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NOTE. An original article, prepared for this Number, is necessarily deferred.

SECTION III.

The impotency of the heathen religions to effect any deep and fundamental improvement either of the whole human race, of particular classes of men, or of the powers of the soul in any individual ; together with the consequences thence accruing to morality.

THE ROOT OF ALL HUMAN IMPROVEMENT IS RELIGION. The most ancient traces of national cultivation, are connected with temples, the priesthood, and the worship of God. For this reason, we must also consider, and endeavour accurately to apprehend, the developement of the mental energies of men, from the principles of their religion. And here we shall at once perceive, that heathenism is by no means adequate to produce a complete expansion and harmony of the human mind.

No nation, as history every where shows us, attains to a cultivated state, independently of other nations ; but as the individual man becomes a man only in the social intercourse of families, so nations attain the cultivation of which man is susceptible, only through intercourse with nations. Divine worship, political institutions, and arts and sciences, were transplanted from the higher regions of interior Asia, from nation to nation, even to the most distant extremities of Europe and Africa ; from whence they passed over to America.

At that primitive period, when this communication from Asia to Europe was first effected in the families of the Pelasgi, the character of individual tribes was not yet developed. They had not yet established themselves in their destined lands ; and therefore the nature of these countries could not yet exert its influence in the formation of the various national characters. If therefore, at that time, religion, art, and customs passed from one people to another, no revolution could thence ensue in their whole mental formation ; since almost every where, there prevailed a similar want of cultivation in general. But when the various masses of Asiatic population had established themselves in Asia, Europe, and Africa, each in its own domain ; and when, from the small and imperfect knowledge and traditions they had brought with them, there was developed among some of them a complete system of improvement and civilization ; then each of these self-formed nations assumed its peculiar mental stamp,

which was thenceforward manifested in religion, government, arts, and sciences. The central points of this peculiar mental cultivation in the West, were Egypt and Greece.

If now, from both these self-cultivated countries, religion was to extend itself further ; as there certainly was need, because so many nations were yet destitute of almost all divine worship ; then the great and utter deficiencies of the heathen religions became immediately apparent. For these religions were so intimately blended with the peculiarities of the people and country, that, instead of occasioning new and original developement of mind in those foreign lands where they were introduced, there passed over to those lands, along with the religions of the Greeks and Egyptians, also the entire national character of those countries, and converted those foreign nations into Greeks and Egyptians. Thus Nubia and Abyssinia adopted the Egyptian manners and customs along with the Egyptian religion ; just as Egypt itself had before received the cultivation of Colchis along with its religious ritual. Thus Thrace, Macedonia, and Lower Italy received, with the Grecian religion, also the peculiarities of Greece. Thus Greece made a breach upon the national developement of Rome ; when with her gods she transferred also her science to Rome.²⁵⁴ And thus also Rome afterwards caused Gaul, Spain, and many other lands, to become Roman, and suppressed in them the formation of any peculiar character. We may even see this also among the Israelites. According to the divine injunction, they were to have a religious establishment which was to be most intimately amalgamated with all their political institutions, for the purpose primarily of an external emblematic representation of an heavenly kingdom. When the Jews received any people into their religious community, as the Idumeans, and later so many Syrians and Greeks, these became thereby also Jews in politics, sciences, and arts.

That all nations should subject themselves to one particular mode of divine worship, must hence have appeared to a heathen a visionary idea ; as Celsus also expresses himself as cited by Origen.

Christianity alone rendered a universal religion possible ; and

²⁵⁴ Had not the Grecian mythology supplanted the Roman, a peculiar taste and character in tragedy and the fine arts, would have developed themselves in Rome ; as is shown by A. W. Schlegel in his *Dramaturgie*.

by what means did it do this? Christianity presented to the nations NO FORMALITIES, DOGMAS, OR EXTERNAL USAGES, to prevent its universal adoption.* It was a heavenly seed cast into the ground of the soul, which grew up into a tree; and according to which, every thing in the civil and scientific character of a people was—not destroyed, but only modified. The spiritual nature of man has wants which Christianity alone can satisfy. Yea, not only is the life in Christ adequate to bless the whole human race,—but Christ, our Redeemer and Sanctifier, knows how to relieve all the particular wants of each individual. How cordially, therefore, must all uncultivated nations have attached themselves to this religion, with all the energies of their souls! In this manner, there arose in the hearts of individuals, a new inward life, which was free in action and adapted to the peculiar forms of developement in each nation; and which also proved itself to be efficient in external life, and produced new political institutions, manners and customs, arts and sciences, such as were most directly adapted to each nation.

* Scarcely can a more important question be proposed in connexion with the religious and mental history of our race;—or a more satisfactory answer be given. And why has not this simple Christianity, so adapted to every clime and every condition of man, been long since spread and adopted among all races and nations of men? Its early corrupters and their successors, down to the present day, will find this a tremendous question at the day of judgment. And who is to answer for the revolting “formalities, dogmas, and external usages” of popery?—enticing perhaps to the sensual and idolatrous mind, but deeply revolting to enlightened piety. How is it possible for the whole world to be truly converted and united together as one grand religious community, under such a system!

One further question here forces itself on the attention. Who is to answer for the remnants of these deformities still left in too many of the reformed churches? Can we possibly anticipate the universal prevalence of Christianity, and the union of its members, unless it be restored to its own primitive simplicity in *form*, in connexion with its primitive and celestial simplicity of *spirit*? The guilt, as well as the folly of this continued impediment to the universal spread of Christianity, will be found on earth, and will be noticed by the King of Zion, so long as it remains unremoved. Let any church attach some exclusive badge or symbol to her communion, no matter how ancient, if not from Christ, and it can only ensure the limitation of the reception of Christianity under her spotted banner. God never designed the Jewish ritual for universal diffusion; but the contrary.

What would have become of those wild hordes, who in their national migrations inundated Europe, if without being modified by the influence of the gospel, they had entered into the dead forms of Roman heathenism? While we see Rome, at this period, in every respect enervated and weakened, China, at the time the Mantchus invaded it, was, as compared with Rome, in its bloom; and notwithstanding, we do not perceive that the Chinese were able, by the aid of their religion and modes of life, to impart to that powerful people of the desert any new spirit,—a spirit able to produce in them any new developement. On the contrary, the active and energetic Mantchus entered into the dead forms of the Chinese worship and of the Chinese cultivation, [1644,] and are now bound down in the same stagnation and sickness as that depressed nation itself. Among the migrating nations of Europe, on the contrary, we see how, in each one of them, a new life pervaded all social relations and new modelled every thing, after the gospel had once taken root in the hearts of individuals through the exertions of self-denying missionaries. The same is manifesting itself at the present time in Otaheite.*

But it is not merely in the inability to produce a full and regular developement of the peculiarities of nations, that the heathen religions were adapted to no perfect improvement of the human race; the Grecian and Roman heathenism was just as poorly fitted to unfold and perfect all the various powers of the human soul. Since man cannot and must not remain shut up in himself; but, in order to fulfil the true ends of his being, must live and move in a state, an existence, higher than himself; and since it is the province of religion to point out to him this higher sphere; so religion, that is, man's connexion with this higher world, must be adapted to occupy and ennoble all his mental and spiritual powers. This heathenism could never do.

* Since the author wrote the above, (in 1822,) what a delightful example of the same transforming power of the gospel, has arisen to the view of Christendom, in the renovation of the Sandwich Islands, and their rescue from the united horrors of heathenism, and the most debasing corruptions of the outcasts of civilized nations! With what force are such renovations as these destined to react in their animating influence on the joy, the faith, the redoubling activity of the true church. It is happy for the church herself, that something of this divine work is still found for her to do; and something of these triumphs, for her to witness; though she need not fear that all will be changed to history one moment too soon.

Indeed, in the first place, the **INTELLECTUAL POWERS** found no satisfaction at all in the heathen religions ; at the bar of the understanding, heathenism could never justify itself ; and for this reason, too, no heathen religion has been able to sustain itself beyond a certain period. The *oriental* religions, in accordance with the character of the East, fell into a state of languishment, in which they have indeed continued to exist among the common people, for centuries, as a tissue of lifeless forms ; but among the priests and sages, a secret formal religion of infidelity has taken root in connexion with them, as is the case, not only among the nations of India, but also among the Guebres or fire-worshippers. The heathen religions of the *West*, on the other hand, amid the constantly augmenting improvement of the intellectual powers, fell into total decay, and were lost in superstitious infidelity, or unbelieving superstition, as we have already seen.

But Christianity, which, rightly understood, is also the **HIGHEST AND THE ONLY TRUE PHILOSOPHY**, not only supplied the heart-felt wants of the common people, while it also expanded their minds ; but it likewise stirred up the profoundest thinkers to the very depths of their intellectual nature ; and while, externally, it appeared as *μωρία*, foolishness, yet to him who truly repented, perceived the misery of his sin, and experienced the power of the expiation of Jesus and of his sanctifying Spirit in his heart, depths of divine wisdom were unlocked, which satisfied most perfectly all his longings after higher knowledge ; so far at least, as these longings did not spring from pride. Hence the holy apostle says :²⁵⁵ “ For perfect Christians, we speak the highest wisdom ; such, indeed, as does not accord with the wisdom of this world, but which has been hidden from eternity, and which God by his own Spirit has revealed to our spirit.”

Hence the acute scholars of the East and the profound sages of the West, hence an Augustin who united the greatest acuteness with the greatest depth of mind, could find in Christianity the most complete satisfaction of their longing after *light*. Only, it is true, this satisfying of the appetite for knowledge, which Christianity ensures, differs from all others in this, that it presupposes a new birth of the soul ; it presupposes a fundamental knowledge of our own hearts, and a child-like humility proceed-

²⁵⁵ 1 Cor. ii. 5, 6, 7, 8.

ing from this self-knowledge; and even then, it promises a deeper knowledge only in proportion to the measure of real sanctification in us, only in proportion to our experimental acquaintance with God. Christ is both the *light* of our intellect, and the *life* of our heart; but he must first have become our life, that he may also thus become our light.

In vain, therefore, has unbelief for centuries assailed the pillars of the holy faith. Porphyry and Julian have passed away; Toland and Bolingbroke, Voltaire and d'Alembert, the Fragmentist [of Wolfenbüttel] and Bahrdt;—but Christ is the same, yesterday, to day, and forever. After every contest with infidelity and superstition, Christianity comes forth again enriched anew with victory and splendor. It has vanquished the scoffing heathen; it has overcome the superstitions of many centuries; it has seen the English and French scoffers sink to oblivion; it has stood the contest with the more recent philosophy; and just as it was supposed to be subdued, it now begins once more to lift up its head with greater power and glory than ever.*

Just as defectively did heathenism operate on the **POWERS OF THE WILL**. This arose, on the one hand, from the fact, that every heathen religion is a collection of traditions and ceremonies handed down from one generation to another, and not an immediate revelation of God to the human race. The man who feels the darkness of his understanding, and the poverty of his heart, longs for immediate instruction from God. This the heathenish religions did not possess. Bare traditions, which, furthermore, seldom stand in any moral relation to the heart, cannot excite the will; and though mysterious rites and ceremonies may indeed produce a magical and dark impression on the feelings, yet inasmuch as no clear perceptions can

* Doubtless the author here refers more particularly to what has been taking place under his own eye, in the recent revival of sound doctrine and pious feeling in the heart of Germany. Such declarations as the above, made in the face of the opposition itself, we hail with grateful joy and hope. What may not God design to effect by the instrumentality of this good man, (if not brought to an untimely death by his extreme ardour,) and of those who are now aiding him in the work of a second reformation in Germany! God-speed to these new Luthers.

For more recent and definite notices of the progress of the good cause, see the letters of Prof. Tholuck himself to the Editor of this work, *Bibl. Repos.* II. p. 204, seq.

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be connected with them, they lead only to superstition. Then too, on the other hand, all heathen antiquity, while it still had at least something in its religious traditions to deter from sensuality and avarice, was totally destitute of the doctrine of humility. We indeed often find in the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and in many of the historians, as Herodotus,²⁵⁶ the doctrine, that God humbles the proud and exalts the humble. This thought however does not spring from any moral perception of pride, but there is apparent in these declarations, only the belief in a *fate*, which knows how to hold the things of earth in a kind of equipoise; and this belief does not raise man above himself, but even sends him directly back into the sphere of what is finite. But all genuine excitement of better volitions, must proceed from a humble recognition of our weakness and our impotency. Hence, because this did not exist among the heathen, they could have no profound and thorough-going system of morals; nor could they destroy that worm in the human bosom, which corrupts every blossom, and frightens peace and tranquillity from the soul,—PRIDE.

In like manner, finally, the emotions, or the **POWERS OF FEELING** in the stricter sense, remained undeveloped among the heathen. The affections of man receive their highest improvement, when he lives in constant intercourse with God. This inward panting of the heart after a higher and better sphere; the living energies and joy in the Holy Ghost which flow from that world into the otherwise cold and desolate heart of man,—it is these which afford the deepest incitement to the world of our affections, which awaken the most noble and celestial feelings in our bosoms. But of such feelings, the follower of heathenism could know nothing. He knew neither a holy God, who can unite to himself the soul that longs after him and make it happy; nor did he know any thing of a celestial home of the soul, for which it incessantly pants and strives. It was therefore the spirit of Christianity alone, which gave rise to romantic and sentimental poetry. Whilst the poetry of the ancients constantly exhibited only the relation of man to the external world, and was inexhaustible in delineations of the objects of creation and of the external life of man; the poetry of Christianity directed itself to the interior of the breast, and sang the sorrows and joys of the human heart. And farther;

²⁵⁶ Herodoti Hist. VII. 10.

as all the powers, the deeper and more lively they are, assume so much the greater variety of form; so we also see among the Christian converts new intellectual worlds continually forming in endless variety. Inasmuch as the relation of each individual soul to God, has something peculiar and distinctly its own, there hence arise peculiar frames of mind and states of the heart; whilst, on the contrary, the inward life of the heathen must have been far more monotonous, because the exclusive object that universally addressed his feelings, was only his earthly *father-land*.

We now pass on to another defect of heathenism, which it manifested in the developement of the powers of the soul. It was universally destitute of a *just estimate of the dignity of man*. Because heathenism had no true standard for nobleness and greatness of soul; because it knew not how to estimate moral purity and holiness of mind, as standing above all intellectual cultivation; it could therefore make only a low estimate of the inferior classes of society, of the female sex, and of slaves; all of whom were alike despised as incapable of higher cultivation; while yet they all equally belong to the human race.

The common multitude, whom the ancients denominated *ὄχλος ἀφιλόσοφος* and *οἱ πολλοί*, was indeed probably still more rude and immoral in ancient, than they are in modern times; for the pride of virtue and a more refined moral ambition are unable to suppress, in the common man, the outbreacking of the lusts of the heart; neither is he susceptible of impressiou from a philosophic system of morality, which exerts some influence on many of the educated. And since now among the heathen, religion also exerted no pervading influence upon the common man, he therefore remained destitute of all the means of elevated mental and moral cultivation.

If, in the mean time, the educated part of community had clearly perceived, that the improvement of the heart possesses a higher value than intellectual cultivation, they certainly would have placed a higher estimate on the good produced among the common people by the force of religion, or by an inward impulse of the heart; and they would have sought, by an intelligible system of morals, or by the spreading of a better religious education, to render this good universal, and to augment its power. But the unhappy error had taken full possession of the higher classes, that man can be elevated only by *intellectual* cultivation. This error is founded also, in part, upon the fact, that men had

not recognized PRIDE as the *root of all sin* ; which, unless a higher element be added, is wont rather to increase in the natural man by intellectual cultivation and to become more refined ; while, on the other hand, sensuality, which was regarded as the most dangerous vice, may more easily be thrust aside, if it cannot be totally eradicated, by purely intellectual occupations. Even the Platonists assigned a much lower grade to the purification of morals (*κάθαρσις*), than to contemplation (*νόησις*), and left the former to the uneducated multitude, while they consecrated themselves especially to *νόησις*. In accordance with this view, Marinus says in his life of the New-Platonist Proclus, “that this his hero may sometimes indeed have had evil thoughts ; but that does not signify much ; for, indeed, all men have the same.”

Christianity, on the other hand, if it take deep root in the heart, has power to awaken, in the most ordinary man, a lively interest both in heavenly and earthly things ; because it becomes to him a matter of chief concern, by all the means within his reach, to elucidate, to confirm, and to establish on solid grounds, that which he has experienced in his own soul ; and while, in this way, he finds in spiritual things a point of contact with more cultivated minds, he is able to approach nearer to them, and thus share more largely in their improvement. Among real Christians in the lower walks of life, one will easily perceive this influence of conversion in favour of intellectual cultivation ; as is seen even in our day, among the lower classes of the United Brethren.

The more sober-minded man will never be able to conceal from himself, that whatever is *truth*, must be the same not only for the *whole* man, but also for *all* men. So that whatever satisfies fully the heart of the common people, must also be sufficient for the claims of the intellectual powers among the more cultivated ; and again, whatever manifests itself to the fewer cultivated minds as the highest truth, must be perfectly adequate to the wants of the mass of the people. Now Christianity has broken down this wall of partition. It does not ask, Are you well educated, or not ? but, *Are you a sinner ?* And as every man must answer the question in the affirmative, so it has for all this one reply : “**REPENT AND BELIEVE ON THE LORD JESUS CHRIST, AND THOU SHALT BE SAVED.**”

The cultivated heathen were offended at Christianity precisely for this reason, that the higher classes could no longer have

precedence of the common people. The most ordinary Christian spoke of divine things with a confidence as though he had beheld heaven with his own eyes; (and this confidence was indeed founded on his own personal experience;) he spoke with an unshaken certainty, of things which had always been doubtful to the philosophers. This put the heathen in amazement; and hence the heathen Caecilius says:²⁵⁷ "If you desire to be wise, or even only modest, so cease from your subtle speculations about the zones of heaven and the mysteries and destiny of the world. It is enough to look before your feet; especially for such unlearned, uncultivated, rude and boorish persons, who have never taken part even in civil matters, to say nothing of divine things. Or if you will at all events philosophize, then imitate Socrates, who, as often as one inquired of him about heavenly things, answered: "What is above us, does not concern us." In the same manner, according to Origen,²⁵⁸ Celsus also utters his scorn, that the Christians, people so despised and miserable, appropriated to themselves such glorious promises for the future; as if they were exalted above all other wise, good, and learned men.

It was most truly an exhibition of the infinite grace of God, that Christ should grant to poor fishermen, country-people, and tent-makers, the privilege of becoming citizens of a heavenly kingdom of joy and bliss, fellow heirs and brethren to the Son of God. But happy is it for the world, that our God is indeed so gracious, that his compassion often appears almost incredible to ourselves!

In like manner, also, it was Christianity, which, by its spirit, abolished slavery in the ancient world. That there should be various modes of civil life, that there should be one class to serve and another to command, is indispensably necessary to every civil community; but liberty ought also to prevail among those who serve. The servant ought to be attached to the master by love and fidelity, and not by compulsion for life.

The condition of slaves degrades, to a certain extent, those who are in it, to a lower species of men; and thus overlooks the rights which belong to the dignity of human nature.* If we

²⁵⁷ Minutii Octavius, c. 12. § 7. c. 13. § 1, 11, 12.

²⁵⁸ Origenes contra Celsum, III. 30.

* How mournfully is this true, in respect to the unhappy Africans in modern days! And is it not owing to this delusive, corrupt, and

can indeed truly say, that the condition, in many particular cases, may be free from all unchristian severity, yet we must nevertheless acknowledge that it cannot in itself consist with the rights which belong to the proper dignity of man ; and that in actual life it has given occasion to results and appearances of the most degraded nature.

Let us only consider the condition of the poor Helots among the Spartans. A scanty and disgusting dress, and a dog-skin cap, distinguished them from all the rest of the inhabitants. Those who were too robust, had to be enfeebled by various kinds of ill treatment ; and if the masters did not do this, they became themselves liable to a penalty. Every slave annually received a certain number of stripes, to remind him that he was—a slave ! Hymns of a nobler kind, they were not allowed to sing ; but only gay and sensual songs. To complete their degradation, they were sometimes compelled to sing songs in disgrace and ridicule of themselves ; and to the same purpose, they were also compelled to perform indecent dances. In order to make the sons of the Spartans loath the vice of drunkenness, the Helots were compelled to intoxicate themselves in public assemblies. When they became too numerous, they were murdered clandestinely ; every year, at a certain period, the young Spartans, clad in armour, used to hunt them ; and to prevent their increase they were killed with daggers.²⁵⁹

If now the slaves in other states of Greece, did not indeed receive treatment equally inhuman, yet there was much that was degrading in their situation ; as, for example, it was considered as quite allowable and was not at all unfrequent, to use them for the purposes of sensuality. Even Solon himself assigned a temple, upon the old market place, to a number of female slaves, where, as prostitutes, they served the public lust. And further, the testimony of slaves before a court was always accompanied with the most horrible tortures, etc.²⁶⁰

corrupting process of the mind, that some have even gone so far as to deny that negroes have immortal souls ? and that they are treated by many more, as though they were not only to live, but also to die, like the brutes ?

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²⁵⁹ Manso's Sparta, B. I. Th. 1. p. 137. Potter's Antiquities, Vol. I. p. (3), and onward.

²⁶⁰ On the use of male and female slaves for the purposes of sensuality, see *Reitemier*, History of Slavery in Greece, Berlin, 1789. p. 31, 42.

Among the Romans, likewise, the condition of slavery was such as could barely be endured ; and from the history of the slaves, particularly in the time of the emperors, we learn what may come of a class of men so totally neglected and disgraced. Some slaves of the Romans, the *Ostiarrii*, were constantly chained like dogs before the palaces of the great ; others were immured in subterranean work-houses. It was a horrible law of theirs, that when a master was murdered, and the murderer could not be detected, all the slaves, together with their wives and children, were devoted to death. This terrific law had already originated in the time of the Republic ; and Tacitus²⁶¹ informs us how, at one time, on occasion of the secret murder of Pedanius Secundus, four hundred innocent slaves lost their lives. The slaves were even regarded by the proud Romans, not as *persons*, but as *things* (res)!* Of the like genuine Roman kind, was also the conduct towards his slaves of even M. Cato, illustrious as he was in many other respects. The expressions are remarkable which Plutarch employs on this occasion, in his description of the life of Cato. He says :²⁶² " But I must regard it as altogether too harsh in Cato, that after he had used his slaves like cattle till they were old, he should drive them forth and sell them ; which implies, that one man stands to another in no other relations but those of gain ; whereas we may see that a greater province is to be conceded to affection than to mere legal right. It is only towards men that we can stand in the relations of law and justice ; but *kindness* sometimes extends itself as a rich source of kindness and love even to the irrational brutes. Indeed, it is from kindness that we support horses which have become incapable of labour ; and we not only feed dogs while rearing them, but also take care of them when old. . . . For we ought not to use living creatures like a shoe or an implement

²⁶¹ Taciti Annal. XIV. 42.

²⁶² Plut. in Vita Catonis, c. 5.

* Alas, too, for our own age of light, liberty, and humanity ! and what is the bitterest of all to every reflecting freeman of our own happy republic, alas, for one large portion of our "land of freedom !" The very language that now stands as such a blot on the annals of heathen Rome, two thousand years ago, is at this moment heard in the halls of our Congress and in many of the state legislatures : "*This species of PROPERTY !*"

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which we throw away when broken to pieces and worn out by use ; but one should accustom himself before hand to be gentle and kind towards them ; for this reason, if for no other, that he may thus learn to be kind towards his fellow men. I, at least, would never sell an old labouring ox ; and much less would I part with an old slave who had grown up on the same soil with myself, and been accustomed to the same mode of life, and drive him, as it were, from his country, or sell him for a little money, as if worthless both to the seller and the buyers. But Cato, who in this point went to an extreme, even left behind him the horse he had used in Spain, that he might spare to the state the cost of his transportation. Now, whether this was magnanimity, or a standing upon trifles, I leave for each one to judge."

And what horrible examples do we see, in the time of the emperors ; either of inhuman masters, who treated their slaves with much more cruelty than their cattle ; or of worthless slaves, who knew how to push themselves into the highest places of honour by the diabolical arts of calumniating the innocent, or of excitement to lust ! There stood the luckless youth for whole nights, silent and fasting, at the pillow of his revelling master ; and his special business was, to wipe away the spittle, to remove immediately the vomit, or to perform some still more disgusting office. Coughing, sneezing, or a gentle whisper among themselves, was a high crime in the poor wretches, and disturbed the mental tranquillity of the debauched reveller. The severest scourging was the reward.²⁶³ The smallest offences brought upon them the most inhuman punishments. A superintendent of the public shows, who had committed some trivial offence, was scourged with chains, at the command of Caligula, for several days in succession ; and was not entirely despatched, until the mortification occasioned too great a stench for the tyrant.²⁶⁴ The story is well known of the Roman grandee, whose slave broke a chrystal vase in the presence of Augustus, and who forthwith sentenced the slave to be thrown to the fishes. The unfortunate servant clung around the feet of the emperor and begged for his intercession ; but the mediation even of the emperor made no impression on the inhuman monster. The former, however, in anger at such an act of cruelty, caused all his costly vessels to be broken in pieces.

²⁶³ Seneca Epist. 47.

²⁶⁴ Dio Cassius, Hist. LIX. 27.

Let us now cast a glance upon the relations of the female sex among the heathen. To them also was assigned under heathenism an inferior place. It is Christianity that has first attributed to woman the same degree of human dignity as to man; only that woman exhibits the divine image in a form different from that of man. The heathen—to whom in his ruder state, war-like valour is the highest object; and to whom, in a more refined state, political life takes the place of valour—found woman unadapted to either of these objects. Moreover the rearing of children, so far as she was concerned, pertained rather to the body and to the understanding than to the soul; and therefore woman, with him, could have no other value than that of a faithful slave. On this ground, must we account for the neglected condition of this sex among the ancients. As they expected every thing wicked from women, and trusted them in no respect,²⁶⁵ so they endeavoured to cut them off from all intercourse with the world. The women were confined to a particular part of the house, and that the back part, where they inhabited the upper chambers. The younger females slept in apartments secured by locks and bolts; and were not allowed, except by special permission, to go from one part of the house to another. If they drove abroad in the night, torches were to be carried before the carriage. They were watched by old female servants and eunuchs; who, however, were not unfrequently bribed to indulge them in excesses.²⁶⁶

By this confinement and deprivation of freedom, by this seclusion from all social intercourse, all opportunity for mental improvement and for the attainment of delicacy and refined manners, must have been precluded to the women. No wonder, then, that there were many misogynists among the ancients, who would not marry at all; whose sentiments, in part, have been collected by Stobaeus.²⁶⁷ These generally continued in the practice of paederastia; for which reason also, matrimony was regarded by the ancients as eminently a political institution; as we have already noticed above, particularly among the Spartans.*

²⁶⁵ Stobaei Sermones, LXX. De vituperatione mulierum.

²⁶⁶ Potter's Antiquities, Vol. II. p. 310 sq.

²⁶⁷ Stobaei Sermones, Sermo LXVI. Quod non expedit uxorem ducere.

* See page 448 above.

In a work which is ascribed to the Pythagorean Ocellus Lucanus, and which probably contains fragments and thoughts of his, the following principles concerning matrimony are expressed.²⁶⁸ "The law on the one hand, and discretion and piety on the other, must serve for a guide in assuming the obligations of wedlock. And indeed the first rule is, not to beget children for the mere pleasure of procreation, but for the support of the whole community of which the man is a part. In a similar manner those commit a fault, who, in the choice of their wives, regard any thing else but the general good. Harmony and unity of disposition, among married people, must be presupposed; otherwise, there arises contention in individual families; and hence in the state also, since the state consists of families."

Thus political were the motives which the better class desired should be regarded in respect to matrimony. Lycurgus would allow of absolutely no old bachelors. As a punishment for them, he made it a permanent regulation, that, at the command of the Ephori, they should appear, each winter, naked in the market place, and sing songs in derision of old bachelors; that they should not be present at the public contests of the half naked maidens; and, in the third place, that they should at a certain festival, be publicly dragged by the women round an altar and beaten with their fists.²⁶⁹ What respect or what delicate endearment could there be in a marriage, which was enforced in this degrading manner?

How little the connexion of marriage was comprehended in its dignity and importance by the Greeks, is shown particularly by the example of Plato, who, (in the fifth book of his Republic,) could propose a *community of wives* for his ideal state. How revoltingly injudicious such a proposition must be for the state, as well as for individuals, was strikingly shown by Aristotle.²⁷⁰ He correctly remarks, that "such a state of things would by no means satisfy the wants of individuals; for though all might cry out together, '*This is my wife*;' yet still this could not possibly be said by each individual. Never is a thing worse taken care of, than when it belongs equally to several per-

²⁶⁸ Ocelli Lucani de natura rerum, ed. Rudolphi, c. 4, p. 39.

²⁶⁹ Plut. in Vita Lycurgi. Athenaei Deip. l. XIII.

²⁷⁰ Aristoteles, Politica, II. 2—18. ed. Schneider.

sons, where each one leaves it to the care of the others ; and just so would then the rearing and education of children fall into the greatest neglect. In such a state, with so great a community of goods, there could be, universally, only a feeble and never a powerful love ; because no man could have any thing of his own ; and we know that a man always loves most, that which is most peculiarly his own."

The scholars of Socrates and Plato, acknowledged the dignity of the female sex in a somewhat higher degree. Socrates himself very correctly says:²⁷¹ "By many things, O men, as well as by what this maiden does, is it evident, that the female nature is in nothing inferior to that of men ; they need only the requisite knowledge and power. If, therefore, one of you has a wife, let him only teach her, with full confidence, whatever he may wish her to understand."

But perhaps the finest ideal of a noble woman and of the design of the marriage relation, which antiquity can furnish, is presented by Plutarch in his work, entitled, "Advice to married persons," which he addressed to a couple who were recently married. In that work, he calls their attention, among other things, to the following : "No woman can wish, merely by meretricious and sensual arts to bind her husband to herself. It would turn out with her as with those who seek to catch fish with poisoned bait ; they catch them perhaps easily, but the bait renders them unfit for use. Just so must such a woman live for years with a slack and foolish husband. And those too who would rather rule over simple husbands than listen to wise ones, are like persons who prefer to lead the blind along a road, rather than to follow such as see and know the way. Universally, the woman must seek to attain, in the highest degree, all moral and practical accomplishments.

"In a wise and happy marriage, every measure must proceed from both parties in harmonious union. Still the guidance of the man must be perceptible ; as when two voices sound together, the deepest still leads the melody. Nevertheless, the woman may lead the man, not by scolding and rage, but by affectionate gentleness. Thus the sun conquered the north wind. When the latter would compel the traveller to put off his mantle, and stormed and blustered, he wrapped himself in it so much the closer. But when the gentle sun, with his enlivening beams,

²⁷¹ Xenoph. *Convivium*, c. 2. p. 161. ed. Schneider.

came forth from the clouds, the traveller laid aside not only his mantle, but also his upper garment.

“Harmony and similarity of taste and feeling, are the soul of wedlock. A mirror bordered with splendid gems can be of no use, if it does not reflect the true image of the countenance. So no wife can benefit you, though possessing all possible perfections, if she is not a counterpart of your own disposition. The wife must know how to weep with her weeping husband, and to laugh when he laughs. Plato said: ‘That city might be pronounced fortunate where no difference between *mine* and *thine* should exist;’ and much more so must it be in matrimony. And further; as the physicians say, that if the left side is struck, the right also feels it, so must the wife and the husband live in the greatest mutual sympathy.

“And as the wife must have all in common with the husband, so, finally, must she also have the same friends; and pre-eminently must it be so with the greatest of all friends, the gods. She ought to worship no other gods, but those of her consort.

“And now, my dear Pollianus,²⁷² who have already yourself arrived at an age in which you know how to philosophize, adorn your own mind with excellent thoughts, while you occupy yourself only with what is useful; but also, like the bees, collecting honey from every source, impart to your wife of that which you bear in yourself, and thus make her acquainted with the best of every species of instruction: ‘For thou hast become to her,’ in the words of the poet, ‘father, and mother, and also brother.’ And so it is likewise proper, that you should listen to her when she says: ‘Husband, you are now my teacher, and guide, and instructor in things the most noble and divine.’ For if you instruct your wife in such things, she will be recovered from the silly amusements of ordinary women. A woman who has learnt Geometry, will be ashamed to dance; and she who is charmed with the words of Plato and Xenophon, will listen to no magic songs. As women can bear no children without the man, so must the man likewise sow the intellectual seed in the soul of the woman, in order to bring to light the intellectual fruit.

“But, O Euridice, let it be your endeavour always to retain in mind the wise and excellent sentiments, and to have

²⁷² Plut. Conjug. Praec. c. 48.

continually in your mouth those discourses, which you heard while you were present with us; that so you may delight your husband, and be admired by other women, because, although dressed out by no one, you yet appear adorned. The pearls of those rich ladies, the silk of those foreign ones, you cannot purchase for much gold. But the attire of a Theano, a Cleobuline, a Timoclea, of the ancient matrons Claudia and Cornelia, and of whatever other celebrated women there may have been, this attire you can procure for yourself without cost, and live at the same time renowned and happy. If Sappho was so conceited on account of her talent for poetry as to write in the following manner to a rich lady: 'When you are dead, you will rest in the grave and no one will think of you more; since you possess not the Pierian roses;—why should not you venture to be proud of yourself, when you possess not only the roses, but also the fruits, which the muses bring and distribute to those who strive for knowledge and wisdom?'

A charming picture of a heathen marriage of the nobler kind! But how few instances may there have been of it; and how far short of that which every case of christian wedlock ought to be! for we must look, not on the members of the christian church as they are,* but as they *should be* according to apostolic wisdom; and as they in fact are, when, by conversion and regeneration, they have likewise become real members of the invisible church. To such a state of conjugal connexion among the heathen, as well as to every other desire and effort of theirs, the higher unity of spiritual life was wanting. This higher unity is afforded to Christians in the marriage relation, by Christ, as being the object of their mutual affection. It is, indeed, by Christ's becoming the central object of all their affections and efforts, that their life first acquires a heavenly consecration, a sacerdotal form. The man no longer

* To understand the exact import of our author in this and many other passages, it is necessary to bear in mind the fact, that in the established churches of Germany, protestant as well as popish, the whole mass of the people are considered as externally members of the church. Well may such a man, when writing for such a community, feel himself frequently called upon to make a distinction between the "converted" and "regenerated" part of the church, and the great mass who give no evidence of piety.—Such are some of the sad fruits of Church-and-State policy, in connexion with the laxity of doctrine which itself produces.

loves, in his wife, the woman alone, but the glory of his Redeemer which imbues and animates her ; and so the woman loves in her husband, not merely the man, but the Spirit of her Lord, with which he is filled. The aim of their life is not, as in the case of that Platonic wedlock, merely to render this life agreeable ; but it is the glorious transformation into the image of Christ ; and as here the husband will particularly exemplify the *Pauline* view of christian life ; as there will emanate from him to the wife strength of faith, rejoicing activity, and unshaken confidence ; so the wife will on her part exemplify that view of life in Christ which is presented by the apostle *John* ; and she will know how to infuse into the soul of her husband, tranquillity of mind, gentleness, and forbearance. In the circle of their children, they will stand not merely in the relation of persons who have brought them into being and who are nourishing them up for an earthly life ; but they will look upon themselves as the priest and priestess of God ; as those who have given birth to a new citizen of Heaven, whom it is now their business to render fit for a reception into the heavenly community. And on the other hand, the children will not merely be bound to them by the bond of earthly love ; but they will feel themselves chained to their pious parents by that wonderful sympathy of spiritual love, which in scripture is mystically denominated “in Christ ;” and while in their father and mother they recognize also their guides to the Lord, the Spirit of the Lord will indissolubly unite them with their parents.

This leads us to a kindred topic of consideration, viz. that of *education* among the ancients. The great importance of it was acknowledged by them. Socrates (in Plato²⁷³) says concerning it, to one who inquired of him respecting the education of his son : “ Solemn consultation is always a sacred act. But if consultation is universally sacred, more particularly so is that in which we would now engage. For man can deliberate upon nothing more sacred and divine, than upon the education of himself and of those who belong to him.”—And Plutarch says :²⁷⁴ “ To the perfection of a man, three things must co-operate, nature, teaching, and practice. But if any one supposes, that those who are born with small natural abilities, are not able to remedy the defects of their nature by careful instruction and

²⁷³ Platonis Theages, p. 5. ed. Bekker.

²⁷⁴ Plut. de liberis educandis, c. 4, 5, 6.

management, let him know, that he is in a very great error. Neglect destroys the excellency of nature; but instruction ennobles what is naturally mean. The dropping of water wears the rocks away. Nay, it will even turn out, that what is achieved against nature by exertion, is more excellent than that which is peculiar to nature.—Just as the bodily limbs of a child must be properly taken care of and exercised from his birth, that they may not grow crooked; so likewise must the habits and morals of children be appropriately formed from the beginning, if they are to become correct; for every thing while young, is yet moist and soft, and therefore easily receives an impression.—The source and root of a noble disposition, is an appropriate education. Hence Crates was not in the wrong, who stationed himself in the highest part of the city and cried out: ‘O ye men! whither are ye rushing headlong! ye who prize the acquisition of property above all things, but take no care for your sons, to whom you are to leave all that property behind.’”

But here it is first to be remarked, that the chief object of attention in the education of children, was merely to form them for distinguished citizens; and that accordingly, just as in heathen wedlock, ~~so also~~ in the relation between parents and children, there remained unregarded, on the one hand, those tender bonds of personal affection which should ever unite the child and the parents; while, on the other hand, there was also here left out of view the relation of the life of the child to that higher sphere of being, to which every one ought to be consecrated from his birth, and into which he ought to be introduced and incorporated throughout the whole course of the formation of his mind and character.

Plato, in his Republic and in his book on the Laws, bestows very special care on the theory of education. But he too regarded it in no higher point of view than that of conformity to the laws of the state. So the Athenian, in his book on the Laws, says:²⁷⁵ “For the third and the fourth time, our reflections have come to the result, that education should be the allurements and guidance of youths to that which the laws approve, and which the most judicious and aged have found by experience to be the best.”—And with the same view Aristotle also says:²⁷⁶ “No one can doubt that the legislator must bestow

²⁷⁵ Plato de legib. II. p. 245. ed. Bekker.

²⁷⁶ Arist. Politica, VIII. 1. ed. Schneider.

very peculiar attention on the education of youth. If this is not done in a state, its constitution is destroyed. The citizen under any constitution of government, must live conformably to the spirit of that constitution; because the peculiar spirit of each constitution helps to sustain the constitution itself;—the democratic spirit sustains a democracy; the aristocratic sustains oligarchy; and the best spirit and disposition in a people, will ever produce the best constitutions.”*

In consequence of this political view of education, the state was also exhibited, by the sages of antiquity, as eminently the chief educator. The laws were to accomplish the right formation of character in the youth. Hence, according to Plato, the science of education stands connected with the discovery of the best political laws. Meanwhile, however, Plato could not comprehend any education in the true sense of the word, inasmuch as he had allowed the community of women. Aristotle indeed censures this latter trait, as we have seen; but still the influence which even he allows to the parents in education, is an extremely subordinate one. He also admits the laws as the chief means of education:²⁷⁷ “Still, the laws of the state can give only general rules; those which are more special, the parents must learn by *experience*; since these are in a great degree contingent.” “Thus, for example,” says Aristotle, “the physician prescribes rest and abstinence from food generally, to all who are sick with fever; but still, there may be single exceptions of persons who would not be benefited by this course.” In his *Politics* also, the same author says:²⁷⁸ “Since the object and design of the state is but one, so it is clear that the process of education also can be but one, and that indeed a necessary one. For this end also, it is clear, that all must take a common care

²⁷⁷ Aristot. *Ethica ad Nicom.* X. 9.

²⁷⁸ Aristot. *Politica*, VIII. 1.

* If that sagacious politician of ancient days is correct, as all subsequent experience has shown that he is, what then shall we say of the final bearing on our political institutions, if aristocratic and monarchical forms of church polity are to become prevalent among us? With a religious people, what can so powerfully act to change the whole bias of the public mind, as a change in the form of religious institutions? It is well remarked of our puritan ancestors, that ‘they decreed our future freedom by the very form of their independent church polity.’

together ; and not each one separately, as is now the case, while each one cares for his own children separately, and imparts to them separate instruction just as he pleases. At the same time, no one must think that he may be a citizen by himself, but all are citizens of the state ; and therefore each particular part or person must regard, not what is useful merely to himself, but what is useful to the whole."

Such thorough-going subordination of private to public interest, was indeed found practicable in no state but Sparta ; but still, in several respects, it existed in all the Grecian states, and was every where aimed at as a desirable object. But it is totally impossible that state education should supply the place of parental. For according to the highest ideas of education, (and these are just the christian ideas,) the child ought through the mysterious communion of love in which he lives with his parents, without the imposition of any command at all, to engraft himself as it were into the higher life of the parents, and thus be moulded for obedience, not only to the laws of the earthly state, but also of the heavenly kingdom of Christ.²⁷⁹ What were the marriage ties without the delight of training up children,—without the pleasure to the parents of seeing the image of their own intellectual and moral life transferred to the child ? Yea, the true love of the child also towards its father and mother, can rest only on the moral communication received from them,—on the *spiritual* procreation.

It is further to be remarked, in how small a degree the higher intellectual capacities of man were developed by such an education, where each individual is shaped to the forms of the state in which he lives. In the first place, for minds of a loftier and diviner cast, who, like Anaxagoras, wished to be citizens, not of an earthly state, but of an heavenly, it must have been to the last degree burdensome and oppressive, to find their spirit, which aspired to embrace the cause and essence of all things in heaven and in earth, immediately in its very development, bound down, as it were by a magic spell, in the contracted sphere of the affairs and regulations of a petty state.

But if, again, in all the Grecian states besides Sparta, the young men were indeed seldom necessitated by state regula-

²⁷⁹ Cicero also recognized such an engrafting of one's self into the spirit of the family ; only not in its proper depth. *Orat. pro Rabirio*, c. 2.

tions to enter upon any certain mode of life, yet still the parents, in all the efforts and aspirations of their sons, had no other standard but the common good of the state ; and whatever did not promote this, seemed to be enthusiasm and extravagance. We see this in a remarkable manner in the history of Socrates. Although Socrates carried on a spirited warfare against the sophists, who lost themselves in fruitless speculation on things unattainable by man ; while on the other hand he urged upon the young men, who attached themselves to him, the improvement of the heart and self-denial in their lives ; yet this appeared to the earthly-minded Athenians, who knew nothing higher than the daily course of state affairs, as going quite too far ; and Aristophanes, with great applause, made Socrates the subject of ridicule, as a sophist or a subtle speculator about remote things, *μετῴρα φρονιζών*.

It was not however merely in general, that, in consequence of such a system of state cultivation and education, the spirit of the more thoughtful youth was cramped and circumscribed ; but the disposition, the heart, remained in this way wholly neglected. It is LOVE which excites the profoundest life in man ; and each lower degree of love prepares the way to one that is higher. In this way should love to man, when developed in tenderness, prepare the way for love to God. But the earliest love, to which a human being finds himself directed, as he comes into the world, is filial love. The more tenderly and affectionately this is developed, the purer and more godlike will be every other love of which life renders us susceptible. Now as the pleasures of domestic love were wholly unknown among the ancients ; as the individual, from childhood up, saw himself directed only to a greater community, to which however it was impossible to attach himself with the full warmth of his heart ; so also his inward man remained uncultivated and unimproved, in precisely the most delicate part of his spiritual being.

It is, however, still to be remarked, that what is here said of heathen wedlock and the education of children, is true in a less degree of the Romans than of the Greeks. In consequence of the greater regard for chastity, which was produced by the more serious religious system of the Romans, conjugal affection was more cordial and fervent,—the wife, too, was under far less restraint,—than among the Greeks. The effect of this more warm and cordial marriage relation, was also apparent in the education of children. The Romans had such mothers as the

excellent Cornelia; and fathers earnestly engaged for the improvement of their children, as Cato. The sentiments of Cato on marriage and education, are presented to us by Plutarch in his account of his life.²⁶⁰ "He selected a wife out of a good family, rather than a rich one; believing that each of these qualifications may indeed have its weight and importance, but that the well born, despising whatever is mean, will be the more ready to unite with her husband in all that is noble. Whoever beats his wife or his child, says he, lays his hands on that which is most sacred. He regarded it as far more praiseworthy to be a good husband, than a great senator. He also admired nothing more in Socrates, than that, with an ill tempered wife and worthless children, he could maintain his gentleness and equanimity. And when a child was born to him, he regarded no business, except that of the public, so important, as his being present when his wife washed and swathed the infant; which she also nursed with her own milk. Often also she laid the infant children of the slaves upon her own breast, and sought thus to infuse into the latter a friendly feeling towards her son. When his children began to have understanding, he took them himself and taught them the rudiments of school education; although he had an excellent slave, who well understood the business, and taught many other children. Cato was accustomed to say, he was not willing that his son should be rebuked or beaten by a slave; nor that he should have to thank a slave for this kind of knowledge." This solicitude of the Roman for his children, is ever to be acknowledged and applauded; although it does not indeed reach the important point which Paul regards as the chief point of all education, viz. that children must be brought up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Eph. 6: 4.

Thus have we seen how heathenism was deficient in a fundamental *knowledge* of human nature, and consequently also in a proper *estimate* of human nature; and that therefore, if we take the word in a higher sense, even that *humanity* was wanting in heathenism, on account of which so high encomiums have been lavished upon it;—only indeed by those who know not the deeper humanity to which vital Christianity gives birth. This deficiency in humanity, or genuine and universal benevolence, is also manifest in many religious and civil customs. To that is to be

²⁶⁰ Plut. Vita Catonis M. c. 20.

imputed the prohibition laid by the Greeks upon their slaves, that they must not be present at many of the festivals of the gods, e. g. that of the Eumenides; and at Rome, that of Hercules; since the gods would be dishonoured by the presence of such inferior persons. From this cause arose also the custom of the Spartans of scourging their children every year at the altars of Diana Orthia, in honour of the goddess, so cruelly, that many of them expired; as also that cruel scourging of the Arcadian damsels at the altar of Bacchus. But more especially to this want of humanity is to be attributed the custom of human sacrifices. How universal this frightful custom was in ancient times among the heathen, the heathen Porphyry himself relates.²⁸¹ "Among the Rhodians, on the sixth of July, a man was sacrificed to Saturn. In Salamis, in March, they slew a man in honour of Agraulus the son of Neptune and the nymph Agraulis; and in later times, they made this sacrifice to Diomed. Young men led the destined victim three times round the altar; then the priest thrust a lance into his body, and his corpse was burned. In Chios and Tenedos, a man torn in pieces was offered to Bacchus Omadius. In Lacedaemon also, Apollodorus relates, a man was sacrificed to Mars. So also the Phenicians and Cretans frequently sacrificed men. But all human sacrifices among various nations, according to the historian Pallas, are said to have ceased about the time of the emperor Adrian. Before that time, in Syrian Laodicea also, a young woman was annually sacrificed; but at present a female deer. The Arabian tribe of Dumathia annually slew a boy before their sacred shrine, and buried him under it. Philarchus relates, that the Greeks almost never took the field, without having offered a human victim. I pass over in silence the Thracians and Scythians; I say nothing of the Athenians, how these slew the daughters of Erichtheus and Praxithea. But to whom is it not known, that at this very day, [about A. D. 290,] at the festival of Jupiter Latialis, a man is annually slain in the great city?"*

Clemens Alexandrinus mentions other extensive human sacrifices:²⁸² "Your gods, like pestilential diseases marching

²⁸¹ Porphyry. de abstin. carnis, II. 56. ed. Rhoer. and from him, Euseb. Praep. Evang. IV. 16. and Cyrillus contra Julian. lib. II.

²⁸² Clem Alex. Protreptikos, c. 3. init.

* Rome.

through cities and nations, demanded cruel and bloody sacrifices. Aristomenes of Messenia sacrificed to Jupiter Ithometes, three hundred men; and among them, Theopompus king of the Lacedaemonians. The Taurians, who inhabited the Taurian Chersonesus, were accustomed to sacrifice forthwith to the Taurian Diana, all strangers who landed or were shipwrecked on their shores. At Pella in Thessaly, an Achæan was sacrificed to Peleus and Chiron. The Cretans of Lycus were likewise in the habit of slaughtering human victims. The Lesbians, according to the account of Dosidas, made a similar offering to Bacchus. Pythocles relates, that the Phocæans burnt a man whole in sacrifice to the Taurian Diana. Erechtheus of Attica and the Roman Marius both sacrificed their daughters; the first to Persephone, and Marius to the *diis averruncis*.*

* In justice to myself, perhaps, I ought somewhere to remark on the mode pursued by the author in his numerous extracts from ancient authors; otherwise, the learned reader who shall take the trouble of comparing the present translation of those extracts with the originals, and who may not have Tholuck's work by him, may think me responsible for the frequent omissions he will find in the body of these extracts. Tholuck's rule appears to be this; in the first place, fairly to give the sense of the author from whom he quotes, as to the *particular point* for which his authority is adduced; and then, to leave out all the incidental circumstances which do not serve to cast light on this point. He also takes considerable liberty in translating—much more than I have thought it expedient to take with him. I do not however mean to contradict what I have just said as to his fairness in giving the sense, or to weaken the reliance that is to be placed on his quotations. A commendable brevity was doubtless his object in the omissions; and elegance and German idiom, in the license he has taken. A literal and full translation from the Greek of a few sentences in the above quotation from Clemens Alexandrinus, will serve as a specimen. The portions omitted by Tholuck, are put in Italics.

“What cruel and misanthropic demons were your gods, who not only delighted in the insanity of men, but even enjoyed human slaughter; now, contriving for themselves the means of enjoyment from the ambitious contests of armed men in the stadia, now from the innumerable struggles for glory in wars; that thus they might abundantly satiate themselves with human murder; and now, like the most deadly pestilences advancing through cities and nations, they demanded the most merciless libations. Aristomenes of Messenia sacrificed three hundred men to Jupiter Ithometes, supposing himself to offer an acceptable sacrifice in so many and such choice hecatombs; among whom was Theopompus,

Even Aristides himself could sacrifice to Bacchus Omestes, the three sons of the sister of the Persian king, whom he had taken as captives;²⁸³ and Themistocles also offered up several Persians of distinction. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus,²⁸⁴ the Romans, even down to the latest times, were accustomed annually, at the vernal equinox, to go in procession to the Tiber, escorted by the praetors and vestal virgins, and there to throw thirty images of men into the river, in commemoration of the former human sacrifices. And Livy informs us, that once, in a time of great peril to the state, a man and woman of Gaul, were buried to propitiate the protecting gods. Lactantius indeed well remarks, as he relates these horrid rites of worship:²⁸⁵ "What greater evil could those gods inflict upon them, even if in continual wrath against them, than now, when they must be appeased at so horrid a price?"

In respect now to the spirit of humanity in civil and political life, it was founded chiefly on the common love of country. But since the love of country rests on a refined love of self, it was consequently not strong enough to subdue the influences of that selfishness, which in and of itself already swayed the conduct of the individuals. Wherever, therefore, that more refined selfishness, which was careful to sustain the state and the citizens for the sake of its own advantage, had nothing to fear, there the pride and avarice of individuals again came forth unshackled. Hence even public life was destitute of many institutions of benevolence and love, to which Christianity first gave rise. Here too, we must bear in mind, that vital Christianity has by no means pervaded the whole community of the

king of the Lacedaemonians, a noble victim. The nation of the Tauri dwelling about the Taurian Chersonesus, immediately sacrifice to the Taurian Diana all the strangers they can seize among themselves, and those falling into their power by sea. Such sacrifices Euripides represents on the stage. Monimus also relates, in his collection of wonderful things, that at Pella, etc.

From this specimen, it is obvious, not only that our author leaves out extraneous matter in his quotations, but also much which is to his purpose. Such, too, is the fact with him elsewhere. Still he gives us amply enough to substantiate his positions. TRANS.

²⁸³ Plut. Vita Aristidis, c. 9.

²⁸⁴ Euseb. Praep. Evang. III. 16.

²⁸⁵ Lactant. Instit. I. 21.

external christian church ; and that consequently it is only here and there, where vital Christianity has inflamed individual communities, and chiefly at the first entrance of Christianity into the world, that we behold what the Spirit of Christ is truly capable of accomplishing in this respect.

The LOVE which united together the members of the first christian congregations, especially at a time when moral corruption, perfidy, and misanthropy had reached their highest point in the Roman empire, put all the heathen in astonishment. In Minutius Felix,²⁸⁶ the heathen Caecilius says of the first Christians : “ This harmony of spirit among the Christians, must be wholly reprobated and destroyed. They recognize each other by secret signs and marks, and mutually love each other before they become acquainted. Here and there, a sort of voluptuous religious feeling is intermingled among them, and they call themselves reciprocally *brethren* and *sisters*.” The heathen were often heard to cry out with astonishment respecting the disciples of Christ : “ See how they love one another ! ”²⁸⁷ Yea, such brotherly love must indeed have been incomprehensible to the heathen ; for where selfishness still reigns, love is not unfeigned ; and selfishness must reign where Christ has not yet become our life. Now as every Christian no longer seeks his own, but that which is his Lord’s, so it is only among regenerated Christians that true love is possible. And just the defect of this true, unfeigned love, was a defect in the civil and political life of the heathen in general. On the contrary, the blessed influence of the christian spirit of love, was also evinced in many public regulations. It showed itself in the abolition of the games of the gladiators. This abolition was occasioned by Christianity ; since these games must themselves have continued to nourish in the minds of the combatants, as well as of the spectators, a spirit of savage cruelty. Even heathen of the better sort, had already taken offence on this point. Thus Lucian relates of the cynic Demonax,²⁸⁸ that when the Athenians at a certain time were about to give a great exhibition of combatants, he came forward, saying : “ Do not do this, until you have first thrown down your altar of compassion.” How much more must the Christians have felt the inhumanity of these amusements !

²⁸⁶ Minutii Octavius, c. 9. § 2.

²⁸⁷ Tert. Apol. c. 39.

²⁸⁸ Luciani Demonax, c. 57.

That spirit of christian love manifested itself also in *the administration of justice* ; into which Christianity afterwards, in proportion as it pervaded the various states, introduced a milder and more humane spirit ; removing, for example, the punishment of crucifixion, of the rack, of casting to wild beasts, etc. It was manifested too in *the manner of life* among the various classes of men, who all assumed a milder character ; and, finally, in *the establishment of charitable institutions*, e. g. poor-houses, infirmaries, free houses of entertainment for indigent foreigners, and many institutions of this kind, which had been almost wholly unknown to heathenism ; so that the first establishment of infirmaries was the occasion of general wonder among the heathen.²⁸⁹

We close this contemplation on the influence of heathenism, with the spirited words of Athanasius, in which he depicts the wide dominion and transforming energy of the gospel :²⁹⁰ “ Who among men could penetrate even to the Scythians, the Ethiopians, the Persians, the Armenians, the Goths, or to those beyond the ocean, or beyond Hyrcania ; or who would address himself to the Egyptians and the Chaldeans,—to the latter, who practise magic, and are wholly ruled by superstition ; to the former, who live in wild and desert countries,—and preach to both with courage and wisdom against the worship of idols ? Who could have been adequate to this, but the Lord of all, the Power of God, our Lord Jesus Christ ? He, who not only caused his gospel to be preached there by his disciples, but also imparted to those nations the full conviction of the heart ; so that they thenceforth no longer offered sacrifices to the gods of their countries, and gave up also the rudeness of their manners. In former times, when the Greeks and Barbarians served the heathen gods, they were perpetually at war with each other, and were cruel towards their own kindred by blood ; yea, no one could travel by land or sea, unless armed sword in hand, against improvident and mutual contests. Indeed their whole life was rather a service under arms ; their staff was the sword, the support of all their hopes. And although they all this time continued to serve the gods, yet this was not competent to change their disposition. But scarcely had they turned to the doctrine of Christ, when rudeness and murder disappeared ; after that the heart within

²⁸⁹ Hieronymi Ep. 26.

²⁹⁰ Athan. Opp. T. I. p. 105.

had, in a wonderful manner, been broken and subdued. What mere man could ever have been able to accomplish so much ! to march forth to the contest against the united legions of idolatry, the combined hosts of demons, the whole world of magic, and all the wisdom of Greece ; and at a single onset, overthrow them all !”

PART V.

HINTS ON THE STUDY OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

Having thus considered heathenism in its moral aspect, it will not be unsuitable for us to inquire, with what expectations and with what views the study of the ancients is now to be prosecuted.

If we were here to speak of the benefits it is calculated to bestow in every other view, except in that of morals, we should necessarily have to adduce a great many advantages. The ancients are, in fact, not only the fathers of all our knowledge, with the exception of religion ; but they are also, in many departments still our skilful teachers. Besides, there runs through the whole of antiquity a lively, intelligent, practical spirit, which connects itself in the most simple manner with nature ; so that Johannes von Müller very aptly and justly remarks :* “ If the experience of antiquity is to be applied in our own times, the grand secret, the great art, is, to *give to every thing its right name*. The ancients spoke not a metaphysical language arising out of abstract ideas ; and for this reason they are so full of energy ; because their figures fall upon, and form the soul. We strive to become acquainted with nature ; the ancients felt and painted it.” How beneficial the study of the ancients must be in the respects now mentioned, is obvious.

Among theologians, such men as Calvin, Bucer, and Melancthon show how important are the advantages for the treatment of religious subjects, which are to be derived from a classical education.

But here the inquiry meets us, Whether this study can also

* Werke, B. XV. p. 453, 454.

be useful to the Christian, in a moral view? This question presents itself with so much the more importance, in proportion as the erroneous opinion has more and more prevailed in schools of learning, that it is classical education which must form the character and disposition of the youth. This view, every Christian who has become acquainted, from his own observation and experience, with the difference between the heathen and the christian elements of character, must decidedly oppose. The spirit of heathenism is different from that of Christianity, not only in degree, but also in its very essence ; so that even what is good in heathenism, must first become imbued with the christian spirit, if it is to be regarded as good in the christian sense. The heavenly temper, and the longing after a holy and eternal life, are wanting in the poet of antiquity ; the affectionate hand of a paternal God, and the penetrating glance into the sinful shallowness of our hearts, are not found in the historian ; faith, love, humility, and hope, exist not in the philosophy of the ancients ; and poetry, and history, and philosophy, all fail to penetrate the depths of the inner man.

It is true, the heathen have accomplished many splendid achievements. Augustin says, they had often hazarded far more for their earthly country, than the Christians for their heavenly inheritance.* But still those deeds were not good, merely because they were great and splendid. We must here inquire for the root, from which the branches spring. With the heathen, it is, in most cases, a proud self exaltation ; such as was enstamped as the great principle of life by the Stoic school. Or, if it be not selfishness which impels the heathen to splendid deeds, yet it is often, probably, the strength of some inborn emotion—it may be patriotism, or conjugal affection, or other like impulses of the human heart, which the man follows, without having acquired them by effort, and without being himself conscious why he follows them. It is, at least, not the spirit of love and humility,—a spirit which springs from the subdual of that ever active and obtrusive selfishness.

Let us take a view even of the greatest of the heathen, Socrates. His soul was certainly in some alliance with the holy God ; he certainly felt, in his daemon or guardian spirit, the inexplicable nearness of his Father in heaven ; but he was destitute of a view of the divine nature in the humble form of a ser-

* De Civit. Dei, V. 18.

vant, the Redeemer with the crown of thorns ; he had no ideal conception of that true holiness, which manifests itself in the most humble love and the most affectionate humility. Hence, also, he was unable to become fully acquainted with his own heart, though he so greatly desired it. Hence too he was destitute of any deep humiliation and grief on account of his sinful wretchedness ; of that true humility, which no longer allows itself in a biting, sarcastic tone of instruction ; and destitute likewise of any filial, devoted love. These perfections can be shared only by the Christian, who beholds the Redeemer as a wanderer upon earth in the form of a servant ; and who receives in his own soul the sanctifying power of that Redeemer, by intercourse with him.

On these grounds, it can neither be permitted in general to transplant the spirit of heathenism into the youth of christian seminaries ; nor can the attempt even be sanctioned, to engraft some of the better branches of the wild olive-tree upon the good ; unless, indeed—which, however, can rarely be supposed in the case of tender youth,—the new man has already become so strong, that, whatever of good he may borrow from heathenism, before he suffers it to pass over into his own soul and life, he first commits it to the purifying power of that Spirit which must pervade all native and acquired good, if it is to be acceptable to God. In those schools, indeed, where, instead of the love of Christ, ambition and a miserable vanity are continually called into action as a stimulus to diligence and effort, it will indeed be difficult to do without the influence of the heathenish spirit on the minds of the youth. Indeed, it would be hard for teachers of this class to point out, wherein their method of unfolding and forming the human mind, differs from that of the Stoics and the gardens of Academus.

But if now Christianity is not allowed to pervade and sanctify the *sacerdotal* employment of education, (for so it deserves to be called,) it would seem in fact only to stand as an idle statue in the pathway of the Christian's life. We must, therefore, in serious earnest, repeat, that the spirit of classic antiquity may aid in forming what it will in the human mind,—only not the **HEART**. For this, there is but one former and teacher, and that is Christ and his Spirit. On this account, every teacher in a school of learning, who would discharge the duties of his office as a Christian, is under the sacred obligation of pointing his pupils again and again to the fact, that the Spirit, which no man

knows but he who has received it, produces a new life in the souls of those who receive it. And if one has any where to consider, that he may *buy gold too dear*, it is in the study of classic antiquity.

We subjoin the words of two of the more ancient teachers of the church, upon this subject. Augustin says, respecting the study of the ancients :²⁹³ "The Egyptians had not only idols and heavy burdens, before which the Israelites fled with horror ; but they had also precious implements of gold and silver, and garments, which Israel appropriated to themselves *for a better use*. Just so all the learning and systems of the heathen have not only idols, and heavy and unprofitable burdens, which every Christian must abhor ; but also liberal arts and sciences which are useful for the service of truth."—And Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, says :²⁹⁴ "Heathen learning is nowhere approved of, either by Christ or by his apostles, as if it came from God ; but still it is not totally rejected as pernicious. And this was not done without consideration ; for many philosophers among the heathen were not far from the truth.* They have not indeed attained to the chief thing in doctrine, the knowledge of the mystery of Christ. Nevertheless the enemies of Christianity may be effectually subdued, when one wields their own weapons against them. Besides, Christ and the apostles tell us, that we should prove all things, to the intent that we may not be deceived. This will not be our lot, if we seize upon the weapons of the enemy, and yet do not accord with them,—if we avoid the bad, but hold fast to what is good and true, and prove and use it all. **THE GOOD PERTAINS ALWAYS TO THE TRUTH, LET IT BE WHERE IT WILL.**"†

²⁹³ Augustini de doctrina Christ. II. 20. Origen before him had already made the same comparison.

²⁹⁴ Socratis Hist. Eccles. III. 16.

* It is to be remembered that this historian lived as late as the fifth century ; and that long before this period, the philosophy of the Greeks and Romans had been greatly improved by the light and influence of Christianity. Ammonius Saccas, a founder of the New-Platonic school at Alexandria, (A. D. 193,) was even born and educated as a Christian, and incorporated much from Christianity into the new medley of philosophy, which soon became so prevalent. TRANS.

† Why the author should thus give us only such brief "hints on the study of classical literature," is not easy to conjecture. And

what he has given, is rather in the shape of *memoranda*, apparently put down with the design of filling out a more extended and better connected train of discussion. We may well regret that he did not take time and space to fill out this promising section in his usual manner. It is to be hoped he will yet seize some occasion for supplying the deficiency.

Should he do this, we shall doubtless find his hints on the *moral* influence of the study, greatly expanded and corroborated. This, in fact, is the most important point in the whole question.

The first step in the discussion of this topic, is to ascertain what this moral influence *actually* is, both in its nature and degree; and then to seek for the causes of the good and of the evil influence, and for the requisite modifications. And what but actual experience is to settle the question, as to the nature of this influence, just as in every other question of philosophy?—And when experience or testimony on this point, instead of being uniform, is found to be various and even directly opposite, and that too under the same mode of teaching; where shall we look for the cause of this *difference*? Is it not to be found mainly in the different *temperament* and habits of mental association in different individuals? One has been excited to sensuality; another, to unhallowed ambition; a third is not conscious of any definite moral influence; and a fourth, like the young Spartans while beholding the drunken slaves, is led to feelings of mingled abhorrence and contempt, in view of the full drawn pictures of heathenish vices, which he finds in the classics.

Examine, then, the temperaments of these different classes of students, and if found in accordance respectively with these different influences, what a lesson must it afford—not merely on the vast importance of the best *mode of teaching*—but as to the *individuals who are to be advised to pursue classic literature at all; and to what extent; and at what period of life*. What may be safe and salutary for one, may be moral death for another; and what may be too perilous in boyhood, may be hazarded in riper years and better circumstances. The judicious parent and the sagacious and christian preceptor will be awake to the responsibility thus devolving on them, in the guidance of the young immortals committed to their care.

TRANS.