japan, for a new chivalry. It also greatly encouraged the arts, which the founder had ignored, or condemned; and it has never very seriously interfered with the pleasure-loving and even licentious ways of the people. It has rather provided an asylum for those who desired to retreat from an evil world—emperors among them.

Confucianism too played a very different part in Japan from anything Confucius could have foreseen. Its teachings of loyalty were eagerly adapted to the glorification of warriors and feudal chieftains, who took precedence of scholars and philosophers. But in spite of this adaptation the Chinese ethic, with its insistence upon propriety and ceremony, became a Procrustean bed for Japan. Aston, to whom all students of Japan owe so much, tells how a leading Japanese statesman once pointed to a group of artificially stunted trees and said, "That is what Chinese culture has done for Japan". For the third period in the development of Japanese ethics is the period of Neo-Confucianism, and it has been a curse as well as a blessing.

If to Confucius Japan owes much of her educational, political and social institutions, and the systematic teaching of ethics, she owes also much stunting and sterilization. The period of Buddhist ascendancy lasted until about the eleventh century. During this time a notable rôle was played by women, who, in spite of the monastic ethic of Buddhism, were eminent in public life and in letters. As novelists in particular they played an eminent part, and it was only gradually that the Confucian concept of woman as the meek

and patient servant of man could find a place in Japanese life. When it had its full sway it did untold harm.

Women, often man's superior, became his plaything—and domestic bliss was replaced by the lures of *geisha*—aesthetic rather than intellectual *hetairai*. As to the life of the poor, they were almost entirely at the mercy of the upper classes, and even Buddhist monasteries had large groups of slaves in their service. As in China, we hear the cry of the poor and especially of those called up for military service: "the misery of a soldier is like that of a slave". And the contrast between the elaborate life of the Court and that of the people becomes marked as early simplicity gives place to the elaborate imported culture of the ninth and tenth centuries. As the great monasteries grew in power and the great families waged war upon one another, the poor had no appeal against oppression.

III

With the third period of Japanese life we see the emergence of a new concept of society, and a popularization of religion. Not only is salvation made easier and offered to the common people, but great and saintly figures begin to express in their own lives the divine compassion. Honen (1139–1212), who preached the compassion of the Buddha Amida, and his willingness to accept all who called upon him, said on his deathbed, "There is my monument, wherever the worship of Amida is practised, be it only in the thatched hut of a fisherman". His disciple, Shinran (1173–1262), went even further in this popularization, and his hymns became known to the masses. In the rugged Nichiren (1222–1282), son of a fisherman, Japan found a prophet who warned her of impending disaster and called upon her to forsake false worships and corrupt practices. In these men she has her Wesleys and her Luther. Art now begins to reflect the life of every day, instead of that of Courts and Paradises, and with the extension of printing, which had been known in

Japan for some four centuries, the spread of learning among the people encouraged these tendencies. And the development of the theatre and of the long epic novel and scrolls of biography are also important factors in giving to them not only the lessons of religion, but the leaven of new and more democratic ideas.

But the feudal system was to survive to modern times, with the worship of the Emperor as its central pillar and loyalty to the overlord as its most characteristic note.

Bushido, or the "Way of the Soldier", developed as an unwritten and semi-articulate code of chivalry, and the *samurai*, "servants", who bound themselves to Spartan simplicity in revolt against licence and luxury, were the leaven of mediaeval society. Despising money they endured hardness, practised meditation and contemplated the transiency of life, yet vowed themselves to loyal service and cheerfully laid down life itself for their overlord.

The middle ages of Japan were, like our own, ages of violence tempered with chivalry, and of military insolence tempered with other-worldliness and stoicism.

Zen Buddhism, which insists on quietness and meditation, on simplicity and candour, did much to refine and to deepen the spirit of loyalty and courage. And *Bushido*, or the "Way of the Warrior", was an unwritten code binding unto death. The *samurai* were loyal to their *daimio* or overlord, and *harikiri*, or suicide by disembowelling, was the last expression of their devotion to a lord whose cause had been defeated or whose honour smirched. As each *daimio* was in effect a small sovereign and was usually at war with a rival overlord there were continual duels in which a spirit of "recollectedness", of spiritual tension, was as much a duty as courage and stoical endurance.

Thus an other-worldly spirit, derived from the monks of Buddhism, laid hold of men of the world, and a gentle melancholy chastened their worldly ambitions, a sense of the transiency and futility of life.

If the Japanese are like the Greeks they combine Athenian with Spartan qualities, the zest of life, the quick response to beauty with hardihood and stoic detachment. To both Buddhism made its contribution, and in the Kamakura epoch (1200–1400) we may watch the polarization of these qualities, the aesthetic and gentle elements concentrating at Kyoto, the austere and rugged at Kamakura, each rather despising the other, as Athens and Sparta contemned one another in ancient Greece. The same separatism in fact long tore Japan into warring states, warring cities and even monastic houses engaged in internecine strife, and all keeping up the myth of the theocratic state and the Divine Emperor.

Which is the truer Japanese symbol, the cherry-tree with its frail and exquisite beauty, or the gnarled and evergreen pine? The answer is "Both": and all through her stirring history there has been an alternation of these moods, or a synthesis of them. The warrior writes a delicate poem as he goes into battle: the aesthete throws off his languishing mood and stands revealed as a very lion for ferocity and courage. Then having done some ruthless deed retires to a monastery and undergoes lifelong penance. Until lately there has been no concept of the warrior as making war on evil or poverty or lawlessness. The strength as well as the weakness of his loyalties has been their narrow range and their intensity.

IV

With the Restoration loyalty has taken a nobler form, and if the Japanese have "taken opportunities of falling into temptation" in the pursuit of their "manifest destiny" this is one of many lessons taught them by Christendom. Yet the core of their imperialism is still loyalty, and the army itself is full of idealism. The leaven of the kingdom of God is at work in Japan.

The virtues most natural to the Japanese and most admired by them are those which the late Emperor used to

commend to his soldiers by precept and example: loyalty, courage, courtesy, faithfulness to duty, and simplicity of life. It is clear that here is a character akin to that of the Christian. But when one visits the shrine of General Nogi, a famous exemplar of this *samurai* spirit, it becomes immediately evident that these are flowers upon a different stock: for he and his devoted wife killed themselves to accompany their Emperor into the world of spirits, and all Japan applauded.

Hideyoshi's maxims are full of a fine spirit of courage, resignation and steadfastness, and his letters reveal courage, devotion to his wife and to his young son coupled with a frank acknowledgment of his concubine, whom he asks his wife to send to him.

It is perhaps here that Christianity is working the greatest change in Japan. The enthusiasm of Western admirers is best balanced by a study of what the Japanese themselves have to say; and in their leading social reformers the old *samurai* spirit is seen sublimated and deepened. In such men as Toyohiko Kagawa and Commissioner Imamura and their colleagues are found loyalty—to the Kingdom of God: courage—in fighting entrenched evil: courtesy—even to profiteers and panders, and a faithfulness and simplicity which are Franciscan rather than Spartan. If Francis Xavier is the inspiration of their faithfulness, Francis of Assisi is the pattern of their joyous simplicity. These are mighty names in Japan, which perhaps has not yet clearly seen that these are the *samurai* of Christ, and which has a strange habit of worshipping the disciple, rather than the Master.

The following summary was recently given by Dr Kagawa, novelist and social reformer, to his Chinese friends. He is an eminent authority also in social theory, and if his statement may seem coloured by the enthusiasm of the convert and the propagandist it is one that is accepted, perhaps with a few changes of emphasis, by Buddhist as by Western observers. For "the great tree of Buddhism was rotten at the core", says Dr Anesaki, and the ethic of Confucius had

made much of family duties and little of woman's place in the family.

Now what is the difference between Buddhism and Taoism, and Christianity in Japan? Christianity has produced seven great changes in Japan:

I. Home Life has changed.

(*a*) Concubinage is dying out. In former days concubinage was a common thing. I myself am the son of a concubine, though my father registered me in the legitimate registration. Now not a single one of the present cabinet ministers keeps a concubine. Why? Because Christian teaching got the victory over the system of polygamy.

(*b*) Prostitution—we have had a long struggle against this evil, and that of the licensed quarters, of which we have five hundred and forty-five. Within the last three years we have been victorious, mostly by the efforts of Christians, to pass bills for the gradual abolition of the licensed quarters in seven of the forty-six different prefectures and capital districts. In still another province, Saitama Ken, the system was completely abolished and the prostitutes given their freedom at the end of last year. This effort for purity in life is a victory for Christianity.

(*c*) The Divorce Rate is decreasing. Forty years ago, out of every thousand marriages there were four hundred and thirty divorces. Now there are only a hundred and seven, as compared to about two hundred in New York. Why? By reason of Christianity. This is one of the great victories of Christianity in Japan. Though its numbers are small, Christianity has won this great victory of purity in home life.

(*d*) Respect for children. In Japan children were not respected until after Christianity came. Then respect for children came with it. The fifth day of the fifth month is Boys' Day. We have the big carp flying in the air. This is children's day, and all the towns and villages everywhere commemorate it. We must reduce infant mortality, and care for the children—we have so many associations now for children, imitating Christian institutions.

(*e*) Respect for women. Even to-day in Japan women have small dishes and are allowed to eat very little. But after Christianity came respect for women grew astonishingly. That involves respect for home life, and leads on to respect for labour.

There is an interesting relation between these two things, respect for women and respect for labour. In old Japan the only honourable word for wife was "okusama", which means "the lady behind". It implied that a wife, to be held in honour, must be idle all the time. This was actually the case in the old days, but since Christianity came, women have been educated and respected, and the invidious distinction between honourable wives and working women has been abolished.

II. Respect for labour. In Japan and in the Orient, in general, labourers and manual workers were not respected in former days, but when Christianity came, labour began to be respected. Ten years ago it was not yet so. I wrote an essay that year called "Worship of the Labourers" and was fined a hundred yen. But now we have gotten the victory. Jesus the Carpenter has gotten the victory.

III. Since Christianity came, the great achievement is the democratic movement—democracy in home life, democracy in occupation. For instance, we have the outcaste system. In Japan we have no slaves, but the slaves of former days were treated as outcastes. When Christianity came the outcastes disappeared. Inside the Christian church many weddings are now going on with outcastes. We don't even pronounce the word. In the slums of Kobe my chief work was with the outcastes. I also had contact with them later in the Peasant Movement. We persuaded the Peasant Movement to permit the outcaste group to join them.

IV. Parliamentary Rule. Mr Nakashima the first, and Kenkichi Kataoka the second, presiding officers of the Japanese Parliament, were Christians, earnest Christians, the latter having once been president of Doshisha University. The democratic movement was from the beginning led by Christians, both nationally and locally.

V. Respect for life. There is a great deal of suicide in Japan, fourteen thousand cases annually, but since Christianity came there has been care for would-be suicides, and prevention of this evil. Mr Jo in Kobe has cared for thousands of girls who tried to commit suicide.

VI. Respect for formerly despised occupations. In Japan butchers were treated as outcastes, and fertilizer dealers were looked down upon. Christianity teaches respect for occupations, because

Christianity teaches love for the poor and respect for all honest labour.

VII. Philanthropy. Now the Buddhists are imitating us, but Christians started and managed such philanthropic work as that for lepers, the insane, orphans, for the aged, reformatories for ex-convicts, work which represents love for sinners, and the temperance and prohibition movement which was organized first by Mr Ando, a Christian.

In this fashion the ethical teaching of Jesus Christ, centred in the Cross, is a glorious success in Japan. You cannot deny the Christian victory in Japan. And I know Christianity will win. Though the Christian victory in the economic circle may be very slow I know it will win in China. Because it has won in Japan it will win in China.

But great as has been the contribution of Christianity in ennobling Japanese family life it has an even greater task in sublimating the many noble qualities of this gifted people. European observers are agreed—from Kaempfer the Dutch writer of the seventeenth century, a very acute mind, to Lord Elgin in the modern period, who found himself "as much astounded by the social and moral condition of Japan as he was by its material beauty". "A perfectly paternal Government: a perfectly filial people: a community entirely self-supporting: peace within and without: no want: no ill-will between classes. This is what I find in Japan in the year 1858 after two hundred years' exclusion of foreign trade and intercourse." Can the Japanese of the twentieth century beat their own record of the nineteenth? Their problems are so much more complex and their temptations so much greater that they are in fact in need of a new ideal. In partnership with the neighbours to whom they owe so much lies the path of victory. This involves sacrifice: as Kagawa says "In the Cross we shall triumph".

THE SOUL OF JAPAN

I. GREAT RITUAL OF PURIFICATION

(seventh century A.D. but containing much older matter)

Give ear, all ye Imperial Princes, Ministers of State, and high functionaries, who are here assembled, and hearken to the great purification by which at this interlune of the sixth month are purged and washed away all sins which may have been committed by Imperial officials and attendants—whether they wear the scarf (women) or the shoulder strap (stewards); whether they bear on their back the bow, or gird on them the sword.

Of yore, our Imperial ancestors who dwell in the plain of high heaven, summoned to an assembly the eight hundred myriads of deities, and held divine counsel with them. And they gave command, saying, "Let our August Grandchild hold serene rule over the land of fair rice-ears—the fertile reed-plain". But in the land thus delivered to him there were savage deities. These they chastised with a divine chastisement, and expelled with a divine expulsion. Moreover, the rocks, trees, and leaves of grass which had the power of speech, were silenced. Then they despatched him downward from his celestial, everlasting throne, cleaving as he went with an awful way-cleaving the many-piled clouds of heaven. Here at the middle point of the land entrusted to him, in Yamato, the High Sun Land, the August Grandchild established his peaceful rule and built a fair palace, basing deep on the nethermost rock the massy pillars, and upraising to high heaven the timbers of the roof wherewithal to shelter him from sun and sky.

Now, of the various offences to be committed by the celestial race destined more and more to people this land of peaceful rule, some are of heaven and others of earth. Heavenly offences[1] are the breaking down of divisions between rice-fields, filling up of water-courses, removing water-pipes, flaying alive, flaying backwards.... Earthly offences are the cutting of living bodies, the cutting of dead bodies, leprosy, incest, calamities from creeping things, from the high gods and from high birds, killing of cattle, bewitchments.

[1] So called because committed first by the god Susa-no-wo in heaven.

Whensoever these offences are committed, for committed they will be, let the great Nakatomi clip heavenly twigs at the top and clip them at the bottom, making thereof a complete array of one thousand stands for offerings. Having trimmed rushes of heaven at the top and trimmed them at the bottom, let them split them into a manifold brush. Then let them recite this great liturgy.

When they do so, the gods of heaven, thrusting open the adamantine doors of heaven and cleaving the many-piled clouds of heaven with an awful way-cleaving, will approach and lend ear. The gods of earth, ascending to the tops of the high mountains and the tops of the low mountains, sweeping aside the mists of the high mountains and the mists of the low mountains, will approach and lend ear.

Then shall no offences remain unpurged, from the court of the august child of the gods even to the remotest ends of the realm. As the many-piled clouds of heaven are scattered at the breath of the Wind Gods; as the morning breezes and the evening breezes disperse the morning vapours and the evening vapours; as a huge ship moored in a great harbour, casting off its stern moorings, casting off its bow moorings, drives forth into the vast ocean; as yonder thick brushwood is smitten and cleared away by the sharp sickle forged in the fire—so shall all offences be swept utterly away. To purge and purify them, let the goddess Seoritsu-hime, who dwells in the rapids of the swift stream whose cataracts tumble headlong from the high mountains and from the low mountains, bear them out into the great sea plain. There let the goddess Haya-akitsu-hime, who dwells in the myriad ways of the tides of the raging sea, and in the myriad meeting places of the tides of the myriad sea paths, swallow them up, and let the god Ibukido Nushi (the master of the spurting-out place), who dwells in Ibukido, spurt them out away to the nether region. Then let the goddess Haya-sasura-hime, who dwells in the nether region, dissolve and destroy them.

They are now destroyed, and all, from the servants of the Imperial court down to the people in the four quarters of the realm, are from this day forth void of offence.

Attend, all of you, with ears pricked up to the plain of high heaven, to this great purification by which, on the interlune of the sixth month as the sun goes down, your offences are purged and purified.

After Aston. *Japanese Literature*.

II. From the Laws of Kotoku[1]

(A.D. 645)

(*a*) *Rules for Officials*

When you proceed to your posts, prepare registers of all free subjects of the State and of the people under control of others, whether great or small. Take account also of the acreage of cultivated land. As to the profit arising from the gardens and ponds, the water and land, deal with them in common with the people. Moreover, it is not competent for the provincial governors, while in their provinces, to decide criminal cases, nor are they permitted by accepting bribes to bring the people to poverty and misery..... On all, from the rank of Hangwan downward, who accept bribes a fine shall be imposed of double the amount, and they shall eventually be punished criminally according to the greater or less heinousness of the case.

Nine men are allowed as attendants on the chief governor, seven on an assistant, and five on a secretary. If this limit is exceeded, and they are accompanied by a greater number, both chief and followers shall be punished criminally.

(*b*) *Regulations on Burial Customs*

Let small stones be used for the tombs of all from the rank of Prince down to that of Shochi, and let white cloth be used for the hangings....

When a man dies, there have been cases of people sacrificing themselves by strangulation, or of strangling others by way of sacrifice, or of compelling the dead man's horse to be sacrificed, or of burying valuables in the graves in honour of the dead, or of cutting the hair, and stabbing the thighs and pronouncing an eulogy on the dead. Let all such old customs be entirely discontinued.

A certain book says: "No gold or silver, no silk brocades, and no coloured stuffs are to be buried". Again it is said: "From the ministers of all ranks down to the common people, it is not allowed to use gold or silver". Shall there be any cases of this decree being disregarded and these prohibitions infringed, the relations shall surely receive punishment.

[1] After M. Anesaki.

III. From the Edict of Shōmu[1]

(eighth century A.D.)

If there be any of our number who are unkind to parents, or neglectful or disobedient, we will not conceal it or condone it, but will report it....

We shall require children to respect their parents, servants to obey their masters, husbands and wives and brothers and sisters to live together in harmony, and the younger people to revere and to cherish their elders....Each *kumi* (group of five households) shall carefully watch over the conduct of its members, so as to prevent wrongdoing.

If any member of a *kumi*, whether farmer, merchant, or artizan, is lazy, and does not attend properly to his business, the *bangashira* (chief officer) will advise him, warn him, and lead him into better ways. If the person does not listen to this advice, and becomes angry and obstinate, he is to be reported to the *toshiyori* (village elder)....

When men who are quarrelsome and who like to indulge in late hours away from home will not listen to admonition, we will report them. If any other *kumi* neglects to do this, it will be part of our duty to do it for them....

All those who quarrel with their relatives, and refuse to listen to their good advice, or disobey their parents, or are unkind to their fellow-villagers, shall be reported (to the village officers)....

Dancing, wrestling, and other public shows shall be forbidden. Singing- and dancing-girls and prostitutes shall not be allowed to remain a single night in the *mura* (village).

Quarrels among the people shall be forbidden. In case of dispute the matter shall be reported. If this is not done, all parties shall be indiscriminately punished....

Speaking disgraceful things of another man, or publicly posting him as a bad man, even if he is so, is forbidden.

Filial piety and faithful service to a master should be a matter of course; but when there is any one who is especially faithful and diligent in these things, we promise to report him...for recommendation to the government....

As members of a *kumi* we will cultivate friendly feeling even more than with our relatives, and will promote each other's

[1] G. B. Sansom. *Op. cit.*

happiness, as well as share each other's griefs. If there is an unprincipled or lawless person in a *kumi*, we will all share the responsibility for him.

The above are samples of the moral regulations only: there were even more minute regulations about other duties—for instance:

When a fire occurs, the people shall immediately hasten to the spot, each bringing a bucketful of water, and shall endeavour, under direction of the officers, to put the fire out....Those who absent themselves shall be deemed culpable.

When a stranger comes to reside here, enquiries shall be made as to the *mura* whence he came, and a surety shall be furnished by him....No traveller shall lodge, even for a single night, in a house other than a public inn.

News of robberies and night attacks shall be given by the ringing of bells or otherwise; and all who hear shall join in pursuit, until the offender is taken. Any one wilfully refraining, shall, on investigation, be punished.

IV. A Ninth Century Proclamation[1]

Hearken ye all to the Word of the Sovereign Prince of Yamato that is a Manifest God, saying:

A report has been made to Us that in the East of this land which We rule from the throne of Heavenly Sun Succession, Gold has been found.

Now We, considering that of all the various Laws the Great Word of Buddha is the most excellent for protecting the State, did desire to place the Great Scripture called *Saisho-kyo*, and images of Roshana Buddha in all the various countries under Our rule, so that by praying to the Gods that dwell in Heaven and the Gods that dwell in Earth, and by worshipping the reigns (*sic*) of our Distant Sovereign Ancestors, whose names are to be spoken with awe, We might guide and lead the people and serve with such a heart that Evil would cease and Good arise, and Peril would change and become Peace indeed. But people doubted and thought this could not be, and We Ourself grieved because We thought there would not be enough Gold. Yet now the Three Treasures have vouchsafed this excellent and divine Great Sign

[1] G. B. Sansom. *Op. cit.*

of the Word, and We think that this is a thing manifested by the guidance and grace of the Gods that dwell in Heaven and the Gods that dwell on Earth and likewise by the love and kindness of the August Sovereign Spirits.

Therefore We have joyfully received it and reverently received it, and not knowing whether to go forward or backward, night and day We have humbly reflected, thinking that whereas such a thing might come to pass in the reign of a King wise in the cherishing and soothing of the people, We are indeed ashamed and overcome with thankfulness because it has been manifested in Our time, who are unworthy and unskilled.

Shall We alone, therefore, receive this Great and Precious Sign? Nay, it is right that We should humbly receive it and accept it in rejoicing together with Our people. And inasmuch as We, even as a God, do so consider, We will cherish and reward them All and We will add words to the name of this August Era.

To all the Gods, beginning with the Shrine(s) of the Great God(s) We will present rice-lands, and to all their Wardens We make gifts. To the temples We will allow land to cultivate and to all monks and nuns We pay homage and make gifts. Newly-built temples which can become public temples We make into public temples. To some among the Keepers of the August Tombs We will make gifts. Further, in those places where are (the tombs of) subjects who have excelled in serving the Realm and guarding the State, We will set up monuments which as long as Heaven and Earth endure shall not be dishonoured or defiled by men.

. . . .

And as to the children of those of Our subjects who have served us as Ministers, according to the manner of their service their sons have been rewarded but their daughters are not rewarded. But are men alone to bear their fathers' names, and women not to be called thereby? We consider that it is right for them to serve together side by side. We reward you therefore, so that, neither mistaking nor neglecting the teachings imparted by your fathers —that you might become as they desired—nor letting their house decay, you may serve the Sovereign Court.

We will reward aged persons, and We will grant favour to poor persons. In the case of persons of filial piety We will grant exemptions and bestow rice-lands.

We will pardon criminals and We will reward (scribes?) and learned men.

We will reward also those who found the Gold, and the Governor of the province of Michinoku and the officials of the District, and (all) down to the peasants. All the peasants of the Realm We will cherish and love.

V. Ethics of later Shinto

(twelfth century [?] After Aston, "Shinto")

(*a*) *Humility*

If ye deserve our aid put away pride.
Even a hair of pride shuts you out
As it were a vast cloud.

Oracle of the God of Kasuga.

(*b*) *Inner Rectitude*

If that which is within be not bright
It is vain to pray for that which is without.

Oracle of Tatsuta.

(*c*) *Truth*

All ye who come seeking the attainment of desire
Pray with hearts purified from falsehood:
Reflecting truth as a mirror
Be ye clean within and without.

Oracle of the God Temman-Tenji.

(*d*) *Purity of Heart*

To keep the heart uncontaminated, that is God:
Like unto heaven it is a gift of earth to men.

Revelation to the Emperor Seiwa.

(*e*) *Uprightness*

It is the upright heart of all men
Which is one with the Most High,
In heaven and upon earth itself
The false and crooked have no place.

Revelation to a Prince.

(*f*) *Compassion*[1]

O ye who worship here be filled with Compassion
For beggars and lepers—even for ants and crickets.
Whoso extends his pity and charity
Will have his life immeasurably prolonged.

Oracle of Hachiman.

VI. The Confession of Shinran

(thirteenth century)

Though I seek refuge in the True Faith
Yet is my heart not sincere:
Deceit and untruth are in my flesh,
And in my soul is no clear light.

Too strong for me is the evil of my heart;
My soul is full of the poison of serpents,
Even my righteous deeds are tainted with it,
And must be called the works of lies.

There is no compassion in my soul
The good of men is not dear in my eyes,
And I am impotent in right-doing:
Did I not find refuge in His Grace
I should die the death of the shameless.

After S. Yamabe. Wisdom of the East Series.

VII. The Faith of Nichiren in Exile

(thirteenth century)

Is it not by forging and firing that the rough iron is tempered into a sharp sword? Are not rebuffs and persecutions a refining fire?

[1] Hachiman is God of War, and this passage suggests Buddhist influence All these oracles reveal mainland ideas.

In exile I may burn away accumulated sins. The world is full of faithless men, and such men rule our land to-day....

It is said "The protection of the gods is for them who are strong and prepared". The scripture is a sharp sword, and yet it is useless unless we use it aright. Be strong, and discipline your minds. Be steadfast in the faith.

(After M. Anesaki.)

VIII. Ideals of the Poets

(*a*) *Loyalty*

Serving our Sovran-Lord at sea,
Leave we our bodies to its waves:
Serve we our sovran too by land,
Leaving them on the bloody heath.
Rejoice to die in our dread Sovran's cause
Nor backward cast a lingering glance.

(*b*) *Resignation and Disloyalty*

(A deserted wife speaks)

My breaking heart I lament not,
But bow to Destiny.
But thou hast broken solemn Vows:
The Gods absolve and pity thee.

(*c*) *Sic transit*

(An archbishop on his promotion)

Unfit to rule in an evil world,
With its false pomp and pride;
O might I find a humble hut
Far up the lonely mountain-side
And there in monkish black abide.

The first poem is from the *Mannyō-shu* or "Collection of a Myriad Leaves", belonging to the eighth century: the other two are from the thirteenth-century *Hyaku-nin-shu* or "Verses of a Hundred Poets". These and other versions are by the present author unless otherwise acknowledged.

IX. Hideyoshi's Maxims and Morals

(sixteenth century)

(*a*) *From a scroll kept at Nikko*

Life is like a long journey with a heavy pack. Let thy pace be slow and sure. Stumble not. Know that hardship is man's natural lot—and there is no place for grumbling or despair. When vaulting ambition rears itself remember days of adversity. Forbearance is the root of quietness and steadfastness. Look on wrath as thine enemy. If thou knowest only victory, woe unto thee, ill fortune awaits thee. Blame thyself not others.

(*b*) *From a letter to his wife about his concubine Yodo*

We have the enemy like birds in a cage and are in no danger. Pray set your mind at rest.

I long for the young Lord my son, but must not yield for the sake of the future.

I am looking after my health and even having moxa (cautery).

I am telling the daimyō they may send for their wives, and I want Yodo. Please make arrangements for her journey, and tell her that next to you she is my favourite.

May 1590.

From G. B. Sansom. *Japan.*

X. Ethics of the Japanese in the Seventeenth Century

They are well and firmly ruled, united and peaceful: schooled to give due worship to the Gods, due obedience to the laws, due submission to their overlords, due love and consideration to their neighbours. Civil, kindly, courageous and virtuous they excel all nations in art and industry. Possessed of an excellent territory, enriched by trade and commerce, at home they are abundantly provided with all the necessities of life.

Kaempfer.

XI. Imperial Aims

(From the Coronation Rescript of 1928)

It is Our resolve to promote, within, the education and advancement of our people, moral and material—that there may be harmony and contentment, power and prosperity, and, without, to cultivate friendly relations with all peoples, that the peace of the world and the welfare of humanity may be assured. We call on You, Our beloved Subjects, to be of one mind, and forgetting selfish aims in the public service, to work with one accord, to help Us attain our Ideals:

So may we in some measure add to the illustrious traditions, and with good conscience face the Heavenly Spirits, of Our Ancestors.

XII. Proverbs of Japan

Though you lock the door ever so securely trouble will find a way in.

Even in a village of eight there's generally a patriot to be found.

The second word makes the fray.

In the house where the samisen is played all day long there will be little rice in the larder.

All colours are the same to a blind man.

It's no use cutting a stick when the fight is over.

Virtue carries a lean purse.

A bad daughter-in-law is worse than a thousand devils.

Crafty eyes and loose lips were never modelled on the face of virtue.

He who hunts two hares, leaves one and loses the other.

If there are two fires in one room, both will smoke.

He who buys what he needs not, sells what he needs.

If every day was a sunny day who would not wish for rain?

It is difficult to be strong and not be rash.

It's generally the wickedest man who knows the nearest path to the shrine.

When all men praised the peacock for his beautiful tail, the birds cried out with one consent, "Look at his legs! and what a voice!"

Make your plans for the year at the beginning; correct your wife from the first day.

A lie has no legs, but scandalous wings.

Never follow on the heels of a sorrow or it may turn back.

Game is cheaper in the market, but sweeter in the field.

Valiancy and boastfulness never buckle on the same sword.

Avoid three things—a snake, a smooth-tongued man, and a wanton woman.

If you pray to a Buddha, pray to one only.

If a man steals gold he's put in prison; if he steals a land he's made king.

A perfect vase never came from a bad potter's wheel.

The bosoms of the wise are the tombs of secrets.

The tongue of woman is her sword, which never rusts.

A good rat will not eat the grain near its own hole.

Fall seven times, stand up the eighth time.

Cold tea and cold rice are bearable; but cold looks and cold words are unendurable.

The heron's a saint when there are no fish about.

The bird that offers itself to the net is fair game to the fowler.

Learning without wisdom is a load of books on an ass's back.

CHAPTER IV

THE ETHICS OF THE GREEKS

"Man is the measure of all things." PROTAGORAS

I

For the study of the ethical ideals of the Greeks the historical background may be simplified as follows. After the fall of the Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations there came a dark age, during which feudal aristocracies took the place of the earlier monarchies. During these centuries, the tenth and the ninth B.C., the Aegean peoples were strengthened by successive invasions of northern groups. This movement continued for the next two centuries, and it is during this period of discovery and adventure that the city-states are developed, independent, yet bound together by a common religion, and a growing sentiment of cultural unity. All Greeks for instance went to the sacred places, many of which were identical with those of the earlier civilizations, such as Delphi and Olympia. Here and elsewhere great religious festivals were held, including athletic and musical contests open only to Greeks, and these played a great part in building up a national patriotism, side by side with that of the individual cities.

During the seventh and sixth centuries powerful tyrants began to take the place of hereditary clan-chiefs, and these men did much for the prosperity and for the culture of their cities, till by the end of the sixth century Greek art reaches one great stage in its development, and early philosophy is eagerly pursuing its quest, while new political experiments are being tried, and new forms of literature developed.

In the fifth century Greece is threatened by the great empire of Persia in the east and by Carthage in the west. Within the city-states the tyrants have in many cases been

overthrown, and democracies established. There is a strong sense of individualism and independence which has its value, but which prevents union against common foes. The victories of Marathon (490 B.C.), Salamis (480), Plataea (479), decided the fate of Greece, as of Persia, and were followed by a golden age which we know as the Age of Pericles. The second half of the fifth century was indeed the climax for the second period of Greek civilization, as the end of the sixth was that of the first period. Athens became the head of the confederacy of Delos, and in 446 a thirty-year peace was signed between her and the peoples of Peloponnesus; but in 431 began a long war in which Sparta was victorious and the Athenian dream of an empire was at an end. This is the time of great dramatists like Euripides and Aristophanes, of the historian Thucydides and the philosopher Socrates, the ideal man of the ancient world: a time of individualism and of questioning. Many of its questions are still unanswered, but the inspiration of its great teachers is still a mighty force.

During the fourth century Thebes assumed the leadership, and local jealousies continued until the Macedonians under Philip (359–336 B.C.) and Alexander (336–323 B.C.) conquered the whole of Greece, and the Hellenistic Age was ushered in. The inspiration of Greek thought was thus carried far afield. Through his tutor Aristotle Alexander is the pupil of Socrates and of Euripides, who gave content to his dream of uniting East and West.

During this period of about seven centuries, the Greeks developed their characteristic ideals, the love of knowledge, the spirit of inquiry, the genius for mathematics and for philosophical speculation. They also developed the civic ideal so admirably described by Thucydides, an ideal of loyalty and patriotism within narrow limits, and the personal ideals of temperance, justice and harmony which were to become classical for subsequent ages.

II

As in India, so in Greece, archaeology is revealing ancient civilizations long buried. Apparently the Ionians of Homeric times were as little aware of what lay beneath them and behind them, the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures of the third and second millennia B.C., as their cousins the Aryan invaders of India of the older civilizations of the Indus Valley. We cannot doubt that in each case the invaders learned from their predecessors some concepts of the gods and of their images,[1] and some folk-ways in which were the germs of new moral ideals. Yet the great past is but a dim background, and our study begins with the Homeric poems of the Greeks, as it begins with the Vedic hymns of the early Indians. Both collections belong to about 1000 B.C., and both embody much earlier material. Both are in fact anthologies of poetry recited first at the camp-fire, and later at the courts of chieftains. These collections are a notable source-book for the ideals of the laymen of those early ages, all the more valuable for their *naïveté* and for the blending of the high and noble with the ignoble and crude. As early India distinguishes between straight and crooked so early Greece between *dikaios*, true to oneself, and *adikos*, untrue—or simply right or straight and wrong or crooked.[2] In both there is a sense of joy in the adventure of the invaders who are in love with their new fatherland and believe that the gods are on their side in the struggle to possess and master it. These gods are of heroic stature, yet often less moral than their worshippers—just, but also unjust, punishing evil, but also committing it. If an Indra is a drunkard and a parricide Zeus the mighty Ruler of Mount Olympus no less reflects the character of an Ionic warrior chief, and for many centuries the poets and philosophers of the Greeks are to seek to

[1] In India and Greece alike a primitive mother-goddess is taken over by the invader, as well as phallic symbols and fertility rituals.

[2] Gradually the idea emerges that *adikia* is untruth—falsity to one's true nature.

moralize their gods, and often to suffer for their convictions.

In the Homeric poems themselves there is a dim feeling after a higher ideal, and it may well be that they represent the fusion of a higher and a lower stage of religious development. There emerges, for instance, behind and above the immortals, the concept of *moira* (Fate), usually thought of as impersonal, sometimes embodied in the will of a god. It is like the *rita* of the Rig-Veda and unlike it: for there is no one god who is consistently moral like Varuna, to be its guardian and embodiment. It is the ultimate Power, a moral Order. There is emerging too a sense that men are responsible for their own sufferings. "How vainly do mortal men blame us gods", says Zeus, "for to us they trace evil, whereas in the blindness of their heart they bring sorrow on themselves, beyond what is ordained."[1] This is undoubtedly an early passage, and the idea is taken up in later books that it is not Fate nor the Gods, but man's own sin which brings evil upon him.[2] In this the Greeks are in advance of their contemporaries in Israel.

The men of these early poems have the good qualities of an early civilization—hospitality, loyalty, courage, generosity; and in these we can trace the roots of those great virtues which the Greeks have given to mankind in their most articulate and harmonious form. Yet the heroes of the epics are crafty as well as generous, moral cowards at times as well as physically brave, and family honour, to which they are sensitive, is often sullied. They belong to a time of transition and unsettlement. The demoralization due to a long war may be one cause of the confusion, but these mixed qualities belong also to modern men. And it is easy to find parallels in modern Greece to the cosmopolitan and crafty Odysseus, and to the simpler and more honest Achilles. And if we cannot admire the chief actors in the Odyssey, "the sly cattish wife, the cold-blooded egoist Odysseus, and the

[1] *Odyssey*, I, 32 ff. [2] *Ibid.* XXII, 413 ff.

priggish son" as its latest translator says, yet on the whole the Homeric Age is one of a robust morality; its heroes are good friends and bad enemies.[1] For the rest we can discover the germ of that moderation in word and in deed which was to develop into the balance or harmony (*metron*) of later Greek ideals; and there are also the twin-concepts of *nemesis*, righteous indignation against the violation of social bonds, and *aidōs*, a sense of fitness—respect for the respect of the respectworthy, as we might translate it. So *hubris*, its opposite, is wilful disrespect for social or religious duty. But these are symbols impossible to translate in an age with such different views of God and man. How, for instance, shall we render *sōphrosyne*,[2] that sense of sobriety and modesty and discretion which is also here in germ, and which is soon to develop into another cardinal virtue? So it is with *arete*, all-round perfection or excellence, whether in war or in peace; for the good man must be a good fighter, loyal to home and country and friends, and a remorseless enemy.[3] Our idea of Virtue has changed as that of the Greeks themselves was to change, and the word itself has no longer the meaning of manliness suggested by its original form and its Latin equivalent.

As to truth and justice, here again new ideals are emerging: "I hate him like Hell who hides one thing in his mind and says another with his tongue", cries Achilles; but lying was very common; and we do not gather that the early Greeks were taught to speak the truth as were their cousins the Persians. The very fact that Herodotus tells us that lying was held to be the most disgraceful thing in the world among the Persians suggests that the emphasis was not so strong among his own people. Yet part of the moral reformation of the Greeks lay in their gradually awakening sense that the crafty Odysseus was not altogether admirable,

[1] "In his wrath the Homeric hero is a savage", says Dr A. C. Pearson.
[2] In the *Charmides* Plato fails to define it.
[3] Cf. *Il.* XXII, 62; *Od.* VIII, 528.

and Plato laid the axe to the root of much error in the ancient religion and morals when he insisted that "truth is the beginning of every good thing, both in gods and in men".[1] We remember that St Paul, like Asoka, had to insist that "truth must be spoken", and we are still far from realizing this ideal. The world still practises the proverb in Aeschylus, "gain is sweet though it be got by lies".

It is impossible and even a little ridiculous to seek an ordered ethic in these early poems, nor need we suppose that Homer really admired his "blameless" Aegisthus, a murderer. He is content to sing of a spontaneous and vigorous age in which women are more honoured than in later Greece, and slaves and children are kindly treated. A wonderful directness and simplicity mark the thought and the speech of Homeric times, and these are qualities which were to lead the Greeks far in the quest of truth and beauty. Already their passionate love of the fatherland is preparing them for its twin-loyalty—that love of Hellenism or of the Greek spirit, which is just this love of the True and the Beautiful. Homeric Greece is gathering the spiritual forces for an amazing efflorescence. If there is no intimate connection yet between religion and ethics, the germ is present in that *hubris* (Insolence) is seen to be the root of evil, and is opposed to *sebas* (Reverence). The gods will reward the one and punish the other, for from Insolence spring the calamities which overwhelm men and countries.

This is worked out in Hesiod's Works and Days written in the seventh century to admonish his brother Perses for ousting him from his heritage; and with Hesiod Greece enters upon a more articulate, if more commonplace, ethical ideal. With him we pass from the rich tapestry of heroic times to the homespun of everyday life. War had done its worst, and life was no longer as spontaneous and cheerful as in the heroic days. From the courts of princes we have passed to the dry and barren countryside of Boeotia, and the life of the

[1] *Laws*, v, 730.

common people is hard. Men are corrupt and nature grudging. The poet administers a homely remedy:

It is not work that is shameful, but idleness:
Be not a drone, but love seemly work:
Before virtue the Gods have set the goal of sweat and toil:
Long and steep is the road, and rough at the first, but when the top is reached it becomes easier to the feet.[1]

Here Hesiod reaches true poety, as well as sound morality. His praise of justice, too, is noteworthy; she is Zeus' own child, and has his ear, aided by a thousand spies, and though "she may delay her coming she comes surely to punish evil" Men have entered upon the Iron Era which followed several others: that of Gold, when they dwelt in unity; that of Silver, when they waxed so insolent and careless that they were wiped out by Zeus, and were followed by savages of the Bronze Race, who in turn gave place to the Heroes who died in the war against Thebes, and are dwelling now in the Islands of the Blest. This Iron Race is one of mixed good and evil, for *hubris* is again mounting the throne, and *aidōs* is fading away once more from earth. One of the oft-recurring clichés of the Greeks is that "man must think man's thoughts" —in temperance and sanity.

As in the Homeric Age the sanctity of the oath and the duty of hospitality to the stranger have in them germs of greater things, so the insistence here upon righteous conduct and hard work reveals a more reflective stage.

But we find in Hesiod also many of the superstitions and tabus of the countryside—belief in omens and lucky days, and in the interdependence of prosperity and piety. This dies hard even in a disillusioned age. Side by side went on the old Chthonic rituals of fertility, and new orgies in honour of the Phrygian Dionysus—god of vegetation and wine, and these let loose a spirit of carnival very different from the moderation of the civic cults which continued Homeric worship.

[1] *Works and Days.*

Such was the Panathenaia, when a new robe was presented to the goddess, and officials recited Homeric hymns. The Pan-Hellenic games brought the city-states together and fostered national sentiment. Zeus and Apollo belong to all alike, and a clash of loyalties begins between the city and the country as a whole. At this time too the Sophists begin to distinguish between laws human and divine, and even to suggest that custom rather than necessity is the basis of morals. They found different attitudes to the same thing in Sparta and in Athens, and a growing tendency to criticize. Thus Spartans accuse Athenians of pampering not only themselves but their slaves, and before long Athens is to make great claims as representing the ideal State. Ideals of virtue are in the making.

Dikaiosyne is conceived as civic justice and discipline. While Sparta made much of this Athens boasted of greater freedom and spontaneity, and this is still more, as in ancient China, a gift of the countryside.

We should note also that even in Homeric times there is a great difference between the man controlled by the *mores* of small communities like Achilles, and the cosmopolitan port-dweller Odysseus. This distinction may still be fairly made and it has apparently been continuous. If we knew more we should probably be more cautious in generalization.

Yet for the sake of clarity we may schematize the cultural as we have the general history of the Greeks: all the great thinkers are seeking truth, goodness and beauty, but as the emphasis differs three great lines of torch-bearers are seen threading their way amongst the crowds and down the ages.

First are the men of science seeking the truth about the universe, men of analytical mind, from Thales on for nearly a thousand years; next come those of intuitive or poetic genius seeking the unseen beauty, from the first rhapsodists or bards down to the great tragedian Euripides; and some-

times mingling with these two processions, sometimes distinct, are the moral teachers seeking goodness and defining the good life.

The lay-folk from statesman and ruler to citizen and helot are more or less affected by this long search, and in the drama and the laws much of this idealism filters down among the masses, and is crystallized in proverb and aphorism. An early pessimism for instance coins such phrases as "Better not to be born"; and an early fatalism makes man bow to the inscrutable.

III

Thus the gnomic utterances of the Seven Wise Men reveal increasing depth and a closer union between religion and morality. But morals are of slow growth, and there is still in Greece as in Palestine and India confusion between moral and ritual cleanness, and confused ideals of the nature of men and gods. But in all three countries the problem of pain and suffering is becoming acute, and men are seeking to probe below the surface of things to ultimate reality.

If in contemporary Israel it is the prophets who vindicate God's righteousness and set up a high moral ideal for men, it is the early poets and philosophers who are the first torch-bearers of Greece. The drama which is to play so great a part in moral education begins in the cult of Dionysus, and in that Orphic religion which seems to have come in from Thrace, and to have brought with it another view of man's nature, and of God as dwelling in all things. Like Vishnu in India, Zeus is conceived by such groups not as the Ruler of Olympus but as "the beginning and the end, male and female, the breath of life, the pillar of the earth and sky, the lightning flash and the light of sun and moon". Man is of the earth earthy, yet also of heaven heavenly. He is spirit which is to be freed from the entangling flesh, as in the Indian *sānkhya*, or it will go on forever transmigrating from body to body. To free it the right food must be eaten,

and the right ritual observed; but oaths must also be kept, and life is sacrosanct. These ideas were developed by such teachers as the Ionian Pythagoras, who about 530 B.C. gathered a band of disciples in South Italy, teaching that man is intermediate between gods and animals, capable of a love of wisdom and so assimilable to Godhead.

As in India so in the Greek world philosophy begins with teaching salvation, and the disciples of Pythagoras are much like those of his contemporary Sākyamuni. Like them these wandering teachers accepted the doctrine of rebirth, but sought to moralize it, and to find salvation from it in a moral way of life. Meditation, silence and obedience are enjoined upon both companies in their quest for Wisdom. And for both groups man is free, and can find his highest happiness in goodness. Greece, like India, is travailing to bring forth a new and more inward concept of truth and beauty. She is also, in pioneers like Thales and his disciples at Miletus, laying the foundations of scientific investigation. Here are the twin roots of her culture.

And as in contemporary India there is in the early thought of the Greeks a naïve mingling of science and poetry: "all things are made of water" says Thales, but also "all things are made of gods".

Slowly there emerges the metaphysical concept of the One behind the Many, the Abiding amidst the Changing, and in such figures as Heracleitus Greece produces another interesting parallel to Sākyamuni. Both insist that all things are a flux of becoming, and oppose older and more static views of the world. Both teach that in man's character is his destiny. Both lived in an age of rapid change, and must be understood in the light of these changes—political, social and religious. And as in contemporary China men were busy discussing amidst so much that was transitional the true nature of reality, of goodness, of human nature and of political institutions. These questions were far from academic, and if the Sophists got a bad name it was because they were popu-

larizers who applied knowledge to practice, and lived on their fees.

The city-dwellers pass during the sixth century from monarchy to oligarchy—and tyranny is at an end. In Solon we reach constitutional rule. He was appointed by general consent; but he had to defend his efforts on behalf of the poor, and under Peisistratus there was a revival of tyranny. But the spirit of democracy triumphed, and Solon's constitutional government became the norm for Athens.

Their own more settled life calls out higher moral standards in the light of which they criticize the gods of Homer, and defeat at the hands of the Persians makes them question old dogmas and axioms, and look to the roots of trouble in themselves. In Xenophanes, rhapsodist and wandering teacher, such criticism finds an early voice, and a very fearless one.

Homer and Hesiod, he teaches, had led men into theft and cheating and adultery: gods must not be conceived in human form.

But "beneath the ruins of the temple which he destroyed he found another and an older sanctuary", says Gomperz: "there is one above all others whose thoughts are not men's thoughts nor his form mortal".[1]

Xenophanes was also a pioneer in natural science, even collecting fossils and deducing from them an evolutionary theory of the earth's crust, and this he applies to moral teaching.

Man too must advance to maturity—not by sudden flashes of revelation, but by steady effort and orderly stages. He reminds us of Hsun-tse in China and of Thomas Huxley in the modern world. "He was at once a sower and a reaper. With one hand he sowed the seed from which a stately tree was to rise in the forest of Greek speculation: with the other hand he sharpened the axe which was to fell not that tree alone but many another mighty trunk."[2]

[1] Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, E.T., p. 160. [2] *Ibid.* p. 164.

It was a new era which was at hand—the dawn of a new unity and of a new inwardness in religion and ethics.

The gnomic sayings are symbols and summaries of this new spirit. The aphorism "Nothing in excess" sounds a keynote; and another saying "Know thyself", written with it on the shrines of Apollo at Delphi, reveals a new inwardness in religious and moral thought. Pindar (522–442 B.C.) emphasizes *sōphrosyne* and develops the old doctrine that insolence is the child of excess and the parent of pain. He also fosters the growing ideal of the aristocrat—the *kaloskāgathos* —which was to dominate later ages. It may be compared with the Chinese ideal of the scholar, Chun-tse, and conveniently studied in Aristotle. As the athletic contests grew in popularity physical beauty became a craze, and education in Greece as in China was based on music, athletics and literary studies. The gentleman—proud and noble—was the ideal, and *arete* (all-round excellence) was the goal.

In 538 B.C. public competitions in producing "tragedies" were set up by Peisistratus of Athens, and with them a new educational medium of far-reaching power was developed. If the Greek gentleman, like his peer in China, was educated at the expense of the masses he gave back much in the form of the theatre. It began a revolution in thought, and was to educate the people in history and in theology. But the change was of slow growth. Even Pindar feels that "Heaven is brass", and that man cannot know the "Way of Destiny"; but he can steer a middle path, and drink "the sweet hope which lies in piety and justice": looking for a happier rebirth and ultimate deliverance. But Pindar's successors, the great dramatists, more truly express the new era: Aeschylus, orthodox and pious, who yet voices the questions of an age of doubt and sadness: Euripides, rebel and individualist who uses old myths to embody realistic modern interpretations, and to voice urgent moral problems such as that "of the wronged wife and the broken home": and Sophocles who "standing midway between his rivals in point of actual time,

represents also a kind of mean between their literary qualities" and religious attitudes. His characters are ideal types, and have been compared to the statues of his contemporary Pheidias. "His poetry is to that of Aeschylus as the chiselled delicacy of the Ionic temple beside the rugged grandeur of the Doric."[1] And if Euripides is not so classically perfect as either he is more realistic and "modern"—which is another way of saying more rebellious. All three must be seen in their historic setting.

Pious acceptance of the justice of Heaven was for a time easy. Aeschylus (525–456 B.C.) who fought at Marathon, Salamis and Plataea had learned in these heroic days that there is a law of righteousness working out in human affairs. Punishment is linked with sin, not because Zeus is capricious, but because he is just; man must beware of evil company and of those false steps which give a foothold to Fate, and bring a dread harvest of sorrow. Acted at religious festivals, the great tragedies of this age are full of religious and ethical teaching. Zeus is not only all-seeing and all-powerful, but the most perfect of beings. Though his will is hard to trace, yet it shines at times through the darkness, and men can dimly discern a mighty purpose as the divine will, without effort and tireless, works out its plan.

The essence of sin is as of old Insolence, which "bursts into blossom and yields its harvest, Delusion, bearing tearful fruit", and the dread harvest may be reaped by whole families, for men are bound together in the bundle of life. Yet there are unplumbed depths of mystery. If in the victory over Xerxes men can read Heaven's doom upon overweening pride, there is much suffering that remains unexplained. In the Persae Aeschylus vindicates the justice of Zeus—but in the Prometheus, which has been compared with the "Book of Job", the problem of undeserved suffering is frankly faced. "These are the two protests of the ancient world against divine oppression." For if Job is innocent so is

[1] C. E. Robinson, *The Genius of the Greek Drama*, p. 9.

Prometheus, whose only sin is that "he loved mortals overmuch". He is, in fact, the ideal type of the Athenian—courageous and determined, but also gentle and compassionate—"moved by a chivalrous, a romantic impulse to redress the wrongs of the world—tender as well as magnanimous".[1]

Aeschylus gives us other great types of archaic and rugged power, and is as robust as Ezekiel in proclaiming that suffering is not inherited but earned.

> I alone of men will still maintain
> A doctrine new—that sin's the root
> And sinners are the natural fruit,
> As Pride engenders Pride again;
> But then ancestral Righteousness
> Begets fair sons their kin to bless.[2]

It is not that "the parents have eaten sour fruit and the children's teeth are set on edge"—to use Ezekiel's caustic rendering of an older teaching—but that the bad have bad children; and this is offset by the doctrine, equally untrue, that the good beget good ones. Theology still clouds observation.

If Aeschylus excites and thrills us with the unsolved problem of these dread calamities, he leaves us with a conviction that even if it seems to halt "justice is guiding all things to their goal",[3] and his successor, Sophocles (497–405 B.C.), seeks to bring us back to harmony and peace by contemplation of the divine splendour. A gentle and lovable character, he sees that in piety, discretion and reverence lies the root of goodness; and he sets forth the view that to obey Heaven is to be "sinless in word and deed, governed by the sure laws which rule on high". God is tempering and purifying man in the fires of suffering: and, recognizing that the world and its glory are passing, man must learn to be kind as well as just; there is a Divine Law above all human laws, and it is better to obey God than man. Zeus rules in

[1] S. H. Butcher, *Harvard Lectures*, p. 20.

[2] *Agamemnon*, 749.

[3] *Agamemnon*, 773.

Heaven and sees all things. Men must have courage to endure. Through suffering life can be made glorious, and human society may yet embody the divine will.

In the Antigone he raises the question of the conflict of human and divine laws, of love and duty, of the struggle between conscience and the state. Creon, misled by too great patriotism, breaks the human and divine law by refusing burial to Polynices. Antigone obeys God rather than man, and suffers the penalty, her lover, Creon's son, dying on her tomb: and "the Chamber of Love is the House of the Dead".[1] The poet himself speaks most clearly in the aged Oedipus, whose serenity in suffering is the promise of release in Heaven.[2] This note of resignation reflects the chastened mood of Athens plunged from the heights of victory, and from the buoyant mood of the Periclean age into shame and despair.

In the brief half-century after Salamis she had achieved glorious things in politics, art and architecture, and now defeated, first by Sparta and then by Macedon, she was to achieve yet greater things in thought. Euripides (485–407 B.C.) was, like Socrates and Plato, the teacher of a saddened and sobered people, driven to seek higher things than worldly success. But the cost was great. If Sophocles in gentle melancholy cries

> Best beyond all reckoning it is not to be born,[3]

Euripides says bluntly

> Greet the newborn child with dirges,
> Sing paeans o'er the body freed by death.

As in India reflection breeds melancholy, and Euripides has seen the transiency of human achievement, defeat abroad and fratricidal war are followed by revolution at home; the rich grow fat at the expense of the poor, and standards of morality waver. Euripides sounds a sturdy

[1] *Antigone*, see Illustrative Reading IX.
[2] *Oed. Col.* [3] *Oed. Col.* 1225.

protest against Sophocles' serene piety. Against the older poet's conviction

Nothing is wrong that Heaven commands,

we have the defiance of Euripides

If gods do ill they are no gods.[1]

The mouthpiece of a higher religion Euripides is also the voice of a new humanism, with its interest in the poor and the slave, and its blending of high emotion and calm reason. His heroic figures—the magnanimous Theseus, the chaste Hippolytus, Alcestis perfect wife and mother—are at once ideal and real, more modern than the archaic forms of Aeschylus, more god-like than the gods. Euripides finds Justice not in some heavenly judgment-seat, but on earth beside us and around us, if we have but eyes to see it.[2] No ancient writer is being more eagerly read to-day, for his problems are ours; and the Western world is turning, as Asia turned 2000 years ago, to this concept of an inner justice working out a causal sequence.

IV

Side by side with the poets were scientific and moral thinkers: amongst whom an honoured place must be given to Anaxagoras (480–430? B.C.) who took the philosophy of Miletus to Athens and taught that Mind (*nous*) is the motive power behind things material. A friend of Pericles he bade him "overcome those terrors which the phenomena of the skies raise in all who are ignorant of their causes",[3] and was finally banished from Athens, for teaching that the sun is a red-hot ball of matter. To him, as to Euripides, Socrates owes an early impetus to think out the meaning of the world (469–399 B.C.). He is her grandest figure, greatest of the Sophists, heir of the tragedians, teacher of us all. A "Siren

[1] Sophocles, fr. 247. Euripides, fr. 292.

[2] See Illustrative Reading X.

[3] Plutarch, *Life of Pericles*.

spirit lodged in the shell of a Silenus", as Alcibiades described him, we see this humble son of an artisan sculptor fighting with distinction as a soldier, and receiving his call in a strange trance in camp at Potidaea. Twenty-four hours he remained silent, and then, like Saul of Tarsus, "was not disobedient to the heavenly vision". Hailed by the oracle as the wisest man of his day, he chose to interpret this to mean that he at any rate was conscious of his ignorance, and became to the gifted men of his day a physician of souls. Humble, yet confident, poor, yet making many rich, passionate yet pure, he was indeed an alchemist, transmuting the brass of unnatural vice, by this time almost universal, into the pure gold of friendship, and leading his young disciples by parable and dialogue and ironic dilemma to wisdom and truth. Unlike his contemporaries he took no fees, and was content to endure hardness throughout his life, and to die for his convictions. He believed that when men once hear the voice of reason they will become good and wise, and as a teacher he sought to implant a wisdom by which the whole personality might be brought into harmony. Led by his own "daemon" and by a more positive sense of mission, he belongs to the company of those mystics who have made *nous*, or intuition, their guiding-star, and have found the root of their own authority in that inner experience of the soul, which is the eye of heavenly truth. Like Sākyamuni, he sought to foster this inner wisdom, believing that "no one is deliberately evil", but that men need a new scale of values and a moral tonic.

Like Jesus he began with a call to "a change of mind", and like Confucius he insisted on accurate definition of terms, and refused to solve for his pupils the problems which they could work out for themselves. Making them examine words and principles he pricked the bubble of their conceit, and showed them with great patience and with ironic humour that wisdom begins in a recognition of one's unwisdom. This process he found "not unpleasant"; and his

disciples, even the dissolute Alcibiades, were made to feel that they were "neglecting the needs of the soul", till "their hearts leapt within them" as he limned the heavenly beauty. By his talk "of pack-asses and smiths, of shoe-makers and carters" he leads them on from the familiar things about them, and lures them from "the idols of the cave" to the true, the beautiful and the good. The story of his last days, told by Plato with exquisite reticence, is one of the great scenes in history.

The sublimity of the life of Socrates is indeed nobly matched by the grandeur of his death. "He was at all times a marvel of good cheer and content", says Xenophon. "No one within the memory of man, as all admit, ever met death more nobly."[1] "Such", says Plato, "was the death of our friend, the best man that I have known, the wisest and most just."[2] He was the homely yet sublime incarnation of his own ideal of courage and of the disinterested search after truth.

That he was a great thinker is clear. Notable schools sprang out of his teachings, for in him was a complex blend of the clear head and the great heart, of emotion and will, of reasoning and intuition, of enthusiasm and logic. He blent much that was best in the Pythagorean school of ecstatic religion with that scientific quest for truth which marks the Greek spirit at its best. These are the twin roots of Greek philosophy. Socrates seems to have identified the soul, *psyche*, which meant various things to his contemporaries[3], with the self, or personality, to have called men to its cultivation, and to have taught that reverence for it which is one sure foundation of ethics. By his reverent attitude to men he made them reverend, and taught them to revere the good in others. That he forgave the judges who condemned him is the fulfilling of his own teaching. "It is wrong to requite injustice with injustice, or to do evil to

[1] *Memorabilia*, IV, 8. 2. [2] *Phaedo*, 118B.

[3] *E.g.* Breath of life, divine spark in man: *cf. Atman* in India. Like Sākyamuni he moralized and humanized the older mystical monism.

any man, whatever he may have caused us to suffer."[1] In this he is a pupil of Euripides, and like him stood for a more humane and universal religion, as against the exclusive and narrow loyalties of Athens and of the cult of Athena. For these two were really one, and the persecution of such men as Anaxagoras and Socrates was due to political as well as sectarian bitterness.

By the range of his vision and the depth of his sympathies Socrates illumines many perennial problems, and until the advent of Jesus he remained the highest type of manhood in the Western world. Besides him we may set his great disciple Plato, who, if he has not created much of the Socrates we know, has given perfect literary expression to his ideals of beauty and truth. Former teachers had seen the world as a transient expression of the unseen and eternal. Plato develops this idealism, which has greatly influenced Christian thought and will continue to do so. God, he teaches, is the universal Mind and the Author of the phenomenal world; this he makes after a divine pattern, and man's soul must be modelled on divine beauty, for this world is the image of the invisible. When St Paul says that "the things that are unseen are eternal and the things that are seen are temporal", he is giving perfect form to this Platonism, in which Greek religion and ethics find their noblest expression. We do not forget that Athens sometimes persecuted her prophets and banished her men of science, but in the end she capitulated to thought's demand for freedom and pursued the high quest of a philosophy which seeks to lead men from the unreal to the real, from the transient to the eternal, and from the false to the true. To this end are devoted the noble allegories and dialogues of Plato, who sees Reason as a charioteer driving the horses of Sense, the soul as finding immortality in goodness, and the pervading Mind in whom we live and move and have our being as the source of all beauty, and the inspiration of all goodness.

[1] *Crito*, 49 C.

V

Plato was young when Socrates taught in Athens, and to youth the beloved teacher gave of his best. After his death Plato wandered far afield, to Egypt and to Sicily, where like Confucius he sought to guide a state by instructing a ruler. And like the Duke of Lu Dionysius resented the presence of the Sage, who had learned how sorely a state needs such guidance, and whose faith in democracy had been destroyed by the chaos at Athens.[1] Like Confucius Plato was a very practical idealist, whose pursuit of truth had as its object the setting up of a model state. And noble as are the shorter Dialogues many are so much concerned with platonic love that the mind of our day turns more readily to his longer works the Republic and the Laws, which embody his mature thought, and lead to more definite conclusions.

If the Symposium is the greatest prose masterpiece in all literature its main theme is homosexual love, and we see the world of Athens amazed at the continence of Socrates in refusing the advances of Alcibiades.

We must, of course, remember that this wonderful little work is an apology: Socrates, who was in fact constantly falling in love with beautiful boys, has been accused of corrupting them. Here Plato presents him as he was—susceptible but pure, and brilliantly sublimating the love of physical to that of spiritual beauty. In fact he firmly grasps the nettle—as our moralists usually do not—and turns it by the magic of his own pure spirit into a very lovely flower.

Even the grotesque theories of Aristophanes have in them a recognition of a psychic fact: this Socrates is seen making into a way of purity and a path to God. In other words, as a great teacher, he is sublimating and not repressing, and himself homosexual in temperament, is able to achieve not only innocence but moral sublimity in his friendships with the young men of this and other dialogues.

[1] See Illustrative Reading VI (*c*).

Plato, too, takes things as he finds them: living in an age of transition and of degeneration he seeks to build a new city of God; and in being true to his vision, and to the facts, he illuminates many of our own pressing problems.

His search, like that of the Hebrew prophets, is for righteousness—an ordered life in which each shall play the part for which he is fit.

"He was trying at once to uproot and to resettle. So that he is in some respects the greatest of revolutionaries, in others the greatest of reactionaries."

If Socrates laid the foundations of a sound morality, and urged men to realize the divine nature within them, the Republic concerns itself with the practical problems of eugenics, of property, of intelligent government: and if the idealism of Plato has inspired the Russian church, the Republic inspires the Soviet in their persecution of that church. For Plato was a communist as well as a mystic, and shrank from no radical measure which might produce "good and nobler guardians" or city-fathers, "at once gentle and high-spirited", "philosophical and strong". And his Utopia is grounded in a profound knowledge of psychology and of human needs.

Plato's psychology has affinities with that of St Paul and with that of the Gītā. It is indeed possible that all three are historically related—the Indian system influencing the Greek, and the Greek being familiar to St Paul.

If St Paul conceives of man as Body, Soul and Spirit, Plato sees him as Body, Soul and Mind (*nous*); and if the Gītā compares man's Reason to a charioteer driving the horses of Sense, Plato uses the same simile, seeing the horse of appetite as restive and vicious, that of spirited vigour as responsive and amenable to Reason. Corresponding to this tripartite psychology we have the three cardinal virtues, Courage (*andreia*), Temperance (*sōphrosyne*) and Uprightness (*dikaiosyne*); and corresponding to them the three Orders in the Ideal City—Soldiers, Traders, and Rulers, and the three stages

in Education. Music and other arts come first to attune and harmonize the soul to the good and beautiful. Gymnastics come next—to discipline the horse of appetite, and Mathematics to complete the process by training the Reason to pierce below the surface of things to the Unseen and Real. Man's soul, and society at large, must be harmonized by obedience to Reason: this is Wisdom.

So Righteousness is to be reached by man—this is the goal of education, and man comes thus into communion with God. Here Plato and St Paul are again in close agreement. "In both thinkers", says Dean Inge, "personality is, in a sense, transcended in the highest life of Communion."[1] And for both "Love is the great hierophant of the divine mysteries".[2]

With Confucius too the curriculum of Plato is in close agreement,[3] and for him, as for India, *bhakti*—Love of the Divine—is at once inspiration and reward of the moral life: but other ways are offered to men. And the classes of society are seen to correspond to certain natural temperaments—imaginative and intellectual, practical and energetic, dull and servile. If slavery is tolerated by such men as Plato and Aristotle it is because it was not only inevitable, but seemed a natural consequence of men's varying capacities. As in India the Sūdra is one "reborn to be a Sūdra", so too in Greece transmigration is called in to explain the facts. St Paul himself had to accept the institution, though he saw that "in Christ" it could not perpetuate itself. Plato's thought is also seen moving away from it: death is to be preferred to slavery, and if it is accepted in the Republic, it is ignored in the Laws.[4]

Slaves in Athens were well treated, and were better off

[1] *The Platonic Tradition in English Religious Thought*, p. 14.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] "The Odes rouse the mind, morals mould the will, music adds polish", say the *Analects*.

[4] A similar growth in Plato's thought leads him in the latter to reject the nationalization of children which he advocates in the former.

than the helots or serfs of Sparta, and a quickened conscience is seen in Euripides' plea on their behalf: and as abuses grew worse so did this plea become more insistent, till in the noble protest of Dio Chrysostom we see at once how vile and how noble Greeks could be. Without apologizing for them we can say with truth that the Light which dawned in Palestine is slowly making the sky of the Graeco-Roman world bright, and men like the author of the Hymn of Cleanthes are calling Zeus "Father of all men".

VI

Side by side with the poets and religious teachers of Greece is a long succession of scientific thinkers. They too have fed the moral life of mankind, and in many of them the scientific and the ethical are nobly blended.

We have glanced at Xenophanes—a complex figure of this kind—and from Thales (*c.* 583 B.C.) on down through Anaximander (*c.* 546 B.C.), Anaxagoras and Heracleitus to Aristotle and his successors Greece had a long line of men truly scientific, with whom philosophy is also a passion. If it starts with Pythagoras it starts no less with Thales: for the Greeks meant by philosophy "speculation upon all time and all existence",[1] "a serious endeavour to understand this world and man—having for its chief aim the discovery of the right way of life and the conversion of man to it".[2] Among the torch-bearers of Greece there are men of science as well as poets: men of affairs as well as teachers: historians, doctors and other laymen.

If in their lives Socrates and Plato revealed the beauty of holiness, the Greek ideal of simplicity and depth of courage and courtesy, of fearless seeking and of direct speech is nobly embodied also in men of affairs like Pericles, doctors like Hippocrates, historians like Thucydides. Of Pericles a contemporary wrote: "His sons died in the bloom of youth

[1] Plato's *Republic*, 486 a.

[2] Dr J. Burnet in *The Legacy of Greece*.

within a week of each other—and he bore it without repining and maintained his serenity unbroken...so that all who saw him bear his sorrow so stoutly recognized that Pericles was a nobler man than they". If Prometheus is an ideal figure Pericles is the ideal realized on the difficult stage of city politics.

Thucydides in the long dreariness of exile worked with the detached and objective spirit of the ideal historian, and Hippocrates has ever been the ideal doctor; of him it has been well said:

> In beauty and dignity that figure is beyond praise. Perhaps gaining in stateliness what he loses in clearness, Hippocrates will ever remain the type of the perfect physician. Learned, observant, humane, with a profound reverence for the claims of his patients, but an overmastering desire that his experience shall benefit others, orderly and calm, disturbed only by anxiety to record his knowledge for the use of his brother physicians and for the relief of suffering, grave, thoughtful and reticent, pure of mind and master of his passions, this is no overdrawn picture of the Father of Medicine as he appeared to his contemporaries and successors. It is a figure of character and virtue which has had an ethical value to medical men of all ages comparable only to the influence exerted on their followers by the founders of the great religions.[1]

Though the "Oath of Hippocrates" belongs to a much later phase of morality its attribution to him is noteworthy. Compared with such figures Aristotle's formal description of the "noble-minded "pales. It is a type of gentleman, as has been well said, that may be met with in a novel by Disraeli and nowhere else, and we cannot leave this brief survey of Greek ethics without noting their aristocratic nature and the fact that these gentlemen of Athens were supported by a slave population as the Spartans throve on the work of helots or serfs. We remember that one of the greatest of the Stoic writers, Epictetus, was himself a slave maimed by the lawless

[1] Charles Singer in *The Legacy of Greece*, p. 212.

cruelty which society allowed, that such writers as Horace take it for granted that slaves may be killed for a whim, and that the Greeks who followed Alexander the Great were amazed that this cruel institution was not found in India. Yet in the days of Athenian greatness slaves were well treated, and a growing sense of human rights animates the tragedies. If Plato has to face facts, and to admit slavery, Aristotle's defence of it, as justified under certain conditions and fitting certain types, reveals a conscience not at ease. After the fall of Athens, the institution grew steadily worse, and such protests as that of Dio Chrysostom in the second century A.D. were all too rare; men admired Socrates rather than followed him.

Yet in the ideals of the Greeks is rooted much that is best in our western civilization, and when we turn to the study of Christian ethics we shall see how much of the Platonic tradition lived on and entered into the new and creative life of the Church. That this life was a new thing will also become clear, and the new life demanded a new vocabulary as it fulfilled, by filling with new meaning, the Greek ideal of beauty and the Hebrew ideal of holiness.

How far has the man of the Beatitudes outstripped the gentleman of Aristotle in inward as well as outward nobility!

Yet Aristotle himself is far grander than his ideal. He lived in the latter half of the fourth century B.C., and was philosopher and also man of science. If Socrates discoursed of the Divine Beauty and of the human virtues of Temperance, Courage, and Justice, and if Plato embodied this idealism in practical schemes of education and government Aristotle brought to bear the orderly and systematic process of his architectonic genius upon all knowledge.

As pupil of Plato and as tutor of Alexander the Great he had leisure and inspiration to acquire encyclopaedic knowledge, and in 335 B.C. he opened the School of the Lyceum at Athens. The Peripatetic System which he instituted is like that of the Indian *Guru*—informal yet thorough—and is a

development of that of Socrates. In general Aristotle agrees with Plato, but allows no objective existence to the Ideas, and develops a more formal system of ethics. They are agreed that Happiness is the chief good, but there are divers definitions of Happiness. The chief good for man, says Aristotle, consists in the full realization and perfection of his life "rounded and complete".

Virtue for Aristotle consists in the Golden Mean, or Middle Path between extremes. Truthfulness lies between boasting and self-depreciation: courage between rashness and cowardice. And like Plato he conceives of an ideal state in which these virtues can best flourish, for man is a "political animal" and can only come to fruition in an ordered society. A biologist as well as a moralist, he is the father of the social sciences.

But the contrast between these ideals of the master-minds of Greece and the actual state of society is poignant, and Greek thought also begins to suffer a decline.

For an estimate of this process we may get much from the eminent moralist and satirist Aristophanes. Indecent as much of his humour is most of it is concerned in attacking men and sentiments which he held dangerous to the state. Greek morality is increasingly orthodox, and the good citizen is the conformist. The Athenian jury which condemned Socrates was probably quite sincere, and Aristophanes is as sincere in his unjust parodies not only of his greatest fellow-citizen but of Euripides, a much greater poet and moralist than himself, and a teacher of Socrates.

It is clear that Aristophanes was concerned at the decay of morale. To understand this rapid degeneration we must remember the political chaos which resulted from the rivalry of the city-states, and the moral decline which allowed them to fritter away in local feuds the resources of men and money which might have resisted foreign dominance. "Discord, their old hereditary failing, rendered it impossible for Greeks to be independent in foreign relations or to be

united and settled at home".[1] "No argument was cogent enough", says Thucydides, "and no pledge solemn enough to reconcile opponents."

The same causes, in other words, which led to the downfall of Athens laid all Greece low—envy, covetousness and social injustice—where magnanimity and co-operation between city and city and between the classes in the cities would have made a strong and united Greece, loyal to a common culture. Yet in the long run the break-up of Greece led to the opening up of a new world, and of wider horizons: and Greece, like Judaea, was brought into contact with the East and enabled to spread its characteristic culture far afield. "By the side of the old famed centres of learning in the mother-country of Hellas, new centres arose, suited by position, inhabitants and peculiar circumstances to unite the culture of East and West, and to fuse into one homogeneous mass the intellectual forces of different races."[2]

VII

There was no city wise enough to embody the ideas of Plato or the politics of Aristotle, and their successors are men disillusioned with the world and offering men ways of escape to an inner kingdom of the soul: they are also men of less restricted loyalties and class-prejudices. Such were the Sceptics, the Epicureans and the Stoics—physicians of the soul in a sick world. "Stoic apathy, Epicurean self-contentment and Sceptic imperturbability, were the doctrines which suited the political helplessness of the age",[3] says Zeller.

These schools are agreed in two fundamental points, in subordinating theory to practice, and in the peculiar character of their practical philosophy. As teachers of Ethics then they are of great importance, and there are universal notes in all these schools. Like Sākyamuni the Stoics insist

[1] Zeller, *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*, E.T., p. 13.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 14.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 19.

that the moral life is the way of emancipation to truth, and consists in bringing all action into conformity with the laws of the universe. Like Socrates they argue that virtue is identical with right knowledge.

Zeno, a Semite, influenced perhaps by Indian ideas, is a very arresting figure, disciplined, ascetic, and blunt of speech. This first of the Stoics was noted also for prophetic fire and earnestness which make him at once dogmatic and paradoxical, at once rationalist and man of faith. Above all he gave a moral tonic to a sceptical age. Few trusted, and most dreaded, the unknown. Few again were continent, and the old aids to moral living were gone. Like Sākyamuni in a similar setting, Zeno offered men salvation from fear and from desire.

To give men, passion-driven and afraid, a refuge and freedom, this was the task to which he bent his great energy and zeal. To the will he launched his appeal: there is a large part of man's life which he can control—his own inner disposition: in all else he can acquiesce. There is a sovereign Reason guiding the world. Like Lao-tse Zeno taught men to put themselves in harmony with nature, which is both reasonable and good. This is the part of wisdom, to fulfil one's own true nature. As Hindus express it, man's *dharma* is to obey the universal *dharma*.

So Zeno carried on the Platonic tradition: let reason drive the chariot, and control passion and fear. Let the wise man serve his fellows and build up a kingdom of peace within and of justice without; let him be benevolent to all, attached to none.

Early Buddhism is Indian stoicism. Like Sākyamuni these teachers rejected metaphysical subtleties. Like him they could only bid men enthrone reason and subdue the irrational: but, also like him, they appealed to faith in a reasonable universe. They were satisfied that man can work out his own salvation.

Aristo, pupil of Zeno, insists that the sole business of man

is to be virtuous, the sole use of words is to cleanse the soul. Man must put aside logic-chopping and vain speculation and confine himself to discussion of good and evil, wisdom and folly. For Zeno understanding is the root of virtue; for Aristo it is knowledge of good and evil; for Cleanthes it is strength of mind. But these are all names for that "knowledge" which guides men to practical goodness.

Intelligence is knowledge of good, bad and indifferent: bravery knowing how to choose the good and reject the bad: justice knowing how to give each man his due. Like Sākyamuni too the Stoics see in ignorance man's great enemy, and in detachment his victory over desire. True riches consist in being independent of wants, and true freedom consists in self-control.

If the Buddhist monk is to shine like a god amongst men the Stoic is to be compared to Zeus amongst the gods. But men are unhappy, because everywhere they are wicked; they prefer to live at lower levels, knowing the higher.

But, said Epicurus, man can and should be happy: pain is the one great evil. Let him pursue pleasure and avoid pain and in *ataraxia*[1] find repose of mind, the highest pleasure. The highest good is intelligence, and it alone can produce a complete and rounded life. Virtue is not to be pursued for its own sake, but as a means to happiness. It makes men happy by freeing them from fear and anxiety, which are the offspring of vice.

The same claims were advanced by Epicurus on behalf of his wise man as the Stoics had urged on behalf of theirs. Not only does he attribute to him control over pain, in nothing inferior to Stoic insensibility, but he endeavours himself to describe the wise man's life as perfect and satisfactory in itself. While not free from emotion, and in particular susceptible to the higher feelings of the soul such as compassion, the wise man finds his philosophic activity in no way impaired. Without despising enjoyment, he

[1] Imperturbability.

is altogether master of his desires, and knows how to restrain them by intelligence, so that they never exercise a harmful influence on life. He alone has an unwavering certainty of conviction; he alone knows how to do the right thing in the right way; he alone, as Metrodorus observes, knows how to be thankful. Epicurus promises his pupils that, by carefully observing his teaching, they will dwell as gods among men; so little can destiny influence them, that he calls them happy in all circumstances. Happiness may, indeed, depend on certain external conditions; it may even be allowed that the disposition to happiness is not found in every nature, nor in every person; but, when it is found, its stability is sure, nor can time affect its duration. For wisdom—so Epicurus and the Stoics alike believed—is indestructible, and the wise man's happiness can never be increased by time. A life, therefore, bounded by time can be quite as complete as one not so bounded.

Different as are the principles and the tone of the systems of the Stoics and the Epicureans, one and the same tendency may yet be traced in both—the tendency which characterizes all the post-Aristotelian philosophers—the desire to place man in a position of absolute independence by emancipating him from connection with the external world, and by awakening in him the consciousness of the infinite freedom of thought.

If Platonism gave to Christianity a philosophy, these schools prepared the way for the Christian law of love. Stoic self-discipline came to fruition in Christian self-sacrifice, and the "athlete of Zeus" became the "soldier of Christ". The social ethic too of these teachers of a new universalism helped to lay wide and deep foundations for the City of God.

Such then in brief outline is the story of Greek ideals. Their practice, like that of us all, fell far short. Yet there were honest men in the Homeric Age, and hard workers in that of Hesiod, and many contemporaries of the great tragedians and philosophers to whom they did not appeal in vain: the

eulogy of Thucydides upon Athens is no doubt a true picture of what the Athenians aspired to be, and the epitaph on Sparta's soldiers is well deserved. Yet slavery and sodomy grew worse: even the austere Epicurus urges that paederasty be not overdone, and Alexander is amazed that slavery is not found in India. The impossibility of the task set to Reason in conquering selfishness and lust prepared the way for the victory of Love.

But there are many types in ancient Greece: and of the typical Athenian we get a better idea perhaps from Aristotle than from Plato, better still perhaps from Xenophon, Thucydides and the dramatists. A man of family loyalties he yet kept his wife and daughters in seclusion, and held that "she is best among women of whom least is heard whether of praise or blame". "Every good and decent man loves and cherishes his woman", says Achilles; but for later Greeks woman and passion must both be kept in their place: and if for child-bearing the Athenian had a wife, for intelligent conversation he had a mistress and for romance a fair youth.

Yet modesty in speech and demeanour was expected, and if the Greek does not reach purity of mind and tolerates grossness of speech, he has a strong sense of family propriety, and Athenian women consider the athletic amazons of Sparta as shameless—just as missionary ladies in Japan are aghast at Japanese nudism. So Spartan women, essentially pure, would reply that the nude is seen, not looked at, and that secrecy breeds evil.

This battle is still being waged.

As to slaves, the Athenian agreed that theirs was an evil state, but had one or two, and treated them well, and the Spartan jeered at him for pampering them and himself. And as there are women in the tragedies in whom are noble qualities, and of whom men speak with tenderness and chivalry, so there are devoted slaves in Homer and in Periclean Athens.

And if he was not without family loyalty, the Greek had

a real and whole-hearted patriotism based on a sense of common interests, on customary sentiment—and capable on occasion of turning into bitter hostility and disillusionment. As to other virtues *arete* is the noun of *agathos*, and a man was expected to "be good"—to "do well" whatever he undertook; to be modest and sane, to respect the gods and himself, to be objective about his own good looks, good station and good qualities, to be a good friend and a good enemy.

Like the Chinese he was judged by his "propriety" in meeting the varied relations of life, but his morality was essentially self-regarding, and "unselfishness was not a virtue".

As to a sense of sin, this could not be strong until the gods were moralized, and then with Aeschylus and Euripides it develops along lines similar to those of the Hebrew prophets, but with less sense that it is man's own nature, and more that it is an outside fate that is at work in the process of punishment. It is more like the determinism of some moderns, and there is room neither for personal blame nor for Divine Grace. Man is to avoid *hubris*, or the inevitable chain of cause and effect will fasten on him. Even to Plato, error is the cause of sin, and wisdom can be taught: and none of the Greeks had the strong sense of the Jew that sin is deliberate rebellion against Divine Love; it is curious that a people who made so much of human friendship did not develop a more personal sense of the Divine Friend and of His right to look in upon the darkened soul.

Nor does Hellas develop the sense of compassion and forgiveness as a duty, though in Euripides and Socrates there are noble expressions of that divine quality which Judaea achieved through so much pain.

Greek morality, in a word, is robust and objective rather than inward and spiritual. "Man is the measure of all things" and so fails of the stature he might have reached by making God his Norm. Devotion to the mean and to moderation led too often to mediocrity and monotony.

THE SOUL OF GREECE

I. HOMER

(*a*) *Hospitality*

All strangers and beggars are from Zeus.

Odyssey VI, 207.

(*b*) *Divine Justice*

Antinous, 'twas foully done to strike a hapless wanderer. If there be a God in heaven thou wilt come to a bad end. For verily the gods, in the guise of strangers from afar, visit the cities of men, and note both their violent and their righteous deeds.

Odyssey XVII, 483.

(*c*) *Wifely Honour*

Do thou, Diana, wing thy shaft,
And send me joyful down to death,
To seek my Lord among the warriors slain
Ere second nuptials shall my vows profane.

Odyssey XX.

(*d*) *Sebas*

Hard though the task my vengeance I suppress:
Whoso reveres the gods the gods will bless.

Iliad, I.

(*e*) *Ate*

Therefore, Achilles, rule thy proud spirit; neither is it right to be ruthless. Even the gods can bend; though theirs is greater majesty and might. With incense and reverent vows and libation and burnt-offering men move their hearts, and by prayer, when they have done evil and sinned. Prayers of penitence are indeed daughters of mighty Zeus; halting, wrinkled and squint-eyed, he sets them to dog the steps of Ate. For she is strong and swift, and far outstrips all prayers, and goes before them over all the earth making men fall; and prayers follow to assuage the evil. Now whosoever reverences Zeus' daughters when they draw near, him they greatly bless, and hear his plea; but when one denies them and stiffly refuses, they depart and entreat Zeus son of Kronos

that Ate may come upon such an one, that he may be made to pay the penalty. Nay, Achilles, look thou to it that thou yield to the daughters of Zeus the reverence that bends the hearts of all good men and true.

Iliad, IX, 496.

(*f*) *Zeus the Adulterer woos his wife*

Then Zeus, gatherer of clouds, answered her and said:... "Come let us take our pleasure in the bed of love. For never before did love of goddess or mortal so mightily invade and master my heart. Not when I loved the wife of Ixion, who bore Pirithoos, peer of gods in counsel, nor when I loved slim-ankled Danae, daughter of Akrisios, who bore Perseus, most famed of men, nor when I loved the daughter of Phoinix, who bore me Minos and godlike Rhadamanthys; nay, nor even when I loved Semele, nor Alkmene in Thebes, and begot Herakles, a child stout of heart, (but Semele bore Dionysos, a joy to men); nay, nor when I loved the fair-tressed queen, Demeter, nor far-famed Leto, nay, nor thy very self, as now I love thee, and sweet desire possesses me".

Iliad, XIV, 312.

(*g*) *Magnanimity and the master-prig Menelaos*

But Menelaos arose among them, sore at heart, very angry with Antilochos; and the herald set the staff in his hand, and called for silence among the Argives; then spake that godlike man: "Antilochos, who once wert wise, what is this thou hast done? Thou hast shamed my skill and made my horses fail, thrusting in front thy sorry hacks. Come now, ye chiefs and counsellors of the Argives, give just judgment between us".

Then answered wise Antilochos: "Bear with me now, for I am younger than thou, King Menelaos, and thou art my better. Thou knowest the faults of a youth, for his mind is hasty and his counsel shallow. So suffer me, and I will give to thee the mare I have taken. Yea, if thou shouldst ask some other greater thing from my house, I were fain to give it thee, rather than fall for ever from my place in thy heart, O fosterling of Zeus, and become a sinner against the gods".

Thus spake great-hearted Nestor's son, and brought the mare, and gave her to Menelaos. And his heart was glad as when the

dew comes upon the ripening ears of harvest, when the fields are abristle. So glad was thy soul within thee Menelaos. And he spake unto Antilochos winged words: "Antilochos, now will I put away mine anger against thee, for till now thou wert in nothing flighty or light-minded; though now thy reason was overcome by youthfulness. Another time be loth to outwit better men. Not easily should another of the Achaians have persuaded me, but thou hast suffered and toiled much, thou and thy brave father and brother, for my sake; therefore will I hear thy prayer, and will even give thee the mare, though she is mine, that these also may know that my heart was never overweening or implacable".

Iliad, XXIII, 566–611.

II. HESIOD

(*a*) *Man's Part*

Do thou lay this to heart—pursue justice and eschew violence. For this is the law of Zeus: that fish and fowl and beast shall prey upon one another, having no just laws: but to men he hath given the better part—to do justly and to prosper.

Works and Days, 274. Translated by A. W. Mair.

Foolish Perses, I speak to thee for thy good. Unto wickedness men attain easily and in crowds: smooth is the way, and her dwelling is very near. But the immortal gods have ordained much sweat upon the path to virtue: long and steep is the way, and rough at first; but when a man has reached the height, thereafter the hard road is easy....

Ibid. 286.

When men mete out justice to the stranger and to their own folk and turn not aside, then do they flourish as a tree in blossom. ...But the Immortals are close at hand, to observe all oppressors, and such as pervert justice and defy heaven.

Ibid. 225.

(*b*) *Heaven sees All*

Know then the dire truth: it is not given to men to foil the justice of all-seeing heaven.

Ibid. 42.

(c) *Prometheus and Pandora*

For the gods have hidden away the bread of man's life; if it were not so, a day's work might easily have won thee store enough to live idle for a year; the rudder might be hung up in the smoke, and the labour of oxen and patient mules be as nothing.

Ibid. 42.

III. PINDAR

(a) *What is Man?*

He who wins fresh glory in his tender youth, soars high in hope. Achievement worthy of a man lends wings to lift his mind above sordid cares.

In a little while the delight of man rises to its height; and in a little while it falls to the ground, shaken by adverse fate.

Creature of a day, what is a man? what is he not? Man is the dream of a shadow.

Only, when a gleam of sunshine comes as a gift from heaven, a light rests upon him and life is smooth.

Pyth. viii.

(b) *Gods and Men are of One Kindred*

Of one kindred, one only, are men and gods, and of one mother do we draw our breath; but in power we are utterly divided: man is a thing of nought, but for the gods the bronze floor of heaven stands ever as a seat unshaken.

Yet we bear some likeness to the Immortals, in greatness of spirit as in bodily form; although we know not when, from day to day or in the night watches, it is fated that we should end our course.

Nem. vi.

IV. HERACLEITUS

(a) *Religiosity and Sin*

If it were not to Dionysus that they made procession and sang the phallic hymn, it were a very shameless deed. But Hades is the same as Dionysus, in whose honour they rave and keep the feast.

In vain they purify themselves—defiling themselves with blood; as if a man who had trodden in mud should wash his feet with mud.

(*b*) *Compensation*

It is not good for men to get all they wish. It is sickness that makes health pleasant; evil, good; hunger, plenty; weariness, refreshment.

V. Archilochus

(670 B.C.)

Equanimity

Storm-tossed by troubles, O my soul,
Cleave to the rudder of thy self-control:
And to the lances of impetuous foes
A front undaunted, calm, do thou oppose.
Thine not to boast when victory crowns thy brow;
Thine not to grieve when adverse winds do blow:
Rejoice in joyous things; be moderate in grief:
The changing tides of Fortune bring relief.

VI. Thucydides

(*a*) *Devotion to Athens*

Such was the end of these men; they were worthy of Athens, and the living need not covet a more heroic spirit, though they pray for a happier end. The worth of such a spirit is not to be expressed. Anyone might discourse to you forever about the advantage of a brave defence; that you know already. But instead of listening to him I would have you day by day fix your eyes upon the greatness of Athens, until you become filled with love for her; and when you are impressed by the spectacle of her glory, reflect that this empire has been won by men who knew their duty and had the courage to do it, who in the hour of conflict had the fear of shame ever before them; and who, if they failed in an enterprise, would not allow their virtues to be lost to their country, but freely gave their lives to her—the fairest oblation they could lay at her feet. The sacrifice which all made was repaid to each; for they received again a praise which ages not, and the noblest of sepulchres. I speak not of that in which their bodies lie, but of that in which their fame lives on—pro-

claimed always and on every meet occasion in word and deed. For the earth itself is the tomb of famous men; not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions at home, but abroad too there lives on an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone, but in the fleshy tablets of men's hearts. Make them your example, and, esteeming courage to be freedom and freedom to be happiness, weigh not too nicely the perils of war....

(*b*) *The Spirit of Athens*

My first theme shall be our ancestors. It is only right on such an occasion as this to pay this respect to their memory. For they and their children inhabited this land in unbroken succession up to the present day; and through their valour bequeathed us a heritage of freedom. While great honour is due to them, our fathers deserve yet greater. For in addition to the inheritance they received, they have passed on to us this empire of ours, which they won after great toil. And this we, who are now in the full vigour of life, have improved in most respects, and have made our city self-sufficient as regards both peace and war. The military achievements by which each thing was acquired, and the fervour with which we and our fathers repelled the foreign and Greek invader, I do not wish to dwell upon in detail, as you are as well acquainted with them as I am. But I will outline the principles which have brought us our prosperity, the policy and practice which have brought us our power, and then pass on to the eulogy; and I think all this will be not inappropriate, and that the throng of citizens and foreigners may listen to it with advantage.

For in our system of government we do not imitate the institutions of neighbouring states: we rather ourselves provide an example than follow the example of others. Our constitution is a rule of the many, not of the few, and so is classed as a democracy. All here have equal rights before the law in their private quarrels, while as regards personal claims for recognition, men are chosen for public office not on account of their rank, but for their true worth. Moreover poverty and obscurity of birth provide no obstacles to a man who is able to benefit the city. Our attitude towards public affairs is above all liberal in respect of that mutual suspicion so often felt in the daily round of life; for we bear no grudge against a neighbour, if he does as he likes, nor do we put

on a sullen expression which may be harmless, but is annoying if noticed. But in spite of this freedom from restraint in our public behaviour we observe the laws most carefully; we never disobey magistrates, or any of the laws, paying particular attention to those dealing with protection for the injured, and those unwritten ones whose infringements bring acknowledged disgrace.

Our minds, moreover, are suitably provided with adequate relaxation from their labours. For we have evolved a cycle of athletic meetings and religious festivals extending over the whole year, and we pride ourselves on the tasteful decoration of our homes. The pleasure thus derived gives us ample opportunity for forgetting our daily misfortunes. But such is the importance of our city that the produce of every land pours in upon us, so that it is our fortune and privilege to receive with equal enjoyment the produce of other lands and of our own.

To pass on to our preparations for war: these also differ widely from the enemy's in the following respects. Our city is open to all, and we never pass alien acts to prevent anyone from discovering any information the disclosure of which might be useful to an enemy; for we put our trust not so much in preparation and deception as in our own stout hearts when we really come to grips. As for military training: the Spartans, while they are still young, subject themselves to an arduous discipline in the quest of valour. But we, though we allow ourselves much more freedom in our daily lives, nevertheless face dangers quite as great as theirs; and I can prove this statement. The Lacedaemonians never make an expedition into Attica by themselves, but with a full muster of allies; but when we invade the neighbouring states, though they are fighting on their own ground and for their own allies, we usually have little difficulty in overcoming them. Moreover, the full strength of our forces no enemy has yet encountered, because of our preoccupation with the fleet and our numerous expeditions by land; but if any enemy has a battle with some part of our force, whether victorious or unsuccessful he maintains that he encountered our full strength. And surely, if we choose to face danger with a light heart rather than with strenuous preparation, and with bravery arising from habit rather than from discipline, we are the gainers; for we undergo no arduous training beforehand for the dangers which are to come,

but when we actually face them, we show ourselves just as fearless as those who have practised assiduously. But it is not only in these matters that our state is worthy of admiration.

We love beauty without extravagance and study wisdom without loss of manliness. Wealth in our eyes paves the way not to the vanity of words but rather to the certainty of action. Disgrace lies not in the fact of poverty, but in the absence of desire to cast it off. Although these domestic affairs absorb much of our time, we pay assiduous attention to our politics, and among all the calls of business we are well versed in the art of statecraft. For in our eyes alone the recluse is not merely an apathetic spectator, but a sluggard and an incubus. We can either criticize others' proposals or formulate our own; since to us discussion is no obstacle to action, but action without discussion can have no possible chance of success. For herein lies our gain, that we bring to the battle not only an unequalled courage, but also the advantage of previous debate. The courage of our enemies is born of ignorance, while all their forethought breeds is fear. But of all brave men they deserve to be thought the bravest who clearly know every pleasure and every pain awaiting them, and yet unflinchingly face the perils of their chosen task. From a moral point of view also we differ from the majority. For it is not in the receiving of kindness but in the giving of it that we make our friends. Since the man who confers a favour is a firmer friend in that he preserves the gratitude due to him by continued kindness to his debtor. But the debtor's friendship will lose its zest in that he realises that his services are given not in generosity but in the repayment of a debt. Since we alone give help without considering the profit to be reaped, but feeling the confidence that freedom gives.

In short I would assert that collectively our city is an example to Greece, while individually I think that our citizens are endowed with a versatility of temperament which adapts itself with the utmost grace to the many sides of their life. And that this is no idle boast, but a true rendering of the facts, our empire itself, the acquisition of which is due to these talents of ours, will testify. For this city alone, when put to the test, surpasses its reputation. and alone arouses no resentment in the foe that she defeats; and in her subjects no criticism of her right to rule them. Of our

power there is ample and clear evidence. We shall remain the marvel not only of the present but of all future generations. (For what need have we of a Homer or of any other poet whose song will give men temporary satisfaction, though the true facts will destroy the impression they gain from it?) There is no land which we have not forced to become a highway for our enterprise; no country in which we have not planted eternal memorials of both the benefits and injuries we have done. Such then is the city of which these men brooked not to be deprived; for such a city they laid down their lives on the field of battle; and for such a city every one of you who remain should be content to toil.

Wherefore you, the parents of those whom we commemorate here, and whom I see now before me, I do not commiserate so much as I would encourage. Indeed you realise Fortune's many-sided gifts. Most fortunate are those who meet the noblest fate, as is their death, as is your grief; and who taste alike during their life of sorrow and of joy. For it is hard, I know, to forget the loss of those whose memory each moment of another's joy recalls, that joy which you yourselves once shared. For it is no great grief to forfeit a blessing never tasted, but to lose what had grown dear by use. And these who still hope to bear children, should thus console their grief. For they will lose all bitter thoughts of the dead in the birth of further sons, while the city will reap a twofold gain, in the maintenance both of its population and of its security. For how can they, who have no sons to stake in war, take a full and honest share in our deliberations? But you, whose prime is past, may reflect that the greater portion of your life was fortunate, and that what remains is brief, and may find solace in their glory. For only love of honour grows not old, and in the evening of one's years it is this and not merely hoarded gold, as some men say, which gives one greatest pleasure.

Before you, sons and brothers of the dead, a mighty struggle looms, and hard will be the way, however brave your heart, not to be thought indeed their equals, but to fall a little short. While a man still lives, he must encounter the jealousy of rivals, but when he is no more, then ungrudging admiration is accorded him. Now, if I must needs say a word to their widows about a woman's part, it shall be brief. For the greatest glory that you

can achieve is never to disgrace your sex, and least of all, whether for good or ill, should your name be spoken among men.

The Funeral Speech of Pericles, Thucydides, II, 35–46. Translated by Mr C. E. Robinson's Division at Winchester.

(c) *The Downfall of Athens*

The source of these troubles was the spirit of self-aggrandizement and ambition, to which competition gave a keener edge. Political leaders adopted high-sounding catchwords—"democratic equality for the masses" or "the superior qualities of birth and breeding"; and the commonwealth became a prey to its self-styled champions. In the struggle for supremacy they shrank from no form of villany; and worst of all was the revenge which they took upon opponents, recognizing no restraint of patriotism or justice, but following the dictates of a selfish opportunism. A savage sentence or high-handed *coup d'état* were the normal instruments of satisfying their party spite; and any specious phrase was good enough to cloak the meanness of their disreputable methods. As for the neutral he received short shrift at the hands of both factions, who either resented his non-cooperation or grudged him immunity from the perils which they themselves ran. Thus the class war led to a complete moral break-down throughout the Greek world. Sincerity, one of the chief elements in idealism, was laughed out of existence; and a spirit of suspicious antagonism prevailed. Conciliation could find no basis, seeing that pledges had lost their validity and oaths their sanction. Men relied solely upon a despairing resolve to take nothing for granted and security was sought by precautionary measures, not by mutual trust. Inferior intelligences usually had the best of it; for consciousness of their own inadequacy and the dread lest an opponent's quicker wits or superior powers of speech would enable him to get his blow in first, inclined them to ruthless action; whereas the abler men, presuming upon their own power to anticipate a danger and entertaining the theorist's disdain for practical measures, were too often caught napping—with fatal results.

Thucydides, III, 82. Translated by C. E. Robinson.

VII. Simonides

(*a*) *On the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae*

Stranger, unto the men of Sparta tell
That here, obedient to their laws, we fell.

(*b*) *On the Athenian Dead at Plataea*

If the best merit be to lose life well,
To us beyond all else that fortune came:
In war to give Greece liberty, we fell,
Heirs of all time's imperishable fame.

(*c*) *Virtue's Dwelling-place*

Virtue delights her home to keep,
Say the wise men of olden time,
High on a rugged rocky steep,
Which man to-day may hardly climb.
And there a pure bright shining band,
Her ministers around her stand.
No mortal man may ever look
That form divine, august to see,
Until with patient toil he brook
The sweat of mental agony;
This all must do to reach that goal,
The perfect manhood of the soul.

VIII. Aeschylus

Prometheus' gifts to Mankind

List then to mortals' troubles,
How, fools aforetime, I have made them wise.
And masters of their wits—This will I show
Not to belittle man, but setting forth
The benefaction of my many bounties—
Who, having eyes, saw to no purpose, hearing
Perceived not, but like to phantom dreams
Long time confounded all things in a maze.
Houses brick-fashioned they knew not for warmth,
Nor timber-craft, but, as 'twere pigmy ants,
Dwelt pent in sunless crannies. Tokens none

Knew they of winter nor of flowery spring-time
Nor fruitful autumn, but without discernment
Did all, till I revealed the stars' uprisings
And all their settings undeterminate.
Number—of marvels chief—I did disclose
And letters linked in words, memory,
The Muses' mother, author of all arts.
Dumb creatures first I harnessed, to the yoke
Enslaving them; and, that he might relieve
Mankind of their chief toil, to cars I set
The bridled steed, pride of the rich man's pomp.
The mariner's craft storm-tossed, canvas-winged
None but myself devised. Such were the shifts
Which to my sorrow I contrived for man;
But for myself no wisdom can discover
Whereby to rid me of my present pains....

Prometheus Vinctus. Translated by C. E. Robinson.

IX. SOPHOCLES

(*a*) *On Love, in Conflict with Duty*

Strophe.

Thou, love, art the victor dividing the spoils,
No mortal escapeth thy madness, thy toils:
In the heart of a maiden thy vigil is set
On the waves of the ocean, on hillsides, thou'rt met;
In the hut of the neat-herd thou spreadest thy net.

Antistrophe.

By thee are corrupted the just and the right,
To thy will thou bendest them. Ay, to thy spite;
Unnatural conflict of son and of sire,
Thou kindlest, till duty gives place to desire
And the love-light leaps up in the eyes of the bride:
Aphrodite in triumph laughs loud and in pride.
But pity ungoverned sweeps over my heart,
And the fount of my tears unrestrained doth start
As I see the bride pass to the grim marriage-bed:
And the chamber of love is the house of the dead.

Antigone.

(*b*) *On Law*

But if a man in word or deed
Walks o'er-informed with pride and might,
By fear of justice undeterred,
Scorning the seats of deity,
Ill doom, to that man drawing nigh,
His ill-starred arrogance requite!
Unless toward his proper gain
With uncorrupted hand he strain,
Unless he loathe all filthiness.
If with lewd hands he touch the grace of holiness!
Henceforth if such things be, no mortal evermore
Can from his life repel
The darts of heaven, and boast that foiled they fell:
If he who walks such ways
Deserve man's honour and his praise,
Wherefore with holy dance should I the Gods adore?

Oedipus Rex. Translated by E. D. A. Morshead.

X. EURIPIDES

(*a*) *Retribution*

Think you that sins leap up to heaven aloft
On wings, and then that on Jove's red-leaved tablets
Someone doth write them, and Jove looks at them
In judging mortals? Not the whole broad heaven,
If Jove should write our sins, would be enough,
Nor he suffice to punish them. But Justice
Is here, is somewhere near us; do but look.

J. A. Symonds.

(*b*) *Tabus and Morals*

The goddess' sophistries I repudiate,
Who, if a man touch blood or some poor corpse,
Or woman after childbirth, will deny
Her altar as unclean, yet doth delight
Herself in altars reeking with the mess
Of human sacrifice. This too I reprobate
That Leto, bride of Zeus, mothered such foolishness.
This feast of Tantalus I call a monstrous lie.

For how should gods delight in flesh of babes?
It is this people, murderers filled with hate,
Who on the goddess foist their loathsome crime.
In the high gods is no unrighteousness.

Iphigenia in Tauris, 380–91. Translated by C. E. Robinson.

(*c*) *A Wronged Wife*

Home and father then
I did forswear to cross the seas with thee,
More fickle-fond than wise. For all of which
I am betrayed and treacherously supplanted
By this new charmer. O hand of mine that oft
Was clasped in his, O lips that he hath kissed,
Vain, vain your pledges, promise turned to dust—
Yet soft; I'll speak him fair as friend to friend
That he may show the baser. Tell me, prithee,
Where should I turn me? To father? or to kin,
That for thy sake I quitted? Foes they are
That one time were my friends, and for that exchange
I have won, good lack, the envy of the world.
O mine's a precious pattern of a husband,
Who'ld ruin the woman rescued him from death,
And a pretty tale he'll have to tell his mistress,
That his wife and bairns are beggars. Mighty God,
Why hast thou given us tokens manifest
Whereby to sift the sterling and the counterfeit
Of precious metals; but in man has set
No stamp or visible sign to mark the rogue?

Medea, 483–519. Translated by C. E. Robinson.

XI. ARISTOPHANES

The Old Education and the New

To hear them prepare of the Discipline rare which flourished in Athens of yore
When Honour and Truth were in fashion with youth and sobriety bloomed on our shore;
First of all the old rule was preserved in our school that "boys should be seen and not heard";
And then to the home of the Harpist would come decorous in action and words

All the lads of one town, though the snow peppered down, in spite of all wind and all weather:
And they sung an old song as they paced it along, not shambling with thighs glued together,
"O the dread shout of War how it peals from afar" or "Pallas the Stormer adore",
To some manly old air all simple and bare which their fathers had chanted before.
You may take it from me and I think you'll agree that these are the precepts which taught
The heroes of old to be hardy and bold and the Men who at Marathon fought!
But now must the lad from his boyhood be clad in a Man's all-enveloping cloke
So that, oft as the Panathenaea returns, I feel myself ready to choke
When the dancers go by with their shields to their thigh, not caring for Pallas a jot.
You therefore, young man, choose me while you can; cast in with my method your lot,
And then you shall learn the forum to spurn and from dissolute baths to abstain
And fashions impure and shameful abjure, and scorners repel with disdain
And rise from your chair if an elder be there, and respectfully give him your place
And with love and with fear your parents revere and shrink from the brand of Disgrace,
And deep in your breast be the Image imprest of Modesty simple and true.

Clouds, 961 *sqq.* Translated by B. B. Rogers.

XII. Xenophon

On Socrates

He was to me what I have tried to say:
So devout and pious that he would do nothing against the will of Heaven;
So just and fair that he did no trifling injury to any living thing;

So disciplined and temperate that he never chose the sweet instead of the bitter;
So wise and prudent that he made no mistake in choosing the higher:
Nor did he need guidance for his judgment, so unfailing was he and self-directing;
Able in reasoning and defining moral issues, he was able also to test others,
To cross-examine them and convict them of error, that he might lead them in the path of virtue and of true nobility.
He seemed in all this the very embodiment of human perfection and happiness.

Those who thought that they had good natural abilities, but despised instruction, he endeavoured to convince that minds which show most natural power have most need of education, pointing out to them that horses of the best breed, which are high-spirited and stubborn, become, if they are broken when young, most useful and valuable, but if they are left unbroken, remain quite unmanageable and worthless; and that hounds of the best blood, able to endure toil and eager to attack beasts, prove, if they are well trained, most serviceable for the chase, and every way excellent, but, if untrained, are useless, rabid, and unruly.... In like manner he showed that men of the best natural endowments, possessed of the greatest strength of mind, and most energetic in executing what they undertake, become, if well disciplined and instructed in what they ought to do, most estimable characters, and most beneficent to society (as they then performed most numerous and important services), but that, if uninstructed, and left in ignorance, they proved utterly worthless and mischievous; for that, not knowing what line of conduct they ought to pursue, they often entered upon evil courses and, being haughty and impetuous, were difficult to be restrained or turned from their purpose, and thus occasioned very many and great evils.... But those who prided themselves on their wealth, and thought that they required no education, but imagined that their riches would suffice to effect whatever they desired, and to gain them honour from mankind, he tried to reduce to reason by saying that the man was a fool who thought that he could distinguish the good and the evil in life without instruction and that

he also was a fool who, though he could not distinguish them, thought that he would procure whatever he wished and effect whatever was for his interest, by means of his wealth.

Memorabilia, Bk IV, 1. Translated by the Rev. J. S. Watson.

XIII. PLATO

(*a*) *Beauty is of Heaven*

I hold that if a thing is lovely it is so only because it shares in the Ideal Loveliness.... If you tell me that this or that is fair because of its colour or form I ignore all that: it only muddles me! But to this I cling, simply and naïvely, foolishly you may think, that naught makes a thing lovely but the presence of the Lovely and their partnership.... On the mode of this relationship I insist not—merely that the Lovely are made so by the Ideal Loveliness.

Phaedo.

(*b*) *God is Holy*

Evil, Theodorus, can never cease; there must always remain something which is opposed to the good. Having no place among the gods in heaven, evil must hover round and haunt this earthly sphere. Wherefore we ought to flee from earth to heaven as soon as we can; for to fly away is to become like God, so far as this is possible; and to become like him is to become holy, just, and wise.... God is never in any way unrighteous—he is perfect righteousness; and he who is the most righteous is most like him.... To know this is true wisdom and virtue; and ignorance of this is manifest folly and vice.

Theaetetus, 176.

(*c*) *God the Creator is Good—not Jealous*

Hard task it is to find the Maker and Father of this world: and having found him 'twere impossible to declare him to all.... Let us declare for what purpose this world of becoming was framed by its Creator.

He was good: and in the good there is no jealousy. So being without jealousy he wished that all things should be created in his likeness.... Desiring that all things should be good and that

no evil should exist, he took all things visible—not in a state of rest but of motion without plan or harmony—and brought order out of disorder deeming this to be far better....And taking thought he saw that in the visible world the irrational cannot be fairer than the rational...and that reason cannot dwell save in that which has a living soul. So he put reason in soul and soul in body, that this work might be in accord with nature the loveliest and the best. So then we may say that in the providence of God this world came into being—a living creature lodging a reasonable soul.

Timaeus, 27.

(*d*) *The Idea of Good*

Now, that which imparts truth to the known and the power of knowing to the knower is what I would have you term the idea of good, and this you will deem to be the cause of science, and of truth in so far as the latter becomes the subject of knowledge; beautiful too, as are both truth and knowledge, you will be right in esteeming this other nature as more beautiful than either, and, as in the previous instance, light and sight may be truly said to be like the sun, and yet not to be the sun, so in this other sphere, science and truth may be deemed to be like the good, but not the good; the good has a place of honour yet higher.

What a wonder of beauty that must be, he said, which is the author of science and truth, and yet surpasses them in beauty; for you surely cannot mean to say that pleasure is the good?

God forbid, I replied; but may I ask you to consider the image in another point of view?

In what point of view?

You would say, would you not, that the sun is not only the author of visibility in all visible things, but of generation and nourishment and growth, though he himself is not generation?

Certainly.

In like manner the good may be said to be not only the author of knowledge to all things known, but of their being and essence, and yet the good is not essence, but far exceeds essence in dignity and power.

Republic, Bk VI.

(*e*) *Good and Evil*

I hold that the term "evil" comprises everything that destroys and corrupts, and the term "good" everything that preserves and benefits.... Again, do you maintain that everything has its own evil, and its own good? Do you say, for example, that the eyes are liable to the evil of ophthalmia, the entire body to disease, corn to mildew, timber to rot, copper and iron to rust, or, in other words, that almost everything is liable to some connatural evil and malady?... And is it not the case that whenever an object is attacked by one of these maladies, it is impaired, and, in the end, completely broken up and destroyed by it?... Hence everything is destroyed by its own connatural evil and vice; otherwise, if it be not destroyed by this, there is nothing else that can corrupt it. For that which is good will never destroy anything, nor yet that which is neither good nor evil.... If, then, we can find among existing things one which is liable to a particular evil, which can indeed mar it but cannot break it up or destroy it, shall we not be at once certain that a thing so constituted can never perish?

Republic, Bk x.

(*f*) *The True Philosophy*

When I was a young man, I had a passionate desire for the wisdom which is called physical science. I thought it a splendid thing to know the causes of everything; why a thing comes into being, and why it perishes, and why it exists. I was always worrying myself with such questions as, "Do living creatures take a definite form, as some persons say, from the fermentation of heat and cold?" "Is it the blood, or the air, or fire by which we think?" "Or is it none of these, but the brain which gives the senses of hearing and sight and smell, and do memory and opinion come from these, and knowledge from memory and opinion when in a state of quiescence?"

. . . .

But one day I listened to a man who said that he was reading from a book of Anaxagoras, which affirmed that it is Mind which orders and is the cause of all things. I was delighted with this theory; it seemed to me to be right that Mind should be the cause of all things, and I thought to myself, "If this is so, then Mind

will order and arrange each thing in the best possible way...". I never thought that, when he said that things are ordered by Mind, he would introduce any reason for their being as they are, except that they are best so. I thought that he would assign a cause to each thing, and a cause to the universe, and then would go on to explain to me what was best for each thing, and what was the common good of all. I would not have sold my hopes for a great deal. I seized the books very eagerly, and read them as fast as I could, in order that I might know what is best and what is worse.

All my splendid hopes were dashed to the ground, my friend, for as I went on reading I found that the writer made no use of Mind at all, and that he assigned no causes for the order of things. His causes were air, and ether, and water, and many other strange things....If it were said that without bones and muscles and the other parts of my body I could not have carried my resolutions into effect, that would be true. But to say that they are the cause of what I do, and that in this way I am acting by Mind, and not from choice of what is best, would be a very loose and careless way of talking....And so one man surrounds the earth with a vortex, and makes the heavens sustain it. Another represents the earth as a flat kneading-trough, and supports it on a basis of air. But they never think of looking for a power which is involved in these things being disposed as it is best for them to be, nor do they think that such a power has any divine strength; they expect to find an Atlas who is stronger and more immortal and abler to hold the world together, and they never for a moment imagine that it is the binding force of good which really binds and holds things together. I would most gladly learn the nature of that kind of cause from any man. But I wholly failed either to discover it myself, or to learn it from anyone else.

Phaedo.

(*g*) *Eugenics*

Do you agree with me that the prime of life may be reasonably reckoned at a period of twenty years for a woman, and thirty for a man? Where do you place those years? I should make it a rule for a woman to bear children to the state from her twentieth to her fortieth year; and for a man, after getting over the sharpest

burst in the race of life, thenceforward to beget children to the state until he is fifty-five years old.... If then a man who is either above or under this age shall meddle with the business of begetting children for the commonwealth, we shall declare his act to be an offence against religion and justice; inasmuch as he is raising up a child for the state, who, should detection be avoided, instead of having been begotten under the sanction of those sacrifices, and prayers, which are to be offered up at every marriage ceremonial, by priests and priestesses, and the whole city, to the effect that children to be born may ever be more virtuous and more useful than their virtuous and useful parents, will have been conceived under cover of darkness by the aid of dire incontinence. You are right. The same law will hold, should a man, who is still of an age to be a father, meddle with a woman, who is also of the proper age, without the introduction of the magistrate, we shall accuse him of raising up to the state an illegitimate, unsponsored, and unhallowed child.

Republic, Bk v.

(*h*) *The True Beauty*

But what if man had eyes to see the true beauty—the divine beauty, I mean, pure and clear and unalloyed, not clogged with the pollutions of mortality, and all the colours and vanities of human life—thither looking, and holding converse with the true beauty, divine and simple, and bringing into being and educating true creations of virtue and not idols only? Do you not see that in that communion only, beholding beauty with the eyes of the mind, he will be enabled to bring forth, not images of beauty, but realities; for he has hold, not of an image but of a reality, and bringing forth and educating true virtue to become the friend of God and be immortal if mortal man may.

The Symposium.

(*i*) *Socrates faces Death*

But you too, my friends, must be cheerful in the face of death and keep in mind this one truth, that no harm can come to a good man either in life or death, for the gods do not forget him; and my present fate is not without its purpose; indeed, it is clear to me that it was better for me to die now and leave my work. That

is why the sign has not come to hold me back, and I at any rate bear no grudge against those who have brought this charge against me, and sentenced me to death. And yet this was not their intention in accusing and condemning me; they thought they were doing me harm, and for this they deserve blame. One thing, however, I do ask of you; when my sons grow up, punish them, my friends, and worry them just as I have worried you, if they seem to you to be caring for money or anything else more than for goodness; and if they think they are something when they are nothing, scold them, as I have scolded you, for not spending their energy on the right things and for thinking they are something when they are worth nothing. If you do this, both I and my sons will have received just treatment at your hands.

But now it is time to go, I to die and you to live; which of us goes to the better thing no one knows but God....

Crito.

XIV. ARISTOTLE

(384–322 B.C.)

(*a*) *On the Nature of Happiness*

If, then, among the forms of virtuous activity, war and politics, although they stand out as pre-eminent in nobility and grandeur, are yet...directed towards a further end, instead of being desired for their own sakes, while the activity of reason, on the other hand, when it is speculative appears to be superior in serious worth, to aim at no end beyond itself, and to contain a pleasure which is peculiar to it and so enhances the activity; and if self-sufficiency, leisuredness and such freedom from weariness as is possible to humanity, together with all the other attributes of felicity, are found to go with this activity;—then, perfect well-being for man will lie in this, provided it be granted a complete span of life; for nothing that belongs to well-being is incomplete.

Such a life as this, however, is higher than the measure of humanity; not in virtue of his humanity will man lead this life, but in virtue of something within him that is divine; and by as much as this something is superior to his composite nature, by so much is its activity superior to the rest of virtue. If, then, Reason is divine in comparison with man, so is the life of Reason divine in comparison with human life. We ought not to listen to

those who exhort man to keep man's thoughts... but, so far as may be, to achieve immortality and do what man may to live according to the highest thing that is in him; for little though it be in bulk, in power and worth it is far above all the rest.

Nichomachean Ethics.

(*b*) *On Plato*

In immediate succession to the Pythagorean and Eleatic philosophies came the work of Plato. In many respects his views coincided with these; in some respects, however, he is independent of the Italians. For in early youth he became a student of Cratylus and of the school of Heracleitus, and accepted from them the view that the objects of sense are in eternal flux, and that of these, therefore, there can be no absolute knowledge. Then came Socrates, who busied himself only with questions of morals, and not at all with the world of physics. But in his ethical inquiries his search was ever for universals, and he was the first to set his mind to the discovery of definitions. Plato, following him in this, came to the conclusion that these universals could not belong to the things of sense, which were ever changing, but to some other kind of existences. Thus he came to conceive of universals as forms or *ideas* of real existences, by reference to which, and in consequence of analogies to which, the things of sense in every case received their names, and became thinkable objects.

Metaphysics, A, 6.

(*c*) *The Noble-minded Man*

He does not run into trifling dangers, nor is he fond of danger, because he honours few things; but he will face great dangers, and when he is in danger he is unsparing of his life, knowing that there are conditions on which life is not worth having. And he is the sort of man to confer benefits, but he is ashamed of receiving them; for the one is the mark of a superior, the other of an inferior.... It is a mark of the proud man to ask for nothing or scarcely anything, but to give help readily, and to be dignified towards people who enjoy high position and good fortune, but unassuming towards those of the middle class; for it is a difficult and lofty thing to be superior to the former, but easy to be so to the latter.... He must be open in his hate and in his love and must speak and act openly; for he

is free of speech because he is contemptuous, and he is given to telling the truth, except when he speaks in irony to the vulgar. He must be unable to make his life revolve round another, unless it be a friend; for this is slavish....nor is he given to admiration, for nothing to him is great. Nor is he mindful of wrongs, for it is the part of a proud man to overlook them...nor is he a gossip.

Further a slow step is thought proper to the proud man, a deep voice, and a level utterance.

Nichomachean Ethics, IV, 3. (Oxford translation.)

XV. EPICURUS

(*a*) *Epicurus no Epicure*

For my own part when my meal is bread and water, or sometimes when I indulge myself and add a little cheese, I find full satisfaction and defy those pleasures which the ignorant and sensual mob delight in,... and if I have rye-bread and boiled barley and water I think my table so well furnished as to dare dispute happiness with Zeus himself. Sobriety makes us superior to the threats of Fortune.

XIV, 10.

(*b*) *Epicurus no Epicurean*

When we say that Pleasure is... the chief good we are very far from understanding those pleasures which are so much admired, courted and pursued by men wallowing in luxury...but only this—not to be pained in body nor perturbed in mind.... While nature is our guide whatever we do must conduce only to this.

V, 3.

XVI. IN LATER GREEK THOUGHT

(*a*) *Dio Chrysostom*

(after E. Bevan)

We must not shrink from speaking out about prostitution, or be shy of it as if it were a matter of doubt. No one, we say,... should have any thing to do with this traffic which submits the bodies of slaves, girls and also boys, to infamous treatment. There

in the highways and in the very presence of magistrates, by civic hall and temple, in the very midst of holy things they use the bodies of aliens or of Greeks who once were free for vilest purposes.... Having no reverence for Zeus the family god, nor for Hera, goddess of Marriage.... Let no ruler or lawgiver permit or sanction profits of this kind. And if he find himself face to face with old customs—"a disease that has grown scaly with time"—let him not leave it untreated or uncorrected, but let him search out what can be done to mitigate and cure the evil. For evil does not stagnate, but moves and grows in filth if it be not checked. All men are created honourable, companions in honour, by the creator: all bear the same signs and symbols of their first claim to honour: all are endowed with Reason, and can feel the gulf set between the lovely and the base.

The Honour of Slaves, Oration VII, 132–8.

(*b*) *Hippocratic Oath*

(about first century A.D.)

I swear by Apollo the healer, and Asclepius, and Hygieia, and All-heal (Panacea) and all the gods and goddesses... that, according to my ability and judgment, I will keep this Oath and this stipulation—to reckon him who taught me this Art as dear to me as those who bore me... to look upon his offspring as my own brothers, and to teach them this Art, if they would learn it, without fee or stipulation. By precept, lecture, and all other modes of instruction, I will impart a knowledge of the Art to my own sons, and those of my teacher, and to disciples bound by stipulation and oath according to the Law of Medicine, but to none other. I will follow that system of regimen which, according to my ability and judgment, I consider for the benefit of my patients, and abstain from whatever is deleterious and mischievous. I will give no deadly medicine to any one if asked, nor suggest any such counsel; nor will I aid a woman to produce abortion. With purity and holiness I will pass my life and practise my Art.... Into whatever houses I enter, I will go there for the benefit of the sick, and will abstain from every act of mischief and corruption; and above all from seduction.... Whatever in my professional practice—or even not in connection with it—I see or hear in the

lives of men which ought not to be spoken of abroad, I will not divulge, deeming that on such matters we should be silent. While I keep this Oath unviolated, may it be granted to me to enjoy life and the practice of Art, always respected among men, but should I break or violate this Oath, may the reverse be my lot.

XVII. *Greek Pessimism from Theognis to Palladas*

Of all things not to be born into the world is best, nor to see the beams of the keen sun; but being born, as swiftly as may be to pass the gates of Hades, and lie under a heavy heap of earth.

Theognis, *c.* 500 B.C.

I was not, I came to be; I was, I am not; that is all; and who shall say more; I shall not be.

Author unknown.

All is laughter and all is dust, and all is nothing; for out of unreason is all that is.

Glycon.

Naked I came on earth and naked I depart under earth: why do I vainly labour, seeing the naked end.

Palladas, *c.* 350 A.D.

XVIII. Later Stoicism

From M. Aurelius

(A.D. 121–180)

Death is release from the importunities of sense, the tyranny of passion, the errors of the mind, the slavery of the body....

Be cheerful, and independent of the help or company of men, or of that rest and tranquillity which one owes to others. Better is it to be straight in one's own nature than to be rectified by others.... Him that offends instruct with love and meekness, showing him his fault. If thou succeed not, blame thyself.

CHAPTER V

THE ETHICS OF THE HEBREWS

"The Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of Wisdom."
PSALMS AND PROVERBS

I

The Semites probably came from regions still inhabited by their Arab successors—around the Arabian and Persian Gulfs—and about 3000 B.C. a group of them conquered the kingdoms of Sumer and Akkad, and set up a dynasty in Babylon. That they reached a high morality is clear from the Code of Hammurabi of about 2100 B.C., and to this era belongs the second great Semitic victory, that of the Canaanites over the Ammorites. The third culminates about the fourteenth century B.C. in the Hebrew occupation of Canaan, which had long been under the suzerainty of great empires, first Babylon and then Egypt. If the Code of Hammurabi tells us of the moral ideals of these early Semites the Tel-el-Amarna Tablets tell us of communication between the Kings of Canaan and their great overlords, and give us a picture of endless petty quarrels, and of growing fear of the Nomads or Bedawin of whom the Hebrews are a part. Letters written at the time of the Egyptian monotheist and idealist Akhnaton speak of "Habiru" who are over-running South Canaan.

They are seen against a background of superstitious polytheism and necromancy, of "high-places" with phallic worships and human sacrifice. Excavations suggest that the Canaanites also practised ancestor-worship and offered food to departed spirits, and we cannot suppose that their ethical ideals or practice were highly developed. The Hebrews were to learn much, both good and bad, from these earlier invaders: they were saved from complete contamination by their exclusive veneration for the transcendent God

whom they conceived as having a covenant with them. This is not a Semitic idea in general. It belongs to the Hebrews in particular, and is the source of their greatness. That a group of nomads living precariously among great empires should have clung to this faith and should have developed it into a religion for humanity, is one of the sublimest and strangest facts in history.

That they were intolerant and often vindictive is the defect of their virtue: they must at all costs keep themselves uncontaminated by pagan cults and "abominations".

But their story is not one of complete success in this, nor of a steady progress in religion and ethics. They follow a zigzag path and, though their history as we have it is written to prove God's covenant relationship and their preparation for a spiritual mission, it frankly tells of their many failures, and it often reads back later ideals and ideas into primitive times. The story of their wanderings is written as they settle to an agricultural life, and is edited by several groups with didactic purposes.

The Bible as a whole is not history in any modern sense.

II

The history of the Hebrews may be divided for our purpose into the Prophetic Period (eighth to sixth century B.C.) and the periods which precede and follow it. During the first era, from the fourteenth century to the eighth, they came, as we saw above, in various waves of immigration into Canaan, settled down and divided into Northern and Southern Kingdoms. One group of them had escaped in the thirteenth century from Egypt and adopting Yahweh (the god of the Kenites of Sinai) saw in him their Saviour. He was a local deity and, though far from moral, was gradually to become "the God of the whole earth", the "high and holy One that inhabiteth eternity". On the foundations laid by Moses in interpreting this God and in formulating his moral require-

ments is reared the grand structure of Hebraism, and much that is noblest in our heritage.

But for many centuries Yahweh remains a tribal God, inciting his people to spoil the Egyptians, to annihilate the Amalekites, and to keep themselves apart from their neighbours. "A peculiar people" they are to impose the "fear of Yahweh" upon their enemies, and to guard it as their most precious possession. And in their amazing story there was much to inspire awe as well as wonder, love as well as fear.

Those who had escaped from the Egyptian captivity gave their new God to the other Hebrew settlers, and as they passed from a nomadic to a settled life the legends and stories of their fathers told at many a camp-fire, and by many a well-side, were edited and made into edifying history. Yahweh was made the inspirer of some of their worst deeds, and as their own morals improved they sought to rationalize the barbarous acts of old by giving them a religious sanction. Yahweh was above good and evil, and men were to admire and to fear, even where their conscience forbade them to imitate.

To this period belong the nuclei of two groups of books edited in this spirit: Judges, Samuel, and 1 Kings form the first group, and are our sources for the ethical ideals of the nomads, but they contain later material; and the Old Testament as a whole is the product of much editing and re-editing.

During their migrations the Hebrews are represented as little better than those whom they despise. In fact the bulk of these earlier books might be conceived as writings to celebrate the grace of Yahweh in favouring such an immoral crew—were it not for the fact that Yahweh's own morals are no better. He is deceitful and vengeful, sending evil spirits to divide men, and to tempt them to murder,[1] and he is made the sanction for blood-vengeance of the most

[1] Cf. Judges ix; 1 Samuel xvi, 15.

ruthless kind.[1] Here is religion of a primitive type, which the improving morality of the Hebrews is soon to outgrow.

Meantime they are themselves at a crude patriarchal stage, often using women as chattels,[2] and practising polygamy: they make holocausts of their captives[3] or concubines:[4] they enslave whole populations, and they regard the resentment of their victims as proofs of moral obliquity and false religious beliefs. This point of view lives on very tenaciously.

Down to the time of David and Solomon this primitive morality persists, and the first prophetic figures are themselves the mouthpiece of a confused religious and ethical ideal, and non-Israelites are still outside the pale.

Against this dark background shine the protest of Nathan at David's murder and adultery, and David's own contrition:[5] the magnanimity of Saul,[6] and Jonathan's unselfish friendship[7]—a noble substitute for the older blood-feud. A growing sense of justice, and of moral requirements in the priesthood, is revealed in the dramatic story of Eli's sons[8] and in the judgments of David and Solomon—judges as well as kings with absolute power.

As the Hebrews compare this theocratic kingdom of the eleventh century with their earlier lawlessness they say truly: "In those days...every man did what was right in his own eyes".[9] In a word a growing moral sensitiveness is revealed as the nomadic stage is passed, and the Hebrews settle in Canaan; the abominations of the local cults, which sometimes invade their own religion, more usually cause them to guard it and to reform it: and to become more "jealous" for Yahweh.

This "jealousy", or zeal—so hard for people of non-

[1] 1 Samuel xxv, 58.
[2] Cf. the appalling story in Judges xix.
[3] Judges ix, 45.
[4] Judges xxi.
[5] 2 Samuel xi and xii.
[6] 1 Samuel xi.
[7] 1 Samuel xviii.
[8] 1 Samuel xx, 6, 25.
[9] Judges xxi, 25.

Semitic heritage to understand—has many noble aspects, and if its iconoclasm and hatred of foes went to extreme lengths it is important to remember that this small nation was "a petty clan of highlanders... pushed to and fro by the two contending dynasts of the ancient world and at last crushed between them":[1] and that "if they had not been particularistic and pugnacious we should never have heard of them or of the Kingdom of God".

I quote these words from a friendly critic, and yet I cannot shirk the conviction that the Jews have deserved much of the persecution that has come their way. Their belief in a covenant relation peculiar to themselves has made them and their legatees proud and exclusive.

The Indian reader will, however, appreciate to the full their true devotion, a passionate *bhakti* at the heart of this jealousy. *Yir-ath-Adonai*—usually rendered the "fear of the Lord"—is its developed form, and the phrase is as difficult to translate as *sōphrosyne*; with this too it has affinities. It is the attitude of devoted loyalty, of fear of losing God's presence, of circumspection in serving Him, of awe rather than fear.

For the Jew it is the beginning and the end of wisdom, as *sōphrosyne* is for the Greek and *bhakti* for the Indian devotee. It is the true genius of Israel and inspires its one art, that of rapt poetic diction. God, who has chosen them, is speaking to their prophets, and has a loving purpose in moulding them into a nation: they stand before him in amazed contemplation of his mercy and majesty, and slowly the sense dawns that One so loving and so great has wider purposes and a less exclusive love.

When they adopted such Babylonian myths as those of the Creation and the Flood they must have reflected upon the genius of their Semitic predecessors, and on the other hand while they borrowed much of the Canaanite cultus they were moved to set Yahweh as a God of War over

[1] A. Nairne, *The Faith of the Old Testament.*

against the local Baalim and their fertility rites; and even when they assimilated much they were able to reject more. The story of Sodom and Gomorrah expresses Hebrew condemnation of the perversions of sex common in such worships, and these seem nevertheless to have invaded their own cultus.[1] So Saul after attacking necromancy, himself falls a victim to it.[2]

The protest of these books against the Canaanite cults is evidently that of later editors rather than of the Israelites of the Early Kingdom.

It is a fascinating but difficult task to discover the morality of this age of transition; and it is becoming clear that some very important elements of Jewish religion and ethics belong to the older groups of Semites, Babylonian and Canaanite. This is probably true of the Sabbath, destined to become a central pillar of Judaism.

It is also true of the kindlier spirit of the Early Codes which belong to an agricultural civilization. The Code of Hammurabi remains to suggest the good influences of the surrounding peoples—and to prove how one-sided is the Hebrew version of their own moral superiority. If they are to become a light to the Gentiles they are now lighting their torches at Gentile shrines.

III

The second group of pre-prophetic books accordingly shows advance in ethical content. In their present form these works —Genesis, Exodus, and the four other books at the beginning of our Bible—have clearly been edited several times, and the so-called J and E recensions[3] can be distinguished as documents of early prophetic days—*i.e.* of about the eighth century B.C. The ethical ideals they embody may fairly be

[1] 1 Kings xiv, 23–4. [2] 1 Samuel xxviii.

[3] *I.e.* the versions using Jehovah and Elohim respectively as the name of God. There are also later recensions: D, that of the Deuteronomic reform, P, that of the later priestly school, and the eclectic work of post-exilic scholars.

compared with those of the Homeric and Vedic hymns. All contain earlier matter, and all were recited to tell of heroic days and of the doings of the gods.

Yahweh is in some ways less moral than Zeus, and much less moral than Varuna, and religion is still more concerned with ritual observance than with righteousness. There is among the Hebrews no concept such as *rita* in India or *moira* in Greece, by which the conduct of God and man is to be judged. Yahweh is the author of both the moral and the religious law. This is soon to be a source of immense strength to the Hebrews: it is at present still a weakness, for Yahweh is represented as the author of much evil. He "hardens Pharaoh's heart" and then overwhelms him for its hardness: he "sends a lying spirit" into the prophets of Ahab's court, and in due course overwhelms them and him: he is still a bloodthirsty tribal god. And these attributes are very slowly sublimated into righteous anger against evil, and stern justice tempered with patience and mercy.

As for the men of this age they still have a low idea of women and practise polygamy: yet great honour is given to Miriam as to Deborah in an earlier, and to Ruth in a later age. Fraud is common: Abraham passes off his wife as a sister, and allows Pharaoh to take her. Jacob is at times a smooth rogue. But there are sublime elements in these sagas which are full of beauty and pathos, and of abiding moral value: and in their present form they are works written to preach and to teach—a kind of philosophy of history—with many morals woven into its narrative.

It is these elements and the sense that Yahweh is leading them on to greater things which begin to justify the Hebrew claim to be a chosen people. The general level of their conduct does not sustain the claim. But they read back into their past some sense of justice and mercy: thus the aged Jacob is made to deprecate the savage wrath of his sons Levi and Simeon, who had destroyed a city to avenge their sister.[1]

[1] Cf. Genesis xlix, 5–7.

For the rest we may hope that these books will be increasingly studied by anthropologists, who will throw much light on their sanctions and *tabus*. And to such uses they should largely be confined. A set of documents which tell of the swift vengeance of Heaven on a man who touches the ark in seeking to save it, and admire a man who gives his daughter to be ravished by a mob to save a guest cannot be used for edification.

Nor is the ruling idea that prosperity is the proof of God's approval and the reward of righteousness any longer salubrious: it never was true, except in a very limited sense, and it has encouraged much hypocrisy.

The one valuable element which these books contribute to ethics—and it is of mixed value—is that Yahweh is a great and powerful god who has a great destiny for his people. This idea grew and developed with the growth of the Hebrews—who are soon to produce the greatest documents of ethical monotheism in the ancient world. It is because of gleams of this pure gold that we treasure the earlier books; they shine at times in a very crude matrix.

And as it has taken a catastrophe on a world-wide scale to bring our world to a sense of its unity, so it was not till the threat of Assyria loomed on the horizon that Israel awoke out of a smug tribalism.

"By shattering the tribes Assyria shattered the tribal theory of religion. The field was cleared of the many: there was room for the One... there was a great chance... for a god with a character", says George Adam Smith.[1]

And, we may add, there was urgent need for a prophetic voice to call the nations to heed the signs of the times. They were all at the dawn of a new era.

Within the two little kingdoms also there was grave need for reform.

[1] G. A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets*, p. 54.

IV

In the codes of law which belong to this period we find a higher ethical standard than we should expect from the narratives in which they are imbedded, and we can trace the growth of a settled people in customary morals as well as in the attempt to embody these in legislation.

But the settled life had its dangers as well as its advantages. There was so much corruption in the local cults, and so much temptation to materialism as they acquired wealth and "waxed fat", that there was always work for the reformer; and prophetism begins with the clarion call of Samuel to yield to Yahweh obedience rather than sacrifice. By establishing the kingdom Samuel gave Israel a new unity and kept her from absorption by her neighbours. After Moses he is the founder of the nation—a Theocratic Kingdom—and while some elements of later prophetism may have been read back into his words and deeds he may safely be called the founder of the prophetic line. He is a figure of Aeschylean grandeur—transitional between the old grim nomadic order of wars of annihilation and the new and better day of settled and peaceful progress.

Some of his sayings may voice the ethic of a later age—but there is ample evidence of an awakening conscience in Israel of which these grand pictures are the embodiment, and from this great beginning on to Elijah and Elisha the true prophets are seen at war with the false, and the corrupt Ahab and Jezebel are confronted with Yahweh's wrath at the worship of Baal and the corruption of Israel. Elisha while he tolerates calf-worship denounces the slaughter of prisoners of war[1] and here we see one great moral advance. Another is seen in the conviction that David's hands are too blood-stained to allow him to build the temple, and in a growing sense that righteousness is better in God's sight than ritual. The struggle finds a dramatic climax in the

[1] 2 Kings vi, 21–3.

rugged shepherd Amos who hurls his challenge at corrupt priests, unjust judges and cruel leaders. "Let judgment roll on as waters, and righteousness as an unfailing stream"[1] is his warning to a corrupt nation. So begin the awakening of the eighth century and the work of the prophetic reformers.

The leaders of this strange company, men differing from one another in social rank, in education and in genius, are Amos (760 B.C.), Hosea (750 B.C.), Isaiah (740–700 B.C.), Micah (724–680 B.C.), and all voice the demand of God for social justice. That they accomplished one of the greatest revolutions in human thought is clear, and that all were called by some vision or conversion to a deeper understanding of Yahweh's righteousness and love, and set up with unfailing courage new standards of justice. From the clear fountain-head of their vision of God there are still flowing mighty streams of idealism: and the prophets are the main justification for the Hebrew claim to be a chosen people. But they were often persecuted and seldom obeyed. Their monotheism and ethical ideals are foreshadowed in the Codes of Law,[2] in which the current morality of the Hebrews at the close of the pre-prophetic period is summed up, with perhaps some later editing.

That they had departed very far from even these laws is made clear by the denunciations of the shepherd of Tekoa. He is a champion of the poor, and finds in the Northern Kingdom oppression and callous disregard: they "trample upon the needy and exterminate the poor of the land".[3] The money ground out of the people they spend on luxury and debauch:[4] justice they pervert until "they know not how to do right",[5] and look blasphemously to a Day of

[1] Amos v, 24.

[2] Exodus xx, xxiii, xxxiv, contain these codes—agricultural ideals blent with the spirit of eighth-century prophetism.

[3] Amos viii, 4; cf. Exodus xxii, 21–7.

[4] Amos iii, 12; iv, 1.

[5] Amos iii, 10.

Yahweh, which will set their foot upon the neck of their enemies.

But God is also the God of the peoples of Moab and Philistia, and the nations whom they hope to subdue: He calls upon all "to do justice and to love mercy". Israel in particular, as God's chosen, must be righteous, and ritual is no substitute for morality. This Amos makes at once the essence of true religion, and the condition of Yahweh's favour: and the rich are not to suppose that their wealth will cover up their sin. "You only have I known... therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities."[1] "Ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them: Ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink the wine."[2] For the Day of Yahweh is at hand—a day of sifting and testing, of famine and captivity—unless they repent, and are saved.[3]

Nowhere in history is there a more picturesque figure than this rugged countryman, who sees clearly with his desert eyes the corruption of the evil city, and nowhere is there grander poetry than in his denunciations. His successor Hosea goes deeper into the Holy Place of the Divine Nature, and into the mysteries of human sin and suffering. If there is fire in the eyes of Amos there are tears in those of Hosea—whose own love for an erring wife reveals to him the unplumbed depths of the Divine compassion.

He too denounces corruption and harlotry and oppression, bids Israel "sow righteousness and reap the fruit of piety": and pronounces woe upon the guilty nation.[4] But he is himself an Israelite, whereas Amos was from the Southern Kingdom; the doom is more imminent, and his sense of the pain at the heart of God is more acute. "When Israel was a child I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt.... I drew him with... cords of love.... How shall I give him

[1] Amos iii, 2.
[2] Amos v, 11.
[3] Amos ix.
[4] Hosea x.

up?"[1] So mercy and justice blend in this new vision of a sorrowful God, and a new note is struck in ethics as in religion. It is the Divine as it is the human prerogative to pardon: and in suffering man can draw near to God. But Hosea has nothing of the wide outlook of Amos: he is a townsman seeking to lead Israel back to the old God of the nomads: whereas Amos is a nomad turned into a seer of a new international God, and Isaiah is his true successor.

Isaiah[2] saw the doom pronounced by his predecessors. He saw the fall of Samaria in 721 B.C. and the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib twenty years later. As Amos tells of Judgment, and Hosea of Love, so Isaiah goes on to proclaim Holiness.

The account of his vision[3] is a classic expression of the mystical experience, and of the call to prophecy: it is a vision of God's might and of His holiness, and also of human need. Personal sin and national sins come home to the visionary: "I am a man of unclean lips, and I live in the midst of a people of unclean lips", he protests, but is sent forth to call Israel to repentance. Of what are they to repent? Of a false cult and of social iniquity.

> Your new moons and your set feasts
> My soul abhors: they are an abomination....
> Cease to do evil: learn to do good:
> Judge the fatherless—plead for the widow.[4]

These are the themes of his first "Oracle": like Amos and Hosea he is a champion of the poor and a scourge of the rich and corrupt. The great prophets are in fact one in their main ethical ideals, and in their picture of God. Righteousness alone, they teach, can satisfy him, and the poor and

[1] Hosea xi.

[2] The Book of Isaiah is complex: "a kind of gospel of Isaiah—a record of the prophet's life and teaching combined with a good deal of later theology, all composed into a book by the post-exilic scholars", says Dr Nairne.

[3] Isaiah vi.

[4] Isaiah i, 14, 17.

oppressed are his special care. The alien too, who had been considered outside the pale, is also his; and the thought grows, from Amos to Hosea, and from Hosea to Isaiah, that God is not only justice, but mercy: and from Amos to Isaiah that He is God not only of Israel but of all nations. Our illustrative readings will make it clear that there is a progressive revelation here from the inexorable justice of the God of Amos to the inexhaustible love of the God of Hosea, and from the God of a nation to the God of humanity.

The greatest of the prophets thus summarizes their teaching, "Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength" and "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself". "These are the two great commandments; on them hang all the law and the prophets."[1] Here Jesus is quoting the first commandment from the Deuteronomic Code.[2] Written perhaps during the corrupt reign of Manasseh in the middle of the seventh century, and "discovered" in the Temple, the Book of Deuteronomy wrought a great reform in Israel. It is, in effect, a compromise between the new and revolutionary teachings of the prophets and the old religion. There is much in it that is of universal application, and it renews the plea of Amos against ruthlessness,[3] but there is also much that is purely local, and that Jesus rejected.

But we must remember the position of any legislator who sought to apply to a stiff-necked nation the high ideals of the prophets, and much was accomplished. The book reveals the bitter opposition of the people, and we know that they refused to listen, and that in 586 B.C. Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the temple, and carried off the upper classes and the priests to Babylon. This calamity led to a growing sense that

[1] Mark xii, 29–30; cf. Matthew xxii, 37–40.
[2] Deuteronomy vi, 4, 5.
[3] Amos i, 3, 11, 15; Deuteronomy xx, 19.

the individual mattered: "The soul that sinneth, it shall die", says Ezekiel, prophet and priest, and though there were many that believed that Israel would one day triumph over its enemies, the more thoughtful and spiritual began to realize that Israel's domain was in the realm of the spirit—a kingdom of God in the hearts of men, rather than a theocratic kingdom among the great empires. The post-prophetic teachers of Israel are in this like the post-Socratic teachers of Hellas.

Their national sorrows also called out their sense of solidarity, and raised anew the question "For what is Yahweh preparing the nation?" The sublime answer is given in the Servant Songs attributed to a later Isaiah. He is a great lyrical poet, and they are the crowning achievement of Hebrew prophecy, matchless in their terse and dramatic diction. God, they teach, is putting upon His people the burden of the world's sin: He is calling them to a mission not of conquest, but of redemption. It was many centuries before any Hebrew prophet dared to take up this unpopular tale—and then it was to be fulfilled in unexpected ways. From now on Hebrew prophecy begins to lose its high ethical quality.

It is impossible, in the space at our disposal, to trace the long story, and it is in effect largely one of degeneration. For while there are prophets who continue the great tradition, yet even Ezekiel turns from preaching repentance and righteousness to pathetic pictures of the restoration of Judah and the rebuilding of the Temple. The second Isaiah also is obsessed with this hope, and the prophets seem to be seeking to comfort Israel rather than to reform it, until prophecy ends in an anti-climax and the triumph of the priest is complete. Yet to this later period belong most of the Psalms[1] —which remain unchallenged as the expression of the soul's waiting upon God. While they are essentially Jewish —the songs of Israelites at worship—they belong to all man-

[1] The Psalter while it contains earlier hymns is "The Hymn-book of the Second Temple".

kind: and the very fact that they express doubt as well as faith, hate as well as love, reveals them as very human documents. The psalmists like the prophets are men tried in the furnace of affliction, and like them they are often in revolt against ritual and official dogmas, such as that of the guilt of the sufferer. We are as it were "listening in" at the prayers and confessions of men who love God, yet rebel against the cruelties of their lot; or of others whose serene trust is unshaken, and whose one delight is in the Commandments of their God; or of still others who cry out in deep repentance, and recognize that separation from God is the one unbearable punishment. "I may truly name this book", says Calvin, "the anatomy of all parts of the soul", and we may add of the soul of the religious everywhere.

The Psalter is in fact the most universal of books of devotion, and for our purpose is the more valuable as a revelation—all unconscious—of the moral ideals of Israel in the post-prophetic period. It contrasts the just with the wicked, the wise man with the fool: the former are those who trust in God and fear him, the latter are those who deny God and have no sense of retribution. Man is of the earth and "altogether vanity", yet God has put all things under his feet, and though all are liars and none do good, yet the pious are men of a humble spirit, and in doing their duty to God and man are refreshed by the waters of the Divine Mercy. God vindicates His own and punishes the ungodly —and righteousness is itself their reward.

More consciously ethical and didactic are the "Proverbs", which like the Psalter is a post-exilic compilation with older material, and which also reveals the accepted morality of the people at large. Here and in Ecclesiasticus we find the ethic of Judaism in the third century B.C.—shrewd maxims and wise saws rather than lofty ideals. Yet the basic idea is the same—in religion is the true wisdom, and the only sure reward. Filial piety, respect for the aged, kindliness to all, industry and sobriety, frugality and caution—these are the

moral qualities most admired. It is a pragmatic and utilitarian ethic which the wise inculcate—and they do not hesitate to appeal to the motive of book-keeping.

Yet their constant praise of wisdom and of righteousness —above all of the fear of Yahweh—make these books true treasuries of religion: "They have enough confidence in human nature to believe that it will respond to the best in life that is presented, and they sincerely believe that they have the best".

And if later Judaism has lost its prophetic fire and its radiant sense of the triumph of God's justice, we must remember that post-exilic religious leaders preserved prophetic ideals by thus embodying them: if they somewhat sterilized them they also protected them from evaporating into vague idealism.

Ezekiel is the Father of Judaism—and its narrow and exclusive outlook is in as strange contrast to the catholicity of the second Isaiah as its ritualism and legalism are to the "pure religion and undefiled" of Micah. But post-exilic Judaism has many glories such as the magnificent universality of Ruth the Moabitess and of Jonah, spiritual heirs of the eighth-century prophets.

V

In the fear of Yahweh is the beginning and, one might also say, the end of Hebrew wisdom. Jealousy for the Law of Yahweh is the inspiration of many of the prophets, and also the explanation of much that is intolerant and even unethical in Hebrew morality. If its fine flower is the passion for righteousness and the love of the poor taught by the great prophets, and if its ethical monotheism was right in being intolerant of base cults and false prophets, yet there is a spirit of vindictiveness which these prophets sought in vain to sublimate, and against which Jesus set his face. If unnatural vice is the besetting sin of the Greek, this spirit of vengefulness is the besetting sin of Israel. Her earliest poetry is

darkened by it: Deborah[1] praises Jael for a deed of foul treachery to a guest: the "Song of the Bow"[2] gloats over the long-drawn-out slaughter of the enemy. Samuel announces Yahweh's punishment upon Saul for sparing even the cattle of the Amalekites; and some of the noblest psalms, belonging to a much later day when Israel is chastened by suffering, can only be sung by a modern congregation if they either completely forget the meaning of the words or else allegorize them. Even the Book of Deuteronomy, which embodies much of the moral teaching of the great prophets, lays down the *lex talionis* "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" which Jesus rejected, and it lays it down clearly with the intention of putting some bounds to the vindictiveness of Israel. Of later books that of Esther is a classic of race-hatred, and the sufferings of the Hebrews have been largely due to this vice. If Jews are persecuted to-day it is partly because their intellectuals have preached class-war. But this passion against oppressors is also a cry for Justice—from Amos to Karl Marx; and is blent often with a true sense of religious values. The earliest hymn pronounces a blessing on "them that love Yahweh", and the very Babylonian psalm which blesses the man that shall dash little children against the stones is full of yearning for the City of God.

Hebrew religion and ethics do not in fact present a picture either of unity or of steady progress. They rise to great heights and fall to great depths, and progress follows a zigzag path. Reaching its noblest expression some five centuries after the Egyptian captivity with the great prophets of the eighth century, Judaism gradually sinks again as ritual overshadows righteousness, and prophecy degenerates into apocalyptic. Yet this gifted race, when its spiritual life seemed almost at its lowest ebb, continued to contain a remnant of pious and gentle souls who protested against narrowness and legalism, and "who expected the consolation

[1] Judges v, 24–31. [2] 2 Samuel i.

of Israel" and the vindication of Yahweh. And it is Israel's greatest triumph that she produced her greatest son when the Gentile world also was most in need of a moral tonic.

The long history of the Hebrew race may be compared with that of the Indians in its preoccupation with religion and in its search for a nobler ethic. Through many failures and much suffering it evolved an ideal of social righteousness which is still a living inspiration, and learnt the meaning of God's Holiness. Through its own sufferings it came to understand his love and to envisage itself as his suffering servant. And even at lower levels its psalms of worship which express the longing of the masses, and its proverbial wisdom have won an unchallenged place in the world's religious literature.

The Semitic peoples have been little interested, on the other hand, in the world of art and science, and have made no supremely great contribution to man's secular life. They have left nothing to compare with Greek architecture, or Chinese landscape painting, no great tradition of scientific thought like that of Greece, and they seem to have ignored Babylonian astronomy. Though we are told that Joseph and Moses learnt the wisdom of the Egyptians there is no evidence of it, and the Jewish abhorrence of alien cults is enough to explain their aloofness from sciences which were connected with priests and temples. Even in later ages what Arab and Jewish scholars have achieved has been largely as middle-men, handing on Greek and Indian civilization, and even when fully exposed to that Greek culture which the Romans took with eager hands, the Jew was too conscious of the "abomination of desolation" which Hellenism sought to impose. If the Jew was a barbarian to the Greek, the Greek was an idolater to the Jew. Keeping their sense of the holiness of Yahweh, they kept also their sense of separateness.

At such great cost was won their growth in ethical

idealism[1] and in an idea of God only surpassed by that of Jesus: "Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil".[2] Their social ethic develops side by side with the idea of Yahweh, or indeed often in advance of it. It emerges from the savage tribalism of a nomad people, alleviated by laws of hospitality and tribal solidarity, to become the recognition of a brotherhood of nations far in advance of our present practice.

That it was peculiarly difficult for them to reach this ideal their records show, and secular history also makes clear. Their story begins with a long and cruel captivity and goes on through ages of wandering and uncertainty, continuing all down the ages in oppression and outrage. Yet all through this stern discipline they have kept a sense of mission and a hope for the good time coming. If Aeschylus learnt through the bitter days which followed the Age of Pericles that "to suffer is to learn", how much more did Hosea and Jeremiah discover that "whom God loves he chastens". The greatest literary masterpiece of the Jews, the Book of Job, which may indeed be compared with a Greek tragedy and especially with the Prometheus, rings with this faith in the Unseen: "Though He slay me, yet will I trust Him". This sense of God's reality and nearness and this belief that He is guiding and refining His people through suffering, are Israel's great gifts to mankind.

And just in proportion as the Jews came into contact with the world about them, did their own culture draw back into itself. The Babylonian and Persian captivities brought them into very close contact with highly civilized peoples: but they seem to have learnt little more from Babylon and Persia than they did from Egypt. Ezra is their second Moses, and he returned from Persia to Jerusalem while Athens was at the height of its glory: he knew of "Javan", Ionia or Greece, as

[1] For an excellent summary, see J. M. P. Smith's *Morals of the Hebrews*, pp. 320ff.

[2] Habakkuk i, 13.

among the peoples "who have not heard of the fame of Yahweh", and he devoted himself to the task of moulding a new theocracy. As a Jewish writer has said of his people, "Knowledge of God was their conception of wisdom; service of God their conception of virtue; their poetry was the expression of the yearning of the soul for God; history was a religious drama in which God was the protagonist judging the nations with righteousness. The conception of God was their philosophy—they did not require any other".[1]

"Their main values are justice and pity, charitableness and lovingkindness."[2] *Chesed* is the latter, *zedakan* the former, and in studying those ideals we get to the real core of Hebrew ethics. They are the moral qualities of Yahweh which He imparts to his people if they wait upon him.

VI

The comparison between Jew and Greek has often been attempted, and nowhere better summarized than in the verses:

> Thus the sharp contrasts of the sculptor's plan
> Showed the two primal paths our race has trod,
> Hellas the nurse of man complete as man,
> Judaea pregnant with the living God.

If Judaea is the mother-country of the soul, Greece is the mother-country of the mind—and if the Jew is to love God with all his soul, the Greek is to pursue truth with all his mind. These are parallel quests, and both lead to the goal of personality, and to him who is Love and Light, and who bade men know God as well as love him.

The by-products of these quests are of immense significance to the ethical life of mankind. The passion for social justice of the Jew, his sense of a purpose in individual and national life, his code of personal purity and integrity—these com-

[1] N. Bentwich, *Hellenism*, pp. 20–21.
[2] C. G. Montefiore, *The Old Testament and After*.

plement and enrich the more systematic ethic of Hellas, her moderation and self-control, her fearless search for truth, her faith in reason, her pursuit of wisdom, her passion for freedom.

These are the treasures of our Western heritage, and Christianity is the heir of both Jew and Greek. Its ethic while it simplifies also deepens that of Greece, and by centring its interest in the Kingdom of God gives to human personality an inspiration and a motive which harmonizes the self-regarding with the altruistic, the individual with the social, the world-affirming with the world-denying—which tempers liberty with law, and idealism with duty.

If Hellas sought Beauty and Judaea Righteousness, Christ calls men to the Beauty of Holiness and the Joy of Service. If the watchword of the Greek was Freedom and that of the Jew Obedience, Christ offers an allegiance "whose service is perfect freedom".

By making life Christo-centric he unites the God-centred life of Palestine with the man-centred life of Greece: and the Church soon found it a matter of experience that in him is neither Jew nor Greek; for in him the two great Cultures met and blent.

If our Western world has failed to appropriate its heritage it yet knows the rock from which it is hewn, and when Asia admires its application of science to life, its philanthropies, its search for social justice, it can only say with all sincerity "Not unto us, but unto our Lord be the glory given".

So when, as is more usual, Asia taunts us with being far from Christian we can but reply "Help us to enter into our inheritance". In the Person of Jesus it is centred.

But the legacy of Israel must not be conceived as purely religious. Their theocratic ideal has had an immense influence on Europe—often for good. Their belief in a purposeful creation and in progress in social justice are still a living inspiration, and it may well be that recent achievements of Jews in science and philosophy are the promise that the

imaginative genius which for so long devoted itself to religion is being set free under more favourable social and political conditions to illuminate other fields. So in art and music, the old *tabus* being removed, we may see the sensuous and poetic genius of Israel turning to other creative achievement. For if the Hebrew is not like the Greek in aesthetic appreciation his scriptures show him to be an artist in words. Seeking truth he often discovered beauty: while the Greek, seeking beauty, sometimes missed truth.

And if the Jew has lacked the power to analyse, to examine and to compare, so important in scientific work, he has shown intuition and a genius for discovering unity which are no less important.

But the Jew is content to be judged by his religious and ethical ideals. Here he contributes a basis for the secular achievements of mankind. Seeking God he discovered man more fully than even the Greek—who fixing his mind upon man evolves ideals less fully human.

Truth, Beauty, Goodness—these alone are real; and only in an Ideal Person can they be harmoniously blended.

THE SOUL OF ISRAEL

I. Hospitality and Vengeance

Nomadic Ideals

Blessed above women shall Jael be,
The wife of Heber the Kenite,
Blessed shall she be above women in the tent.
He asked water, and she gave him milk;
She brought him butter in a lordly dish.
She put her hand to the nail,
And her right hand to the workmen's hammer;
And with the hammer she smote Sisera, she smote through his head,
Yea, she pierced and struck through his temples.
At her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay:

At her feet he bowed, he fell:
Where he bowed, there he fell down dead.
Through the window she looked forth, and cried,
The mother of Sisera cried through the lattice,
Why is his chariot so long in coming?
Why tarry the wheels of his chariots?
Her wise ladies answered her,
Yea, she returned answer to herself,
Have they not found, have they not divided the spoil?
A damsel, two damsels to every man;
To Sisera a spoil of divers colours,
A spoil of divers colours of embroidery,
Of divers colours of embroidery on both sides.
So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord:
But let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might.

Judges v, 24–31.

II. Magnanimity and Egoism

Joseph and his Brethren

Then Joseph could not refrain himself before all them that stood by him; and he cried, Cause every man to go out from me. And there stood no man with him, while Joseph made himself known unto his brethren. And he wept aloud: and the Egyptians heard, and the house of Pharaoh heard. And Joseph said unto his brethren, I am Joseph; doth my father yet live? And his brethren could not answer him; for they were troubled at his presence. And Joseph said unto his brethren, Come near to me, I pray you. And they came near. And he said, I am Joseph your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt. And now be not grieved, nor angry with yourselves, that ye sold me hither: for God did send me before you to preserve life. For these two years hath the famine been in the land: and there are yet five years, in the which there shall be neither plowing nor harvest. And God sent me before you to preserve you a remnant in the earth, and to save you alive by a great deliverance. So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God: and he hath made me a father to Pharaoh, and lord of all his house, and ruler over all the land of Egypt. Haste ye, and go up to my father, and say unto him, Thus saith thy son Joseph, God

hath made me lord of all Egypt: come down unto me, tarry not: and thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou hast: and there will I nourish thee; for there are yet five years of famine; lest thou come to poverty, thou, and thy household, and all that thou hast. And, behold, your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin, that it is my mouth that speaketh unto you. And ye shall tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that ye have seen; and ye shall haste and bring down my father hither.

Genesis xlv, 1–13.

III. The Ideals of a Settled Community

Nathan's Rebuke of David

And the Lord sent Nathan unto David. And he came unto him, and said unto him, There were two men in one city; the one rich, and the other poor. The rich man had exceeding many flocks and herds: but the poor man had nothing, save one little ewe lamb, which he had bought and nourished up: and it grew up together with him, and with his children; it did eat of his own morsel, and drank of his own cup, and lay in his bosom, and was unto him as a daughter. And there came a traveller unto the rich man, and he spared to take of his own flock and of his own herd, to dress for the wayfaring man that was come unto him, but took the poor man's lamb, and dressed it for the man that was come to him. And David's anger was greatly kindled against the man; and he said to Nathan, As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this is worthy to die: and he shall restore the lamb fourfold, because he did this thing, and because he had no pity.

And Nathan said to David, Thou art the man. Thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, I anointed thee king over Israel, and I delivered thee out of the hand of Saul; and I gave thee thy master's house, and thy master's wives into thy bosom, and gave thee the house of Israel and of Judah.... Wherefore hast thou despised the word of the Lord, to do that which is evil in his sight? thou hast smitten Uriah the Hittite with the sword, and hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slain him with the sword of the children of Ammon.

2 Samuel xii, 1–9.

IV. The Commandments

And God spake all these words, saying,

I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

Thou shalt have none other gods before me.

Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor the likeness of any form that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me; and shewing mercy unto thousands, of them that love me and keep my commandments.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain;...

Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is a sabbath unto the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work....

Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

Thou shalt do no murder.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

Thou shalt not steal.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his.

Exodus xx, 1–17.

V. The Earlier Prophets: Pre-Exilic Ideals

(*a*) *Amos: God's Wrath against Evil*

Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Israel, yea, for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they have sold the righteous for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes: that pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor, and turn aside the way of the meek: and a man and his father will go unto the same maid, to profane my holy name: and they lay themselves down beside every altar upon clothes taken in pledge, and in the house of their God they drink the wine of such as have been fined.

Amos ii, 6–8.

I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Yea, though ye offer me your burnt offerings and meal offerings, I will not accept them.... Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. But let judgement roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream.

v, 21–4.

Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live: and so the Lord, the God of hosts, shall be with you, as ye say. Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgement in the gate: it may be that the Lord, the God of hosts, will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph.

v, 14, 15.

Hear this, O ye that would swallow up the needy, and cause the poor of the land to fail, saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat? making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and dealing falsely with balances of deceit.

viii, 4, 5.

(*b*) *Hosea: God's Love of an Erring People*

Hear the word of the Lord, ye children of Israel: for the Lord hath a controversy with the inhabitants of the land, because there is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land. There is nought but swearing and breaking faith, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery; they break out, and blood toucheth blood.

Hosea iv, 1, 2.

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 dew that goeth early away. Therefore have I hewed them by the prophets; I have slain them by the words of my mouth: and thy judgements are as the light that goeth forth. For I desire mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings.

vi, 4–6.

(c) *Isaiah: God's Judgment of the Nations and his Forgiveness*

Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom; give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah. To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats.

Isaiah i, 10, 11.

Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil: learn to do well; seek judgement, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.

Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow.... If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land.

i, 16–19.

Thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves; every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards: they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them.

i, 23.

Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; that tarry late into the night, till wine inflame them! And the harp and the lute, the tabret and the pipe, and wine, are in their feasts: but they regard not the work of the Lord, neither have they considered the operation of his hands. Therefore my people are gone into captivity, for lack of knowledge: and their honourable men are famished, and their multitude are parched with thirst.

v, 11–13.

A Great Deliverer

And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a branch out of his roots shall bear fruit: and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord; and his delight shall be in the fear of the Lord: and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove

after the hearing of his ears: but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth: and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins.

Isaiah xi, 1–5.

(*d*) *Micah: God's Moral Requirements*

Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?

Micah vi, 6–8.

VI. The Second Law

The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin.

Thou shalt not wrest the judgment of the stranger, nor of the fatherless; nor take the widow's raiment in pledge.

Deuteronomy xxiv, 16, 17.

When thou shalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God thou shalt not be slack to pay it: for the Lord thy God will surely require it of thee; and it would be sin in thee. But if thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no sin in thee. That which is gone out of thy lips thou shalt observe and do; according as thou hast vowed unto the Lord thy God a freewill offering, which thou hast promised with thy mouth.

xxiii, 21–3.

At the end of every three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase in the same year, and shalt lay it up within thy gates: and the Levite, because he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee, and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the

widow, which are within thy gates, shall come, and shall eat and be satisfied.

xiv, 28, 29.

A man shall not take his father's wife, and shall not uncover his father's skirt.

xxii, 30.

When thou drawest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. And it shall be, if it make thee answer of peace,... then it shall be, that all the people that is found therein shall become tributary.... And if it will make no peace with thee, ...then thou shalt besiege it:...thou shalt smite every male thereof...but the women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take for a prey unto thyself.

xx, 10–14.

VII. Later Prophets

(*a*) *Jeremiah*

In those days they shall say no more, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. But every one shall die for his own iniquity: every man that eateth the sour grapes, his teeth shall be set on edge.

Jeremiah xxxi, 29, 30.

(*b*) *Ezekiel*

But if a man be just, and do that which is lawful and right, and hath not eaten upon the mountains, neither hath lifted up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel, neither hath defiled his neighbour's wife, neither hath come near to a woman in her separation; and hath not wronged any, but hath restored to the debtor his pledge, hath spoiled none by violence, hath given his bread to the hungry, and hath covered the naked with a garment; he that hath not given forth upon usury, neither hath taken any increase, that hath withdrawn his hand from iniquity, hath executed true judgement between man and man, hath walked in my statutes, and hath kept my judgements, to deal truly; he is just, he shall surely live, saith the Lord God.

Ezekiel xviii, 5–9.

(c) *A Later Isaiah*[1]*: The Source of Life*

Hast thou not known? hast thou not heard? the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary; there is no searching of his understanding. He giveth power to the faint; and to him that hath no might he increaseth strength. Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall: but they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; they shall walk, and not faint.

Isaiah xl, 28–31.

(d) *The Servant*

Behold my servant, whom I uphold; my chosen, in whom my soul delighteth: I have put my spirit upon him; he shall bring forth judgement 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 judgement in truth. He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set judgement in the earth; and the isles shall wait for his law.

Isaiah xlii, 1–4.

VIII. Psalms and Proverbs

(a) *The Righteous Man and the Ungodly*

Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the wicked,
Nor standeth in the way of sinners,
Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.
But his delight is in the law of the Lord;
And in his law doth he meditate day and night.
And he shall be like a tree planted by the streams of water,
That bringeth forth its fruit in its season,
Whose leaf also doth not wither;
And whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.
The wicked are not so;
But are like the chaff which the wind driveth away.

[1] The student is advised to read and re-read all Isaiah xl to lxvi.

Therefore the wicked shall not stand in the judgement,
Nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous.
For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous:
But the way of the wicked shall perish.

Psalm i.

Lord, who shall sojourn in thy tabernacle?
Who shall dwell in thy holy hill?
He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness,
And speaketh truth in his heart.
He that slandereth not with his tongue,
Nor doeth evil to his friend,
Nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbour.
In whose eyes a reprobate is despised;
But he honoureth them that fear the Lord.
He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not.
He that putteth not out his money to usury,
Nor taketh reward against the innocent.
He that doeth these things shall never be moved.

Psalm xv.

As Dean Inge says, here is the ideal of the English gentleman.

(*b*) *Psalms of Penitence*

Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy lovingkindness
According to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions.
Wash me throughly from mine iniquity,
And cleanse me from my sin.
For I acknowledge my transgressions:
And my sin is ever before me.
Against thee, thee only, have I sinned,
And done that which is evil in thy sight:
That thou mayest be justified when thou speakest,
And be clear when thou judgest....
Hide thy face from my sins,
And blot out all mine iniquities.
Create in me a clean heart, O God;
And renew a right spirit within me.
Cast me not away from thy presence;
And take not thy holy spirit from me.

Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation:
And uphold me with a free spirit.
Then will I teach transgressors thy ways;
And sinners shall be converted unto thee.
Deliver me from bloodguiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation;
And my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness.
O Lord, open thou my lips;
And my mouth shall shew forth thy praise.
For thou delightest not in sacrifice; else would I give it:
Thou hast no pleasure in burnt offering.
The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit:
A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

Psalm li, 1–4, 9–17.

Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord.
Lord, hear my voice:
Let thine ears be attentive
To the voice of my supplications.
If thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities,
O Lord, who shall stand?
But there is forgiveness with thee,
That thou mayest be feared.
I wait for the Lord, my soul doth wait,
And in his word do I hope.
My soul looketh for the Lord,
More than watchmen look for the morning;
Yea, more than watchmen for the morning.
O Israel, hope in the Lord;
For with the Lord there is mercy,
And with him is plenteous redemption.
And he shall redeem Israel
From all his iniquities.

Psalm cxxx.

(*c*) *Maxims of the Sages*

For in the memory of virtue is immortality:
Because it is recognised both before God and before men.
When it is present, men imitate it;
And they long after it when it is departed:

And throughout all time it marcheth crowned in triumph,
Victorious in the strife for the prizes that are undefiled....
But a righteous man, though he die before his time, shall be at rest.
(For honourable old age is not that which standeth in length of time,
Nor is its measure given by number of years:
But understanding is gray hairs unto men,
And an unspotted life is ripe old age.)
Being found well-pleasing unto God he was beloved of him,
And while living among sinners he was translated:
He was caught away, lest wickedness should change his understanding....
Being made perfect in a little while, he fulfilled long years;
For his soul was pleasing unto the Lord.

The Wisdom of Solomon iv, 1, 2, 7–11, 13, 14.

In thy youth thou hast not gathered,
And how shouldest thou find in thine old age?
How beautiful a thing is judgement for gray hairs,
And for elders to know counsel!
How beautiful is the wisdom of old men,
And thought and counsel to men that are in honour!
Much experience is the crown of old men;
And their glorying is the fear of the Lord....
A shamefast woman is grace upon grace;
And there is no price worthy of a continent soul.
As the sun when it ariseth in the highest places of the Lord,
So is the beauty of a good wife in the ordering of a man's house.
As the lamp that shineth upon the holy candlestick,
So is the beauty of the face in ripe age.

Ecclesiasticus xxv, 3–6; xxvi, 15–17.

My son, attend to my words;
Incline thine ear unto my sayings.
Let them not depart from thine eyes;
Keep them in the midst of thine heart.
For they are life unto those that find them,
And health to all their flesh.
Keep thy heart with all diligence;
For out of it are the issues of life.

Put away from thee a froward mouth,
And perverse lips put far from thee.
Let thine eyes look right on,
And let thine eyelids look straight before thee.
Make level the path of thy feet,
And let all thy ways be established.
Turn not to the right hand nor to the left:
Remove thy foot from evil.

Proverbs iv, 20–7.

(*d*) *Friendship and Wise Counsel*

A faithful friend is a strong defence;
And he that hath found him hath found a treasure.
There is nothing that can be taken in exchange for a faithful friend;
And his excellency is beyond price.
A faithful friend is a medicine of life;
And they that fear the Lord shall find him.
He that feareth the Lord directeth his friendship aright;
For as he is, so is his neighbour also....
My son, if thou wilt, thou shalt be instructed;
And if thou wilt yield thy soul, thou shalt be prudent.
If thou love to hear, thou shalt receive;
And if thou incline thine ear, thou shalt be wise.
Stand thou in the multitude of the elders;
And whoso is wise, cleave thou unto him.
Be willing to listen to every godly discourse;
And let not the proverbs of understanding escape thee.
If thou seest a man of understanding, get thee betimes unto him,
And let thy foot wear out the steps of his doors.
Let thy mind dwell upon the ordinances of the Lord,
And meditate continually in his commandments:
He shall establish thine heart,
And thy desire of wisdom shall be given unto thee.

Ecclesiasticus vi, 14–17, 32–7.

(*e*) *Wisdom—Human and Divine*

Doth not wisdom cry,
And understanding put forth her voice?
In the top of high places by the way,
Where the paths meet, she standeth;

Beside the gates, at the entry of the city,
At the coming in at the doors, she crieth aloud:
Unto you, O men, I call;
And my voice is to the sons of men.
O ye simple, understand subtilty;
And, ye fools, be ye of an understanding heart.
Hear, for I will speak excellent things;
And the opening of my lips shall be right things.
For my mouth shall utter truth;
And wickedness is an abomination to my lips.
All the words of my mouth are in righteousness;
There is nothing crooked or perverse in them.
They are all plain to him that understandeth,
And right to them that find knowledge.
Receive my instruction, and not silver;
And knowledge rather than choice gold.
For wisdom is better than rubies;
And all the things that may be desired are not to be compared unto her.
I, wisdom, have made subtilty my dwelling,
And find out knowledge and discretion.
The fear of the Lord is to hate evil:
Pride, and arrogancy, and the evil way,
And the froward mouth, do I hate.
Counsel is mine, and sound knowledge:
I am understanding; I have might.
By me kings reign,
And princes decree justice.
By me princes rule,
And nobles, even all the judges of the earth.
I love them that love me;
And those that seek me diligently shall find me.
Riches and honour are with me;
Yea, durable riches and righteousness.
My fruit is better than gold, yea, than fine gold;
And my revenue than choice silver.
I walk in the way of righteousness,
In the midst of the paths of judgement:
That I may cause those that love me to inherit substance,
And that I may fill their treasuries. Proverbs viii, 1–21.

(*f*) *Job remembers his Youth*

Whence then cometh wisdom?
And where is the place of understanding?
Seeing it is hid from the eyes of all living,
And kept close from the fowls of the air.
Destruction and Death say,
We have heard a rumour thereof with our ears.
God understandeth the way thereof,
And he knoweth the place thereof.
For he looketh to the ends of the earth,
And seeth under the whole heaven;
To make a weight for the wind;
Yea, he meteth out the waters by measure.
When he made a decree for the rain,
And a way for the lightning of the thunder:
Then did he see it, and declare it;
He established it, yea, and searched it out.
And unto man he said,
Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom;
And to depart from evil is understanding....
Oh that I were as in the months of old,
As in the days when God watched over me;
When his lamp shined upon my head,
And by his light I walked through darkness;
As I was in the ripeness of my days,
When the secret of God was upon my tent;
When the Almighty was yet with me,
And my children were about me;...
For when the ear heard me, then it blessed me;
And when the eye saw me, it gave witness unto me:
Because I delivered the poor that cried,
The fatherless also, that had none to help him.
The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me:
And I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy.
I put on righteousness, and it clothed me:
My justice was as a robe and a diadem.
I was eyes to the blind,
And feet was I to the lame.

I was a father to the needy:
And the cause of him that I knew not I searched out.
And I brake the jaws of the unrighteous,
And plucked the prey out of his teeth.

Job xxviii, 20–8; xxix, 2–5, 11–17.

IX. Later Pessimism and Faith

Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher; all is vanity...and much study is a weariness of the flesh.

This is the end of the matter;...fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man. For God shall bring every work into judgement, with every hidden thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil.

Ecclesiastes xii, 8–14.

CHAPTER VI

CHRISTIAN ETHICS

"Love is the fulfilling of the Law." ST PAUL
"If this is blent with heroism it is irresistible." AKBAR

I

While the originality of Jesus was sublime and creative it is equally true that the preparation for Christianity is to be found not only in the religion of Israel but in the wider Graeco-Roman world of his time. The genius of Alexander of Macedon had planted Greek and Jewish colonies far afield, and his successors carried on this policy, till there were Hellenistic settlements from Macedonia to India. Greek was the common language, and the Jews themselves were everywhere, at home as well as abroad, brought face to face with a culture superior to their own in all but religion.

At home they were saved from complete Hellenization by their belief that they were the chosen people: abroad—whither they had been carried in wave after wave of imperialism and by their own instinct for trade—they were scattered in an unbroken chain, says an early Christian writer, from North Africa to India. In these lands they still maintain themselves.

Philo could boast that Jerusalem had become "the capital not of one nation but of all"; and Isaiah's prophecy, "My house shall be a house of prayer for all peoples" was to this extent fulfilled, that millions came up to the Temple every year. These far-flung Jewish colonies offered a soul to the decadent and pessimistic Hellenism of these countries. Their mixed populations "had a varnish of high culture: but below the varnish a motley mixture of primitive superstition, barbarous fears... coarse passions, and crude ideas and beliefs, springing out of the old Eastern cults, marred the

Hellenic conception of life".[1] To such the synagogue offered a lofty view of God, and an uncompromising ethic well suited by its social emphasis to lift society to much higher levels. The Jew alone looked forward with hope to a better day. But he could not tolerate the Emperor-cult or the easy eclecticism of these cities; he maintained his *tabus*; and his success as a merchant, to say nothing of his lack of Greek polish, made him too unpopular to be a good missionary. Yet even so, "proselytes" and "God-fearers" were numerous, and Judaism, as we see in St Paul's missions, did much to open the door to Christianity.

If Israel as a whole resisted "paganism", yet intellectual Jews at cities like Alexandria were learning to dress Judaism in Greek guise, and assimilating more than they knew from Greek philosophy and from Stoic ethics. Their pantheism corrected the rigid monotheism of Israel, and their universalism deepened its sense of a religious society of all earnest souls devoted to "the God of the whole earth". If Judaism with its authoritative "Thus saith the Lord" and its uncompromising morality was one possible refuge for the disillusioned and world-weary masses, Stoicism with its call to "Love all men and to obey God" was another. The third and most eagerly welcomed was the mystery-cults. But that of Mithras alone had a high ethic, and we need only notice here their influence in helping the marriage of East and West, and in setting the stage for the Redeemer.

Christianity won the ancient world largely as a mystery-religion, and in Pauline and Johannine thought we see abundant proof of the influence of these cults as well as of Hebrew Prophetism, Platonism, and Stoicism.

While Jesus himself seems to have been influenced only by the first of these, he belongs to a world in which all were potent influences. And in seeking to interpret him to it, his followers used whatever categories they found handy and

[1] N. Bentwich, *Hellenism*, pp. 55–6.

apt to their task. For us the title Son of Man is the best and truest: it will long survive such Jewish terms as Messiah and such Greek concepts as Logos. These are the categories which lay ready to the mind of the Early Church; but they are both inadequate, and it is certain that if Jesus used the former he would have been puzzled by the latter. An urgent yet difficult task of criticism is to distinguish between his own thought about himself and that of the Church which produced the theological tracts known as the Four Gospels. They are all written to establish the claims which Christian experience led men to make on his behalf: and it is likely that the one title which really represents his mind is Son of Man. In any case this is for modern men the best foundation for a true Christology: and the best vindication of the title "Son of Man" may be found in the universality of the ethic of Jesus, and in his unique personality. Not only do all Christians accept his ideals and him as the Ideal, but humanity at its best everywhere; and "Son of Man" may well mean True Man, or Representative Man, though it is often used in a conflicting sense of the Messiah in triumph.

This universality is found in the great parables and in the teachings of Jesus collected in the Sermon on the Mount. "The Sermon on the Mount competes on almost equal terms with the Gītā for my allegiance", says Mahatma Gandhi.

"Here is the foundation for the new society", says Kagawa, the Japanese St Francis, like Gandhi a mystic and a reformer.

"I am attracted to the Sermon on the Mount, because it reinforces our Chinese pacifism", says Hu Shih, leader in the Chinese Renaissance, a humanist and a rationalist who distrusts mysticism, and seems not to recognize that the ethic of the Sermon is rooted in it.

So we find civilized humanity united in acceptance of the Lord's Prayer as the model for intelligent communion with God, so profound and comprehensive are its simple clauses, so universal its aspirations. Humanity accepts

this Prayer if it does not use it, and the Sermon on the Mount if it does not practise it. It is beginning to be clear that some who do not call themselves by the name of Christian are nearer to these ideals than the proud and aggressive peoples who are included under the name "Christendom", yet are still largely pagan, refusing to subordinate their nationalism, or their pride of race to that ideal Kingdom of God which is central alike in the Prayer and the Sermon. This is the essence of the social ethic of the Gospel, as the essence of its individual ethic is in the Golden Rule, and of its theology in the Parable of the Prodigal Son. Utterly opposed to these principles of love and freedom is most of our organized life. Yet there is a distinctive Christian civilization, marked by justice and freedom hardly won, and by kindliness, honesty, and good-temper. And while the saints are few their lives have a fragrance that is also distinctive, and that is more easily recognized than described or analysed. Nor is there lacking a great company, which no man can number, of lives touched by the Spirit of Christ to finer issues and to a more balanced and harmonious goodness than is found outside Christianity. That it is this which attracts them, Asiatics agree with magnanimity and unanimity. Christ they reverence: Christianity they respect: Christians they admire. Christendom, which is paganism with a veneer of Christianity, they have come to detest. If race-prejudice and legalism are the besetting sins of the Hebrew people, these have also entered into Christendom, a large part of which finds more inspiration in the Old Testament than in the New, and in the Law than in the Prophets. To these faults Christian nations have added hypocrisy, at which their Master directed his shrewdest blows. Some, for example, talk habitually as if the Kingdom of God had arrived within their own borders, and nowhere else. They are, as Galsworthy says, "particularly sensitive to moral obliquity in others". The Christian, on the other hand, is "to cast out the beam that is in his own eye, before he can see clearly to cast out the mote from his brother's eye": or, as Pascal put

it, "He is to be lenient to the faults of others, severe to his own". "He is loved", says Confucius, "who sees his own weakness and the strength of others." The double standards which pervade the Western world—one ethic for the poor, another for the rich, one for women, another for men, one for the black man, another for the white—are far indeed from the "single eye" and the forbearing love of the Sermon on the Mount. We who are bidden to be as loving as God are as unloving as sin, and the Sermon is rather an epitome of our ideals than a summary of our practice.

It is probably a collection of the Sayings of Jesus, spoken at different times and intended to embody principles rather than laws, to impart a spirit rather than a code. It *is* the Charter of a spiritual kingdom, but the citizens are children of the Ruler. We know that Jesus began his public career by preaching from a text of the prophet Isaiah which deals with social righteousness, and that he went about teaching "Repent ye, for the Kingdom of God is at hand". Repentance (*metanoia*) means a change of heart or mind, a new attitude towards God, a new scale of values: and the Kingdom of God means the reign of God in men's hearts. "The Kingdom of God is within you", says Jesus. From this deep source flow both the individual and the social ethic of the Gospel.

It is in effect a new synthesis of Hebrew ideals; but a modern Hebrew writer of profound insight and sympathy has noted as new and formative elements in the Ethic of Jesus "a certain fire and enthusiasm", "a note of passionate idealism, and heroism", "a forth-going activity".[1] And in comparing the Hebrew *chesed*, lovingkindness, with the Christian *agape* he says frankly that the Christian ideal is something more forth-going and venturesome, more eager and pastoral than the Hebrew. "It need not be contended that Proverbs xxv, 21 is a full equivalent of Matthew v, 44–5, but it is surely a big step upon the way."[2]

[1] C. G. Montefiore, *The Old Testament and After, passim.*

[2] *Ibid.* p. 195. "If thine enemy hunger feed him": "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you".

This seems to me true at once to the values of the two ideals, and to the facts of history. Jesus claims to fulfil the ideals of Israel—the Law as well as the Prophets—to penetrate to their inner soul, to fill them with new meaning, to reunite them in a better balance, to bring out of the ancient treasury things new and old, to pour new wine into the old wine-skins. In doing this he is inaugurating a new scale of values and a new era.

On this great theme Dean Inge has lately spoken weighty words:

> What Nietzsche calls the "transvaluation of all values" may certainly be applied to the Gospel, as compared with the standards of what the New Testament calls the world, that is (as Bishop Gore defines it), human society as it organizes itself apart from God. The Christian standard of values is not so very different from the best that has been taught by Buddha, Socrates, and other non-Christian Saints. But we may perhaps mention as characteristic of Christian morality the emphasis on the will rather than on the intellect or feeling; the strongly theocentric direction of the whole; the insistence on motive rather than on overt action; the appeal to heroic devotion and loyalty, awakened by genuine love to God and man; humility, arising from the consciousness that we "have nothing that we did not receive"; kindliness in judging others, and a strong desire to help them; and a deeper inner life in the presence of God, filling the heart with joy and peace.
>
> And above all, Christianity finds the new world in a supra-sensible, spiritual kingdom. God is not viewed from the standpoint of the world, but the world from the standpoint of God. We have to be *redeemed* into citizenship of this new world, redeemed by "grace" which on the human side means self-consecration. Each soul, Christianity teaches, has a real history, an ethical drama, in comparison with which all external events sink into insignificance. "What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" The individual drama is a re-enactment in little of the drama of the redemption of humanity: of which the sacrament is the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, who, as it was said by an ancient Father, recapitulates in Himself the whole series of human lives. So in Christianity per-

sonal experience, and a divine philosophy are inextricably blended. The inner world of the Christian is a relationship of spirit to spirit, not a wholly "other" world, but the deepest meaning and reality of this world.

Eternity has become incarnate in time, and is already the atmosphere which the spiritual man breathes. I do not think that you will find this conception of spirituality, at once radical, militant, and triumphant, in any other religion or philosophy. All this, and much more of the same kind, may be found in the New Testament. It is a type quite distinct and easily recognizable. You might find it worth while to take some of the *new* Christian words—faith, hope, love, joy, peace, humility, power, life, and with the help of the New Testament think out what they meant in the first century. They will take you to the heart of the Gospel revelation.[1]

II

It is clear that Jesus worshipped and preached the God of the Jews, whom they also called Father, and whose kingdom they awaited. But he was more critical of the Scriptures, which they had sterilized by canonization: he saw more clearly than they the contradictions involved, and he called men to a higher and more consistent view of God, and therefore to a more harmonious and more heroic life. Once they recognize that God is Love, they must adopt a new standard of values, and a new spirit in human relations.

If Jesus followed the prophets the official leaders of Israel had largely ceased to do so, and if he accepted the spirit of the Law they were enslaved to its letter. When he claimed "to fulfil the law and the prophets" he was in fact claiming to fill them with new meaning, to make them more spiritual and less legal, more human and therefore more divine; and he left to his followers all down the ages to work out for themselves the implications and the detailed application of his great principles of love and justice and purity. The ethic

[1] Dean Inge, *Things New and Old*, pp. 50–1, Longmans, Green and Co. 1933.

of the New Testament is the ethic of the Early Church: its principles are our heritage. Its detailed application cannot bind us: yet there are great and eternal principles clearly set forth, independent of changing conditions. Like him we are to seek the spirit and to interpret the letter which is at best a symbol, and which may too easily become a fetish.

As the Synoptic Gospels give us a fairly consistent portrait of Jesus which is borne out by St Paul's references to his love, humility, generosity, and self-sacrifice, so from the New Testament as a whole we get a consistent account of the ethical principles which were accepted as the ideals of the Early Church. Intimately related to the ideals of the Hebrew Prophets, they yet strike a note of profound originality. The Man of the Beatitudes is like the Hebrew Saint in his meekness before God, and his acceptance of the Divine Will, but he goes much farther in the spirit of forgiveness, in "turning the other cheek", and "overcoming evil with good". In the range of his love he is to be "perfect as God is perfect", making no exceptions.

When Jesus preached the Parable of the Good Samaritan it was in answer to the question, "Who is my neighbour?" and his contrast of the friendly Samaritan with the callous Jews gave deep offence to his hearers. This aspect of his teachings is summed up in the experience of St Paul, that in Christ "there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither slave nor free, neither male nor female", "for all are children of God by faith in Christ".[1]

And as the ethic of Jesus is original in the width of its sweep and in its uncompromising application, so it is original in the inwardness of its emphasis upon motive. An act is to be judged by the spirit of the doer, a foul thought is itself adultery, hatred is itself murder—and Jesus makes it clear that for this reason legalism and true religion are opposed to one another. While he does not reject the idea of rewards and punishments, he makes much of the spirit of

[1] Galatians iii, 26–8.

detachment, of the single eye and the uncalculating spirit. The very yearning for righteousness and for purity is the promise of its own satisfaction; and these spiritual rewards are contrasted in the Sermon on the Mount with those worldly rewards which hypocrites seek.[1] As St Paul puts it, "Love is the fulfilling of the law", and Jesus himself accepts the summary of prophetic religion—love of God is the first and great commandment, and akin to it is the second, love of man.

If the Man of the Beatitudes is a paradox in a worldly society, he is the strong useful man in one which is heavenly-minded. But he is not to await such a society: he is to help to inaugurate it, to be leaven and salt in the community in which he lives, to be uncompromising yet friendly, pungent yet not provocative. The ethic of the Sermon is then at once individual and social: it is the ethic for the child of God, but also for the citizen of the Kingdom of God.

Another note of originality is its intimate blending of religion and morality. God is revealed and served in a loving society. A good neighbour to all who need his help, regarding it as more blessed to give than to receive, going the second half mile in an ungrudging spirit, giving freely to all who ask, yet hiding his almsgiving, and making no parade of virtue, the Christian is to be a peacemaker and also a pacifist, "turning the other cheek" and "forgiving until seventy times seven". And if it be objected that this is exaggerated romanticism, the reply is that Jesus lived out his own high and difficult ideals and that his moral grandeur in death converted Stephen, whose magnanimity in turn won to the Way of the Cross the great missionary and thinker, Saul of Tarsus, who knew the lofty ideals of the Stoics and of Plato, and now saw them incarnate. Saul perhaps read for himself Pilate's inscription in Aramaic and Greek—"This is the King of the Jews"—upon the Cross, and he slowly made up his mind that here was the Kingly Man of the two traditions at their best.

[1] Matthew vi, 16–18.

III

This is surely the unique thing in Christianity—that its Founder showed men how a Son of God should live, and after several generations the Church can make him say, "I if I be lifted up will draw all men to me". For magnanimity is a magnet; as Akbar said, "Forgiveness is the way to be truly a King, and if this spirit is blent with heroism it is irresistible".

The evangelists tell us that Jesus at the end of a short ministry of preaching and healing in which he won men by his friendliness, spontaneity and sincerity "set his face to go to Jerusalem" and there, still obedient to the heavenly vision of suffering love, revealed God's own character in the great drama of Calvary.

In doing this he gave men not only an example but a dramatization of God's refusal to compromise with evil, and let loose new and creative powers of redemption.

"The character of an ethical revelation depends largely on the proportional value given to various duties and above all on the dynamic energy to carry them out", says Dean Inge.[1] And all are agreed that in the harmonious balance of his personality Jesus is at once norm and inspiration. That he won a great victory over sin and death, and that God manifested revelations of him to vindicate his ideal kingdom of hope, faith and love is the foundation of the Church. "All things were made new", and the ideal world was seen to be the real—the unseen the eternal.

In devotion to this victorious Christ, and in mystical union with one another "in him" these early groups worked out a new and dynamic way of life. In this they see a continuation of the work of their Master, and looking back they remember the magic of his friendly presence. A tax-collector—despised and hated by his fellow-countrymen and victims as a traitor and a profiteer—finds this kingly stranger seeking him out and inviting himself to supper: and the miracle of

[1] *Christian Ethics*, p. 40.

conversion is worked: Zacchaeus becomes an honest man, restoring fourfold and giving half the profits of his profession to the poor. That this is the occasion for the searching parable of the Pharisee and the tax-collector is suggested by Luke, who was interested in giving the Gospel to the pagan world. It expresses the same sentiment as the Sermon on the Mount—the primary place of humility.

Similarly when Samaritans hear of the bold teaching of another parable they are assured that salvation is for all good and kind men, and the Parable of the Last Judgment makes this very emphatic: men are there saved by their kindness. This is Jesus' own method of salvation. In him a harlot finds one who will neither use nor abuse her, but meets her with the friendly simplicity of the pure in heart, and she is herself made pure. Children crowd around him because he likes and understands them; and he makes them the pattern of the heavenly-minded—eager, unsophisticated, trustful, teachable and friendly.

This childlike charm in Jesus becomes "the grace" of the Early Church, just as his great intellect calls them to "bring all things into subjection to the mind of Christ", and his radiant sense of God's nearness and his trust in God's purposes impart themselves as "joy and peace in believing".

If the historic Jesus did not speak so much about joy as the Johannine Christ he radiated it more, and if he spoke less about love he was much more truly its incarnation. If he did not (and how could he?) make the stupendous claims of this Logos-Christ, he made so deep an impression that no other current term was deep and sublime enough to fit him.

He gave new value to God himself, and men said, "Here at last we see the eternal Father in his unique (or only) Son".

This impression is one of a balance and harmony of qualities usually separate and often opposed: humility with confidence, romanticism with sanity, other-worldliness with a very practical grasp of affairs and a very shrewd insight into

character, purity with geniality, uncompromising devotion to truth with tolerance, sympathy with fearless demands upon heroism, righteousness with love, intensity with humour. The male and the female, the Eastern and the Western, the Jew and the Greek meet in this Son of Man, until in the experience he engenders these barriers are done away.

Fierce denunciation and apocalyptic vision are not of a piece with this balance and sanity. But a persecuted Church remembering his prophetic and dynamic qualities reads back into his life ideas from its own fury and despair: he was certainly no mild dreamer but a man of genius and volcanic power, of deep emotion combined with strong will and commanding intellect. But he could not preach God's unfailing love and the next moment announce his fury and vengeance.

Both schools—the apocalyptic and the ethical—miss something essential in their hero: as do all one-sided attempts to label him, pathetic in their zeal to claim him for their own. We must contrive to keep an even keel, and to recognize the half-truths in these pictures: he *was* a great ethical teacher: he *was* a titan among minnows: he still is. And each succeeding school throws some light on his complex personality.

IV

While we cannot fully recapture the historic Jesus we, who refuse to believe either in a dead Christ or in a resurrected body, must seek the mind of Christ on our own problems. His emphasis on personal values, on unselfish ideals, on truth and justice and mercy, on the supremacy of spirit, these belong to mankind and to the ages.

Hindu gentleness, Chinese patience and reason, Japanese discipline and loyalty have much in them that is Christlike, and we await the light to be shed on Jesus by other gifted Asiatics who shall follow a Gandhi, a Sundar Singh and a Kagawa.

Nor do we lack confidence that Jesus will come fully into his own. His romanticism and mysticism have already "massive historic vindication". The Way of Jesus, which is the way of unflinching love, already works the miracle of changing aliens and persecutors into imitators and martyrs. And the saint is the Christlike man, whose spirit is that of the *bodhisattva* and the Mahatma, the servant and saint of India, of a Socrates as of a Moses, of the meek and righteous "Servant of Yahweh" whom Jesus knew in the Scriptures of his people.

The influence of the servant-poems of Isaiah upon him is evident. He rejected in favour of this ideal that of the Messianic King, and lived out literally its identification of the saint with his sinning nation. If Isaiah saw Israel playing the part of a suffering servant among the nations, Jesus called the individual Christian to suffer for righteousness' sake, and himself accepted the ideal, embodying it in his own life and death.

And as the source of his own ethic was his radiant sense of a God of unchangeable and redemptive love,[1] so the Early Church saw in his life and death "the express image of the Father", and the Fourth Gospel even makes him declare "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father".

The Epistles are full of references to "the grace of our Lord Jesus", his kindliness and loving spirit, and the most theological of his followers, the great missionary Paul and the mystic John of Ephesus, are the most emphatic in summing up the whole Christian ethic as Love. St Paul's great hymn[2] is in effect a summary of the life of Christ, and St John's brief sermon "Little children love one another", is accepted by the Christian Church as a brief summary of the spirit of the new evangel.

St Paul extends the gospel of the Divine Love in Christ to the Gentiles, and St John rethinks it in terms suitable to the

[1] See the Parable of the Prodigal Son, Illustrative Reading v.

[2] 1 Corinthians xiii. See p. 233.

Greek mind; and so the Son of Man, the "Good Shepherd laying down his life for the sheep", becomes "the Second Adam", the cosmic man bringing in a new order of creation, the Divine Logos or Creative Word of the Father. For St Paul the central ideal is *faith unto righteousness*. For St John it is *knowledge of Christ unto eternal life*,[1] and the ethic of the New Testament fulfils that of the Old. Here are the righteousness of the Hebrew Prophets, the beauty of holiness of the Greek-Hebrew world, the truth for which the Greek had sought, the way which the Prophets of Israel had yearned after, and the life which is now given more abundantly to both gifted races.

V

We have noted that in the long quest of the historic Jesus, some have found in him mainly an apocalyptic teacher, others mainly a teacher of ethics. Some again insist in seeing in him a nationalist leader, while others interpret him as rejecting the national aspirations of his people. Some again attribute to him teachings of a socialist nature, and, in time of war innumerable pulpits are found referring to his action in cleansing the Temple, and to his righteous indignation as a vindication of the war-spirit. Dean Inge, who rightly and characteristically objects to men calling Jesus the Founder of Socialism, wrongly, and also characteristically, calls him the Father of Eugenics. All are in turn paying homage to this simple yet complex teacher, who used the parabolic form and avoided any legislative dicta.

"Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." "Who made me a ruler and a judge?" Such were his replies, when men sought to make him pronounce upon specific cases. He preferred rather to lay down those principles of love and justice which can be expressed in the Golden Rule; and the danger of basing legislative action on texts is poignantly illustrated by the

[1] John xx, 31.

present conflict between conscience and law in the matter of marriage. The whole institution is now at stake, and Christianity must apply the mind of its Master to rethinking much that was once unquestioned. Here religion and ethics are too often divorced, and men and women tied together who ought to be separated. This is but one example of the fallacy of canonizing texts! Here is no place for legalism: the whole question of sex-relations is being changed by new economic factors and by new moral insights. Isolated texts are of no use. Let us seek the great central principles of Jesus.

He accepts the Jewish view of man as made in God's image; and holds that his nature is spiritual, satisfied only in creation and communion. To these man must subordinate his passions, or rather by this spirit he must sublimate them. The Christian ethic is rooted in respect for personality and in love of God and men who are of one ultimate nature, however far separated by sin.

What bearing has this on the question of sex-morality? It implies that men and women cannot lightly enter upon the sacramental task of creation, nor, when conditions are right and spiritual communion demands its physical fruition, refuse it.

It insists that men and women are persons, ends in themselves, and that sin consists in using them as means. This carries us far on the way to a solution of such problems as are raised by the new sex-morality as well as by industrialism, imperialism and exploitation of all kinds. If the person is of more value than the institution, if man is to be valued more than the machine, if the worker is to be a partner in industry, and if profits are to be of less importance than service, it is clear that nothing short of a Christian revolution is needed.

"Ye cannot serve God and mammon": "What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" "Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of these ye have done it unto me", are sayings of Jesus which pierce deep into the hidden

roots of our troubles. And the social emphasis of his ethic condemns our individualism, with its aberrations in monopoly, nationalism, militarism and imperialism—closely related evils.

But we are not to make Jesus—a Jew of the first century—legislate for our twentieth-century problems. He supplies a spirit, but no detailed remedies. How could he even envisage the problems of the industrial era, and supply a Code to suit the totally different world it has produced?

We cannot even understand many of his ethical paradoxes—because we do not know in what particular circumstances they were uttered. But his general principles, "Make the tree good", "A rotten tree can't bear good fruit", "Love God and your neighbour", "If ye forgive not men, neither will God forgive you", are of searching nature. And like the Buddha he saw that the permanent enemies of mankind are fear and self-will. These kill man's love of God and men: that love must be allowed to kill them. Otherwise we shall have war in the economic and every other sense.

And modern psychology will agree with both teachers that until man faces his real enemies within, his vision is distorted to see enemies without.

The Sermon on the Mount is an exposition of such truths. "Be done with fear, for God is your Father; be done with hate, for His sons are your brothers", is Canon Streeter's summary.[1] But I cannot accept his dictum that the Buddhist differs from the Christian salvation in this—that to one the fraud is the universe, to the other it is himself. Buddhism, like Christianity, sees man as the key to the universe: it too teaches that the mastery is for him who can put away evil and do good. *Abhāya*, the banishing of fear, *tanhākkhāya*, the killing of egoism, are also Buddhist objectives, and the method of conquest is also through faith in the teacher, acceptance of his views, and following his way of life.

[1] "The Buddha and the Christ", Bampton Lectures, 1932.

That Sākyamuni offered a double path we have seen, and the majority of Christians hold that their Master, too, had one heroic call for the saints, and another more prosaic path of homely duty for the rank and file. The Apostolic Church certainly insists on a variety of vocations, and this emphasis we must recapture, telling men everywhere that in doing their own work well they are finding God and working with him. Here the Gītā reinforces the Gospel, and in its insistence on detachment it is also a noble ally. The Church of Christ, which owes so much to Hellas and to Judaea, need not refuse such reinforcement from India and China.

Like Sākyamuni Jesus saw that selfishness is the root of all evil, and taught the spirit of service. "He that would be greatest, let him be the servant of all." "He that loseth his life shall save it." Such are his ringing challenges to the standards of the world, and the experience of the Early Church is their vindication. "These men have turned the world upside down", is the unwilling testimony of their enemies, for the new leaven was at work, and the ethic of the Epistles is the spontaneous expression of a new and creative spirit: purity, knowledge, patience, kindness, are "fruits of the Spirit", and peace and joy are inward manifestations of the Divine approval.

Preaching the resurrection of Christ, the Apostles believed that the ideal world of Jesus, the world of faith and hope and love, had been vindicated by an act of creative power; and if they were deluded by the belief that his second coming was imminent, this view soon gave place to the doctrine of the continual coming of the Holy Spirit and of his contemporary activities among men. It is this which has given fidelity to the Church, with all her failures and her dreary legalism. She has found that when she has sought first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness, when she has tried to recapture the teachings of her Founder and sought to do the will of God as he revealed it, there have been times of renewed life and of the manifest fruits of the Spirit in new

strivings after social justice. And when individual members of the Church have surrendered to the claims of their Master with whole-hearted devotion, they have established a new type of sainthood. In them is the true apostolic succession, says Dean Inge. Akin to the Just Man of the Hebrews in their obedience to God, to the *yogi* of the Hindu in their rapt contemplation of the Godhead, and to the *bodhisattva* of the Buddhist in their humble spirit of service and self-sacrifice, they are most akin to their own Master. When we seek to express the strength of a Francis of Assisi, or of a Wesley, it is the word "Christlike" which springs to our lips, and in the imitation of Christ, as well as in the worship of him lies the essence of Christian discipleship. The fact that Asia too is testing men by reference to Jesus is another proof of his universality.

In Japan Kagawa—prophet of the Kingdom of God—is showing Asia how to reconcile the rights of the individual with his call to lose himself in the cause of the new society: Christianity is at once world-denying and world-affirming, at once self-surrender and self-realization.

But it has no ready-made solution of the unsolved problems of the race. Its exponents are divided upon the vexed questions of pacifism, of sex, of property, of the use of leisure, of the motive of gain, of usury, of what are the legitimate channels for the fighting spirit inherent in man. While Jesus offers us the great principles of love and service, of the worth of the individual, of the beauty of purity, of the grievousness of self-will and of sin, and while he sets before men an Ideal Kingdom of brotherhood and reveals in the Cross the way of victory, yet he is no casuist, and to each age is left the task of applying these principles, and of incarnating this spirit. He was no moralist, and still more no legalist.

We are in process of revolt against many of the solutions found by our fathers, and uneasy about the Church: and some of us see clearly that if its Romanization "petrified" it,

the emergence of Protestantism fostered not only the evil leaven of nationalism but also the anarchy of individualism.

We are in the position meantime of those who must worship in a church that is being rebuilt about their ears; we must live by such light as we can get from any source; we must use terms which are in process of redefinition; and adhere to principles even while shedding inhibitions and *tabus*. Meantime he can be sure of being "modern" and useful who works in the spirit of Jesus to build up the Kingdom of God, and who recognizes with Gandhi that "there is no God higher than Truth". His kingdom is in fact the incarnation of truth, of peace, purity, and partnership.

These are things not easy to define. "What is Truth?" It is war upon all falsity and unreality: so peace means making war upon the spirit of war and cutting its complex roots; and purity is a much more searching thing than mere correctness in sex-relations. One of the pressing tasks of our age is the purification of Christianity itself, and its resimplification. For most men cannot see the wood for the trees, and the true fundamentals are lost in the very complexity of its forms and traditions.

VI

If Christianity is the heir of the best in Hebraism and Hellenism the Christian Church has also borrowed many of the worst elements of Judaism and Paganism. No impartial student of history will deny that she has been more intolerant and cruel than the Jew, more proud and imperious than the Roman. And if Athens persecuted its best men so has the Church, which is still very largely obscurantist and legalist, timid where it should be brave, obstinate where it should be docile, prosaic where it should be poetical, and figurative where it should be literal. If it falls short of the love of its Founder and lives for itself rather than for humanity, it is also full of those fears which he sought to cast out. It needs

to remind itself that its Founder was a layman, and that priestcraft is as alien to his spirit as is the superstition so dear to the priestly heart. Men are still asking for bread, and being given a stone.

But though the Church has indeed fallen far short of her Lord and of the apostles, no serious student will maintain that men had done better to return to Hellenism or Judaism. The "regalvanized paganism"[1] of Julian is a proof of the impossibility of such revivals of a dead past, and the sterility of Unitarianism should warn us that even a Christo-centric prophetism is not enough. With all her faults the Church has sought to express the Lordship of Christ, and these faults have been the defects of her virtues. The persecution of heretics, however appalling, has been due to a mistaken zeal for Christ. So have the hideous excesses of austerity. This is the exaggeration of *ascesis*, and all higher religion insists upon discipline, and upon the sacrifice of lower to higher values. The very imperialism of Rome is an attempt to bring all things into subjection to Christ; "Caesaro-papism" is in effect a mistaken form of theocracy. And on the other hand the schisms which rend the Body of Christ are an exaggerated expression of the inalienable right of private judgment. Authority on the one hand, experience and the inner light on the other, both need the controlling sanity of Christ. Apart from his spirit there is no safety in either, and no salvation for any of us. We must accept the stark fact that there is no infallible authority anywhere, and that we are left face to face with a Christ of our own, and must make our own Christology.

The only sure way of reformation is to recover the mind of Christ, under the guidance of God's spirit, and then to bring all things, our idea of God and man, into subjection to this Lord of Thought. His is the ministry of reconciliation and the middle path of sanity. In returning to him the Church continually gains new wisdom and power. She

[1] See Dr Inge's *Christian Ethics*.

ceases to be his Bride, or even his Imperium, and becomes once more the communion of saints, a Company of Jesus disciplined yet free, definite yet tolerant, pungent but not provocative, much in love with the Master, but with a robust and temperate flame. World-denying in refusing the standards of the world, she will be world-affirming in working for the true Kingdom of God among men. Accepting the right and the duty of private judgment, and guided by the inner light she will yet hold that there is constraining authority in the mind of Christ as it is revealed by the Spirit from age to age. The elements only are in the Gospels: and the picture must be completed from those who have been most Christlike. The source of their power is the life hidden with Christ in God: this is the root from which Christian morality must spring. From Stephen and Saul of Tarsus to Fox, Wesley, and Newman, this is the secret of their goodness. Like their Master they were not primarily teachers of morals: "If Christianity was morals then Socrates was the Saviour", says William Blake. And there is a difference between these followers of Christ and this greatest of the Greeks. They remind us that Christianity is still in the making, and that its ethic could no more be once and for all delivered to the saints than the full implications of its Master's life and death. Each age that is faithful will get new light upon the meaning of Christ, and will seek to recapture him by a more and more searching study of the documents and of the milieu of the Early Church, and by a more and more courageous attempt to live by his Light, to know his Mind and to do his Will. And as Christianity meets the great ethnic faiths it will be illuminated by the long succession of their torch-bearers until he stands revealed as Son of Man indeed—a true picture of the God of all the peoples of the earth, one family under one Christlike God.

If Christian and non-Christian unite in solving our pressing problems and outdo one another in the noble emulation of love, there is no doubt of the issue: we shall all join in a

humble confession, "Thou hast the words of Eternal Life", "Thou art the Way and the Truth and the Life".

As to the spirit in which to meet these grave problems we may adapt the noble words of Stephen Hawes:

> For knighthood is not in the feats of warre,
> As for to fight in quarrel right or wrong,
> But in a cause which truth can not defarre;
> He ought himself for to make sure and strong,
> Justice to keep mixt with mercy among;
> And no quarrel a knight ought to take
> But for a truth, or for true beauty's sake.

Christianity is the brightest expression of the chivalric temper: it is the true moral equivalent for war.

In war upon war and oppression, in romantic yet realistic pursuit of truth and purity, in redemption of society from selfishness and greed the spirit of Jesus will yet find its greatest triumphs.

THE HEART OF CHRISTIANITY

I. The Beatitudes

Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.

Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called sons of God.

Blessed are they that have been persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

St Matthew v, 3–12.

II. The Sermon on the Mount: other Teachings

Bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you. To him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other; and from him that taketh away thy cloke withhold not thy coat also. Give to every one that asketh thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again. And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise. And if ye love them that love you, what thank have ye? for even sinners love those that love them. And if ye do good to them that do good to you, what thank have ye? for even sinners do the same. And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? even sinners lend to sinners, to receive again as much. But love your enemies, and do them good, and lend, never despairing; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be sons of the Most High: for he is kind toward the unthankful and evil. Be ye merciful, even as your Father is merciful. And judge not, and ye shall not be judged: and condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned: release, and ye shall be released: give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, shaken together, running over, shall they give into your bosom. For with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again.

And he spake also a parable unto them, Can the blind guide the blind? shall they not both fall into a pit? The disciple is not above his master: but every one when he is perfected shall be as his master. And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, let me cast out the mote that is in thine eye, when thou thyself beholdest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye. For there is no good tree that bringeth forth corrupt fruit; nor again a corrupt tree that bringeth forth good fruit. For each tree is known by its own fruit. For of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes. The good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; and the evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth that which is evil: for out of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh.

And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say? Every one that cometh unto me, and heareth my words, and doeth them, I will shew you to whom he is like: he is like a man building a house, who digged and went deep, and laid a foundation upon the rock: and when a flood arose, the stream brake against that house, and could not shake it: because it had been well builded. But he that heareth, and doeth not, is like a man that built a house upon the earth without a foundation; against which the stream brake, and straightway it fell in; and the ruin of that house was great.

St Luke vi, 28–49.

III. Two Types of Mighty Works: Putting First Things First

At that season Jesus went on the sabbath day through the cornfields; and his disciples were an hungred, and began to pluck ears of corn, and to eat. But the Pharisees, when they saw it, said unto him, Behold, thy disciples do that which it is not lawful to do upon the sabbath. But he said unto them, Have ye not read what David did, when he was an hungred, and they that were with him; how he entered into the house of God, and did eat the shewbread, which it was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them that were with him, but only for the priests? Or have ye not read in the law, how that on the sabbath day the priests in the temple profane the sabbath, and are guiltless? But I say unto you, that one greater than the temple is here. But if ye had known what this meaneth, I desire mercy, and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless. For the Son of man is lord of the sabbath.

And he departed thence, and went into their synagogue: and behold, a man having a withered hand. And they asked him, saying, Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath day? that they might accuse him. And he said unto them, What man shall there be of you, that shall have one sheep, and if this fall into a pit on the sabbath day, will he not lay hold on it, and lift it out? How much then is a man of more value than a sheep! Wherefore it is lawful to do good on the sabbath day. Then saith he to the man, Stretch forth thy hand. And he stretched it forth; and it was restored whole, as the other. But the Pharisees went out, and took counsel

against him, how they might destroy him. And Jesus perceiving it withdrew from thence.

St Matthew xii, 1–15.

IV. The Humanity of Jesus

And he entered and was passing through Jericho. And behold, a man called by name Zacchæus; and he was a chief publican, and he was rich. And he sought to see Jesus who he was; and could not for the crowd, because he was little of stature. And he ran on before, and climbed up into a sycamore tree to see him: for he was to pass that way. And when Jesus came to the place, he looked up, and said unto him, Zacchæus, make haste, and come down; for to-day I must abide at thy house. And he made haste, and came down, and received him joyfully. And when they saw it, they all murmured, saying, He is gone in to lodge with a man that is a sinner. And Zacchæus stood, and said unto the Lord, Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have wrongfully exacted aught of any man, I restore fourfold. And Jesus said unto him, To-day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost.

St Luke xix, 1–10.

V. Parables of Jesus

Now all the publicans and sinners were drawing near unto him to hear him. And both the Pharisees and the scribes murmured, saying, This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them.

And he spake unto them this parable, saying, What man of you, having a hundred sheep, and having lost one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it? And when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing. And when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and his neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep which was lost. I say unto you, that even so there shall be joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine righteous persons, which need no repentance.

Or what woman having ten pieces of silver, if she lose one piece, doth not light a lamp, and sweep the house, and seek diligently

until she find it? And when she hath found it, she calleth together her friends and neighbours, saying, Rejoice with me, for I have found the piece which I had lost. Even so, I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.

And he said, A certain man had two sons: and the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of thy substance that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his living. And not many days after the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country; and there he wasted his substance with riotous living. And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that country; and he began to be in want. And he went and joined himself to one of the citizens of that country; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine. And he would fain have been filled with the husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him. But when he came to himself he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish here with hunger! I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight: I am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants. And he arose, and came to his father. But while he was yet afar off, his father saw him, and was moved with compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him. And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight: I am no more worthy to be called thy son. But the father said to his servants, Bring forth quickly the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet: and bring the fatted calf, and kill it, and let us eat, and make merry: for this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry. Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard music and dancing. And he called to him one of the servants, and inquired what these things might be. And he said unto him, Thy brother is come; and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and sound. But he was angry, and would not go in: and his father came out, and intreated him. But he answered and said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, and I never transgressed a commandment of thine: and yet thou never gavest

me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends: but when this thy son came, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou killedst for him the fatted calf. And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that is mine is thine. But it was meet to make merry and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found.

And he said also unto the disciples, There was a certain rich man, which had a steward; and the same was accused unto him that he was wasting his goods. And he called him, and said unto him, What is this that I hear of thee? render the account of thy stewardship; for thou canst be no longer steward. And the steward said within himself, What shall I do, seeing that my lord taketh away the stewardship from me? I have not strength to dig; to beg I am ashamed. I am resolved what to do, that, when I am put out of the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses. And calling to him each one of his lord's debtors, he said to the first, How much owest thou unto my lord? And he said, A hundred measures of oil. And he said unto him, Take thy bond, and sit down quickly and write fifty. Then said he to another, And how much owest thou? And he said, A hundred measures of wheat. He saith unto him, Take thy bond, and write fourscore. And his lord commended the unrighteous steward because he had done wisely: for the sons of this world are for their own generation wiser than the sons of the light. And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when it shall fail, they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles. He that is faithful in a very little is faithful also in much: and he that is unrighteous in a very little is unrighteous also in much. If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches? And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another's, who will give you that which is your own? No servant can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

And the Pharisees, who were lovers of money, heard all these things; and they scoffed at him. And he said unto them, Ye are they that justify yourselves in the sight of men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is exalted among men is an abomina-

tion in the sight of God. The law and the prophets were until John: from that time the gospel of the kingdom of God is preached, and every man entereth violently into it. But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle of the law to fall. Every one that putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery: and he that marrieth one that is put away from a husband committeth adultery.

Now there was a certain rich man, and he was clothed in purple and fine linen, faring sumptuously every day: and a certain beggar named Lazarus was laid at his gate, full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table; yea, even the dogs came and licked his sores. And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and that he was carried away by the angels into Abraham's bosom: and the rich man also died, and was buried. And in Hades he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am in anguish in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and Lazarus in like manner evil things: but now here he is comforted, and thou art in anguish. And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed, that they which would pass from hence to you may not be able, and that none may cross over from thence to us. And he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house; for I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment. But Abraham saith, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. And he said, Nay, father Abraham: but if one go to them from the dead, they will repent. And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, if one rise from the dead.

And he said unto his disciples, It is impossible but that occasions of stumbling should come: but woe unto him, through whom they come! It were well for him if a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were thrown into the sea, rather than that he should cause one of these little ones to stumble. Take heed to yourselves: if thy brother sin, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him. And if he sin against thee seven times in the day, and

seven times turn again to thee, saying, I repent; thou shalt forgive him.

And the apostles said unto the Lord, Increase our faith. And the Lord said, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye would say unto this sycamine tree, Be thou rooted up, and be thou planted in the sea; and it would have obeyed you. But who is there of you, having a servant plowing or keeping sheep, that will say unto him, when he is come in from the field, Come straightway and sit down to meat; and will not rather say unto him, Make ready wherewith I may sup, and gird thyself, and serve me, till I have eaten and drunken; and afterward thou shalt eat and drink? Doth he thank the servant because he did the things that were commanded? Even so ye also, when ye shall have done all the things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which it was our duty to do.

St Luke xv–xvii, 10.

VI. The Spirit of the Apostles

But there stood up one in the council, a Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, had in honour of all the people, and commanded to put the men forth a little while. And he said unto them, Ye men of Israel, take heed to yourselves as touching these men, what ye are about to do. For before these days rose up Theudas, giving himself out to be somebody; to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves: who was slain; and all, as many as obeyed him, were dispersed, and came to nought. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the enrolment, and drew away some of the people after him: he also perished; and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered abroad. And now I say unto you, Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will be overthrown: but if it is of God, ye will not be able to overthrow them; lest haply ye be found even to be fighting against God. And to him they agreed: and when they had called the apostles unto them, they beat them and charged them not to speak in the name of Jesus, and let them go. They therefore departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer dishonour for the Name. And every day, in the temple

and at home, they ceased not to teach and to preach Jesus as the Christ.

Now in these days, when the number of the disciples was multiplying, there arose a murmuring of the Grecian Jews against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration. And the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, It is not fit that we should forsake the word of God, and serve tables. Look ye out therefore, brethren, from among you seven men of good report, full of the Spirit and of wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business. But we will continue stedfastly in prayer, and in the ministry of the word. And the saying pleased the whole multitude: and they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit, and Philip, and Prochorus, and Nicanor, and Timon, and Parmenas, and Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch: whom they set before the apostles: and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them.

And the word of God increased; and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem exceedingly; and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith.

And Stephen, full of grace and power, wrought great wonders and signs among the people. But there arose certain of them that were of the synagogue called the synagogue of the Libertines, and of the Cyrenians, and of the Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia and Asia, disputing with Stephen. And they were not able to withstand the wisdom and the Spirit by which he spake. Then they suborned men, which said, We have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses, and against God. And they stirred up the people, and the elders, and the scribes, and came upon him, and seized him, and brought him into the council, and set up false witnesses, which said, This man ceaseth not to speak words against this holy place, and the law: for we have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered unto us. And all that sat in the council, fastening their eyes on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel.

Acts v, 34–vi, 15.

VII. St Paul's Ethical Ideals

(*a*)

If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, but have not love, I am become sounding brass, or a clanging cymbal. And if I have the gift of prophecy, and know all mysteries and all knowledge; and if I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing. And if I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and if I give my body to be burned, but have not love, it profiteth me nothing. Love suffereth long, and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own, is not provoked, taketh not account of evil; rejoiceth not in unrighteousness, but rejoiceth with the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Love never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall be done away; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall be done away. For we know in part, and we prophesy in part: but when that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I felt as a child, I thought as a child: now that I am become a man, I have put away childish things. For now we see in a mirror, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I have been known. But now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; and the greatest of these is love.

1 Corinthians xiii.

(*b*)

For even as we have many members in one body, and all the members have not the same office: so we, who are many, are one body in Christ, and severally members one of another. And having gifts differing according to the grace that was given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of our faith; or ministry, let us give ourselves to our ministry; or he that teacheth, to his teaching; or he that exhorteth, to his exhorting: he that giveth, let him do it with liberality; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercy, with cheerfulness. Let love be without hypocrisy. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to

that which is good. In love of the brethren be tenderly affectioned one to another; in honour preferring one another; in diligence not slothful; fervent in spirit; serving the Lord; rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing stedfastly in prayer; communicating to the necessities of the saints; given to hospitality. Bless them that persecute you; bless, and curse not. Rejoice with them that rejoice; weep with them that weep. Be of the same mind one toward another. Set not your mind on high things, but condescend to things that are lowly. Be not wise in your own conceits. Render to no man evil for evil. Take thought for things honourable in the sight of all men. If it be possible, as much as in you lieth, be at peace with all men. Avenge not yourselves, beloved, but give place unto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance belongeth unto me; I will recompense, saith the Lord. But if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.

Romans xii, 4–21.

(*c*)

For ye, brethren, were called for freedom; only use not your freedom for an occasion to the flesh, but through love be servants one to another. For the whole law is fulfilled in one word, even in this; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another.

But I say, Walk by the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; for these are contrary the one to the other; that ye may not do the things that ye would. But if ye are led by the Spirit, ye are not under the law. Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strife, jealousies, wraths, factions, divisions, heresies, envyings, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I forewarn you, even as I did forewarn you, that they which practise such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance:

against such there is no law. And they that are of Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with the passions and the lusts thereof.

If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk.

Galatians v, 13–25.

(*d*)

Wherefore, putting away falsehood, speak ye truth each one with his neighbour: for we are members one of another. Be ye angry, and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath: neither give place to the devil. Let him that stole steal no more: but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing that is good, that he may have whereof to give to him that hath need. Let no corrupt speech proceed out of your mouth, but such as is good for edifying as the need may be, that it may give grace to them that hear. And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, in whom ye were sealed unto the day of redemption. Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and railing, be put away from you, with all malice: and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving each other, even as God also in Christ forgave you.

Ephesians iv, 25–32.

(*e*)

Lie not one to another; seeing that ye have put off the old man with his doings, and have put on the new man, which is being renewed unto knowledge after the image of him that created him: where there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman: but Christ is all, and in all.

Put on therefore, as God's elect, holy and beloved, a heart of compassion, kindness, humility, meekness, longsuffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving each other, if any man have a complaint against any; even as the Lord forgave you, so also do ye: and above all these things put on love, which is the bond of perfectness.

Colossians iii, 9–14.

(*f*) *The Mind of Christ*

If there is therefore any comfort in Christ, if any consolation of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any tender mercies and compassions, fulfil ye my joy, that ye be of the same mind, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind; doing nothing through faction or through vainglory, but in lowliness of mind each counting other better than himself; not looking each of you to his own things, but each of you also to the things of others. Have this mind in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the cross. Wherefore also God highly exalted him, and gave unto him the name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

Philippians ii, 1–11.

VIII. Johannine Meditations

(*a*) *The Vine and the Branches*

I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit, he taketh it away: and every branch that beareth fruit, he cleanseth it, that it may bear more fruit. Already ye are clean because of the word which I have spoken unto you. Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; so neither can ye, except ye abide in me. I am the vine, ye are the branches: He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit: for apart from me ye can do nothing. If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and they gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned. If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ask whatsoever ye will, and it shall be done unto you. Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit; and so shall ye be my disciples. Even as the Father hath loved me, I also have loved you: abide ye in my love. If ye

keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love. These things have I spoken unto you, that my joy may be in you, and that your joy may be fulfilled. This is my commandment, that ye love one another, even as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. Ye are my friends, if ye do the things which I command you. No longer do I call you servants; for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth: but I have called you friends; for all things that I heard from my Father I have made known unto you. Ye did not choose me, but I chose you, and appointed you, that ye should go and bear fruit, and that your fruit should abide: that whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name, he may give it you. These things I command you, that ye may love one another. If the world hateth you, ye know that it hath hated me before it hated you. If ye were of the world, the world would love its own: but because ye are not of the world, but I chose you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you. Remember the word that I said unto you, A servant is not greater than his lord. If they persecuted me, they will also persecute you; if they kept my word, they will keep yours also.

St John xv, 1–20.

(*b*) *The Transient World and the Abiding Truth*

He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in the darkness even until now. He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him. But he that hateth his brother is in the darkness, and walketh in the darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because the darkness hath blinded his eyes.

I write unto you, my little children, because your sins are forgiven you for his name's sake. I write unto you, fathers, because ye know him which is from the beginning. I write unto you, young men, because ye have overcome the evil one. I have written unto you, little children, because ye know the Father. I have written unto you, fathers, because ye know him which is from the beginning. I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the evil one. Love not the world, neither the

things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the vainglory of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.

1 John ii, 9–17.

EPILOGUE

A MEETING AT CHANG-AN

(Ninth century A.D.)

I

In the City of Chang-an, beautiful with its many towers and wide ways, and crowded with busy throngs, there met, early in the ninth century, four men from distant lands, a Nestorian bishop, a Muslim trader, a Zoroastrian priest and a Japanese monk, Kukai, who had been sent by his Emperor to study Chinese, and who was eager to learn also from these representatives of other faiths and other lands.

The Mohammedan trader, Abou-Zeid, had refused the rice-wine which was offered him on entering, and at supper he scorned the succulent pork beloved of the Chinese; and this led to a friendly discussion.

"We hold", said the Nestorian bishop, "that nothing that enters into a man from without can defile him."

"My people in Japan", said their host, "hold that such things as the sex-act and the presence of death bring contagion; indeed our palaces must be rebuilt every time a new Emperor comes to the throne; the old religion is largely concerned with ceremonial purity and ablutions and the exorcizing of evil spirits."

"We who follow Zarathrustra", said the Zoroastrian, "also believe that dead bodies and menstruous women are an abomination: yet we hold that evil is of the will. Good thoughts, good words, good deeds, these are mansions through which the soul passes to infinite light. As to wine, we drink it, but not to excess—some of our writers make much of its invigorating qualities—and as to food, while we seek to avoid harming animals, we eat what is necessary of flesh."

"We", said their host, "are taught that even snakes are our little brothers, and that we must take no life."

"There we differ," said the Persian, "indeed we gain merit by destroying noxious creatures, as by preserving useful ones. Our law is based, I think, largely on ideas of health and sanity. We worship fire as the great purifier, and we burn our dead."

Abou-Zeid who had remained silent, annoyed by the comments of his friends, now took up the tale. "The Prophet, upon whom be peace, taught us that in submission to Allah, who alone is God, is man's happiness and duty. He taught us kindness to parents and relatives, hospitality to the poor and the traveller, charity and justice to all."[1] So saying, he turned towards the setting sun, and prostrated himself with his back to his friends. The Persian explained that it was the custom in Mohammedan lands to turn towards Mecca in prayer seven times a day, and that the Prophet also taught almsgiving and fasting. "Our books", he added, "teach us to keep the fast of continence, and to worship God in his symbols—fire and the sun."

"We", said their host, "would rather meditate upon the setting sun, in whom we may see a vision of the Buddha of the Western Paradise; and indeed the Chen-yan sect makes the great Sun Buddha its object of worship. It is the most profound of the schools. As for alms and fasting, we too practise them."

"We Christians also think of God as Light, and practise almsgiving, fasting and prayer."

"On your Prophet too be peace", said Abou-Zeid, turning again towards them; "may the Compassionate and the Almighty look upon us all in the Day of Judgment."

"I, too," said Kukai, "follow one who is compassionate and who looks down upon men and their sorrows. Let us hear from our friend the Bishop why his view of these things makes him eager to teach his way among the Chinese, this most ancient and civilized of the nations."

"Let us go and see our monument, put up in the reign of the great ruler T'ai-tsung, nearly 200 years ago. It was he who welcomed our people, and said that their way was at once reasonable and pacific. Thus he commended it to his people, and our temples are called 'Houses of Joy'."

As they stood before the great tablet and read its brief summary of the Christian Religion, they agreed that there was room for this teaching. "There is indeed room for all who help good in the war against evil", said the Persian.

"There is but one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet", said the man of Islam.

"There are many paths to the mountain top, but one summit", said the Japanese. "You teach us here of a God dying for men, and we have many stories of the Bodhisattva giving his life for others."

"Nay, but God cannot suffer", said Abou-Zeid, "it was some apparition that the Romans slew. We honour your Prophet, and Miriam, blessed above women."

"We, too, but we will not call her the Mother of God, as others do."

"No woman could be that; they are the playthings of men", said the Mohammedan.

"They are indeed snares of the Evil One", said the Buddhist.

"Woman is mother and wife, and we accord her great honour", said the Persian.

"In Christ there is neither male nor female": said the Bishop, "and here in China I find there have been many notable women, not only good wives and mothers, such as those of K'ung-tse and Meng-tse of whom the Chinese make much, but Empresses and scholars."

"Yes," said the Japanese, "I hear on all sides a proverb, 'Kwanyin in every household'. It seems to refer not only to the goddess of compassion, but to the mother as an embodiment of her spirit. But the Chinese have also an ancient saying: 'A great man builds a city, a little woman lays it

low'. Their influence has indeed been bad as well as good in China."

"They are made for men's enjoyment", said the Mohammedan. "We are taught that if we die in battle we shall possess many houris in Paradise."

"We", said the Japanese with a smile, "are promised that in Paradise there will be no women."

"Yet the Chinese speak of the Queen of Heaven," said the Bishop, "and the Mother of Jesus could hardly be shut out. What have your prophets to say as to children?"

"They are ours to do with what we will," said Abou-Zeid, "yet the Prophet, on whom be peace, said, 'Let not poverty lead you to kill your children...'. And again: 'Be ye merciful to the orphan. Did Allah not find thee an orphan, and make thee his guest?'"[1]

"As for us", said the Persian, "we are told that a holy woman is one who is obedient to her husband, and is rich in good thoughts, good words and good deeds; and that parents must honour their children, as children must honour their parents. 'The married man', says Ahura Mazda, 'is far above the celibate: he who has children is far above the childless man.'[2] We regard it as a sin to be unmarried."

"Well," said Abou-Zeid, "there is no calamity like women; yet we men desire children to continue our line."

"And to teach us many lessons," said the Bishop, "for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven. Unless ye become as little children ye cannot enter it."

"Well, for my part," said the Buddhist, "I am persuaded that it is better to be grown up and to reach wisdom; and that it is more blessed to avoid both wife and child. The Sutra says, 'Better be tied to a tiger than to wife and child': but we are all agreed that we owe much to our parents, and we Buddhists are taught that we must serve them in old age in the ways in which they served us as children. Here in

[1] Koran xvii, xciii.

[2] Vol. IV. 47.

China the whole religion of the people centres in filial piety. They even tell the story of the old man of seventy who played bear to amuse his mother and father of ninety, remembering that they had so played to amuse him; and we and the Chinese worship our benefactors of old."

"As to that," said Abou-Zeid, "Allah alone must be worshipped."

"I agree", said the Bishop. "You and I both have the commandment, 'Thou shalt not bow down nor worship any graven image'. Yet there is more of reverence than worship in this cult; we must change it, not destroy it. In gratitude to God and to the great dead there is a nerve of true religion."

At this the face of the Japanese lit up. "Our oldest prayers are songs of gratitude, and our people believe that reverence is wisdom. I hope that we may have another meeting of this kind, and I thank you for your company."

As the sun set Abou-Zeid prostrated himself once more towards the West, and as he arose looked lovingly at the fine characters and decorative scrolls of the Forest of Tablets: "Truly the Chinese excel us all in these arts", he said.

"And in reverence for the dead", said Kukai. "Shall we not meet to-morrow at the Monastery of Hiuen Chang? The Abbot will, I am sure, show us the library brought with so much toil from India."

II

As they set out next morning they talked of the great pilgrim who had brought back so much from India. "He who brings his toils to a successful end, is he not one who scorns what most men prize, and prizes what most men scorn? We are all united, are we not, in believing in this quest for Wisdom and for Bliss?"

They were greeted with eager courtesy by the aged Abbot. "How pleasant are these visits", he said. "In the name of the Master of the Law I bid you welcome." And after the usual

greetings and ceremonial tea-drinking he took them reverently into the library, and showed them the manuscripts brought back by the great traveller. "Here in this ancient city the memory of the Master of the Law abides for ever. We love to remember him in the Monastery of Nalanda, teaching and learning from the Indians, and we read and reread the story of the many perils through which he passed, and of his constancy and courage."

"How much do we also owe him", said Kukai. "More even than to the great T'ai-tsung. Greater even than the mighty conqueror is the religious teacher. The true conquest is the conquest of piety, as an Indian ruler said."

"The gift of truth is indeed the greatest of gifts," said the Bishop, "but T'ai-tsung was more than a conqueror. It was he who welcomed the exchange of truth, and who sought to make religion a great power for peace and order. When I visited his tomb, and saw the great horses which guard it, it seemed to me they were symbols of strength used in service. This is what our Master teaches, that the meek—those who are humble towards Heaven—are strong upon earth."

"Such was our Prince Shōtoku. Like Asoka in India and T'ai-tsung here in China, he built a strong state upon the foundation of justice and tenderness. He taught that all men are the children of the Buddha."

"In my travels in India", said the Persian, "I saw two inscriptions of the great Asoka, and was struck with his spirit of tolerance, and with his interest in other peoples to whom he sent embassies. His Hall of a Thousand Pillars is a copy of that of our Kings at Persepolis. And it is said he atoned for making war by doing good deeds, and by setting up buildings at the sacred spots."

"I like to think of the Master of the Law visiting these holy places," said Kukai, "the birthplace of the Blessed One, and the Deer Park where he first preached, and his Burial-mound. There rest his ashes, but he is in Nirvana, and speaks from a heavenly Vulture Peak, bidding men be of good cheer.

Truly this body is a nest of corruption: but Nirvana is an Island of Bliss."

"Is it a place?" asked Abou-Zeid.

"It is the abode of Virtue, but there are also many Paradises. In one dwells Maitreya, who will be the next Buddha upon earth."

"And how", asked the Persian, "shall one attain to Bliss? Is it not by the way of goodness? Paradise is for us the Abode of Good Mind and Hell is the House of Evil."

"Yes, indeed, happy is he who dwells on earth and has conquered Tanhā, the evil in his heart: he goes straightway to Eternal Bliss. Some say he is already in Nirvana."

"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God", said the Bishop. "To know God is to have Eternal Life."

"Blessed is he who doeth the will of Allah", said Abou-Zeid.

"All men desire Paradise, but the way is as a narrow razor blade", said the Persian. "And as there are four mansions of Heaven so are there four abodes of Hell."

"Narrow is the way and strait the gate", said the Bishop, "that leads to eternal Life, and few there be that find it."

"'Yet all may attain, for all are the children of the Buddha', says the Lotus Scripture": "yet men travel by different paths to the mountain top."

"Upon earth", said Abou-Zeid, "there are many differences. The pious and the just are not the same as the impious and unjust, and in worldly matters it is also true. The Chinese excel us all in painting and writing, and the Greeks in sculpture."

"To each his gift, and to each his Paradise", said Kukai.

"Yes, there are differences of gift, and there are qualities of reward", said the Nestorian.

"If no one can paint like Ku-kai-chih, or sing like the Hebrew Psalmist, or make statues like Praxiteles, so it is in religion. When the Great Master appears, the lesser masters bow."

"True," said Kukai, "the Chinese have said about our

religion that the little witch trembles before the big witch. They are finding that it has brought many things of great value. That is why they honour men like Fa-Hian and Hiuen Chang, and the Indian missionaries before them. Yet it has had many obstacles to overcome, and there is still much opposition."

"We too find that the good is the enemy of the best, but I think of the Nazarene as the friend of men, above all of great and good men like K'ung and Sākyamuni."

"Yet you preach to their followers and seek to turn them to your way, do you not?" asked the Persian.

"Yes, the good must give way to the excellent."

"Excellent in what?"

"Above all in love. This is the more excellent way."

"So saith the Blessed One", said the Chinese Abbot who had been listening intently, for they spoke in Chinese in his honour. "All other ways are not worth a tithe of the way of Love."

"Love for what?" insisted the Persian.

"Love for God the Father of all men, and love for all men, his children", said the Nestorian.

"That is theory", said Abou-Zeid. "Can you practise it? All in Islam are truly brothers."

"All within the Four Seas are brothers here in China, yet the poor are much oppressed and there are many wars with other peoples", said the Bishop. "You and I", he said, turning to Kukai, "at any rate believe that all men everywhere are brothers. That is the ideal which shines afar off like the snowy mountains, and it is hard to reach. May he be our guide who has blazed the path." Then turning to the Abbot he said, "We thank you, sir, for your courtesy, and we shall think of your Master of the Law as one who climbed not only the peaks of Himalaya, but the more difficult heights of Virtue".

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