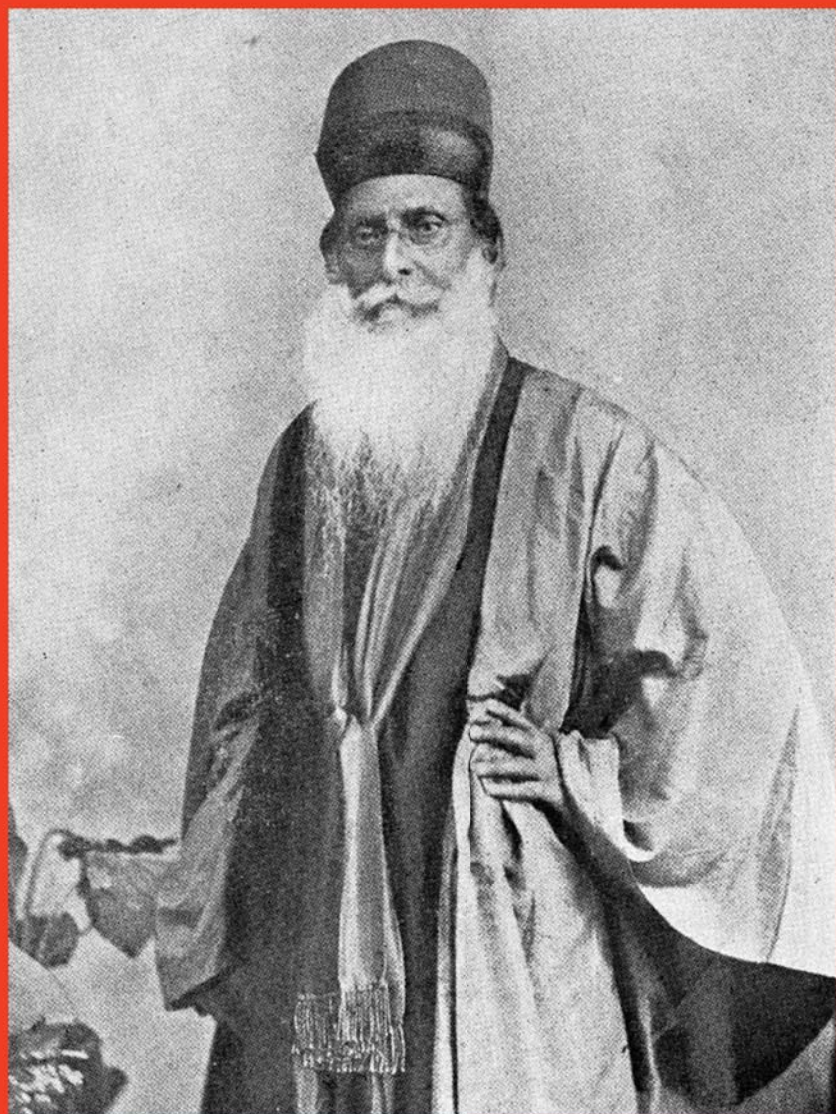


COLLECTED WORKS OF K.R. CAMA,
ZOROASTRIAN SCHOLAR



BERSERKER

BOOKS



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KHARSHEDJI RUSTAMJI CAMA

A LIFE SKETCH*

By Professor Phiroze J. Shroff

Kharshedji Rustamji Cama, noted oriental scholar, social reformer and educationist was born in Bombay on November 11, 1831. He belonged to a respectable middle-class Parsi family, several members of which were in trade and business. He studied in the Elphinstone Institution where he was awarded the West Scholarship for proficiency in his studies.

At an early age of 19 he joined his family firm and embarked on a business and trading career. In 1850 he went on a business trip to China. It was from China that he gave indications of his strong inclinations for promoting education and social reform. He sent anonymous donations to the Board of Education in Bombay to award prizes to successful essay-writers on educational and economic subjects.

In his early twenties he was appointed a member of the Managing Committee of the Mulla Firoze Madressa, which was started in 1854 for teaching Avesta and Pahalavi. In the same year he joined the Freemason's lodge and attained to some of the highest honours in that world-wide organization.

In June 1855 accompanied by Dadabhai Naoroji and Maneckji Hormasji Cama he left for England to set up a business firm in that country. Between 1855 and 1859 he travelled extensively all over Europe. It was during his

* The material for this biographical sketch has been culled from The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, 1900, K. R. Cama by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, 1932, Kharshedji Rustamji Cama, a Memoir, by S. M. Edwardes 1922, and other sources.

sojourn in Europe that he studied Avesta, Pahlavi, as also French and German. He became interested in the study of the ancient Zoroastrian scriptures from the philological point of view. With that object in view he made a critical study of the grammar and etymology of the ancient Iranian languages. He made a close and systematic study not only of the ancient Iranian languages, but the profound philosophic and metaphysical thought enshrined in the ancient scriptures in these languages.

In Europe he studied under eminent orientalists like Spiegel, Charle, Mohl and Oppert. He was one of the most ardent and devoted students of Spiegel and a bond of affection grew up between the teacher and the disciple. He studied the Cuneiform Inscriptions under Professor Jules Oppert. Through his studies he came in contact with renowned scholars like Burnouf, Bopp, Menant, Haug, Darmesteter and A. W. Jackson which further stimulated him to prosecute his advanced studies, both in the philosophy and philology of Iranian subjects. Throughout his life he remained a conscientious, inquiring and indefatigable student.

Kharshedji Cama took a prominent part in getting Avesta and Pahlavi languages included amongst the recognised subjects for the matriculation as well as degree courses of the Bombay University.

Though he had utmost veneration for the Zoroastrian scriptures, he studied his subject with an open mind. He did not take up any dogmatic or illogical attitude. His main object was to search for the truth and the deeper he probed into the ancient lore, the greater became his veneration for the inspiring and life-giving teachings of his religion. In all his research work he was painstaking and thorough.

According to his very first pupil Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha Kharshedji Cama was constantly carrying

on correspondence with most of the renowned European savants who generally consulted him on various Zoroastrian topics.

After his return from Europe he started giving tuitions in Bombay to young Parsi students, specially of the priest class, in ancient Iranian languages and scriptures. He played a pioneering role in India of expounding ancient Iranian scriptures in accordance with philological and scientific methods. His able and sympathetic guidance to his students made him an ideal teacher and won for him the respect and veneration of his enthusiastic band of students. Several of his students became distinguished scholars in their own right and advanced the cause of oriental studies.

He was a staunch friend of Parsi scholars who worked along systematic and scientific principles of philology and were hard-working and sincerely devoted to the cause of research in oriental and particularly Iranian studies.

Kharshedji Cama was an ideal teacher. His expositions to his students were marked by lucidity and a wealth of interesting information. His students looked upon him with respect and affection. He was not only a path-finder but a guide, philosopher and friend to those who desired to accompany him on the trail.

Owing to Kharshedji Cama's efforts a society was founded in 1864, called the Zarhosti Din-ni Khol Karnari Mandli, i.e., the Society for Making Researches in Zoroastrian Religion. Under the auspices of this Society he and his enthusiastic pupils and others interested in Iranian studies used to meet periodically and discuss various questions connected with Zoroastrianism and allied subjects. He took a very keen interest in the affairs of the Society and read a number of learned papers in its meetings. In appreciation of the notable services rendered by him as a scholar, educationist and social reformer, the so-

ciety presented to him on February 13, 1901 an address in highly laudatory terms, which were richly deserved. He also published a number of issues of a journal called *Jarthosti Abhyas*, i.e. Zoroastrian studies, in which were published from time to time learned papers and articles dealing with Zoroastrianism.

Kharshedji Cama delivered a number of instructive lectures on several important topics under the auspices of the *Rahnumae Mazdayasnan Sabha* and the *Society for Giving Religious Education about Zoroastrianism and for the Spread of Religious Knowledge*.

Being keenly interested in the promotion of the study of Iranian subjects, Kharshedji Cama took a diligent and painstaking interest in the activities of the *Mulla Feroze Madressa*, *Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy Zarthosti Madressa* and the *Nusserwanji Ratanji Tata Madressa at Navsari*. From time to time he offered substantial prizes for essays and learned works, which were won by prominent scholars. He was actively associated with other learned bodies like the *Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, of which he was one of the oldest members and a Vice-President at the time of his death.

He was an ardent advocate of the reform of the calendar amongst the Parsis. Having carried out extensive researches on the question of the Parsi calendar from religious, historical, astronomical and scientific points of view, he came to the conclusion that the Parsi calendar, which was originally based on seasons and began each year on the *Jamshedi Navroz* day falling on the 21st of March, should also begin on the same day amongst the modern day Parsis. A number of Parsis were convinced by Kharshedji Cama's advocacy of a *Fasli* or seasonal calendar and started the practice of following a *Fasli* calendar for ceremonial and other purposes.

All throughout his life he remained a social worker and worked actively for the cause of education, medical relief, health promotion and labour welfare. Late in his life he became the Secretary of the Colaba Land and Mills Company. In his capacity as the Secretary he championed the cause of labour and promoted the welfare of the workers. His attitude towards labour problem proves that it is the religious-minded man, imbued with a sense of justice, fair-play and humanity, who is able to do much more for labour than the labour agitators, who often use labour as pawns to advance their personal interests.

Kharshedji Cama was very much interested in bringing about social reform. He was a reformer but he was not an unreasoning iconoclast. He carefully considered any time-hallowed practice which he wanted to reform. He brought such practices as well as the reforms he wanted to introduce to the crucible of reason. It was only when he was completely satisfied that any particular practice or custom was based on superstition or ignorance that he took up cudgels for its eradication.

A would-be reformer must be well-versed in the subject matter of his reform, persuasive and temperate in his language, sincere in his objective and desirous of bringing about public welfare. Because Kharshedji Cama possessed these qualities in an abundant measure he became a successful social reformer.

That Kharshedji Cama was a constructive and balanced reformer can be seen from his attitude towards the question of the Baj Rozgar and Muktaḍ ceremonies amongst the Parsis. These ceremonies, which were for the pious remembrance of the dead, were being challenged by some people on the ground that there was no reference to them in the earliest Zoroastrian scriptures and that they were in the nature of superstitious custom. Kharshedji Cama differed from this extreme view and upheld the

practice of the performance of these ceremonies on the ground that they inspired a feeling of reverence and gratitude towards the departed souls and encouraged the living to live a good life.

He was a great advocate of religious education for children and the younger generation, because he rightly believed that a life moulded from a very early age by the noble teachings of religion of truth and virtue would be an asset to the society, apart from the fact that such a life, as taught by Zarathushtra, was its own reward.

Kharshedji Cama believed in the importance and necessity of female education. Like Napoleon he believed that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world. He, therefore, worked zealously to promote the cause of female education. Whatever he preached he practised in his own life. Hence, he saw to it that his daughters were given adequate and suitable education.

In appreciation of outstanding contributions made by Kharshedji Cama to the cause of Iranian studies a Memorial Volume containing essays on Iranian subjects by distinguished Western and Parsi scholars was presented to him on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. The first page after the title-page of the Volume contains the Avestan text with its corresponding Pahlavi text which says: "No harm comes to the honest and to the diligent, living among the evil-minded". Kharshedji Cama was honest and diligent and no harm came to him from the evil-minded.

Kharshedji Cama was active and full of zest for life till the last day of his earthly life. On 20th August 1909 as he was dressing to go out to attend a meeting, he suddenly collapsed and passed away. His was a peaceful death befitting a noble soul. The news of his sudden passing away caused wide-spread grief amongst all sections of the people in Bombay. Glowing tributes were paid to his life-

work at a memorial meeting of the citizens held on 8th December 1909. The Governor of the Bombay Presidency Sir George Sydenham Clarke (afterwards Lord Sydenham) presided at the meeting. Concluding his presidential speech he said: "In conclusion I will only say this, that the lesson I wish to draw from Mr. Cama's life, as I am able to understand it, is the power of moral courage. He obeyed the dictates of his conscience, and never hesitated to do or say what he thought right without fear of criticism and without the desire of notoriety. It was this quality, perhaps, above all others, which enabled him to accomplish much for the good of others and which, now that he has passed away, entitles him to an enduring habitation in the memory of his community and of all the citizens of Bombay".

At a memorial meeting held in September 1909 by the Grand Lodge of All Scottish Freemasonry in India to put on record the services of Kharshedji Cama, Colonel Forman, the Grand Master of the Lodge, said: "Actuated from his boyhood by high and noble ideals, he steadfastly and unfalteringly pursued them, undeterred by opposition oft-times bitter, always begotten of prejudice and uncharitableness. Earnestly desiring the betterment of his fellow countrymen and especially, with a natural bias, of the Parsi community, he strove, through good and ill report, to forward it, and with what measure of success many of you here present know, and many of you may well be grateful for. Unselfish, modest, pure in heart and mind, he by the inherent force of the faith within him, disarmed the criticism of his opponents, and in the end trod the path of life, honoured, respected, beloved."

At the memorial meeting held on 8th December 1909 it was decided to raise a Memorial to perpetuate the memory of his notable life-work. Funds were collected to establish an Institute for the promotion of oriental studies.

Seven years later on 18th December 1916 H. E. Lord Willingdon, Governor of Bombay Presidency, performed the ceremony of inaugurating the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. For the last over 50 years the Institute has been doing useful work to promote the cause of oriental studies. Presiding at the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Institute H. E. Dr. P. V. Cheria, Governor of Maharashtra, eulogised the work of the Institute in the field of Oriental Studies.

Kharshedji Cama was a man of very remarkable traits. He was not only a great scholar but a good and pious man. He was a man of great intellectual powers and was blessed with a keen analytical and critical faculty. He was deeply interested in the study of science and acquired a good knowledge of subjects like astronomy, botany, chemistry and horticulture. He was a very versatile man. He studied art, including music and painting. He loved music. He made a systematic study of painting and acquired the reputation of being a connoisseur of pictures in oil and water-colour. He was strongly of the view that the appreciation of fine arts and in particular love for music developed the devotional side of man's mind.

Kharshedji Cama was a fluent and able speaker, particularly in the Gujarati language. He spoke with conviction and possessed in ample measure the power of holding the attention of his hearers.

He was a firm believer in the old adage of *Mens sana in corpore sano*. He kept himself physically and mentally fit by taking long walks, performing his daily dozen and by doing systematic breathing exercises. The idea of neglecting the body in pursuit of intellectual attainments was abhorrent to him. He attached great importance to the Zoroastrian teaching on the subject of physical cleanliness. He practised nature cure methods. He rightly held that the practice of nature cure was more important than tak-

ing medicines, for curing physical ailment. He was very regular and methodical in his daily life. He had a great regard for the value of time and deprecated the wastage of time in futile and meaningless activities. He believed that life had a purpose and that it was the duty of all men to so live as to fulfil life's purpose.

To him practice of truth, honesty and justice was of prime importance in life. He did not hanker after wealth. He believed that a man should have just enough money to live a decent life and to bring up his family in a decent manner. He had no use for material luxuries. He despised all pomp and show. He was simple and unassuming. He was as free from meanness and vulgar ostentation as he was free from arrogance, spite and petty jealousy. He had the humility and magnanimity of a true scholar. He was sincere, kind and courteous in his dealings with his fellow-men. He had learnt to control anger even when provoked. He was cheerful by nature and had a healthy outlook on life. His life was full of zest and constructive thinking.

Kharshedji Cama was a man of very charitable disposition. He lived a frugal life and saved money to give freely to help all good causes. He often gave assistance and encouragement to those in want without letting his left hand know what his right hand was doing.

He was a sincere and devout Zoroastrian. The sheet-anchor of his religious belief was that the religion of Zarathushtra was an eminently natural and rational faith and that its sincere practice would enable a man to live happily in this life and in the life to come. He endeavoured to mould his life on the ethical code contained in the religion of Zarathushtra. The measure of success of his constant endeavour can be judged from the fact that he was known to be a good man, a man of good thoughts, words and deeds. All throughout his life he upheld the doctrine that a student of religion should derive inspiration, encourage-

ment and strength from his study of religious and ethical subjects. He had an extensive knowledge of comparative religions. He had no use for people who paraded religious knowledge but whose lives were divorced from the practice of the inspiring teachings of religion. He had a firm conviction that the Almighty was guiding humanity to a noble goal and that the man who received in his heart the purifying and the life-giving message of Ahura Mazda attained speedily the glorious and resplendent goal of human perfection. He hungered for God's grace and received it abundantly.

Kharshedji Cama's life has valuable lessons for all people. His long and useful life teaches that by sincerely practising the virtues of truth and justice, of good thoughts, good words and good deeds, of diligence and service to fellowmen, of simplicity and humility, of dedication and selflessness, man can bring sublimity, refinement and purposefulness to his own life.

THE
RELIGION AND THE CUSTOMS
OF THE
PERSIANS AND OTHER IRANIANS,
As Described by the Grecian and Roman Authors.

Translated from the German of DR. ADOLF RAPP.

INTRODUCTION

ABOUT THE AUTHORITIES.

In consequence, and as the result, of their stringent researches, our learned scholars have discovered, that the noble Persian nation is really kindred to all the other nations, which now-a-days claim to stand at the pinnacle of all the civilisation of the world. Ever since this recognition, the ablest and the most ingenious of our philological and antiquarian investigators have made it the constant aim of their studies, to endeavour to rescue the Iranian nation, together with the past and forgotten evidences of its genius, from that oblivion which has indeed absorbed so many great and glorious monuments of human ingenuity, nay, has shrouded even these with darkness throughout a very long age. And, indeed, it is astonishing, how much, within the recent short time, our amount of knowledge has increased, in the endeavours made to excavate, as it were, the Old-Iranian life of the period. Already, the language of Ancient Iran has

The accord of the Persian religion and customs, as they are presented to us in the Grecian reports, with the contents, of the Avesta, is already very well established in every fundamental trait. These accounts cannot be referring, even in matter of form, to any other religion than to the one which is to be found in the Iranians' own works, since both authorities mention the name of Zoroaster as the founder of the religion. It would seem from this that we would be right to assume that, since both authorities give similar accounts of the same religion, necessarily the Grecian accounts ought to be held only of second importance in the presence of the Iranian. There would, indeed, be the greater reason to think so, when the nature of the foreign sources is taken into consideration. It is well known that the Grecians, by reason of their being led away with a preconceived desire to be able to trace the elements of their own religion in all the rest, have often been unsuccessful in at all understanding the foreign religions, and whenever they have succeeded, it has been but very imperfectly. In the next place, we find so little of a complete continuous exposition of the Persian faith in the Grecian works, that we are rather, to gain our object, forced to laboriously collate together stray notices which are scattered throughout the entire Grecian and Roman literature, extending from the fifth century before, till within the sixth after, Christ. Again, unfortunately, in the first place, in giving these notices the writers have mostly nothing to do directly with our subject; for they are introduced in a great part only incidentally and occasionally, when writing on other subjects. Secondly, at the very first glance, one could

not help but perceive how much of the false information regarding the Zoroastrian religion was current and believed in the Grecian territories. Thirdly, after all, they are instructive and serviceable merely for the history of their own age, and are not entitled, in short, to be constructed into a coherent history.

Contrasted with these, the Iranian sources are free from the said shortcomings, and appear in quite a different light. They are, in fact, the sacred books themselves in which the religion of the Iranians is laid down, and let us ask, very naturally, from what other sources is it possible that truth can be obtained more purely and more directly than from these? Of course, there could be only one answer; and that is evident, and could be given with much show in its favour; but in reality, when we come to minute examination, we arrive at a somewhat different conclusion. Firstly, as regards the formale, the credibility of the Grecian accounts is by no means to be lightly esteemed, as could be of itself evident from the fact of the prevalence of a very lively intercourse between Greece and Persia, and from the conformity to be traced between the several accounts of their own different writers themselves. On the other hand, with respect to the Avesta, it cannot be said that it can well stand on critical grounds. The books comprised thereunder are a collection of fragments of an extensive sacred literature. They * are no longer extant in the original texts, but have passed through, by means of a translation, into another tolerably different dialect having an entirely separate alphabet of its own. Even then, whilst

* The Professor has fallen into this error by an oversight.—Tr.

translating, it was felt that much of it was no longer possible to be clearly understood. These books contain portions out of quite different ages, and although this much is certain, that the contents thereof ascend up to a very high antiquity, still the exact age of their composition has not yet been definitely settled. So far as modern inquiries go and the matter stands at present, the same is put down somewhat at about the age of Artaxerxes III; and rather anterior than posterior to it; consequently, in the second half of the fourth century. The accounts of the Grecians of an earlier period than this are, therefore, necessarily, to be taken as older. The claim of the Grecian to maintain their position even in the presence of the Iranian sources, derives its full justification mainly from the contemplation of the nature of the information contained therein.

The Avesta was, as it is well confirmed now-a-days, composed in the East, in Bactria. It can therefore refer, in the first instance, only to those events which must have happened and were current only in the east of Iran. On the other hand, the Grecians scarcely seem to know the East, and refer to it but seldom. Very nearly all their reports have reference to the West alone, viz., to Media and Persia. The Avesta, on the other hand, does not notice Persia even once. Amongst the names of the sixteen different countries which are mentioned as created by Ormuzd, that of Persia is not to be met with, and, besides, the name does not occur even once in any other part of the Avesta, which is strange, as, doubtlessly, the Persians were the dominant nation when these accounts were composed. Even of Media the cognizance of the Avesta does not extend beyond Ragha.

The Magi, the so-called priests of Western Persia, are not at all mentioned in the Avesta, in which, on the contrary, Athrava, the known priests of the East, are alone named. There are many other things besides, which point to a distinction that prevailed between the East and the West; as, for instance, in religious matters, not merely the characterising of Ragha throughout the Avesta as the seat of the "pernicious overgreat scepticism," but also, and in particular, the diversity observed in the treatment of the dead bodies in the East and the West. In respect of the outward culture, however, the diversity of the various armaments used by the Medes, Persians, and the other Western races on the one hand, and by the Bactrians, and the races connected with them, on the other hand, plainly indicates, to a certain degree, the existence of a division of Iran into Eastern and Western. Now, it is true, the conformity between the religious ideas as explained in the Avesta and in the Grecian works, is so considerable, that we are justified in concluding therefrom, that the faith of which these ideas are the exponents must have been necessarily one and the same. Yet, in the face of this, we can infer, from the fact of a diversity existing between Median and Bactrian customs and the entire culture, that it was quite well possible, and even probable, that this religion, as it came in contact with the culture and the outward civilization of the two different directions, brought forth in the West a different mode of religious and social life, and perhaps of the cult also, than in the East. It must be confessed, however, that on account of the meagreness of materials in the works relating to both, the East and the West, we are unable to adduce any

further proofs in support of our argument than those already brought forward; yet we are satisfied that this one proof of the diversity in one of the most important and the most sacred of customs, namely, that of disposing of the dead, is quite sufficiently conclusive on the point. This being the case, that the Eastern Persia had a different history from the Western, the Grecian authorities obtain, contrasted with the Avesta, a perfectly independent consideration, and hence it would not be right to judge of the correctness of their statements, according as they conform with the Avesta or not, as regards other matters of culture or without qualification as regards religious matters. Hence we conclude that both the authorities are equally valuable, but each one separately for its own province.

The last remark leads us on to another further point, which, we hope, will render still more clear this attribution of equal authority to both these sources. It is known that the contents of the Avesta are pretty uniform. They are comprised, in one part, of liturgical hymns, which recur almost constantly in the selfsame forms; of invocations, which are solicitously purposed to enumerate all the attributes of the divinities, and to hold up conspicuously all the phases of their nature; in the other part, of ritualistic regulations and religious ordinances, particularly in reference to the purifications. All the ever-possible circumstances under which a man can pollute himself, and other pure things around him, are here foreseen; and in all cases, partly the punishments, partly the purification-acts, are prescribed. Although to him, who examines these writings, search-

ing for a system of religion and for a vivid representation of social life, a great deal of those uniform contents vanishes, he will, nevertheless, attain in part only, his strict object, namely, a conception of the religion, but not a lively view of Iranian life; therefore the Avesta stands, especially in this latter respect, in need of an essential supplement. That the Greek sources can yield it, is by no means to be insisted on; they too are moreover, as nothing different may be expected from their nature, very defective. But surely they give us a view of the Persian life, even of the religious one, as it was possible to be conceived from outward appearances and actual performances, and so enable us to clearly recognise, in particular, the connection which exists between the religious doctrines and the social states and the visible modes of life; whereas in the Avesta, political and social information, particularly of the royalty in its religious importance, is almost as much as non-existent. Even in the matter of Cultus, the Grecians impart much information which we seek in vain from the Avesta; as, for instance, about the holy festival—processions and the religious paraphernalia used on such occasions; likewise they tell us much about the outward history of religion, such as the origin and introduction of new teachings and worship. It is natural, however, to conclusively form our conjecture of even the religious doctrines, after examining the nature of the worship practised. Partly, by means of this conjecture, partly—nay, frequently—by means of the direct statements of the ancient writers on the various subjects of the teachings, much becomes clearer even in the regions of religious ideas; as, for instance, in regard to the relationship of

Ahriman to Ormuzd, the figures of Mithra, Anaitis, &c. Yet, indeed, the chief value of the Grecian information, in which the Grecian writings excel the Avesta, consists, as already stated, in the narration of the outward circumstances of the religious and social aspects of actual life.

Now, although these three grounds—namely, the want of security with reference to criticism under which the Avesta labours, the geographical difference of the region for which both sources pretend to be the only authorities, and the conception of religious life from two different aspects—ensure to the Greek sources independence and isolation from the Avesta, regard is due, on the other hand, also to that side of the question, according to which the Greek sources can by no means dispense with the aid of the Avesta. As, namely, we become, according to the Greek sources, acquainted with the religious life of the Iranians, chiefly in its external realisation in the life of the community, and, according to the Avesta, chiefly (as here, naturally, merely a preponderance of the one over the other falls under consideration) in the direct expression religious consciousness has assumed, partly in the invocation and partly in the religious law, so both sources in general stand in such a relation to each other that, the Avesta furnishes the religious fundamental views, whilst, on the other hand, the Greek reports represent the external form in which these fundamental views have manifested themselves.

Under the external forms we comprise at the very first, the worship, then, partly, the permanent forms of social life, the morals, customs, habits, organizations of

every sort, partly the individual acts, deeds and words, and generally everything by means of which human kind manifests its mind. True, we are not entirely without finding, in the ancient writers, really dogmatical statements too, though they may be comparatively few, bearing indeed, in fact, even on religious ideas; of these few there may happen to be rather a larger number regarding the individual deities than general religious views; yet we are dependent mostly on the external life depicted by these writers for drawing our inferences regarding the nature of the religious notions entertained by the Iranians. This plan of drawing inferences from the ancient writings need not be difficult, when one already knows the common fundamental principles of the Iranian religion; without such a previous knowledge, however, we acknowledge, the attempt would be almost fruitless. For, on the one hand, it is not everything that is current in a nation, or that appears in an individual, that has something underneath, spiritual or general, to be revealed, and, consequently, one would be easily misled by mere assumption if he proceeded to discover them everywhere; on the other hand, there are several other things in which such is really the case, and yet, in their appearance in the presence of others, the tracings are too much lost, and have become too much unintelligible, to render it extremely difficult to disclose therefrom, and bring into light, the spiritual ideas which lie underneath and remain hidden behind. By such an inquiry even, without any previous knowledge of any kind, one would succeed in acquiring, out of the whole range of knowledge, only a large number of deities, of general conceptions and religious ideas, and, after all,

it would remain extremely doubtful whether the central connecting point, which ought to be the main object of search, had been correctly discovered. Now, it is here that there is need of the knowledge of the Avesta for the right exposition of the Iranian religion and customs even as they are depicted in foreign accounts—in fact, for the determination of the general fundamental principles, from the right knowledge of which alone the particular ones can be conceived in their proper light, and for the finding out of the central point, round which all the different elements of the religious and social life group together.

The knowledge of the Avesta teaches us that the Iranian view of the essence of light is to take it as the first source of all that is good, wholesome, pure, and true; against the same is held out the fear of darkness and the spectres of the night. But the Grecian writers have not studied the general principles of the Persian religion so deeply as to be able to comprehend and recognise decidedly that, after all, this is really the pole, round which the whole religious system of the Persians revolves; amongst these writers, the conception too of the pure and the impure, and of the evil spirits, is much in the background. Yet we do not by any means wish to be so understood as to say that, for the knowledge of all those fundamental principles, we are to be dependent solely upon the Avesta, on the strength of the belief in the correctness of the mere hypothesis that both, the Greek and the Iranian, sources have the same common contents. On the contrary, no information that is solely dependent on the authority of the classical

writers requires any element to be inserted, either by way of preliminary or addition, which does not admit of being established fully from these very authorities. Just this happens to be the case with regard to the fundamental principle of light and darkness. It may be plainly pointed out not only as the basis of many religious ideas, of a large portion of the worship and of a multitude of customs and usages observed by the Persians, but all the various notices of the Greeks on the religion and manners of the Persians, form themselves into a system only after premising this conception; only by it they spontaneously assume their correct position and appear in their true light. The former is the external and this the internal argument for the justification of this proceeding. The otherwise almost complete agreement of the religious systems, described by both the sources, so plainly as it speaks likewise in favour of this justification, is not so much as taken into consideration, conformably to the presumption that the contents of both of them might, in a possible way, be also at variance, at least in isolated particulars. The simple question rather is, not whether a particular idea occurring in the Avesta can be elicited also from the Greek statements, but whether it contains the only possible explanation of a number of otherwise unintelligible phenomena of Iranian life, and thereby makes the necessity of its consultation self-evident. It follows from all this, that the knowledge of the Avesta must serve as a means for the finding out of the correct interpretation and position of all such notices, which are found scattered in the classical authors; that the application of this means, however, could seem to be justified

just then only when the material so fits in completely into an organised whole, that every trace of those appliances disappears, and the structure raised in this wise is then able to stand independent of all external supports. In this manner, the exposition of the religion and morals of Iran, as they are met with in the accounts of the classical writers, would never be interrupted by drawing on the help of the Avesta, since even the inquiry as regards the degree to which the results gained from the Grecian sources agree with the contents of the Avesta, does not belong to our purpose.

This relation of the accounts of the classical writers to the Avesta explains why the classical source for the acquirement of the knowledge of Persian antiquities could, only in modern days, be utilised with advantage. Already so early as in the year 1590 A.C., a Frenchman, by name Barnabas Brisson, had attempted to sketch out a complete life of the ancient Persians, in all its phases, from the statements of the classical writers. Great as is the acknowledgment due to this author for his extensive reading and erudition, yet the work he produced cannot be said to claim a greater value than what is due to a compilation of quotations from different authors, arranged according to their subject-matters. This arrangement did not enable one to penetrate below the surface, to discover the principles and the character of the Persian nation. Kleuker was the first who had this at his disposal for the means. He has, in the third part of the second volume of his appendix to the Zend Avesta, collected with great diligence and correct discernment, everything most essential from the classical authors,

and, to do him justice, it must be acknowledged that, in the work he had voluntarily undertaken, he had succeeded completely. He sought to establish, in fact, the harmony that prevails, relative to the religion of the Persians, between the testimonies of the classical writers, and the contents of the Avesta, in all general outlines and, wherever possible, even in single particulars, with the object thereby to verify the, then very strongly contested, genuineness and the great antiquity of the sacred books of the Persians published by Anquetil du Perron. In this aim he followed the chronological order of the authors, and, in so doing, only occasionally took notice of the phenomena of Iranian life. Independent of the fact that there yet remained much to be added—often not unimportant—to the collection he had made from the ancient authors, our point of view happens to be different from his, as could be well surmised from what we have already expressed above. Our object is, unlike his, in fact, not to adduce proofs of the agreement of the statements of the classical writers with the contents of the Avesta, but rather to give a portraiture of the self-dependent exposition of the religious and social life of the Iranians as found in these ancient authors. Hence we are necessitated to adopt an order of treatment according to subject-matter, and to keep our constant view alike on the religion as on the manners and customs.

But it still remains for us to explain our opinions of the Grecian and Roman sources, of their nature, and of their applicability to our purpose. All that could possibly be advanced against these sources has been

already said above, namely, that they mostly consist of isolated notices, which are scattered throughout the entire literature, that they contain much that is untrue and exaggerated, that there have been very many writers who have not troubled themselves with so much as correct statements—indeed, that even those who attempted to give such have had no real understanding of the Persian notions. All this is admitted, but, within certain limits only. History testifies that the Grecians have had ample opportunities to enable them to learn about the Persian religion and the Persian social life.

Greece had, so to speak, developed itself in contact with the Persians. It was the war with the Persian Empire which had at first brought Greece to the knowledge of its power and its national unity; this war was continued, then the Grecians, on their part, attacked the Persians on their own territory; and whenever the Grecian tribes fought against each other, the Persians were always sure to interpose their great power in these strifes, in so far as they sided at times with the one or the other party. Even after the termination of the Peloponnesian Wars, the Persian king had his hand in everything that happened in Greece, till at last the Greeks, under Alexander's generalship, penetrated into the innermost parts of Asia, and had opportunities there of observing Persian life in its native aspect. For the knowledge of this accurate acquaintance thus gained, we are indebted to the numerous works of the writers of Alexander's history, and particularly to the geography of Strabo, who derived his information about Asia mainly from these Alexandrian historians.

Besides this political interchange, the commercial communications were known to be very intimate. But what indeed is of greater importance for our purpose is, that a number of scientifically instructed Grecians had travelled to Persia, impelled by the interest they had felt in the mysterious teachings of Zoroaster. This is testified to us, amongst other writers, mainly by Pliny. He mentions that the Magian Osthanes, who had accompanied Xerxes on his expedition to Greece, had first acquainted the Grecians with the Zoroastrian teachings; he says—"This much is certain, that this Osthanes had excited in the nationalities of Greece not only a craving, but even a real passion, for this new science. From ancient days downwards, and almost in all ages, people were ambitious to acquire the highest literary merit and fame in treating of this science. At least, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, and Plato crossed the seas for its acquirement. This newly-gained science they prized after their return home, and it they considered as a mystery." A number of Grecians have written on the Magi, Theopompus, Hermippus, Dinon, &c., must have known the teachings of the Magi very accurately. At the same time, ever after Themistocles, the Grecians had constantly resided at the Persian Court, and who naturally, when they returned to their country, brought with them a vast knowledge of what they had there seen and heard. It is undoubtedly true, however, that much of the fabulous was interlarded in the wonderful character in which the teachings of the Magi came to be viewed by the Grecians, particularly in later times respecting the spurious Magism, and that several writers, without waiting to make inquiries into the correctness

of the reports, simply believed and accepted them as true. On the other hand, there were several others, such as Herodotus and Strabo, who really made it a strict point to investigate into the truth thereof. Although even against these men it can justly be urged that they have not probed the religious and social ideas of the Persians to their very root, yet it can be replied in their favor that at all events they have been able to give with the greater accuracy, whatever they have acutally seen with their own eyes; and, that such reliable reports often so help us to get at the best explanations of even real Persian ideas that, even in the other statements which these writers have taken the pains to give, relative to religious conceptions too, it is not difficult to extricate the historical truth from the crust in which it is enveloped, in pursuance of the strange Grecian habit of prejudicially viewing the foreign religions. Besides, the fact, that in the Grecian works there is nowhere to be found a consecutive and full account of the Persian religion, but that for the making up of which we are solely dependent on solitary notices scattered here and there, speaks, on the contrary, in favor of their trustworthiness, because the reports of the most diverse of writers harmonise together completely in the most beautiful manner into a definite whole.

Hereby, it is of course necessary to know how to distinguish truth from falsehood. But it must be kept in mind that in this process of discernment, it is not necessary for the purposes of carefulness that we apply that same rule of criticism which is expedient to be used in inquiries on other subjects, e.g., history, viz., the test of

the authority of the writers. Indeed, in point of fact, as the fewest Grecians had derived their knowledge of Persian life from their own personal observations, they were indeed obliged to draw their information on that subject from the next best sources. Hence, it is first of all necessary to inquire whether such a source has been the work of trustworthy writer, whether it was the oral deposition of an eye-witness, who had himself been in Persia, or whether he had picked up only an incidental notice from out of a piece of some work or other, or whether he had altogether followed a mere report. Thus, for instance, it will happen that we will often meet with a perfectly correct statement in an insignificant and otherwise untrustworthy author, and a completely erroneous one in an otherwise highly esteemed one; yet, even then, we must ever observe a general distinction in forming our opinion, and always, as a rule, give preference over others to the historian who has written after having himself travelled over Persia, or who, like Strabo, has drawn from trustworthy sources. On account of this uncertainty we are forced to adopt another canon of criticism, in order to be enabled to distinguish the true from false, and this can only be that of the intrinsic probability, i.e., of the harmony with the other accounts, particularly with the otherwise well-established fundamental principles of the Iranians. The combination of this test with the one previously mentioned, is a matter for the use of particular cases. The self-same remarks apply also to such information as is to be met with in the Roman literature regarding Persia. Very nearly everything in that literature has been taken from

various Grecian writers; it was only just when the Romans came in contact with the Sassanian Empire that they wrote on Persian matters out of their own personal knowledge.

For the Christian writers, we have yet especially to observe that the aim of their statements is not mostly simply that of giving a plain account as has been that of the heathen writers, but that, in their case, religious interest has intervened, which has led them into designating their religion as the true one, and contrariwise, that of the foreigners, as the most hideous superstition, or even as the work of the devil. Consequently their reports are to be taken as very frequently coloured in this sense.

But there is yet another question to be asked, namely, whether it is right to make use of the reports of the classical authors for the elucidation of the religion of the Ancient Persian Empire, without any further consideration, since they run along a period of between ten to eleven centuries? So far as we can conclude from our authorities, the period when the Ormuzdian religion developed itself into bloom, happened to be, in point of fact, at the beginning of the Persian universal monarchy. With the destruction of this monarchy arrived also the decay of the Persian religion; and then the foreign elements from the anterior Asiatic worship, and the Greek philosophy, in particular the Neoplatonic, which had made their encroachments already during the existence of the monarchy, doubtlessly acquired for themselves, partly side by side with the Ormuzdian religion,

and partly intermixed therewith, a considerable value. With the founding of the Sassanian Empire, however, there commenced a new era for the Iranian religion also; it was now, by a mandate, explicitly raised to the honor of a State religion, and promulgated throughout the whole empire in its entire purity. But since this was only a political measure, a measure from above, it is indeed natural to deduce our conclusion that the Zoroastrian religion in the age we speak of, was indeed more a State and Court religion than a national religion full of vivacity. Now, the accounts of the classical writers can be applied to this age in the following manner. Most of them, and naturally the most important, relate to the Ancient Persian Empire. The period of the decline, i.e., that between the downfall of the ancient and the blooming of the new Persian Empire, is very obscure, not merely as regards the history of culture, but also, for political history; the accounts of the classical writers, very nearly cease at this age.

If, nevertheless, we have very numerous notices on Persian religion and manners of the period from 300 before, to 250 after, Christ, they are to be understood to have been composed, indeed nearly all of them, from the writings of the contemporaries of the Ancient Persian Empire; this can indeed be easily proved of all the more important ones—for instance, from Diodorus, Strabo, Plutarch, Pliny, Clemens of Alexandria, Diogenes Laertius; hence they are likewise useful to us for our purpose, although, of course, those direct from the above-named authors must always have preference of choice. But also the reports on the condition of the

Sassanian empire may serve us as a source for the old Persian religion, because in the ancient as well as in the new empire the religious conceptions are on the whole the same; moreover considering the defectiveness of the earlier reports, the later ones will place many a subject into a clearer light, and will perhaps also fill out many a gap which it is necessary to remove. As, however, a difference between the ancient and more recent Ormuzd-religion is in many things not impossible, and as also several deteriorations occur in the later doctrine, these later accounts are to be used only in a secondary way and with caution.

THE IRANIAN NATION.

I. ITS EXTENT.

Although neither the name Arian (Iranian) was strange, nor the connectedness of the national races, which we comprise under that name, was not, in individual cases, unknown to the ancient writers, still we search in them in vain for an application of that national name to the collective races appertaining to it ; and just as less do we meet with a comprehensive enumeration, based upon circumspect observations and comparison, of all the allied races, acknowledging the Persian as their principal race. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to restore such a list from the notices of the ancient writers on the dress, mode of living, language, manners, and religion of the Iranians, especially from their express remarks on the similarity of these matters amongst two or more races. In Strabo* we find the name Ariana applied as a collective name to about half of the Iranian territories, to the quadrangle, enclosed on the east by the river Indus, on the south by the Ocean, on the north by the Paropamisus, and the mountain-chains running out of it, up to the Caspian Gates, on the west by the mountains dividing Parthia from Media, and Karmania from Paratacene and Persia, so that, consequently, Ariana comprehended within it the following races:—on the coast, the Arabians, Orite, Ichthyophagi, Karmanians ; inlands, the Gedrosians, Arachosians, Dran-

* Strabo, XV., c. II § 8.

gians, Paropamisadi, Ariae, and Parthians. But even this expansion of Ariana seems to be yet too narrow; Strabo* says the name Ariana stretched out beyond this limit, further to a portion of Persia and Media, and to the north of Bactria and Sogdiana. If, according to **Strabo**, the name Arian is not, in its full sense, applied **to the chief races, viz., the Persians, the Medes, and the Bactrians**, yet, according to Herodotus,† it is so done, at least, in regard to the Medes, who have been mentioned before all the rest of the Arians. Lastly in the expression of Damascius, that the Magi, and the whole of the Arian family, had a certain specific doctrine in regard to Ormuzd and Ahriman, the Persians are naturally included therein in the first rank, since, indeed, the notice is out of the Sassanian times. Although it is not explicitly stated here which races are included in the “Arian family,” still there can be no doubt whatever who were meant by it; in fact all those for which this original name of the collective nationality was, in other accounts, partly, expressly used, or, partly, hinted at.

If in the fact, that all these races had a share, one way or another, in the common name Arian, a clear proof is indeed exhibited of their relationship and community into one nationality, it further becomes a matter of certainty, by the express statements, we meet with, on the common language, religion, manners, and dress of the above-mentioned and the other remaining Iranian races. In the last-quoted passage, Strabo says, expressly, of all those races, Arian in the wide sense, viz., the Persians, Medes, Bactrians, and Sogdians, that they

* Strabo, XV., c. II. § 8.

† Herod., VII., 62.

speak, but with a slight difference, the same language, i.e., their languages stand in relationship merely of dialects to a common language.* This is corroborated with respect to the Persians and Medes, in especial, by a singular instance. Curtius informs us that Tigris is a Persian word, which means an arrow; Strabo,† that it is Median, and means an arrow. According to the same author, the Medes have adopted the entire Persian worship,‡ and both have the same manners.§ According to Strabo,|| Nearchus has, besides, designated most of the manners and the dialect of the Karmanians as Persian and Median; Arian, too, speaks of these, that they live after the manner of the Persians, and their military affairs are organised entirely on the same fashion. Strabo¶ further describes the manners (under which he expressly understands both, worship and religion) of the Elymaens, Parataceners, and Susians, to be Persian and Median, + the mode of living of the Drangians to be Persian; the neighbours of the latter, the Sagartians, also, had the Persian language.× What is related of the Persians and Medes applies naturally to the smaller races too, in which these two great races are sub-divided. Deo Chrysostomus speaks of the similarity of the dress of the Persians, Bactrians, and Parthians, as exemplified in the tiara and the anaxyrides. The Gedrosians practised sun-worship, and the Orite adopted the peculiar method of the disposal of the dead used by the Bactrians and the Hyrcanians. But the best account we possess, in illustration of the national affinity prevailing between the different races of the Persian Empire, is in the cele-

* Strabo, XV., c. II. § 8, 14.

‡ Strabo, XI., c. XIV. § 16.

|| Strabo, XV., c. II. § 14.

+ Strabo, XV., c. II. § 10.

† Strabo, XI., c. XIV. § 8.

§ Strabo, XI., c. XII. § 11.

¶ Strabo, XV., c. III. § 12.

× Herod., VII., 58.

brated list of the Father of History, in which he describes the various people, Xerxes carried with him, in accordance to their respective dress and war equipage.‡ According to this list, the Persians and the Medes had a like equipment, and really the Persians had the Median, similarly were the Hyrcanians equipped. The Bactrians had a head-covering entirely similar to the Median tiara, with the addition, however, of a bow made of reed. The Arians had truly the Median bow, but their remaining equipments were those of the Bactrians. Besides, also the Parthians, Khorasanians, Sogdians, Gandarians, and Dadikens, pure races of the north-east, had similar equipments with the Bactrians, and consequently were indeed following the Bactrian civilisation more closely. The Sarangians (Drangians) had undoubtedly their own proper clothing, but had adopted the Median bow and the Median lance ; in a similar manner, the Sagartians accommodated themselves with the Persian and Median equipage. Only some few races are mentioned, which, residing mostly in mountainous districts, and secluded from intercourse with the other races, have their own dress (of felt) and equipment. All the others follow either the Western, the Median ; or the Eastern, the Bactrian. The latter distinguish themselves mainly, as it seems, by their peculiar Bactrian bow ; in other respects, the dress does not seem to have been very different.

But, with the enumeration of the nationalities, residing on the Iranian land, i.e., the highland between the valleys of the Tigris and the Indus on the one hand,

‡ Herod, VII., 61 seq.

and between the Oxus and the Persian Gulf on the other, the extent of the Iranian population is not exhaustively described ; much more, many accounts of the classical writers draw our attention to the fact, that the stream of Iranian national emigration must have flowed over even beyond the Iranian frontiers, and, doubtlessly, in the western and northern direction. Although just with the nationalities enumerated above, the circle of the genuine Iranian races,—of those, who have had the Zoroastrian religion, and who have preserved it, together with the therewith-connected thoughts and civilisation, pure from the foreign influences, —is closed, still the emigrated races are not to be left out of sight, entirely, in an ethnographical enumeration ; they must be acknowledged, at least, as kindred races, if not as equally privileged, even though, as it actually happened to be the case, they have not been of any influence on the development of the political and religious relations of Iran.

The one branch thereof, which had spread itself northwards, and which is described by the Grecians, admit of being comprehended under the name Scythian, had, manifestly, at an early period, separated itself from the Iranian people, in the strict sense, as is evident from it having remained much behind the Bactrian and Median culture, and not a single trace of the Zoroastrian religion being found in it. But that the Scythian races stand on the contrary, in a close relation of affinity to the Iranian people, is proved partly by their religion, which perfectly corresponds with the old Iranians nature-worship, and partly by the striking coincidences

of singular traits in their mode of life with those of the north-eastern races of Iran. Herodotus* occupies himself very lengthily with these Scythian races ; Strabo also makes mention of them ; from their descriptions it appears that they had preserved amongst themselves the original nomadic life, which, even, at the present day we find in a large portion of the Iranians, and from this state their manners and mode of life naturally originated in their details. They are, hence, wild and warlike, simple but uncultured and helpless ; on the other hand, in respect to commercial intercourse, straightforward and without deceit. Surely this puts us in mind of the Iranian national character. Next to the Bactrians and Sogdians, further towards the north, inhabit the Sake, Massagetians, and Derbices. According to Herodotus,* the Sake used a kind of tiara and the Persian trousers ; the Massagetians held, according to Herodotus† and Strabo,‡ the sun alone for a God ; to it, however, they offered horses, and threw those, who were dead of some disease, to the wild beasts for prey ; they have also the like war weapons with the Persians, the Sagaris.§ North-easterly of the Massagetians, inhabit the Issedonians, on the highland over the Imaus ; of them we learn that they held an annual exequial festival in honor of the dead.|| The Derbices venerate the earth ;¶ among the Massagetians, the chief race among these, the correspondence with the Iranian manners and religion is, however, at any rate, too striking to admit of it being merely accidental. The Scythians, in the restricted sense, reside northward of

* Herod., IV., 59-69.

* Herod VII., 64.

† Herod., I., 216.

‡ Strabo, XI, c. VIII. § 6.

§ Herod., I., 215; Xenoph., Anab IV, 4, 16.

|| Herod., IV., 26.

¶ Strabo, XI., c. XI. § 8.

the Caucasus and the Black Sea ; the transition over the latter fashioned the Caspians, Albanians, and the Iberians on the river Cyrus. Strabo* describes the mode of disposing of the dead, prevalent amongst the Caspians, to be completely Iranian : they lay their dead in a wilderness, and gaze at them from a distance, and when they see that they are drawn down from their position by the devouring birds, they praise the dead to be lucky ; in a less degree, when by wild beasts and dogs ; but if not at all by any of these, then they hold them to be very unlucky. Nevertheless, Strabo reckons the Caspians among the Scythian races.† The Albanians worship the sun, and Jupiter, particularly, the moon ; also, they do not mourn over the dead ; still, according to their worship, which, in the matter of priestcraft, slaves, and the Mantician inspiration, perfectly coincides with the Comanischen, they belong rather to the anterior Asiatic nationalities. The Iberians, Strabo mentions, at one place, to be related with the Scythians, at another, however, their dress and equipment to be Armenian and Median.‡ To the Iberians attach themselves now the Scythians proper, who inhabit the prairie-land from there up to the Danube. The religious views, regarding them, which are to be encountered in the information of Herodotus,§ characterise them as the colonies, which had very close relationship with the Iranians : their chief deity is Hestia, then, they worship Jupiter, the earth, Apollo, Aphrodite Urania ; idols, altars, and temples they have not. A deviation from the Arian nature-worship, admits, however, of being recognised in

* Strabo, XI., c. XI. § 8.

‡ Strabo, XI., c. III.

† Strabo, XI., c. XI. § 3.

§ Herod., IV., 59.

their worship of Ares, of whom they set up idols, to whom they built temples and offered human sacrifices. They required, also, their priests to be burnt alive when they predicted falsely. Not a small proof of their affinity with the Iranians, are the Scythian names Ariapeithes, Arianthes, &c.* Speaking of the Siginni, a Scythian race, Strabo says, that they lead a Persian mode of living.† Indubitably, one could feel tempted to attribute to the Scythian race of the Siginni, on the Danube, a long-preserved reminiscence of their ancient home, when one reads of them in Herodotus—"The Siginni have the Median clothing, they call themselves the descendants of the Medes; but how they could have been that, I cannot say; yet in so long a time ago all is possible." It is, however, apparent, Herodotus‡ himself feels, how much this account is visionary.

Whilst these Scythian nationalities stand in a close relationship to the political history of the Median and Persian Empires, the other branch, on the other hand, which belonged to the real Iranian nation still more nearly, but which, on account of the emigration of the latter nation, beyond the frontiers of Iran, were driven out therefrom, and pressed on westwards, had exercised a palpable influence on the later development of the Iranian religion and Iranian worship. These nationalities, in anterior Asia and partly in Asia Minor, of whom the most important are the Armenians, have not, in reality, remained behind the Iranian culture, like the Scythians, but have, on the contrary, taken up among them foreign elements of culture, especially in respect of

* Herod., IV., 77.

† Strabo, XI., c. XI., § 8.

‡ Herod., V., 9.

religion. They have mixed themselves with the Semitic nations, so that, at one time, the Iranian, as, for example, among the Armenians, at another, the Semitic character, predominates ; but, in any case, the purely religious conceptions of the Iranians have been lost from them. In this manner, they formed a mediating-link between the Iranian and the Semetic worship, and thus caused the introduction of the Semitic worship in the west of Iran, particularly in Media. From these foreign influences, the chief nation among them, the Armenians, have comparatively preserved themselves the most pure. They have, according to Strabo,* the complete worship of the Persians, but they worshipped, pre-eminently, the Anaitis, which had several temples in Armenia with male and female slaves, and in which the Armenian maidens prostituted themselves. In this respect, the Armenians had completely apostated from the Iranian worship. In another passage, Strabo† intimates, the Armenians and the Medes had the self-same manners, and similar equipment and dress. A proof, that the Armenians spoke the Iranian language are the names Araxes, Artaxata, Artaxias, Artagerae, Artavasdes, &c.* What, however, Strabo quotes from Posidonius† (about 100 B.C.), that the Armenians, Syrians, and Arabians showed a strong resemblance amongst themselves in language, mode of living, and the build of the body—what, indeed, Mesopotamia exhibits, which is inhabited by these three nations—does not prove anything against the above express statement, because this similarly explains itself just from the nature of the inter-

* Strabo, XI., c. XIV. § 16.

* Strabo, XI., XIV, § 6.

† Strabo, XI.

† Strabo, I., c. II. § 34.

mixture of these nations in Mesopotamia. In reference to the national tribes of Asia Minor, there is also for us still, over what, Strabo† has, indeed, mourned, that the several invasions of foreign nations, whom the richness of the land had allured, had overthrown every thing confusedly; in consequence of which, great confusion prevails about these races, in particular, many names occur doubly, so that the historians are at variance and uncertain in the naming of the same. It is not improbable, that these races carried within them Iranian elements, as, for instance, the Phrygians are set down by Herodotus§ in a close relationship to the Armenians; but, when one examines these races of Asia Minor, with especial regard to their dress and equipment, with the list of nations found in Herodotus in the hand, and prosecutes the study of the worship followed by these, as is described by Strabo, which has its objects, all the creative natural powers, mostly in female forms, then the undoubted conclusion is attained, that, at least, since the times of Herodotus,* the Semetic, or, more strictly speaking, the Syrian element, has, by far, preponderated among them. The Cissians alone, the inhabitants of the province of Susa, appear to have stood more on the side of the Persians, for Herodotus† ascribes to them with the Syrian mitre actually the Persian equipment, and Strabo,‡ the Persian customs and religion. Strabo§ expresses himself thus: in a certain measure Susis also has become a portion of Persia.

† Strabo, XII.

§ Herod., VI., 74.

* Herod., VII., 62.

† Strabo, XV., III. § 13.

‡ Strabo, XV., c. III, § 2.

§ Ammian., XXIII., 6.

II. The outward circumstances of the Iranians.

Of the outward appearance of the Iraninas, Ammianus Marcellinus|| gives the following sketch, for his own times, which naturally holds good for the ancient times also. Amongst the multifold and diverse races, says he, the men also are naturally different. But yet he would describe the constitutions of their bodies, and their manners in common. Almost all of them are haggard and lank, somewhat darkish and pale, with wild dismal look, the eyebrows arched in a crescent form and converging, with not unpretending beards and long bristly hair. When this nation took possession of the Iranian land, when it divided itself into single races, and what the commencement of the first civilisation was ? upon these questions, we know the ancients to have, very naturally, spoken nothing, because these early occurrences, and conditions, lie prior to all history. But this much is well established, that the Iranians led a nomadic life in the ancient times ; this is clearly ascertained from the later condition of a great portion of the Iranians, who have kept by this mode of life. In reference to the Bactrians and Sogdians, there is a mention preserved in Strabo* relative to their earlier state. Out of the nomadic life formed itself the race constitution, which we find among the Medes and Persians, who again divided themselves into individual races, and these again in clans ; the clans were composed of families.† Each of these communities had its natural head, every race, its race-prince,‡ and Strabo§ designates it expressly as a Median custom, which was yet current in his own times

|| Herod. VI., 74.

* Strabo, XI., c. XI. § 3.

† Herod., I., 101-125.

‡ Strabo, XV., c. III. § 17.

§ Strabo, XI., c. III. § 11.

among the Median nomadic races, to elect the bravest to be their king. This simple constitution was certainly predominant over the whole of Iran. The gradual social and political development, and, as it will be seen, the religious also, issued out of the east, and took its direction towards the west. In Bactria we find a kingdom for the first time in the age of Ninus and Semiramis. As Diodor recounts from Ctesias, Ninus on the occasion of his conquest-expedition to the east, made at first, a fruitless attack on this kingdom, which placed a large number (400,000) of arm-wielding and valiant men in the field. It had several large cities : the capital town Bactria was skilfully fortified, and had, secured within its walls, a large quantity of treasure of silver and gold. According to the accurate reckoning of Duncker, the period of this Bactrian empire, and the Assyrian conquest, is to be set down in the middle of the thirteenth century. But, at last, the kingdom fell in the hands of Ninus, and thenceforward the whole of Iran submitted itself to the Assyrians. In the period of the Assyrian dominancy, the development of the Medes, and the commencement of a proper Median culture, took place which, consequently, is to be set down, at any rate, later than the Bactrian. Assuredly, even according to the narrative of Diodor, Ninus was recognised king of Media also, as he was in Bactria. From the sudden conquest, and the short—in comparison with what has been related of Bactria—mention of Media, it is allowable to conjecture, that the condition of Media, at that time, had yet remained undeveloped, that it had advanced no further than the old Iranian race-constitution, since one of the race-princes had placed himself at the head of the people when fighting against the Assyrians. This is confirmed also by the

fact that, according to the tradition preserved by Herodotus,* Dejoces, at the end of the eighth century, was the first who helped the Medes to form into a regular political life, and under whom the social relations acquired an established form. But, in truth, Dejoces himself is not the founder of this new civilisation, as the tradition would make of him, for, just from this same narration of Herodotus, it follows that, to have found all those organisations ready, particularly to have been able to undertake the construction of the capital city, Ecbatana, he must already have had, at his disposal, a very cultivated state of arts and manufactures, and that the Median court and state life, in its entirety, must certainly have been already, at that time, in existence, as the sheer product of a long previous development. Besides, the lively consciousness of their power, and the value of political freedom must have already become mature, among the Median people too, for them to have had the courage to set themselves up against the Assyrian rule. For these reasons, we cannot properly set down the commencement of the Median culture just in Dejoce's times; but we must place it, indeed, somewhat earlier than him, though, of course, after the time of Assyrian conquest. The Medes overthrew, soon after their revolt, the whole of the races of Iran, and founded the first Iranian empire. Their rule but lasted not very long; it utterly went over to the Persians. The Persians are described, at the time they entered upon the platform of universal history, thoroughly as a rude mountain race who, though doubtlessly, had not yet known the finer culture of the Medes, had, as the same time, kept themselves unscathed also from their perni-

* Herod., I., 96.

cious example. They passed, with the Grecian historians, as patterns of abstemiousness, perseverance, warlike courage, also of righteousness and magnanimity ; their social conditions are, notwithstanding the slight nature of their outward culture, in great bloom. As regards the outward culture-relations, we have already observed above, that an eastern and a western civilisation of Iran, the one Bactrian and the other Median, admits of being clearly defined. To the latter civilization belong the Persians also, whose manners and customs, as well as religion and worship, were, according to the unanimous testimony of the ancients, entirely similar. But even though they had followed the Median civilisation, still, according to all the sketches, which the Grecians have given of the Persians, they had remained indeed, for several centuries, pretty behind it, since they have always been stigmatised as the uncultured, compared to the cultured kindred race of the Medes. According to the report of Herodotus of the rise of the Persians, it was Cyrus who first aroused them from their lethargy, and who, as if they were incapable of comprehending the higher prize for which they were required to fight, made it intelligible to them, in a perfectly palpable manner, what it was all about. It was only after their victory that they first adopted the higher Median culture, mainly, the dress, the Median court-manners, and the Median state-organisations. All these, in the condition they were, were completely transferred from the Medes to the Persians. Whilst the development was going on of this culture, what course the religious relations had taken, within and with it, will be ascertained below. Ultimately, Darius brought an end of the race-constitution, for the realm, at large, by the division of

the empire in provinces, and by the appointment of royal satraps. By this means, the empire became properly, for the first time, a state-constitution. Important, however, as this alteration was for political relations, particularly, for the exaltation of the power of the realm, still, it left the position of the culture of individual races untouched which, during the Persian Empire, was, in general, as follows. We can speak of only the three nations which have enjoyed an historical role, viz., the Bactrians, Medians, and Persians, as having had any culture. Even of these, only certain races had wholly taken a part in the culture, which depended upon, whether the soil, which a race inhabited, admitted of agriculture, and offered advantages for settled habitations, or, compelled it to the nomadic life. Thus, the south of Media was extraordinarily fruitful, the north, mountainous, cold, and elevated*; consequently, the south was the seat of civilisation, and the north occupied a large number of races, the Daers, Amardi, Geli, Kadusi, Anarik, who though collectively are described as the brave, warlike, and freedom-loving mountain nations, but as regards civilisation perfectly uncultured were maintaining themselves, chiefly by plunder. The Kossu aers have never submitted themselves to the Persian rule, but, from ancient times, have housed themselves in caverns and supported themselves with acorns, mushrooms, and the salted flesh of wild beasts.* The Elymae and the Parataceni also led a similar mode of life; but, as far as it was possible, they nevertheless carried on, some agriculture.† In like manner, the Persians divided themselves, according to Herodotus,‡ into

* Strabo, XI.

* Strabo, XVI., c. I. § 18.

† Strabo, XV., c. III. § 12. And XVI., c. I. § 8. ‡ Herod., V., 125.

agriculture-carrying, or nomadic life-leading, cultivated or rude, races; to the latter belong, particularly, the Mardi who have been unanimously designated by the ancients, as a wild robber-tribe. The Karmanians carried on, in addition, agriculture, and were tolerably cultivated; eastward of them, however, in the south of Iran, there lived positively totally uncultivated, and rude nationalities, the Ichthyophagi, as they were called by the Grecians, then, the Oriu and Gedrosians, all of whom led a most miserable life, fed themselves with fish, of whose bones they built their huts, and used as weapons, spears, hardened with fire.§ The Sagartians, further inwards, towards the land, served themselves in war with slings||; perfectly uncultivated were also the mountain-clans of the Paropamisus. The Arians and the Drangians, in the inland, are described as rude and warlike races, only the Energetens or Arimaspens seem to have carried on agriculture, and to have had any regulated state. In the East, the Bactrians and the Sogdians are the solitary ones, amongst whom we meet with civilisation*; on the contrary, the Parthians were very rude and warlike, as certainly the same is known of them even of the times when they were dominant, and likewise, were the Hyrcanians also. They could have brought a very fruitful country into agriculture, but they left it unprofited by.† But all these races were, for the culture and development of the Persian Empire, of no importance whatever; though, on the other hand, they readily placed in the field, whenever they were so commanded by the Persian kings, bold and valiant armies.

§ Strabo, XV., c. II. § 2.

|| Herod., VII., 85.

* Strabo, XI., c. XI. § 3.

† Strabo, XI., c. VII. § 2.

THE RELIGION OF THE IRANIANS.

BOOK FIRST

ZOROASTER THE FOUNDER OF THE ORMUZDIAN FAITH

If we find to the present day, that it has not yet become a success to introduce light into the mysterious darkness, in which the much celebrated personality of Zoroaster is hidden, even though it has been attempted with the assistance of references and comparisons of all the sources, even the Persian and the Mahomedan, so it ought to make us, indeed, very careful, from the very outset, how we hold out hopes of obtaining a correct and incontrovertible result from this enquiry, which we have undertaken, through the collation merely of the notices of the ancients. However, a few results are gained, even though they should be of a general character—an enquiry into which must, nevertheless, have even an independent value also, not only because they are, in a great portion, older than all the other sources, either foreign or native, but because, even in spite of the fabulous garb in which they are often covered, they present themselves mostly with a claim to be acknowledged as historical accounts.

The only account, over which the ancients are unanimous, is, that Zoroaster has been the founder of the Persian religion, and the priesthood of the Magi. Indeed, Plato pronounces this very plainly, when he

characterises Magic as the Zoroastrian divine worship, and Zoroaster himself as belonging to Ormuzd. Hermodor, a scholar of Plato, has, likewise, called Zoroaster the founder of the Magi, and so have most of the writers, who have spoken of Zoroaster, in that, partly they designate the Magi as his disciples and followers, partly they call even him the Mage in an eminent sense. Indeed, Pliny testifies his concurrence in this point, and when Agathias says, that, Zoroaster has introduced a new divine worship among the Persians, he just thereby designates him, not as a mere reformer of an already existing religion, but as a founder of a new, viz., the Ormuzdian religion. The ordinances of Zoroaster referred themselves, however, not merely to the religious, but also to the civil, life. Plutarch places Zoroaster, side by side with Minos, Numa, and Lycurgus, as one of the group of those to whom, whilst founding a regulated political life, a Daimonion had come to assistance, and, likewise, according to Diodor, Zoroaster has traced back the origin of the religion, which he gave to the Arimasps, to the good God. Farther, Agathias draws the origin of the manners of the Persians of his age from Zoroaster.

But if we now desire to know, when Zoroaster may have founded his religion, we find ourselves, at the first glance we cast through the fabulous accounts of so many Grecian writers, transposed into an age, in which every ground for historical enquiries is found failing. Let us go through these accounts in their order. The first, who mentions Zoroaster, is Xanthus of Sardis, who, yet earlier than Herodotus, wrote in the times of Darius

and Xerxes. He counts 600 years from Zoroaster up to the expedition of Xerxes, so that, accordingly, Zoroaster lived about 1080 B.C. The next writer is Ctesias, from whom Diodor has produced those statements about the ancient Bactrian kingdom. The king, against whom Ninus fought, was called, according to Diodor, Oxyartes, a name which otherwise also occurs in Bactria. Now, we find, however, in Arnobias, that just this king, against whom Ninus fought, was called Zoroastres, so that, without doubt, this is the correct reading, since out of an unusual form of Zoroaster, something like Zaortes, the known Bactrian name Oxyartes could easily arise. For this, speak two different statements on the time of Zoroaster, which, on that account, we anticipate here. The one is in Cephalion, of the first half of the second century after Christ. It lies before us in threefold narration—firstly, according to that of Syncellus, Zoroaster is merely put down contemporary with Ninus and Semiramis; secondly, Eusebius mentions, according to Cephalion, the battle of Zaravastes, the Bactrian king, with Semiramis; thirdly, in Moses of Chorene, Semiramis bestows upon the Mage and the Median prince, Zoroastres, the prefecture of Assyria and Nineveh. According to all these three references, then, Cephalion has brought Zoroaster in some connection or another with Ninus and Semiramis. The other statement consists of a few words of the Platonian Theon, who, likewise, speaks of a victory of Semiramis over the Bactrian king, Zoroaster. These reports, consequently, transpose Zoroaster in the second half of the thirteenth century, in which, surely, the Assyrian conquest took place. If, with this, Ctesias has gone up higher than

Xanthus, even to the borders of authentic history, so, on the other hand, the accounts of the writers, who have followed Ctesias, transpose us completely into the pre-historical times. So do the three disciples of Plato, viz., Eudoxus, Aristotle, and Hermodorus. Both, the two first, place Zoroaster, following Pliny, 6,000 years before Plato's death; Hermodorus places him 5,000 years before the Trojan War; Hermippus (about the year 230 B.C.), and latterly Plutarch, follow him. These are joined by Berosus, who, although striking off 4,000 years out of those 6,000, yet leaves him in the pre-historical times, since he incorporates him with a Chaldean or Median dynasty, which had ruled, according to his chronology, somewhere about the years 2300 to 2000 B.C., and at the head of which he was placed, so that he must have lived in the twenty-third century. The next, after Plutarch, who has recorded anything about the time of Zoroaster, is Porphyry (about 270 B.C.), who makes of him a teacher of Pythagoras, so that we reckon him to have lived somewhat about the second half of the sixth century. With this coincides the remarkable account of Agathias, who wrote at the close of the sixth century, and who explains himself more accurately on the age of Zoroaster, thus—"When Zoroaster flourished and promulgated his religion, it is not easy to determine. The Persians of the present day say, carelessly indeed, that he may have lived under Hystaspes, so that it becomes extremely doubtful, and very difficult to be ascertained, whether this Hystaspes was the father of Darius or some one else. In whatever age, however, he may have flourished, still, in any case, he was the founder of the Magian art." According to

this—so far as already said, uncertain—account, Zoroaster belonged, likewise, to the middle or the second half of the sixth century. Lastly, Suidas, who further can be taken here into consideration, knows of two Zoroasters—one, a Perso-Median, the founder of the Magian art, who must have lived 500 years before the Trojan War; and the other, an astronomer, Zoroaster, under Ninus; both he has evidently borrowed from different authors, and consequently placed them side by side without attempting at reconciling them.

What is now to be made out of these various statements? Let us, to begin with, examine the two, of Porphyry and Agathias, by which Zoroaster is transposed in the midst of the historical times. These accounts appear to carry weight for the reason that, although independent of each other, yet they both equally place him in the second half of the sixth century. The value, which this striking coincidence seems to acquire, is, however, much diminished, when we find, how neither of the two accounts is actually historical, how both these rest upon a false combination, and consequently, not only their coincidence, but each for itself, is without any importance. The statement of Porphyry is indebted, manifestly, for its origin, to the well-known endeavour to glorify Pythagoras in the legends. Pythagoras must have obtained his wisdom, among the Chaldeans and the Magi, during his travels in the East: From this simple fact, from his obtaining instruction from among the Magi, it was but only a step to have represented him to have gone to the school of the founder of the Magian art, the quintessence of all wisdom, of whom, moreover,

no one knew when he may have lived. By this device, a crown, was set at first, upon the glorification of Pythagoras. But, from the notice of Agathias, it follows only that the Persians, about the year 600 A.C., placed Zoroaster under the reign of a certain Hystaspes. Agathias himself, however, doubts, and with reason, whether this may have been the father of Darius; for, independently of this, that Hystaspes, according to its signification, is merely a title, which can be conferred upon any governor, and actually had been borne by several others, Ammianus Marcellinus also contradicts the same, whilst expressly separating the age of Hystaspes from that of Zoroaster, and putting it down later. Both these accounts, however, it must be remembered, agree on this point, that this Hystaspes had been a king; whilst the father of Darius was but a Persian nobleman. Ammian, unfortunately, allows this contradiction to stand without any comment. That Zoroaster cannot have lived in Cyrus' times, becomes clear, however, more from other weighty reasons. For if it were so, how could it have become possible, that Xanthus, a contemporary of Darius, who, consequently, must have been younger than Zoroaster by only a single generation, placed him 600 years before his times? That Ctesias, who was so long at the Persian Court, and was only 100 to 120 years younger than Hystaspes, held himself to be 800 years younger than Zoroaster? Furthermore, Herodotus, who had the history of Cyrus, Cambyzes, and Darius so clearly before his eyes, could impossibly have entirely overlooked such an epoch-making personage as Zoroaster's necessarily was, if he had lived during the reigning time of this king, even as less, again, could

an Aristotle have set down 6,000 years earlier, the life-time of a Zoroaster living only 200 years before him.

If, then, it is out of question to trace out a Zoroaster, living in historically so clear an age as the sixth century, so, it may be asked, what can be made out of the reports which remove him completely in the pre-historical times? This assertion is accredited to names, which have otherwise a good clang: Aristotle, Berossus, Plutarch; and is supported by three others, Eudoxus, Hermodorus, and Hermippus, therefore, it has even the numerical majority in its favor. But when we accurately inquire into these names, the latter vanish away, because one cannot resist the thought, that the three disciples of Plato must, since they so strangely agree in one matter, and so widely differ in all others, have obtained their information from a common source, which is probably followed also by Plutarch and Hermippus. So much is evident, that it could not have lain in the design of these men to make up a statement of actual historical importance. A number, which stands in no relationship whatever with the others, preceding or succeeding, which, consequently, is wanting in every accompanying conception of a nation's corresponding circumstances, has altogether no meaning, therefore no historical importance even. But those fabulous figures have the signification that, in Aristotle's times, one did not know the particulars relative to the name and antiquity of Zoroaster; corresponding to the fabulous representations, which people had of him, he was relegated simply to the fabulous, pre-historical age. Something different is the case with the statement of Berossus.

He lays down, after the manner of the Chaldeans and Egyptians, magnificent chronological tables, with a column for reigning houses and kings, which reach up far above the historical age. Now, it may be, that Zoroaster actually floated before his eyes as an important personage for the history of the Iranian nation, or, it may also be, that he wished to introduce this celebrated name in his royal tables, merely for the sake of embellishing them with it; but certain it is, that he placed it down,—certainly without making much inquiry into history, which according to all appearance, was, in respect of Zoroaster, at this time, already extricated from fables,—in the column of his kings, just there, where it struck him to be rightly fitting. In a general way, however, this is to be said, against the removing of Zoroaster in such a remote age as 6,000 years before Christ, that the religion and the moral doctrines, which emanated out of him, pre-suppose a stage of spiritual and social development, upon which the Iranian nation, in that age, can impossibly have already arrived. This argument holds good, also against the statements of Berosus, though not in the same degree.

If, then, neither these too high, nor even those too low, figures for Zoroaster's age could stand before criticism, there yet remains for us further, those of Xanthus and Ctesias, of whom the former puts down Zoroaster in about 1080 B.C., and the latter in about 1220 B.C. Now, naturally, it is immaterial whether the one or the other of these statements is established as the completely correct one, since, from out of both of

these, nothing further issues forth, than that Zoroaster was, at the beginning of the fifth century, put down somewhere in the eleventh century, and that the Persians, in Ctesias' time, about 400 B.C., made him contemporaneous with the Assyrian conquest—an opinion which, as we see from Theon and Cephalion, turns up again, here and there, also in later times. For all that, however, these statements have much probability in their favor, even though the authority of their composer has been many a times held in doubt. Müller has combatted this fragment of Xanthus critically, yet his reasons are not sufficiently strong to annihilate the once preserved testimony. Two manuscripts have 6,000 years instead of 600, still the latter is better attested, and the 6,000 years seem to have been invented, only to accord with the Aristotelian account. Ctesias, however, is still in need of a final judgment of the present day's critic; the discussions about him are not yet closed. In this case, however, he records, evidently, only what he has heard among the Persians, and, however wrong it may be to make a Bactrian king of Zoroaster, yet it would surely be unreasonable on that account, to reject all his other statements. There are not insignificant reasons also, which speak, without doubt, however, in behalf of the statements of Xanthus and Ctesias. Before all, there are the coinciding testimonies of Theon and Cephalion, who, though admittedly writers of a very subordinate rank, yet prove that Ctesias is by no means solitary in his statement, but that it was able to procure importance for itself even in wider spheres and in later times. Xanthus shows, by the especial mention of the disciple of Zoroaster, i.e., the

Archmage, and of his genuine Persianname, that the relations of the Persian priesthood were by no means unknown to him. Ctesias, in Diodor, describes the Iranian nationalities which Ninus, in his expedition against the Bactrians overthrew, so completely correct, that thereby his whole account considerably gains in credibility. Besides, these two accounts are the oldest, bearing on the life-time of Zoroaster; the next is but that of Aristotle. What, however, mostly supports them is the historical probability. The Iranian nation entered in the list of the historical nations, only in the eighth century, but, according to the universal laws of historical development, the completion and the establishment of religious consciousness precedes the political. The latter can always follow the former, sooner or later, according to the different conditions; in most favorable circumstances, some centuries must, however, intervene. But we are guarded from going up far too high with regard to the age of Zoroaster, by the observation already made, that the moral and religious commandments, traced back to him, clearly refer to a nation, which already has acquired fixed habitations and is carrying on agriculture, or probably, to be more correct, has just commenced to do so. When, indeed, this must have happened, it is impossible to determine accurately; nevertheless, the remembrance still preserved in Strabo's times, that the Eastern Iranians followed a nomadic life in their earlier days, points out to us, that the period of civilisation cannot have been so sufficiently remote as to have expunged from the Iranian mind, the remembrance of their earlier state. Those social conditions, which the nature of the commandments contained in the

Ormuzdian belief necessarily pre-supposes, viz., fixed habitations and a certain degree of culture, are met with, however, in the description of the ancient Bactrian kingdom, by Ctesias, so that the inner probability well accords with the statement of that author. Though, indeed, Zoroaster cannot be held to be that Bactrian king himself, as becomes clear from the other accounts of the circumstances of his life, yet we are not bound down just so precisely to the age of the Assyrian conquest, which, according to the manner in which the Oriental monarchies were founded, did not interferingly make alterations in the mode of life of the subjugated races. The statement of Ctesias is, consequently, not to be accepted as so unconditionally correct, as to give cause, on that account, to wholly set aside that of Xanthus, particularly as one cannot ascribe to it an improbability, out of itself, just because it gives a mere number without any further reason and reference to others. So, then, we must content ourselves with placing the life-time of Zoroaster in, from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. A more accurate determination, so desirable as it in itself would be, would not have a very great value, notwithstanding that so long we know nothing further of this age than the most general historical outline, except that it would have been useful to spread more light on other matters also.

Among the ancient writers, even as great a confusion prevails regarding the birth-place of Zoroaster as regarding his age. Because, he is at one time represented to be a Bactrian, at another a Persian, anon, a Median; indeed, he is transplanted even beyond Iran, according

to Pamphylian, and not a few make of him a Babylonian Chaldean. In order that the stringing together of the various accounts be not interrupted, we, at this early stage, undertake the complicated inquiry, on what we find in Berossus, on the subject. What Berossus relates to us of the history of creation and the ancient monarchies is, without doubt, a medley of the creation-legend of the Babylonian people, with the chronology of their priests, the so-called Chaldeans. The first ruler over the world, so purports his narration, was Alorus, who reigned for 12 Saren or 43,200 years; he was followed by 10 Patriarchs, during 432,000 years, of whom the last is Xisuthrus, the Babylonian Noah. What follows further has to be constructed from two different narrations. The first is from Alexander Polyhistor, who cites Berossus for his statements; the other is from Syncellus, who quotes a passage from the very same Alexander, for which the latter must have made use of the *Sibylla Berosiana*. The first of these two statements makes Xisuthrus to be succeeded by 86 rulers, whom all Berossus mentions by name, having a reigning period of 33,091 years. Thereafter, the Medes attacked and conquered Babylon, and then followed a Median dynasty, of 8 rulers, for 224 years; then succeeded 49 Chaldean kings, who reigned altogether for 458 years. The second statement also has the 86 rulers, only, here the years are 34,090; amongst them were 2 Chaldeans, the remaining 84 were Medes. Then came Zoroaster, and after him 7 Chaldean kings, whose reigning period is no more reckoned by Saren, Naren and Sossen, but is calculated to amount to 190 ordinary solar years. The conclusion to be drawn from this is, that from this period the

historical age begins. Evidently, the 8 Medians of the first notice correspond to Zoroaster and the 7 Chaldeans of the second. In the first notice, it is true, the Medians alone are mentioned, and not Zoroaster; in the second, though Zoroaster is named, the seven rulers accompanying him are called Chaldeans, though he himself is not so called; at any rate, however, this notice does not contemplate him to be a Mede, for, surely, the Median dynasty of the 84 rulers closes just before him. According to this, it is perfectly well possible that Berosus may have taken Zoroaster for a Mede, but it can by no means be so proved out of it, rather it seems to be more to the contrary. But what is certain is merely this, that he admitted him in the list of his Babylonian rulers, and even the age, which he assigns to him, admits of being almost precisely ascertained. The 49 Chaldean rulers, who succeed the 8 Medes, are, doubtlessly, the historical monarchs of Babylon, but the Babylonian monarchy was founded about 2000 B.C., the 7 Chaldeans of the second notice, consequently, fill up the years from 2200 to 2000 B.C., and, in accordance with this, Zoroaster must have lived in the twenty-third century. Similar would be the result, according to the first notice, if he might be taken as the first of the 8 Medes. Now, we have, however, yet further, a fragment from Berosus, or, rather, from the Sibylla, about Zoroaster, which is found in Moses of Chorene, who in this place lets Berosus himself speak. The 10th ruler, says he, was Xisuthrus; after his passing away in the great deluge, Zerovanes, Titan, and Japetosthes carried on the government over the earth. After that the government of the world was divided among these three, Zerovanes

wished to subjugate the other two also. Of this Zerovanes, then, Berosus says, that he must have been no other than the Mage Zoroaster, the Bactrian king, and Moses himself adds to this, by way of illustration or rectification : Zoroaster, who was the father of the Median race and the gods. According to Moses, then, Berosus knew of a Zoroaster, a king in Bactria and a Mage, i.e. certainly, founder of the Magian art. To be sure, then, it is not clear, why he did not name him precisely Zoroaster, but Zerovanes. It is now a question, in what relation is this third fragment to be viewed with regard to the two, first mentioned? In one point they all concur, that Zoroaster belonged to one of the Babylonian ruling dynasties, but the above fragments know nothing of a Bactrian Zoroaster, he is taken even not once as such; and yet both the notices, in which Zoroaster is named, would claim to be derived from the Sibylla of Berosus. One of the two must therefore yield to the other, and there can be no doubt, which that is. That of Alexander Polyhistor is in itself consistent, and wholly conformable to the character of the Chaldean and Berosian chronology, as it, in reality, varies even from the first of the fragments quoted, but only in unessential matters. The notice of Moses of Chorene, on the contrary, contains in itself absurdities and obscurities, and the identification of Zerovanes with Zoroaster gives an impression of an unnatural combination, made up by some tendency or other. If, however, the result of the comparison of both the fragments, from Alexander Polyhistor, does not become changed, in reference to the view of Berosus even by means of this passage of Moses, still there yet always remains standing, the notice, according to which

Zoroaster is called a Bactrian king, even though it is not certain what place in literature has to be assigned to it.

The reports, which place Zoroaster in Bactria, are the following. The oldest proceed from Ctesias; it has just been lengthily brought forward. The next, according to Moses of Chorene, would be that of Berosus, but which as we have just seen above, can be looked upon as but a notice of unknown origin. The words of Theon, besides, are likewise already quoted. The fragments of Cephalion correspond, however, with each other only in this, that they all represent him carrying on a war with Semiramis. According to the information of Eusebius, he was a Bactrian; according to that of Moses of Chorene, a Mede. One of the two must be an addition of the referring writer, and since we have already seen, that Moses, in another passage, declares him to be a Mede, and since his information does differ, though in a rare manner, from the ordinary form of that legend of Zoroaster which is found in Ctesias, so the relation of Eusebius can well be the more genuine of the two. Further, Ammianus Marcellinus calls him a Bactrian. A strange notice presents itself, lastly, in the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*: the Egyptian Mesraim wandered towards the East and settled himself in Bactria, he was the inventor of astrology and the Magian art, and he was the same whom the Greeks called Zoroaster. These reports collectively demonstrate that the turning of Zoroaster's legend, which makes him a Bactrian, was really not a general one—for the writers, in whose works it is met with, are in a great part of a

very subordinate rank—but that it had an early origin, and was in truth doubtlessly composed by Ctesias, at the best source, the Persian Court, the central point of the Iranian national life, and that it has, coming into notice here and there, preserved itself till in later times.

Only few and later testimonies are to be met with in favor of making Media to be the fatherland of Zoroaster. That of Berosus would be an old testimony; but how the matter stands with reference to it is already explained, that the information of his opinion can, in fact, be interpreted in this sense, but that the correctness of this interpretation does not at all admit of being proved. The next, who is to be cited here, is only Pliny, who, notwithstanding what he says of a Median Zaratus does not seem to refer it to Zoroaster. Because, after having previously spoken of Zoroaster, whom he places in Persia, he goes on to describe, in other ways, various people, amongst them two Medes, Apuscorus and Zaratus, without, as it seems, being aware, that originally this is the same name. Clemens of Alexander further calls Zoroaster a Mede, but it must be owned, a Persian, in another place, which must not be taken to refute each other, but only to prove the common prevalence of both these views. Moses of Chorene twice calls him a Mede, the one time in the fragment of Berosus, the other in that of Cephalion. Finally, Suidas calls him, as it appears, a Perso-Mede, because he did not trust himself to decide, between the two opinions whether he was a Mede or a Persian. In the phase, therefore, in which Zoroaster becomes regarded as a Mede, the legend of Zoroaster enters but latterly, and then too very sparingly.

Most Greek writers held Zoroaster, indeed, for a Persian, because this Iranian race, at the time in which the Greeks became acquainted with the Iranians, had lain all the others in the shade, and, besides, they were enabled to learn also about the religion, of which Zoroaster passed the founder, mainly at the Persian Court. Express testimonies for this, we do not find, however, especially many. The oldest is that of Hermodor, a contemporary of Aristotle; then Pliny and Clemens announce it in the passages already cited; further on, Origenes and Porphyry, who place the Mithraic caves of Zoroaster in Persis. A writer, Pausanius of Damascus—the age when he lived is unknown—allows the founding of the fire-worship, and the Magian priestcraft, and the establishment of the fire-temples, in Persis, to have preceded him. True, he does not designate Zoroaster as the founder, but names Perseus, a mythical king of Persia, whom, it may be seen, only the name of Zoroaster is wanting. Lastly, the Perso-Meder of Suidas is already mentioned.

But a few testimonies place Zoroaster entirely out of Iran, and bring him in connection with Babylon and the Chaldeans. In this, as we have seen, Berosus takes the precedence, from which it can be concluded, that the Babylonian legend has, without doubt, in the endeavour to add to the lustre of the ancient Babylonian history, introduced the name of Zoroaster in one of the fabulous ruling dynasties. Suppose we venture to regard this as probable, then this notice loses all its importance for our inquiry, because the Babylonian legend must be regarded, in one part, as a local tradition proceeding

out of a certain purpose; in the other, as one confined to Babylon only. In another way, through the confounding of the Chaldean with the Mage, the Greeks moreover came to place the founder of the latter in Babylon; thus, Porphyry reports of Pythagoras, that he had come in contact with Zaratus in Babylon; Hippolytus calls him a Chaldean; Cedren wishes to appear to know even, that Zoroaster, the famous astronomer among the Persians, was of the family of Bel; and Suidas has, without doubt, by reason of similar statements, felt himself permitted to assume a second Assyrian Zoroaster. Clemens of Alexandria, on the other hand, holds Her, the son of Armenius, whom Plato mentions, for Zoroaster, and makes the latter say of himself in a work: Zoroaster, the son of Armenius, a Pamphylian by race.

We have now, after the citations of all the passages bearing on this subject, arrived at the question: Who was Zoroaster—a Bactrian, a Median, or a Persian? Which of the three representations of Zoroaster's legend has the historical probability for itself? Let us begin with the last mentioned. When Zoroaster is called a Persian, that, as already remarked, is not always to be so understood, that his place of birth was the province of Persis; for, it is sufficiently well-known, that the Grecians have very frequently named the whole of the Iranian country after the nation ruling over it. Zoroaster can, therefore, be called a Persian, and yet he may have belonged to any other Iranian race, just as to the Persian. This would, however, prove nothing yet against this assumption, except only that the accounts, speaking of Persia being his birth-place, stand in no direct contra-

diction whatever to both the other assumptions. On the contrary, however, an incontrovertible historical ground speaks in favor of Zoroaster being a Persian, living in Persia. As the result of our inquiry relative to the lifetime of Zoroaster, it has become apparent, that he cannot have lived in an age, the history of which had become perfectly known to the Greeks, in no case can he have lived after the founding of the Persian Empire, not even after Dejoces. Iran cannot, possibly, have received beforehand its religion from that race, which entered in history and culture the latest of all the Iranian races, which was dependent on the Medes for its civilisation, in especial, whose priesthood, however, was adopted from the Medes, only in later times.

The reasons, which could be adduced against Persia, plead, contrarywise, strongly, in favor of that form of Zoroaster's legend, which makes a Mede of him—viz., that the Medes had a particular culture of their own, and a particular priesthood of the Zoroastrian religion. Now, this form of Zoroaster's legend comes in conflict, however, with the other, which places him in Bactria, so that there is to decide mainly between these two countries only. What speaks for Media is the peculiar culture and the Magian priestcraft. But we ought not to forget to claim a proper culture for Bactria also. Of a Bactrian priesthood, it is true, we find no testimony whatever; but just on this account we cannot, however, be certain that they really had not a particular priesthood just as similarly as the Medes. What speaks, on the other hand, decidedly for Bactria, is, that the commandments of Zoroastrian religion were more

completely carried out among the Bactrians than in the west, inasmuch that here only the priests of the Medes had the Bactrian mode of the disposal of the dead ; this was, however, at once the Zoroastrian mode. The culture conditions further speak for Bactria. When, in fact, the Bactrian culture was already in existence in the thirteenth century, and the Median, on the other hand, came into existence just only in the interval between the Assyrian conquest and the reign of Dejoces, then, presuming that the age approximately ascertained for Zoroaster is correct, this circumstance evidently points out the priority of the Bactrian over the Median culture. But if, because this rests, of course, upon a mere conclusion of probability—it is insisted to let only so far be accorded, that in reference to the conditions, relating to the history of culture, both the opinions stand on a similar footing, then there is yet the critical comparison of both the forms of the legend of Zoroaster at our disposal to turn the scale. In the first place, in fact, we venture to so regard the statement of Ctesias, as containing in reality what the Persians believed, of Zoroaster, about the year 400 B.C., on the other hand, the first reliable intimation which places Zoroaster in Media, we meet with, first in Pliny. Consequently, the former has in his favor not only much higher antiquity, but also the advantage of the only unexaggerated source. In the second place, it is, however, very comprehensible, viewed from one point, why the Grecians held Zoroaster for either a Mede or a Persian ; for, these people were immediately next to them, and at the same time the most important; they represented in that age, in the eyes of the Greeks, the whole Iranian nation, particularly also

in religious matters, because of the priest-craft peculiar to the Medes. Also, it is very well possible, that the view entertained by the Greeks originated from the Persians and the Medes themselves, because, Zoroaster having already become a personage, of tradition, they represented him to have belonged to their own race, and gave him out as such in the presence of the Greeks. Viewed from another point, however, it does not, on account of the want of acquaintance of the Greeks with the Bactrians, admit of being conceived, how the assumption, that Zoroaster was from Bactria, could have originated among the Greeks, and maintained so long, if it had not become prevalent among the Persians themselves. It is very easily conceivable, however, why the legend in the west of Iran, makes a Persian or a Mede of him, but why he is made just a Bactrian, and why not, even as equally well, a Sogdian or an Arianian, that does not explain itself, unless on the ground that this legend rests upon a historical basis, unless that Zoroaster was actually a Bactrian.

When, indeed, the determination of even the most general points about Zoroaster, of his lifetime and native-land, was surrounded with so many difficulties, then we can expect very little historically from the narrations of isolated traits of his person and his life. Amongst several impossibilities, and in part, absurdities, which the Greeks impute to him, there yet presents itself, here and there, a notice which, in itself, can have a really proper historical value, i.e., can be derived from the genuine Persian or Iranian legend of Zoroaster, which, moreover, several reporters have expressly

observed. Characteristics of such a nature might, consequently, be somewhat lengthily reproduced. That Zoroaster universally passed for the founder of the Ormuzdian religion, and the priestcraft of the Magi, we have already observed. That, in the age in which the Greeks happened to have come in communication with the Persians, he would be held for a king by the Persians and the rest of the Iranians, as mentioned in Ctesias, Berosus, Cephalion, &c., is very credible, because it is a peculiar trait of the Persian mind, to regard royalty to be the due of the most high and the most glorious on the face of the earth, of him, in whom, in the human world, the divine is most manifestly conspicuous. But, once the historical person of Zoroaster having become a figure of the poetical legend, it was light enough, then, to surround him with the halo of royalty also. Ordinarily, however, he is taken for a priest and holy lawgiver, a messenger of Ormuzd and founder of the priestcraft. A circumstance of his life, which has nothing impossible in itself, and is indebted, without doubt, to the Persian legends, has been preserved to us by Pliny, and further embellished by Dio Chrysostomus. Pliny narrates, that it is said of Zoroaster, that he spent 30 years long in the wilderness and lived on cheese, which had the reputation of preventing age being experienced. Dio Chrysostomus informs us that, according to the traditions of the Persians, Zoroaster retired himself from human society, out of love for wisdom and righteousness, and lived alone by himself on a certain mountain. Upon this, the mountain, in consequence of much fire having descended upon it from heaven, was enveloped in flames, and continued to burn without ceasing. Then the king, with his most select Persians,

approached in the vicinity, in order to worship the God. In the meanwhile, Zoroaster emerged out of the fire unscathed, and having showed himself friendly to them, invited them to be of good courage and to bring forward certain offerings, because God had descended on the spot. According to this occurrence, however, he had not mixed himself with the vulgar people, but only with those, who from nature were the most likely to be receptive of wisdom and were able to comprehend God. This narration bears entirely the impress of an oriental legend. Elsewhere, also, in many different ways, is the fire-worship traced back to Zoroaster, e.g., in the Homilies of the Roman Clemens: "One out of the family of Ham, by name Nimrod, whom the Greeks have called Zoroaster, became, being in possession of the magical art, refractory against God, and pressed, by means of his magic, the constellation ruling over the world, to bestow upon him a royal rule. The star, however, in order to revenge himself for the force exercised upon him, showered down fire upon the earth, which killed Nimrod. In consequence of this occurrence, however, he was called Zoroaster. But the unthinking people of that time, who believing that, owing to his love for God, his soul was drawn up by lightning, interred his body and honoured his grave by a temple by the Persians on the spot where the fire had descended, and worshipped him as God." In Cedren it is so altered, that Zoroaster prayed to be struck down and consumed by the celestial fire, after he had charged the

Persians to collect his bones and honour them. Similarly says Suidas. On the other hand, the Grecian invention seems to be what Clemens of Alexandria puts in the mouth of Zoroaster : “After I fell in battle, I came to the Hades, and there received instruction from the Gods ;” and Plato has said of him, that after he had lain on the funeral pile for twelve days, he came again to life. What Moses of Chorene, confessedly from Berossus, relates of a Zerovanes, who must be Zoroaster, is in a large part quoted above. Then it goes on further : Zerovanes got himself into a quarrel with his brothers, and became, through the intercession, however, of his sister, the supreme ruler ; the other two, however, conspired to kill the children of Zoroaster ; they were however, saved upon a mountain in the East, which was called “assemblage of Gods.” It is worthy of remark, that here, as in Dio Chrysostomus, Zoroaster is brought in connection with a mountain in the East. What Pliny narrates of Zoroaster is altogether unique, that he had laughed on the day of his birth, and his brain had so throbbed on the occasion, that it tossed back the hand laid upon it—a prognostic of his future wisdom. Also, according to Pliny, he must have given directions about the seasons of sowing ; and Hermippus intimates, that he had a certain Azonaces for his teacher. The legend, that he had consecrated a cavern, in the mountains of Persia, to the god Mithra, appertains to the later Mithraic worship.

To this we annex, further, the information of the ancients on the sacred writings of the Persians, which, as a rule, are ascribed to Zoroaster. Though, even in that age, which has been ascertained for Zoroaster, writing characters may be supposed to have been known, still it must naturally be out of question, that they could have been brought into such an extensive use that an entire book could be written therewith. But, in reality, those books were composed latterly, although they bore the name of Zoroaster, just because they contained his doctrines and precepts. That the ancients were aware of the existence of such works, we learn from Origenes, who quotes from Celsus, that, in common with other wise men, Zoroaster too has explained his dogmas, in detail and put them down in books, and that these have been respected up to now. Philo of Byblus cites even a passage, a philosophico-poetic description of the highest God, from a collection of the sacred writings of the Persians, as the genuine words of Zoroaster himself ; he adds to it further, similarly says Ostanès in his *Oktateuch*. The writings, which the Greeks knew and held for Zoroastrian, contained, however, surely, mostly only that which the Greeks called Magic, and were in a great part of a mysterious kind. So says Clemens of Alexandria, that indeed the followers of the Sophist Prodikos, a contemporary of Socrates, gloried themselves as being in the possession of the mysterious writings of Zoroaster, and a statement of Pliny enables us to estimate the

extent of this literature in the third century before Christ; he says, that Hermippus, who has very exhaustively written on the complete art of the Magi, has explained 200,000 verses composed by Zoroaster, together with the contents of every single volume. In Pseudo-Clemens, also, we read that there existed a large lot of writings bearing the name of Zoroaster. Lastly, Suidas refers to Zoroaster's works on natural sciences. Of these writings, which were fabricated in large numbers, in anterior Asia, in that age of syncretism, in the last centuries before Christ, probably the fewest only contained the genuine doctrines of Zoroaster, and Theopompus must, perhaps, be acknowledged as the only one who, in his representation of the religion of Ormuzd, made use of the genuine sources.

**THE FORESETTINGS AND THE ELEMENTS OF
THE ORMUZDIAN RELIGION: THE OLD
IRANIAN BELIEF.**

When we, depending upon the unanimous accounts of the classical writers, and agreeing with them, regard Zoroaster as the founder and the author of the religion peculiar to the Iranian nation, then, in so doing, we stand upon a thoroughly different stand-point than the writers who serve us as our authorities. The heathen, consequently, in particular, the Grecian writers, at least of the more ancient times, could not, according to their entire habit of thought, at all imagine differently, than that the Persian deities were actual, real beings, and that Zoroaster, in consequence of some divine communication of one kind or another, had taught the Medes and the Persians the names and the worship of these gods, and the customs connected therewith. The Christian writers, on the other hand, held the Ormuzdian religion mostly to be a delusive fancy work of Zoroaster, if they did not go the length of regarding even the deities of the Iranians to be devils. But we know that, a natural religion—and, as such, the Ormuzdian religion still remains in spite of its spirituality—never can be the product of the arbitrary and subjective imaginative faculty of a single individual, but that the spirit discerned within it, is that of the entire nation, expressed in a manner peculiar to it. The spirit, which generally characterises a nation, is, however, ever the

product of two factors—on the one side, of the original disposition of the people, which really indeed takes a certain direction from nature itself, but is yet a perfectly general one, and contains within itself the possibility of diverse developments; on the other, of the formation and the circumstances of the country, which bring the disposition of the people, in a clearly defined manner, into a state of development, and call forth in particular the formation of definitive first principles of the nation. These principles shape, then, the groundwork for religious conceptions, and religion is, really, the first of the institutions, in which the national genius arrives at a fixed form. The lowest stage of human consciousness is, however, the one in which man yet feels himself to be nothing more than a sentient being, a natural object, and, as the conceptions about the divine ever advanced in equal strides with the conceptions of the precise nature of human beings, so, at this stage, the objects of worship were, likewise, natural objects; as a rule, the phenomena and the forces of nature, which exercised over human beings their influence, in a manner incomprehensible to them. Upon this stage of literal naturalness, the Zoroastrian religion does not then rest at all; what, indeed, is to be formally recognised in it is, that it has a founder, i.e., that it has passed thoroughly sifted through the self-consciousness of the subject, and has derived, thereby, a mediating, reflective character. On the other hand, this circumstance, that it is connected with the name of a particular founder, does not justify us, however, in placing it on the same platform with the other two religions, which carry the names of their founders at their head, viz., Christianity and Buddhism.

These have broken through the trammels of a national spirit based on the natural method above referred to; they have, then, by that means, raised themselves to the stand-point of a free spirituality, and this has made them into universal religions. The Zoroastrian religion is not fitted, however, to be considered in any way a universal religion; it suits singly and alone the Iranian people, and the reason thereof is, that it has as yet the fetters of the Iranian national spirit on itself, that it has not yet freed itself from the fixture of the natural and the literal, but has only built these up into the elevated and the spiritual. The natural groundwork has remained just as ever, and upon this has Zoroaster raised up his ethical, spiritual religion, and this justifies us in characterising his religion as a natural religion, although in a somewhat different and higher sense than this term is usually understood.

This relation of the Zoroastrian religion to the old Iranian belief, now defines more closely, however, in how far Zoroaster can pass for the founder of the Ormuzdian religion. That relation denotes that steady advance from the material to the spiritual, which, everywhere, history proves to us, and that, from this universal law of development of individuals and of nations, the Iranians had made an exception, is inconceivable. So soon as the people of Iran had elevated themselves, from the material consciousness, from the condition of literalness—in which the national spirit had lain bound down, without itself comprehending it—into the spiritual, ethical self-consciousness, in which man no longer considers himself to be an object of nature,

but as a moral, personal being, then, the old nature-worship could no longer satisfy them; the newly-awakened moral consciousness demanded spiritual deities, naturally, not with that clear insight of what it had got up to then, or, of what it had thereafter need, but merely in consequence of a half-unconscious impulse. The leader of this religious movement, which, accordingly, perfected itself with inner necessities, was Zoroaster. We have to reckon him, indeed, amongst those master-minds, who are deeply excited by religious feelings, and are, at the same time, endowed with an imaginative power, which pours out the inmost feelings and experiences in a rich world of figures and images, which are, however, no transient fancy images, but those wonderful vestments of the deepest truths, not at all yielding to any inquiry. Zoroaster is, manifestly, the genius, whom the national mind had seized, in order to let the new religion be announced through his mouth, as the divine revelation. But, although much was yet left to his creative genius and his individual characteristics, particularly, in respect of the detailed finish and form of the minutiae, still not only the fundamental principles of the Iranians, which formed the basis of the new religion, were at his disposal, and the direction of this religious process in general to spiritualise the construction of the natural deities, was, through the intrinsic exigencies of religious development, traced out before him, but he was, even with all his individual views and conceptions, like all great minds, a child of his times. On this account, therefore, this religious movement must be comprehended, as one necessarily

sprung, and having just become so, from the actual exigencies and the nature of the Iranian people.

Now, if, according to all these general observations, it cannot appear to be unjustifiable to presume the existence of a nature-worship among the Iranians, preceding the Zoroastrian religion, then it seems an interesting question to inquire more closely into the matter. By starting this question, one feels himself fixed in a pretty embarrassment, because herein we are left wholly helpless by the ancient writers, and they do not seem to know anything at all of such an ante-Zoroastrian religion. But should we now wish nevertheless to ascertain something definite about the old Iranian belief, then we have to rely upon the hitherto certainly incontrovertible conclusion, that, had such a nature-worship preceded the Zoroastrian religion, then its remains ought to be necessarily found in that religion, for, conformably to the conception of natural religion, it is impossible that a nation can have believed twice in different natural religions, one immediately after another. That such remains are, however, to be met with, is quite undeniable, and really they are comprised, not only even in the yet observed worship of the elements and the natural powers, in the Ormuzdian religion, but more generally in the fundamental principles of the Iranians, pervading the whole of the Ormuzdian religion. Religious ideas on this or that matter can vary according to the times, and change themselves often into the very reverse, but the fundamental principles of a nation, having been evoked from its character and the nature, from the outward circumstances of its

native home, have stretched their influence necessarily over all the departments of life, have shaped the ordinances of social life, and so have acquired a great influence over the customs of the land; these could not, by any means, be altered, especially, when a people continues to inhabit a land which, by reason of its nature has exercised an influence on their formation of the same.

An essential element in every natural religion is indeed formed by the relative situation of the natural powers to the human subject, and really, as is natural, to the stand-point of material consciousness, to his material welfare. The forces contributing to the advancement of the same were adored as the good ones, those hindering and destroying it were dreaded as the evil ones. But while, in other natural religions, some other elements further enter, especially that of the creative forces, the peculiarity of the religious mode of thought of the Iranians consists in this, that in it the area of religious conceptions singularly shrinks itself to this double relation of natural forces, to the human welfare, and, in consequence thereof, not only is this conception much more intensively and centrally formed, but also the antagonism contained therein is defined in an entirely peculiar manner. This antagonism derives this specifically Iranian colouring, in fact, by reason of, that light is conceived as beneficent and the spring of all the beneficent powers, and darkness, as noxious and the source of all the destructive powers. How far, then, the original character of the people may have had a share in the grounding of these fundamental principles of the

Iranians, does not naturally admit of being determined ; so much, however, is, at all events, clear, that, if not for their origin also, at least for their advanced refinement and closer determination, the cause is to be sought in the nature and the formation of the Iranian land. The Iranian highland presented the sharpest contrarities of nature, side by side with each other, and this not only in the whole, but this variation repeats itself very nearly in all the parts of the land, which were inhabited by the more important races. In general, the ancient as well as the modern historians extol the clear, serene sky, which spans out over the Iranian highland for a great portion of the year, uncolored by any clouds ; the pure, dry air, which during day lets the rays of the sun descend down unbroken, during night, however, displays the starry heavens in marvellous brilliancy. "The sun-blessed plains of Persia," were already known to Euripedes. So, it was no wonder, that the inhabitants of this land felt struck with holy awe in the presence of the pure light, which displayed itself to them uninterruptedly in full clearness, and foreboded in it something lofty, something divine, really, every good, with which they were blessed by nature so copiously, they believed to be indebted for to it. For, Persia, Media, Hyrcania, the eastern Ariana, and Bactria presented here vast tracts of agricultural land, the produce of which richly rewarded the labour of cultivation ; there stretched out wide meadows, which were covered over with a luxuriant green, and which nourished horses, cattle, and sheep of unexceptionable size and quality ; the mountain land, however, was pierced through everywhere by shady valleys with clear streams, and by

watery dales, in which an actually tropical vegetation raised itself. The ancient historians, who have described Iran, viz., Deodor, Strabo, Curtius, &c., whose informations are wholly similar to the description of Persia, as we find it in Arian, delineate these sketches, in particular of Parthia and Hyrcania, but also of Media, Persia, Karmania, Ariana, and Bactria. "Persia," says Arian, "has a threefold variety of temperature. The portion contiguous to the Red Sea is sandy and unfruitful on account of the heat ; that lying further on to the north rejoices in an excellent mixture of climate. the land here is full of grass and possesses meadows abounding in streams, and several vineyards, and all the rest of fruits, with the only exception of olives : pleasure-gardens of every kind thrive there, and are streamed through by the clearest of brooks, and are rich in lakes and all sorts of birds, such as are indigenous to brooks and lakes. It has also excellent meadows for horned cattle and other beasts of burden, and at several places is rich in forests and games. Still further towards the north, however, it is wintry and snowy." But, already the last words of Arian draw our attention to the fact, that the Iranians were not able to enjoy quietly of this copious blessing, that nature in Iran had strewn out also its perilous and destructive effects, side by side, and between, its blessings. Persia, notwithstanding its southern situation, was not exempt from snow-storms and ice in its higher lying, inclement regions. The same is reported of Media by Strabo and, as we have seen, by Euripedes also ; how much more must this be true of northern Bactria and the Paropamissus, upon which Alexander, with his army, was forced to remain stuck

in the snow, can well be imagined. The horrors of winter were, however, not the only ones. Much as the cold was pernicious on the high mountain lands, equally so was the heat in the lowlands, in particular, on the steppes, where, on account of the long holding off of the rains, and the drying up of the watery streams by the intense heat, everything frequently withered up. Besides that, a great portion of the Iranian highlands, just the middle thereof, was really a sandy waste, under whose pernicious influences naturally, even the contiguous more fortunate districts had to suffer, and such were almost all, situated, around this waste. Small deserts and unfruitful tracts of land are to be met with, however, in the other provinces also, as this is expressly stated of Persia, by Strabo and Arian, and of Sogdiana and Bactria, by Curtius. In particular, however, the entire southern coast was little better than a desert, so that its inhabitants, the Gedrosians and others, were driven to quite a miserable life. On the other hand, the oasis, which refreshed men and beasts with fresh springs, and a glorious vegetable growth, offered to this so much greater a contrast. Lastly, even the mountain land, which runs through the whole of Iran, dividing it into southern and northern, had side by side with its beneficent characteristics, besides its cold, again, its own peculiar perils and reverses. It was full of slopey rocks, valleys and precipices, as, particularly, in Hyrcania and about the Caspian gates; beasts of burden, cattle, and human beings, were all alike liable easily to meet with death here. In the forests of huge trees, and on the deserts, roved rapacious beasts, lying in ambush, for

the flocks ; in the marshy lowlands, on the other hand, no one was safe from snakes, scorpions, and noxious vermins of all sorts. The culminating point of these contrarieties, however, reached in the north-east of Iran, in Bactria and Sogdiana. Let the ancients themselves speak on this. "The nature of Bactria," relates Curtius, "is manifold and of various kinds. Here the trees and the vines bear rich and sweet fruits in large abundance, the fruitful soil being irrigated by innumerable springs. The soft soil is sown with fruit trees, the rest is given up for the pasturage of cattle. A large portion of the land takes in, on the other hand, sterile, sandy deserts, which with a soil afflicted with sordid sterility, is unfitted for the sustenance of either men or corn ; and when the winds from the Caspian Sea blow in that direction strongly, they scour together all the sand, lying on the surface of the plains. Such a sandy mound looks from a afar like a huge hillock, and all the traces of the previous path vanish away. Consequently, those who travel through these plains are obliged, during nights, to observe, like the mariners, the stars in the firmament, in order to shape their course from them ; and the darkness of the night is almost more clear than the sunlight. Hence, this region becomes often impassable, because not the slightest traces of the pathways are left, and the light of the heavens is dimmed by the mist in the atmosphere. But whomsoever the wind blowing from the sea captures, he becomes overwhelmed by the sand. Where, however, the land is fertile, there it sustains an immense number of men and horses." If we now, add to this, fully, the description of the Sogdian wastes, which begin only six miles north

of Bactria, we will just then be able to figure to ourselves the proper conception of the dangers, which a traveller is beset with in those deserts. Of this desert, the same historian narrates, "that the heat of the summer sun enkindles the sandy wastes; when these begin to burn, everything glows, as if from a continuous conflagration. The gloom, raised up by the scorching heat of the earth, obscures the sun; instead of the plain, one imagines to see a profoundly deep sea; the nightly dew strengthens, truly, the limbs and lightens the journey, but when with the morning the heat again begins, then, within and without everything burns. The consequence is: complete drowsiness, despondency, and despair."

In a country, where nature carries on its work, in the sharpest antagonisms, side by side with, and in struggle against, each other, it is easily explainable, how, among a nation inhabiting the same, religious knowledge should, likewise, fall asunder in two great oppositions; and how the beneficent powers of nature, presented themselves to it, ranged on one side as the good divinities, and those of the noxious kind, on the other, as the evil ones. But if the notion was once entertained to regard light as the source of all that was beneficent and joyous, to which the universal nature of Iran has already drawn our attention, so the counter-proposition, that all that was noxious and destructive must have had its origin, by way of contrast, in darkness, becomes of itself self-established. Those forces of nature, which promoted the well-being of mankind, blessed their labours, bestowed fruitfulness upon their herds and fields, were by the grateful, pious sentiment, naturally

attributed to luminous spirits ; on the other hand, when fields and meadows were parched up with heat, the herds attacked with pestilence, torn asunder by wild beasts, or damaged by ice and snow-storms, or the travellers died in the wilderness, then all this was supposed to have been done by the spirits, who carry on their work in darkness, and destroy with pleasure, the work done by human beings. But where there are the good spirits there the evil ones must, naturally, give way, and as the rising daylight restores tranquility and cheerfulness to human hearts, anguished and oppressed by the darkness of the night, so this natural incident in the human soul became in the mind of the Iranians an occurrence of the spiritual world ; the base spirits of darkness, which carried on their work of destruction, during the nights, were scared away, when the rising morning sun enlightened the land with its early rays. The light of fire had a similar effect, however, as the light of the sun, and, because of the principal position this element occupies in the Zoroastrian religion. we could certainly conclude that it also must have been an object of worship in the old Iranian creed, indeed, that the fire-worship had formed the central point of that religion. Beyond that, we are able to assume, that the objects of nature, which again enjoy high worship in the Ormuzdian religion, even though, they stand back here in the presence of the spiritual powers, were adored in the fore-Zoroastrian religion as good and beneficent deities. These are, besides the fire, water and the rivers, the earth, air and wind, the sun, and, surely, the moon also, with all the particular stars. Naturally, men worshipped in these, not the material objects as such,

but the invisible forces hidden within them, as something sublime, divine, spiritual, by which the conceptions of some may have touched nearer to the spiritual, as in the case of fire and wind, which could, by virtue of their comparatively fine and mobile nature, easily acquire, in one's fancy, the form of the spiritual, whereas, probably in the instance of water and earth, the conception remains standing more to the material side and its visible indications. The commencements and the germs of still other views were, without doubt, likewise already contained in the old Iranian belief, so that Zoroaster had but to adopt them, as, probably, in the case of the worship of the ancestral manes, but further than the fundamental principles already quoted, it is not indeed possible to derive any more from the ancient writers.

Not an unimportant proof for the assumption, that Bactria was the native-place of Zoroaster, is to be found in the nature of this country as it is depicted by Curtius. Here stood those contrasts the sharpest against each other, here were the effects of the wholesome and pernicious powers raised to the highest, here the difference was most sensibly apparent to mankind. Here, where the warfare of these adverse powers daily presented itself to the naked eyes, and raised itself often to an astounding magnitude, the pious sentiments were excited the most vividly, and to the imaginative fancies the richest materials were furnished. Which province of Iran could, then, have more suited for the presentation and promulgation of the Zoroastrian religion?

THE ORMUZDIAN RELIGION.

The fundamental principles of the ancient Iranian religion served as the basis as well of the Zoroastrian religious system, but here they acquired a higher, spiritual form at the hand of a loftier and spiritually awakened consciousness, which proclaimed itself in the new teachings of Zoroaster. The thoroughgoing opposition of the wholesome and the pernicious, in the Iranian conceptions, remained henceforth, but it was comprehended differently. Under the wholesome was comprehended not merely that, which promoted the material welfare of mankind, but also, and mainly, that, which was conformable to, and promotive of, the moral nature of mankind, *viz.*, the moral good. Evil was now no longer regarded merely as, what brought affliction and penury on human beings, but essentially as what did harm to the soul of men, *viz.*, the moral evil. As, however, this religious movement, as the promoter of which Zoroaster claims our acknowledgment, ought to be regarded, differing widely, as it does, from a revolutionary commotion of the ancients, probably, as a steady development of the old Iranian religion, so even that advanced step, in the right comprehension of the notions of the good and evil, is nothing less than a jump, it is brought about rather through the medium of the idea of the pure and impure. The luminous, the source of everything salutiferous, is equally the pure; the dark, the source of everything pernicious, is alike the impure. The distinction of the physical pure from the spiritual pure, of the purity of the body from that of the soul, is, however, in the peculiar conceptions of

the Iranians, a perfectly easy one. The connection between the physical and the spiritual purity is, not merely symbolical and ideal, but a perfectly appropriate and real one, for, according to the Iranian idea, a pure soul can reside but in a pure body, and, reversedly, in several cases bodily purifications ought to be undertaken, when the soul has defiled itself through sin. This may suffice, preliminarily, to elucidate how, in reality, everything in the Zoroastrian system, hinges itself on purity, not only in the ceremonials, but also in the creed, in the formations of the divine beings, especially, however, in the moral teachings; for, it is impossible, to rightly comprehend the internal connection and the process of thought in this religious system, unless one brings to his understanding the importance as well as the central position of that idea.

The warfare, which the genii of the Iranians had to carry on, henceforward, was now, no longer merely that of the beneficent and harmful natural powers, but that of the moral powers. This is to be regarded not merely as a loftier conception of the Iranians of their divine beings, but it is the subjectiveness of the national genius, a mighty step on the long way, which the spirit requires to come to itself. From the point of view of the proper natural religion, the Iranian people contemplated the oppositions and the struggles of external nature, so far as they concerned its material well or evil being, as a fight of their deities. In the Zoroastrian system, the gods exhibit, for religious representations, the oppositions, which struggle in the particular breasts of human beings against each other, and towards which men feel themselves drawn with an essential side of their nature;

they fight the fight, which men daily experience in their inward consciousness, and which is accompanied by even as strong commotions of his entire nature, as the struggle in the external nature is. And when the Iranian nevertheless represents to himself, even constantly further, the internal struggle of the soul, as an occurrence happening beyond his own person, in his imaginary world of gods, and the truth contained therein, consequently, remains to him, ever again, as an outward, merely acquired one, so on the other hand, he possesses, in his practical relations, this ethical truth as an actual, real, satisfying his conscience, as moral living and acting, inasmuch as he stands in a moral relation to those represented gods, and determines his whole life and action after that. Upon this ethical character of the religion of Ormuzd depends its spiritual and universal importance.

Besides that, however, that the deities in the religion of Ormuzd were comprehended as the spirituo-ethical powers, yet, one more advance in the religious knowledge presents itself to us, which directly strikes the eye; Zoroaster gathered together the good and the evil genius of the ancient religion, and gave them two superior heads, Ormuzd and Ahriman. In this, he followed the universal law of human understanding, *viz.*, to advance from multiplicity to singleness, to ascend up from plurality to unity.

I. THE CREED.

A. THE WORLD OF THE GODS.

Although a complete representation of the conceptions of the Iranians, respecting the nature of their godheads, can only be acquired, in one way, from the contemplation of the general character of the Ormuzdian religion, in the other, from the collection of all the reports of the ancient writers, on the single Iranian godheads, yet nevertheless, even that, which the ancients themselves in a general manner give utterance to, deserves our attention, because upon the whole it gives a correct idea, though not the least insight into the peculiar Iranian conceptions. The immaterial nature of the Iranian gods becomes self-evident, indeed, from the well-known testimony of Herodotus, he says—"Images, temples, and altars to erect, is not the custom of the Persians; on the contrary, they reproach with folly even those, who do this, as it seems to me, because they believe in no gods endowed with human figure, as do the Grecians."* With this perfectly well accords the report, that Cambyzes scoffed at the Egyptian priests, because they believed in gods with flesh and blood. who were liable to be wounded with steel,† and that he burnt their idols;‡ Xerxes also did likewise. As the Grecians, however, could not at all imagine any gods, bereft of their images, so Maximus of Tyrus reports, that among the Persians fire had become the image of their gods, and Dinon, that the Persians held fire and water as the only images of the gods. This has, however, a different

* Herod. I., 131.

† Herod., III., 29.

‡ Herod. III., 37.

signification ; the Persians did not hold fire and water as the images of the actual figures of their gods, as the Grecians did their images, but, on the one part, they contemplated in the luminous, pure nature of fire, and in the beneficent virtue of water (if water can be included here at all, and Maximus has not omitted it with reason), the essence of the divine, and, on the other, fire and water were themselves the objects of adoration, on account of their own godliness.

But because they were not embodied with human figure, so naturally even the distinction of the sexes cannot be applied to them ; and Diogenes Laertes states, that the Magi explicitly declared themselves against those, who, asserted that there were male and female sexes in the deities. The idea that the gods enjoy the offerings in a literal sense, was, for this reason, precluded from the cult ; hence they received not any parts of the sacrificial animal, but the animal was consecrated to them in its entirety, in the idea “that the gods demand merely the soul of the animal sacrificed, and nothing else.” Although Ormuzd occupies in the system a very over-towering position above all the other gods, yet, neither the Grecians held the Persian religion to be monotheistic, as they constantly refer to a plurality of gods, nor even the Persians themselves, as can be gathered from the acts of the Persian martyrs. Here, says, for instance, a Magus, converted to Christianity, “from this day forward I acknowledge only one God ;” the King Shapoor speaks of his “Gods,” and in a denunciation against the Christians say, that they teach the people to worship only one single God. That,

further, the deities are exempted from the barriers, by which human beings feel themselves compressed as finite creatures, is a fact true not merely of the spiritual, personal gods, but in a certain sense, also of the natural deities, such as the sun, the fire, &c., to whom a remote influence is always ascribed; in a pre-eminent sense, however, naturally of Ormuzd, the only infinite God in the Zoroastrian creed. In his attributes, however, the other Gods also have a share. As related by Nicholas Damascenus, Cyrus says to Astyages: "Thou didst not know the might of the Gods;" Plutarch makes Artaxerxes to say: "May the Gods reward it to thee." Yet, we must set down such a mode of expression, notably, in Herodotus, where it very frequently occurs, often merely to the account of the Grecian writer. Meander, on the other hand, quotes the precise words of the Sassanian Prince Chosro, as follows: "The divine Chosroes on whom the Gods have bestowed great luck and a great empire." That the gods lend might and victory, proceeds also from the ancient reports. Darius, as stated in Curtius, implores Mithra, the sun, and fire, for the grant of victory. In general these control the destinies of nations as of individuals; are the "bystanders, helpers and counsellors of the good." So Cyrus prides himself as being under the especial care of the gods; he made offerings, as stated in Xenophon, before every important undertaking, to several or all the gods. Since, however, the attribute of providence is conditional on omniscience, so even this must be ascribed to them. Xenophon lets the father of Cyrus say: the eternal Gods know all, the past and the present, and what will issue from each of them. This coincides, in any case, perfectly

with the Persian belief, although the turn of thought is doubtlessly Grecian. The providence is, however, notably a just one : Darius implores the gods, protecting the Persian empire, to chastise his enemies ; as he was taken captive ignominiously, he called upon the avenging gods to bear witness, and Bessus considers the fall of Darius as a just punishment from the gods. Hence, oaths were sworn to by the gods as well, since they knew not merely the real truth, but even punished falsehood. All these divine attributes we find again in an enhanced measure, however, in Ormuzd himself. The world of the gods divides itself in divinities of the realm of light and in those of the realm of darkness, according to their nature ; the former sub-divide themselves in particular gods, spirituo-personal beings with preponderating ethical character, and in natural, material objects which, truly, receive even a spiritual importance but were worshipped more as spirits only than as personal beings.

a. THE DIVINITIES OF THE REALM OF LIGHT

a — THE SPIRITUO-PERSONAL GODS

I.—ORMUZD.

The name of the highest God among the Persians was pretty early known to the Greeks, indeed Plato mentions him ; still he is very seldom mentioned with his Persian name by the authors, who yet wrote in the times of the Persian Empire ; they hold him to be identical with their highest God and, accordingly, name him Zeus. As the intercourse with the Persians became brisker and closer, first, through the conquest of Alexander, and subsequently, by the expansion of the Roman Empire up to the confines of Iran, even the name, mostly as Oromazes, or even in other variations, began to be used more frequently. As the real understanding of his complete nature is dependent upon the position, which he enjoys in the Zoroastrian system, we place ourselves into the hands of Plutarch, directly in the middle thereof ; we can unhesitatingly trust ourselves to his guidance, because he brings into light a clear insight into the Zoroastrian faith, at least according to its ground-lines. After having enunciated the ground principles respecting the origin of things, that evil cannot spring out of good, but that a separate origin for it must be sought, that everything is to be traced back to two opponent principles, to two powers struggling against

each other, of which the one leads to the right and the just, the other strives against and afflicts back, Plutarch goes on to draw a distinction between those men, who acknowledge a duality of gods striving against each other, the one a creator of good, the other a creator of evil, and these, who call the better of the two God, and the other, demon, as this has been done by Zoroaster, who has called the former Horomazes, and the latter Areimanios, and has taught to compare the former mostly, of all the objects of sense, to light, and the latter to darkness and ignorance. Out of such an exposition of the main principles it results—(1) Ormuzd is the highest God, against whom, there is, it is true, an opponent, though not an equal to him in the matter of godliness; (2) He is the good God, or, according to the Persian conception, his character resembles the nature of light; (3) He is the originator and creator of all good—which the context, with the philosophical introduction, clearly proves. The ideas regarding Ormuzd have indeed ever remained the same from the Acheminian to the Sassanian times; throughout he appears as the pure deity of light, as the author and giver of all good; particularly, however, the idea about him ever maintains itself at the same high elevation, and nowhere, except in confessedly figurative expressions, do we meet with a degeneration of his character into the material and the corporal. So, we are right, no doubt, to make use of very nearly all the reports of the Greeks and the Romans, for drawing an accurate exposition of the nature of this deity. Ormuzd is the God of all, to whom no other is an equal, not merely in power, but in nature also; he is the “Great God,” yet not the greatest of the Iranian Gods, but

absolutely the great, the powerful. For the same reason, he is even called straightway "the God" only, as the Persians themselves speak of him, according to Plutarch. According to the cosmogonical hymns of the Magi, preserved in Dio Chrysostomus, the God, in order to let the world proceed out of him, had to put out much of his light, and then to resort himself "to the fire-resembling atmosphere of mild (less strong) fire," thereafter he enthroned himself in a luminous heaven, on the other side of the terrestrial atmosphere, of the terrestrial sky, which is much inferior to the former in brilliancy. Hence, he himself is the spirit of light, the heavenly, born out of the purest light, and yet not the visible light itself; but if one wishes to make his nature more comprehensible to himself, by means of an image, then he may well repeat after Plutarch: under the objects of sense he most resembles light, or, as the Magi express themselves in Porphyry: "his body resembles light, his soul to truth." Pure and spiritual as the conceptions regarding him are preserved, so it is still clear from what has been above cited, that the idea of Ormuzd finds its root, in the Old Iranian fundamental principles, in the conception of the health-engendering power of light. He is, according to his origin at least, no abstraction, no personification of any spiritual power, but, from the very source of his origin, is, though not a god of the old Iranian nature-worship, yet a natural power, but such a natural power as is the finest, the all-animating, and the most spiritual—a substance, which, by virtue of its extraordinary flexibility, allowed itself to be transformed, with the greatest facility, by the richer and superior self-developing consciousness, into sub-

limer, spiritual forms ; an idea, which, as of itself, pressed towards a higher comprehension. So, then, from the luminous nature of Ormuzd, even his spiritual character is to be derived ; as a luminous spirit, he is the perfect God, and truly from the point of view of understanding, the wise, aye omniscient ; from that of knowledge, the pure, truthful, just, holy ; he is, besides, the good, blessing-bestowing God, who helps mankind into all good, imparts to it of his wisdom, and generally he is the author and giver of every good. So is then Ormuzd, as this spirituo-ethical being, in fact, a God born out of light, as the Persians or the Magi designate him, according to Plutarch, and these words would become true, if we applied them in our mind to the historical development of the religious consciousness of the Iranians.

His origin from the nature-worship operates, however, everlastingly, on the usual mode of conceptions of the Iranians ; even if we know Ormuzd in abstract, that he is an invisible, infinite spirit, still we are led to imagine him, certainly, yet quite spontaneously, as a luminous spirit, enthroned in the endless celestial space, surrounded by eternal glory and divine splendour, as then Xerxes marks out the ether as his habitation, when he says, he would broaden out his empire so wide, that it might reach the borders of "the ether of Zeus." Many things also in the worship point to this ; for instance, that the person worshipping Ormuzd raises his hands high towards the heavens, as we know this to have been done by the last Darius. From this, explains itself also the report of Herodotus, that the Persians

present offerings to Zeus on the tops of mountains, "because they style the whole sphere of the heavens Zeus." If, as it almost so appears, Herodotus has meant by this, that the highest God of the Persians was nothing else than the celestial sphere, this visible celestial vault, then, we would say, that this conception of the highest God is, to say the least, imperfect, since it brings into prominence merely his original natural character; it is a misunderstanding, which finds its explanation from the close relation in which Ormuzd was placed with the heavens, as well in the conceptions as in the worship. But if we grant, that these words rightly express the character of the highest God, we have yet in them a beautiful image of the sublimity and infinity of the nature of this God. Now, for the spiritual essence of Ormuzd, Eusebius has preserved to us a classical passage, which he borrows from Philo of Byblus. He quotes the following as a literal extract from a collection of the sacred writings of the Persians (he attributes the words to Zoroaster himself): "The God has the head of a falcon. He is the first, imperishable, eternal, uncreated, indivisible, incomparable, the ruler of everything beautiful, the incorruptible, the best among the good, the most sensible among the sensible; he is, moreover, also the father of the lawful order and justice, self-taught, natural, and perfect, wise, and the unique deviser of the sacred natural doctrines." The eternity of Ormuzd is here, in the first four attributes, clearly and explicitly pronounced. Other testimonies, however, seem to give expression to the contrary. Diogenes Laertes intimates, in fact, that the Magi had set up doctrines respecting the nature and the origin of gods;

Hecatæus says, in the opinion of the Magi, the gods are created objects. The doctrine of Zarvane also speaks to the contrary. Now, as regards the doctrine of Zarvane Akarne, it will prove itself to be a spurious appanage on the Zoroastrian system. The expression of Diogenes is either Greekish for mythology in general, or it may find its explanation similarly as the words of Hecatæus, which are to be understood to refer, excepting Ormuzd, only to the deities, which, of course, are created.

Ormuzd must, necessarily, be considered as eternal, according to the complete view of the Persians regarding his character. The omnipotence of Ormuzd follows of itself, from what has been advanced hitherto ; he is undoubtedly the "Great God," nay, "the God" absolutely. Only from one direction his power may seem to be limited, in respect to his relation to Ahriman. In how far this may be accepted, will be determined, but only further on. That he is as all-powerful in the presence of the other deities, as he is in that of the universe and all human kind, finds a distinct expression in the fact, that he has created them all, and, what is further, rules over them. Aristotle, in his metaphysics, where he speaks of the relation of the prime beginning of things to the good, tries to explain away the difficulties, which arise, as well from letting multiplicity to spring from simplicity, and the good to come only later on, as from placing the good as simultaneously co-existing from the very commencement. He proceeds on : "So some put down that which has at first begotten as the best, and so do the Magi also." In the cosmogonical hymns of the Magi, preserved in Dio Chrysostomus, God, since he

was the only one, is represented to have yearned after other things, and to have employed himself in the structure of the present world, in the production and arrangement of its parts, and, soon after he had done creating and completing everything, even the living creatures, he set down the world, at its commencement, as gloriously bright, as indescribably well-formed and beautiful. In especial, however, in contrast to Ahriman, he is the author of good. According to Agathias, the Persians acknowledge a good and an evil principle ; the good has produced out of itself the most beautiful of existences, and they call this good God, or Demiurg, Ormisdates. Beyond what is to be generally gathered on this subject from the passage of Plutarch, he recounts further, in especial, that Ormuzd created the heavenly spirits of the higher and the lower order ; whilst a passage from the acts of the Persian martyrs makes him out also as the author of the natural objects adored as deities ; the Sassanian King Vararanes reproaches the Christians, that they worship neither the gods, nor the sun and the moon, nor fire and water, the glorious creations of god, or, instead of the last words, in accordance with the rectification given by Kleuker, these “who are the sons of God.” Celsus also says of the Persians, that they adore the sun and the (rest of the) creations of God, that is to say, of their God. Finally, according to Plutarch, he has created also the stars. As he is the creator, so he is also the ruler and regent of the world. In Dio Chrysostomus, he is celebrated in songs by the Magi as the “perfect and the earliest ruler of the most perfect Wagon,” that is to say, of the world ; they praise the “one government and rule of the universe,

which will be brought out, without any rest, in eternal periods of time, by means of the highest wisdom and strength ; everything happens according to the will of him, who maintains and rules the universe." As regards the sustaining of the world, we have, again, an important passage out of Phantias of Eresos, a contemporary of Aristotle. He relates that, as Themistocles begged the Persian, Artabanus, for admission to the presence of the king, he was answered, that among them it was a custom to prostrate one's self in the presence of a king, as before the image of the God, who maintains the universe. Hence, Ormuzd is called by the Greeks "Zeus the king," and by Darius, as reported in Plutarch, "the Lord Oromasdes." His authority, however, stretches itself, quite in especial, over the land and the people, believing in, and worshipping, him. He is the God, whom already the ancestors of the Persians have worshipped, and whom they have taken over as heirloom from their ancestors, "the God of the fathers," as expressed in Xenophon. He has then, on this account as well, given to his chosen people his law, which teaches them to distinguish right from wrong. And again he watches with an especial love, from out of the whole nation, over their head and chief, *viz.*, the king. Consequently, Darius Codomanus addressed his prayers, for the preservation of his rule over the Persians, directly "to the ruler Zeus, whose it was the duty to be watchfully careful of the destiny of the king, from out of all other men." Hence is explained the wish of the eunuch, who announces to Darius the death of his captured queen, and says of her : "She desired nothing than to gaze upon thy light, which the Lord Oromasdes

will again allow to flash up shining." This relation is even so close, that the one of the son to the father can be applied to it, as it happens in the case of Darius, in the already quoted passage of Pseudo Callisthenes. In general, however, Ormuzd is considered as a God ready for help to mankind, as one who grants victory in particular. Xerxes directly prays to him, to vouchsafe to him revenge on Athens ; Cyrus, the younger, gives in the field the watchword "Zeus the fellow-combatant and leader," or "Zeus the Saviour and Governor ;" provided that this be not a mere Grecian custom. According to Ctesias, Darius raised to him an altar, according to Herodotus, two pillars, in thankfulness for his successful crossing over the Bosporus.

Testimonies of his moral attributes are to be found few in number, because most of the Grecians had not any sense and understanding of the lofty conceptions of the Iranians, for their God. They comprehended just such, superficialities of him as struck their eyes differing from their mode of thought and their manner of worship, or, again, they took him to be utterly the same with their Zeus. Therefore, the few passages, mostly already quoted from Dio Chrysostomus and Philon, on the wisdom of Ormuzd, are so much the more valuable. When, as frequently happens, he is called the Good by Aristotle, Plutarch, Philon, Agathias, and then again by Diogenes Laertes, in the acts of the Persian martyrs, and by Damascius, then that must be understood here throughout more in the metaphysical than in the moral sense, just as the first originator of everything good, salutiferous, particularly, as the primeval author of the

good creation. For his justness, however, we find, besides the one in Philon, where he is called the father of justness, yet another important passage in Plutarch. Artaxerxes, relates Plutarch, has caused his son Darius, who had conspired against him for his life, to be sentenced to death and killed, and has thereupon exclaimed :—
 “Rejoice you, ye Persians, and promulgate it to the world, that the great Oromazes has brought down punishment on those, who had plotted malicious and unlawful designs.” But the most beautiful and the most sublime expression for the pure, perfect and divine nature of Ormuzd, we detect in the sensible likeness portrayed by his priests; they say “his body has the similitude of light, his soul, that of truthfulness.”

2.—MITHRA.

The next to Ormuzd, in nature and rank, stands Mithra, even though he is separated from him by an immense chasm. Mithra, indeed, begins the series of deities created by Ormuzd. For this, that he is created by Ormuzd, though there is not any express evidence, yet it clearly follows from the nature of the system, as it stands fixed in general and particularly explained in Plutarch. But should we want to comprehend him quite as a sun god, then we have express testimonies of the ancients in its favor. Mithra is, probably, one of the most difficult of figures in the Iranian Olympus. One wends, with much labor, through the mass of the ancient reports—of which those useful for our purpose are very meagre, and the latter ones, not at all relating to the Persian Mithra, are extant in but too large numbers

—but nearly all, with a few exceptions, are inexact and almost incomprehensible, and, at least, it will not quite succeed to produce a concrete, comprehensible divine figure out of Mithra. In this matter, there are, in fact, besides the indistinctness and meagreness of the ancient reports, chiefly two difficulties—the one, that the ancients speak mostly of the spurious Mithra of the mysteries called after his name, and from this latter envelope, it is hard to distinguish the genuine and the ancient, which, nevertheless, is often yet comprised therein; the other, that the Persian Mithra, on the one side, stands in a very close relation to the sun, on the other, however, with difficulty quite mounts up to it.

The singular passage, from which it is possible to conclude, with some certainty, on the views of the Iranians relative to him, is to be found in Plutarch. In this, Darius commanded a eunuch, from whom he was desirous of eliciting the truth of an important concurrence, saying—“Tell me, gazing upon the great light of Mithra,” &c. According to this, Mithra must be conceived as the god of light, who not only becomes aware of untruthfulness—consequently, in such cases he is present, generally, however, he is omnipresent—but also punishes it, because it is antagonistic to him. This is confirmed again by the fact, that the Persian kings swore by Mithra, and this oath, as can be inferred from the context of the passage concerned, is of high value. Further, Darius, before the battle of Arabela, prays, among other deities, to Mithra also, to grant victory to his army. In this, we discover but pure attributes, which ought to be ascribed as well to Ormuzd, but there must

necessarily be a distinction between the two. And since the passage of Plutarch about the mediator cannot, singly by itself, carry us further in this matter, so there remains over for us but yet another statement of the ancients of the genuine Mithra, *viz*, that of Strabo, which we must regard as information. He intimates, the Persians adore, among others, the sun also, which they name Mithres. Now, this places in our hands, certainly, a new material for the right conception of Mithra, by which the same is more closely defined, and an appropriate position secured to this god in the Zoroastrian system. If, in fact, Mithra be the sun-god, then he is the God of the shining, visible, earth-prevailing light, whereas, Ormuzd, in the religious consciousness of the Iranians, was a pure spirit of light, enthroned in pure ether, on the other side of the atmosphere and the visible sky ; although for us, for the historical contemplation, the conception of his nature has taken its origin from the Iranian idea of the salutiferous effect of the same apparent light. The character of the direct naturalness, which, accordingly, must be imputed to Mithra, in contrast to the already reflecting figure of Ormuzd, enables us again to cast a deeper glance in the progress of religious development among the Iranians. Mithra, as the sun-god, as we would, for the moment, call him so with Strabo, is obviously a figure from the old Iranian belief, in which the visible and the palpable forces of nature were adored. That the ancient Iranians have had a sun-god, admits of being determined, indeed, from the character of their creed, even though it had not come forth again in the Zoroastrian system.

Doubtlessly, he must have occupied even a very high station in the ancient belief, as, indeed, light is the essence of everything good and blissful, and the effects of which declare themselves most palpably in the sunlight. That this is called exactly Mithra is, avowedly, not to be discovered from any of the ancient writers, but why, whilst retaining the adoration of the moon, the fire, water, &c., Zoroaster should have, all of a sudden, set up another sun-god, is inexplicable, unless, that it was not at all possible for him to set up another representation in the place of the one, already deeply rooted in the religious consciousness. But, then, as moral consciousness awoke in the Iranian nation, this material, natural light-god, together with the other natural deities, no longer satisfied it, and, out of the ardent desire of the Iranian nation, to contemplate its moral consciousness as real, substantial truth, arose Ormuzd, the spiritual God. Ormuzd now trotted up to the summit of, not merely the spirituo-ethical, but also the natural, world, and, in its consequence, the natural deities hitherto acknowledged, not excepting Mithra even, were degraded to being creations of this spiritual God. But, why were they yet retained in the Zoroastrian religion, is explained not merely from the fact, that they had already too much firmly established themselves in the religious consciousness, to let themselves be easily dislodged therefrom, but we must go back to a deeper cause, which is to be found in the character of the Ormuzdian belief: even in this, the Iranian nation comprehended the spirit, not as pure, but still as naturally determined spirit. As the old belief had no longer sufficed for the spirituo-ethical consciousness,

because it was too material for it, so, on the other hand, the purely spiritual deity, in the Ormuzdian religion, did not satisfy the material consciousness, which ever yet kept itself in influence. Ormuzd stood too high for the religious consciousness of the Iranians; they required, as it were, between themselves and this supermundane God, still another being, that stood nearer to them, that guarded and protected them visibly and apparently; and, to their comprehension, such a deity was Mithra, the god of light of the terrestrial firmament.

If, now, from what has been said hitherto, the character of Mithra is limitedly fixed to the spiritual side, towards Ormuzd, since his material, natural significance comes into prominence, so, in a like manner, we have him now limited towards the material side too, on account of the prominence of his spiritual significance. The statement of Strabo is, in fact, so far right, as Mithra stands in a very close connection with the sun. Plutarch's already quoted words, "the powerful light of Mithra," too, point to this, what, in reality, does not denote directly and singly the sun, but merely the powerful might of light; but the most powerful and the most splendid exhibition of the same is, of course, just the sunlight. The declarations of Hesychius and Suidas (under "Mithras"), to the effect, that the Persian Mithra was the sun, are not also, to be derived directly from Strabo. Besides, the Mithraic mysteries, even though they are to be regarded as an offspring of the superstition and the religious syncretism of Asia Minor and the whole of the Roman world, are, nevertheless,

connected, at least with the historical Mithra, as he was believed among the Persians; even in them he is always set down, in one manner or another, for the sun. Porphyry, according to the ordinary acceptance, designates the rotation of the sun through the twelve signs of the Zodiac as the substance thereof. Also, according to Celsus, they contained teachings on the rotation of the celestial globe, and Julius Firmicus refers the cave-worship of Mithra to the "brilliant clear daylight." Now, Porphyry informs us, that a particular position in the Zodiac has been assigned to Mithra, that of the Equinoxes, and in this position he has the north to his right, the south to his left. Mithra is, hence, celebrated not merely as the light, which daily vanquishes the night, but even as the one, which, at each spring-time triumphs over the long winter-nights, and restores the rejoicing, beneficent summer-brightness. On this account, also the Mithra festival, which, without doubt, was celebrated in that age, became a public festival. That passage of Porphyry throws, now, a light, likewise on the obscure words of Plutarch: "Zoroaster has taught, Horomazes resembles light the most, among the material objects, Areimanios, darkness the most; in the middle, between the two, is, however, Mithras. Consequently, even the Persians themselves call Mithras the Mediator." Here, one must discriminate between, what Plutarch puts down as the teachings of Zoroaster, which he has probably derived from Theopompous, and what he himself has added to it, which savours of an entirely different school of ideas. If Mithra be taken to be in the middle, between the God of light and the God of darkness, then we can refer this middle either to space

or to time. In the first reference, it would mean : Mithra occupies the space, or has his sovereignty, in the middle, between Ormuzd, who is enthroned in the ethereal heavens, and Ahriman, who carries on his work, partly on this earth, partly in a sort of nether world—in any case, therefore, down below ; the empire of Mithra, hence, would be that of the atmosphere, of the visible sky. This, according to the above determination, is perfectly correct, and finds, moreover, at least, an analogy in the similar expression of Porphyry, that Mithra takes up his position in the middle, between the North, the residence of the wicked spirits, and the South, which, together with the East, appertains to the regions of light. But suppose, on the other hand, we comprehend the middle in the sense of time, then Mithra is the one, who brings up light between night and day, and, likewise, between winter and summer, with which the government of Ormuzd begins and which scares away the darkness of Ahriman. This last supposition, too, corresponds, and verily much more decidedly, than the first one, to the similar passage of Porphyry. Both the comprehensions could well be Iranian, still the probability is, indeed, more on the side of the last one, which turns the daily and the yearly occurrences of nature into a divine activity, and is less obvious, yet more vivid and more conformable to the Iranian conceptions. Now, although all these accounts place Mithra in a close connection with the sun, still surely not one of them makes him to coincide altogether with it, as does Strabo, with whose exception, however, all the rest very nearly admit a wider, less material comprehension of the Mithraic ideas. Such a comprehension

is, however, necessary, since both the divine beings are, in a provable manner, differently represented. Although Mithra is originally a natural character, and has ever remained so in a certain sense, yet the Iranians had, nevertheless, very exalted conceptions of him, what, doubtless, is, likewise, a consequence of the spiritualisation of the Iranian religion brought about by Zoroaster. They imagined him, as can be gathered from Plutarch, as a god of light, marking and punishing untruth.

Now, if we compare, on the other hand, the passages, in which mention occurs of the adoration of the sun, so we receive quite a different impression. Where the gods of the Persians are enumerated, there the sun is always mentioned under the natural objects, and distinctly reckoned as one of them; as, indeed, in Herodotus, then in Celsus, and in the acts of the Persian Martyrs. From the latter, this follows still more distinctly, though in another way. The settled reason, why the Christians declined to adore the sun, is, that it is the work of God (*res condita*); sure enough, the sun is called by them a *deus rationis* *expers*. This were not possible, if that pure, truth-loving Mithra himself was the sun. But the question is placed beyond doubt by a statement of Curtius, who, by his exact description of the Persian cult, proves, that he had good sources of information before him. He relates, in fact, that Darius had, before undertaking the battle of Arabela, invoked the sun *and* the Mithres, and the sacred fire, for victory. By these words the sun and Mithra are expressly treated as two separate gods.

Now, the question naturally arises, how was it possible, that Mithra could be identified with the sun by the some, and quite distinctly distinguished from it by the others? That most of the statements on Mithra convey a wider, more spiritual perception of his character, than is possible of a mere sun-god, is already remarked. Now, herein lies, likewise, the solution of the question. The nature of Mithra cannot be restricted to the sun and his bliss-contributing effects alone, but it is commonly the highest force of the created light, the spirit of light, whose especial sphere is the terrestrial firmament, the bearer of the collective light-manifestations, which are merely an emission of its essence, the beneficent, gladdening power of the celestial lights, which each time triumphantly overcomes the darkness of the night and of winter, and, thus, mightily sustains the empire of Ormuzd. Out of this, explain themselves the three qualities which we have found for him. Firstly, wherever there is light, be it of day or of night, there is Mithra too, he is omnipresent, sees and hears everything, penetrates through all ; secondly, as the spirit of light, he is the pure, truthful, who watches as well over the truthfulness of mankind, hates lies and wrongs, and punishes throughout ; then, in addition, he has, thirdly, the power too, namely, as the darkness-subduing god, he is the victorius, granting victory as well, and is, for that reason, invoked. Like Ormuzd, he, too, further, appears to have stood in an especially close relation to the king, as he, the king, swore by him, not merely with a predilection, but performed a *rôle* proper to him, in the Mithraic festival also. To banish such a god to the solar orb, to restrict him, as was Helios among the

Grecians, to the eternally same rotation in the heavens, had become impossible for the excited phantasy of an oriental. Moreover, Mithra was a figure of light, much too stirring, nimble, spiritually sorted. Since, however, all those indications of his nature manifest themselves, the most distinctly and the most palpably, in the majestic appearance of the sun, so it is quite natural, that the salutary power of Mithra was beheld, in an pre-eminent manner, in the operations of the sun, and that, for the purposes of religious consciousness, both these divine characters quite often flowed together ; for, even in the case of the sun, not this visible sphere, but the divine force, finding expression in it, was contemplated. Hence, we find almost just as high conceptions of the sun, as of Mithra ; to it, likewise, supplications were addressed for the favor of fortunate terminations of undertakings. So did Xerxes, at the Hellespont, Darius at Arabela, and when Artaxerxes, after the punishment of his rebellious son, prostrated himself before the sun and praised the great Oromazes, on account of his justness, then the meaning of this action touched very nearly the doubtlessly yet more spiritual meaning of Mithra, and, consequently, we are not directly under the necessity, in such cases, to understand Mithra himself under the Helios of the Grecian accounts, as we do Ormuzd under Zeus. To this close relationship, the identification of Mithra with the sun, linked itself, in the later cult of Solinvictus, which, however, does not appertain any more to the genuine Iranian belief.

As regards the cult, we could be in doubt, whether, for instance, the sun-horses and the sun-chariots ought

to be attributed to Mithra or to the sun. At all events, according to Strabo, horses were sent from Armenia to the Mithraic festival; but that the horse was sacred to the sun and was required to be presented to it as an offering, is, indeed, an old Iranian conception, whose off-shoot we have found among the Messagetens. The chariot was, however surely originally sacred to the proper, visible sun, for, the idea, that the sun-god rides through the heavens upon a team of horses, is quite familiar to (the Indo-Germanic) antiquity; and, thus, we would best assign the sun-chariot, in the festival processions, to the sun, particularly as the same has never been appropriated to Mithra too, by the ancient writers. Horses and chariots were, however, generally, the symbols of authority, and so were they both assigned, like as to Ormuzd, as well, at times, to Mithra, still, to be sure, more in an allegorically symbolic way of conception, than in the cultus. The general reason, however, why we fruitlessly seek to gain a defined, plastic view of the nature of Mithra, particularly in his relation to the sun, lies, not in the insufficiency of the accounts of the ancients, but in the character of the Iranian religion, in which the figure of Mithra is very characteristic. For, how, in the religious consciousness of the Iranians, the spiritual and the material yet inseparably flowed over into each other, how the spiritual yet appeared in the material forms, and the imaginative faculty of the Iranians filled a genuine oriental world with spiritually undefined divine beings—all this very distinctly shows forth in him.

3.—OMANOS (HAOMA).

Only a dim knowledge of the Iranian god, Omanos, has reached the Grecians, and even Strabo, who alone mentions him, has, probably, had no conception of the peculiar nature of this god. Still, it is possible for us to determine, at least, the chief features, by the comparison of, doubtlessly, very insufficient notices in Strabo and Plutarch. Strabo relates that, after the conquest of the Sakens, the Persian field officers had founded a shrine to Anaitis, in Cappadocia, and to the gods Omanos and Anadotos, the Persian deities, worshipped with her on the same altar.* So then, where he describes the fire-worship of the Magi in Cappadocia, where there were several sanctuaries of the Persian gods, he intimates, that the same worship was practised even in the sanctuaries of Anaitis and of Omanos, and the image of Omanos was carried round about, during solemn processions.† Plutarch, on the other hand, speaks of an herb Omomi, which is pounded in a mortar by the Magi, during which act the Hades (Ahriman) and the darkness are invoked ; then it is mixed with the blood of a slaughtered wolf, brought to a sunless spot, and poured down there. This report contains much that is hazy and incorrect ; even the worth of the statement of Strabo, on the Omanos-worship, appears to be somewhat doubtful, for, the time and the place thereof, especially, however, the temple and image worship, allow nothing really Persian to be expected ; what the connection with Anaitis and Anadatos, and, on the other hand, with the fire-worship, has to signify, is quite

* Strabo, XI

† XV.

incomprehensible. So there remains over only, to consider both the notices conjointly. The herb Omomi, which was offered by the Magi, has obviously the same root with Omanos. The peculiarity in this god's character is, therefore, that the substance presented to the gods is itself transformed into a god, and itself receives, in its own turn, divine honors. Strange as this religious conception may appear, still its origin is not difficult of explanation. The effects which the Iranians associated with the offer of the Omomi herb, and which existed therein,—namely, that thereby the good deities were rendered propitious, and the noxious influences of the wicked held back,—appeared to them so extraordinary, supernatural, and inconceivable, at the same time, however, of such prodigious importance too, that they could not have possibly proceeded from a material object, but only from a superior virtue lying within it, that now came to be adored as an especial genius, and which, like everything beneficent and sacred, naturally belonged to the realms of light.

4.—ANAITIS.

The list of the deities, who, among the Iranians, have acquired, besides a peculiar importance and an especial worship, also a defined, personal figure, may be closed by a female deity—of whom, it is true, the Greeks speak too much, but who, for the elucidation of the Iranian religious intuitions, is of secondary importance—namely, Anaitis, as, among the Greeks, she is mostly known by this Persian name, while they themselves place in her stead most frequently their Aphrodite. She is, in fact, no creation of the Iranian genius, but, through her entire nature, declares herself forthwith to be an element of foreign origin. Above all, it must strike us as strange, that we now suddenly stumble against a female deity, whilst heretofore we have known only of male gods amongst the Persians, and the Magi have settled it down, as one of their dogmas, that the gods are devoid of any sex. Herein, it is at once expressed, that she was not recognized by the Magi to belong to their system of gods. And, in reality, she does not stand even in any relation whatever to the Zoroastrian system. She is, in fact, the deity presiding over the conceiving and the child-bearing economy of nature. But this is an entirely foreign idea to the Iranian mind, which divides all creation under the categories of light and darkness, as then, in matter of fact, this goddess cannot be assigned, with any confidence, either to the one or the other of the two powers, since, from her health-inducing and life-dispensing phase, she appertains to the realms of light, from her dark and adverse side, however, which this deity

has in itself in every cult, to the realms of darkness. Still more distinctly, however, the Unirianism in her shows forth conspicuously in her worship, which consists in a magnificent temple—and idol-worship, Hierodulen and prostitution, together with unlicensed festivals.

Now, the ancients tell us, not merely, however, that this worship is a foreign one, but even quite decidedly, that it was properly at home among the Semitic nations; and, if we could credit Berosus, not merely the deity herself, but her name even, is Babylonian. No doubt, Herodotus is aware of this worship obtaining among the Persians; in the enumeration of their gods, he says:—“To these, however, they offer sacrifices from the very beginning; to sacrifice to Urania, on the contrary, they have learnt only afterwards from the example of the Assyrians and the Arabians. The Aphrodite is, however, called by the Assyrians Mylitta; by the Arabs, Alitta; by the Persians, Mitra.”* This, with the exception of the last words, correct notice leads us at once to conclude, that this worship penetrated into Persia, possibly not long before Herodotus, since the remembrance of this incident was in his time yet fresh, and not long afterwards the formal worship of the same must be first introduced. Clemens of Alexandria quotes, in fact, a statement of Berosus, that the Persians had first commenced to adore images with human figures, after a long period (after the adoration of their own proper gods), inasmuch as Artaxerxes II. Mnemon had introduced this, who for the first set up the image of the Aphrodite Anaitis in Babylon, Susa and Ecbatana,

* Herod. I., 131.

and had instructed the Persians and the Bactrians as well Damascus and Sardis in the adoration of the same. This occurred, therefore, in the beginning of the fourth century. The authorisation and the adoption of this worship in the state religion happened, accordingly, first, after the same had already acquired a firm footing in Western Iran. The Medians, in keeping with their disposition, set, no doubt, the example, in this respect. And really, it does not seem unjustifiable to conclude, from the exalted and ancient worship of Anaitis, in Armenia and Cappadocia,* that this worship must have penetrated into Atropatana mainly through the medium of the Armenians, who, too, certainly belonged to the Iranian race. Strabo particularly refers to the sacred shrines of this deity, exactly on the north-western frontiers, in Demetrius by Arabela and Akilisene; moreover, there is not a single mention of her shrine among the Persians, but indeed of those in Ecbatana, and amongst the Median race of the Kossaens.† Yet, in the fourth century after Christ, under the Sassanian dynasty, of her a shrine is mentioned; against which, according to Agathias, this worship does not seem to have existed any further in his times.

The essence of this worship is, as already noticed, the child-conceiving and the child-delivering natural power. Anaitis is named mostly Aphrodite; at times, however, Artemis also; under which, in both instances, not the Grecian, but that of Asia Minor, is to be understood. It is ever the self-same god-figure which recurs itself all over Anterior Asia, under various names, namely, Astarte, Aschera, Ma. Diodor says this most distinctly,

* Strabo XI.

† Strabo XVI.

when he takes the Artemis, which was adored in Ephesus, Kreta, and Pontus, to be the same with the so-called "Persian Artemis," and intimates, that this goddess is even quite especially worshipped among the Persians, who consecrated to her the heretofore practised mysteries, even up to his own times, hence, up to the age of Augustus. What we have to understand by these mysteries, we gather from Strabo. In Armenia, says this author, she has several temples, in which male and female slaves attend to the service, and the young maidens of the most eminent parentage, from among the people, have to serve her for a long while by way of prostitution, ere they marry off. In Cappadocia, she, with Omanos and Anadatos, has an especial town, called Zela, which is mostly inhabited by Hierodulens. To her honour, also the festival of the Sakens was got up, and wherever there was a sanctuary of this goddess, there the bacchanalian festival of the Sakens was as well celebrated, for a day and night long, during which, they robed themselves after the Scythian fashion, drank with one another, and bantered each other, and the females participating in their debauchery.* On the other hand, according to Plutarch, the Artemis in Ecbatana, which they call Anaitis, had, shortly after 400, a particular priestess, who was required to lead a chaste life;† and neither in this passage, nor anywhere else, is there any mention of this pompous and licentious worship of the Semitics being practised in Iran itself, at least, not in the period of the ancient Persian Empire; even that solitary passage in Diodor, relative to the mysteries, sounds too indefinite to warrant this assumption. If the

* Strabo XI.

† Plut. Artax.

Persians and the Medes had accepted even the belief in this deity, still, on the other hand, the pure notions of divinity, and the moral earnestness of the Iranian nation, formed a strong bulwark against the debauching worship of this goddess. Plutarch intimates, further, that, on the yonder side of the Euphrates, she was a supremely adored goddess, and there were maintained sacred cows to her, on whom the brand of a flambeau was burnt. This points to the fact, that she was brought in some relation with the moon also. Even this is a characteristic, peculiar to the Semitic goddess, and cannot possibly be set down in any reference to the old Iranian worship of the moon.

The apparent cause, which procured an entrance to this worship in Iran, is the intimate intercourse of the Persians and the Medes with the neighbouring Semitics, whose influence is, even elsewhere, well worthy of notice. But the real reason, why the Iranians interposed no national obstructions against such foreign influences, is to be discovered, if we remember the fact, that precisely the Medes, whose halcyon days had gone by when the Persian empire was flourishing, had shewn themselves the most inclined for this foreign worship. Likewise, we need not overlook the fact, that the conception of the worship of the generative powers of nature, even though fundamentally foreign to the Zoroastrian system, yet lightly finds connecting points indirectly in the Iranian notions of the beneficent powers of the fructifying earth, of water and the rains, as well as of the heat of the sun.

5. THE SIXTH GREAT GENII. (THE AMSHASPANDS).

We now return to the Godheads of the genuine Iranian belief. The heaven of gods, devised by Ormuzd, was inhabited, besides by Mithra and Omanos, again by a large number of highly-adored spirits of light, who were, similarly with the two already mentioned, created by Ormuzd. Plutarch intimates in his recital from Theopompous to the effect that, "Horomazes, born out of the purest light, and Areimanios, born out of darkness, combat against each other. And the former created six gods (evidently as the first of his creation), the first of whom was that of benevolence; the second, that of truth; the third, of the lawful order; of the remaining, one was of wisdom, another of riches, and a third producing that contentment which accompanies the accomplishment of moral deeds." They are simple ideas, borrowed from the regions of morals, in fact, moral forces, which, neither from their origin nor from their import, harmonise with the worship of nature. The fifth, the genius of riches, appears to make an exception to this. But when we present to mind the Iranian intuitions of the good things of this life, we cannot be at a loss for an explanation of how this genius procures its place among the other moral ones. After this, it is not to be wondered at that the possession—especially in its primitive and simplest form of possession in cattle and cultivatable land—has, in fact, religious and moral significance, not perhaps merely as tokens of the benevolence of the gods, and as reward for righteousness and piety, but, indeed, simply as possession in itself.

Cattle, flocks, land, gardens, &c., all belong to the good creation of the supreme God. And one of the best means to secure to one's self the goodwill of these gods—consequently, a moral and religious act—was the preservation and the propagation of this possession. This genius of opulence is, consequently, the genuine religious expression of the grateful and pious sentiments with which the Iranians thankfully accepted every good as a gift from God. A remarkable, but very profound representation is that which is to be met with in the last of these genii. The pure, unalloyed sensation of joy, which mankind experiences directly by, and after, the accomplishment of moral deeds, appeared to the Iranians as something so extraordinary and so sacred, that they were led to believe it to have been produced by a genius, enthroned in the heavens, near Ormuzd; a proof, how purely and strongly this simple joy at the blessings had taken possession of their hearts. Thus, the Iranians conceived the sublimest virtues which they exercised, the most generous emotions which heaved their bosoms, and the highest blessings of this life, as pure spirits, who, in eternal glory, surround Ormuzd, their creator and lord, and who—this results from the nature and the manner of origin of each such personification—distribute all these blessings to mankind.

Now, the question is close by, in what relation do these six genii stand towards Ormuzd, since we find in Him, too, very nearly all those attributes, at all events, however, according to our conception of Him, all these attributes are centered in Him? That the conceptions of these divine beings have sprung not out of natural, but

out of moral life and its contemplation, has been already noticed. But now, very much as we should admire the loftiness and the power of the moral conceptions which these genii have evoked, still, we need not now overlook even the reverse side of it, which displays itself in every such order of formations of the divine beings. They are, in fact, mere personifications, mere ideas, without any natural basis whatever. But it is the natural basis alone, which imparts to a spiritual being the precision and the inflexibility, conclusive and self-defining, towards other beings of a similar kind, and thus raises it into a concrete personality. This is the case with all polytheistic religions, properly so called. Our six genii are personifications without bones and marrow, figures without flesh and blood, mere abstractions. Now, this character determines likewise their relations with Ormuzd. He, contrasted with them, is the all reality—therefore, also the within including reality which suits them—the accomplished personality. They, in comparison to him, are untenable shadows, which irresistibly merge in him, coincide in him, because he is not merely all that they are, but, further, is the absolute, too powerfully encroaching over them, and absorbing them within himself. But where is the necessity, nevertheless, that these genii should maintain themselves by the side of Ormuzd, or, to speak mythologically, why should Ormuzd have created them at all? The reply to this from the Iranian point of view would be: in order that they, as good spirits, should support him in his warfare against Ahriman. This destination they received, as they were once there; their origin, however, has a deeper, psychological purpose. Ormuzd, in accordance with his

nature, is the absolute personality ; the Iranian religion, in consequence, is inclined towards monotheism. But the sublimest task, to comprehend the multifold in the single, the finite and the particular in the infinite and the general, this however as God, had not thrived even in the Iranian national spirit ; it was not in a position to hold fast to the comprehension of the absolute personality, which had found its way into it ; but it dissolved it in a plurality of figures, in which the highest being himself effused, and which, consequently, are nothing else than the developments and the manifestations of his own nature. To the Indians it was possible to let everything be submerged in the one substance, the Brahma, but not so to the accomplished imaginative faculty of the Iranians, luxuriant in figures, whose images and ideas concentrated themselves into a single central point, *viz.*, life with all its richness of the natural and spiritual worlds.

6. THE REMAINING GENII OF THE REALM OF LIGHT (THE IZEDS).

Besides those six genii, the Iranian religion further recognises, however, a large number of spiritual beings, who in part are entirely similar to, in part, however, of different kinds from those. Those, who doubtlessly stand next to them in point of nature and rank, are the 24 gods, cited in Plutarch, whom Ormuzd created, next to those six, likewise for the purposes of warfare against Ahriman, but respecting whose nature nothing further is otherwise announced. But that these stand below the other six is clearly inferable from the fact, that, between

the ones and the others, the creation of the starry heaven intervenes. The belief in these creatures has indeed remained unchanged throughout the entire period of the Zoroastrian religion, although the individual figures may have undergone change, so that we may safely venture to unite together into a coherent whole the notices of different times. The position assigned to these by Plutarch as created beings, who stand in the middle between the highest God and the remaining creation, he himself confirms in another passage ; the same follows, however, also from the fact, that they are described by the Christian writers as angels, by the heathens as deities or heroes, both of which expressions, however, are used alternately for one another. The application of the idea of angels to them lets, however, their nature also to be discerned ; they are good spirits, spirits of the luminous realm. Their destined business is, according to Cyprian, to surround the throne of the highest God (what withal is true also for the six great genii), "to be the ministers and messengers of God and to stand by his worship, so that they quake, terrified, indeed, by the wink and the glance of their Lord." From the point of view of their relation towards the human world, they make themselves the mediators, between gods and mankind. This, Plutarch intimates to us in the quoted passage : "to me those seem to solve more and greater difficulties, who have found out the race of the demons, standing in the middle between the gods and men and in some manner or other bringing about and knitting the communion between them ; it may be, then, that this is the teaching of the Zoroastrian Magi," &c. Their chief work consists,

however, in that they superintend not merely the Iranian, but every country of the earth, as protectors and leaders thereof, for the Iranians imagined, indeed, especial guardian genius for each country. As, for example, Cyrus the great, in a war expedition against Assyria, after having crossed over the frontier, sought through offerings to induce the "heroes, who possess Assyria" to be propitious to him; likewise, under the heroes, whom the Magi of Xerxes offered libations, at Ilium, Herodotus has understood, no doubt, the heroes of Ilium. Whether he has certainly expounded this offering rightly, does not any more admit, at present, of being decided. Naturally, in an especially particular manner, however, the provinces of the Ormuzd-believers stand under the careful protection of the genii. Cyrus the great, at the commencement of a war expedition, invoked the heroes of the Median land, "who inhabit and take care of it," likewise, "the heroes, who have charge of the Persian land." This close connection is described by Herodotus with the expression, "the gods, to whose share the Persian land has fallen," much current among the Grecians, and at the bottom of which there lies the conception of a chance disposal of the world. The Iranians conceived them, probably, rather, as the watching guardians, appointed by Ormuzd, for the several districts. They were invoked, as a rule, for succour in undertakings; so prayed Darius, as related in Curtius, to the angel presiding over the Persian empire for the punishment of his enemies. The gods, however, who guard over the Persian kingdom, watch naturally with especial care over the king, the holy chieftain over them. This sense have indeed, generally,

the “kingly gods,” by whom Darius caused the Milesian Histiaus to swear, and whom Cambyses invoked, when on his deathbed, he laid it to the heart of the Persians, and particularly amongst them of the Achemenians, not to let the sovereignty go over to the Medes. The latter permits the conjecture, that these θεοὶ βασιλεῖοι which the Grecians expressly distinguish from the πατρῶοι were the tutelar genii of the native country of the king. A personification of a virtuous attribute, similar to the great six genii, is, probably, also yet here to be reckoned. Ammian informs us of the times of the Sassanian empire, that, among the Persians, nobody in the battle-field knows anything of the war-plans, except the Persian nobles, who, however, are reticent and faithful, and among whom silence is honoured as a divine characteristic. Lastly, the days also appear holy to the Persians, therefore, they too, had, indeed, their special genii. This appears from Curtius’ description of the festival procession of the Persian armies. First, says he, comes the sacred fire on the altars, then the Magi, after these 365 youths in purple garments, corresponding to the number of days in the year. Thereafter the sacred wagon of Jupiter, of the sun, &c. The disposition of these 365 youths, representing so many days, between absolute material objects and personages of religious importance, allows that conclusion to be drawn, certainly with reason.

If, under those genii, which the Greeks believed to compare most conveniently with their heroes, were to be understood actual divine beings, then we find even a worship of heroes, in the proper Grecian sense, inas-

much as the Persians worshipped as sacred the departed souls of such men, as had earned great merit for the nation and the empire. Thus Arrian relates in his description of the sepulchre of Cyrus, a number of Magi had had to hold watch in the tower, wherein Cyrus lay, and they had had to receive from the king, as offerings for Cyrus, daily a sheep, a certain measure of grain and wine, and monthly a horse. Presentation of horses was, however, a token of the highest adoration, which, moreover, were allotted to Ormuzd and the sun. As the founder of the Persian Empire was regarded as a hero, so was likewise, Achemenes, the ancestor of the dynasty. In an especial manner, however, in the Ormuzdian religion, naturally, the founder thereof must have had a share of the divine worship, what, though only the Clementian Homilies tell us of, can yet as well be assumed for the period of the ancient Persian empire too, as for that of Cyrus. Even, should it not now remind us also of that the Scythians, during the funeral repast, present before the dead everything, even what they eat, and that among the Issedones, the son annually presents large offerings to the deceased father, yet we are enabled indeed to assume, that the worship of ancestors was an old Iranian custom, that, even among the Persians and the rest of the Iranians, it did not shrink itself merely to the proper heroes, but was extended to all the dead. This assumption is supported by the Iranian belief in a continuance of life after death.

The ancestor-worship took now a peculiar turn, however, so that not merely the souls of the dead, but also the genius of the living, were held holy and deserving of divine honours. One has indeed thus to imagine

this : when, on the death of a man, the soul separates from the body, the pure spirit thereby strips itself off from everything material, in which it was till then enveloped, and then goes on to live as spiritual and pure being, and in truth, as we shall see hereafter, in the regions of the blessed. This pure spiritual essence does not originate now, however, only through the separation of the body and soul, but man possesses it already in this life, only that, so long as he is enclosed within by an earthly integument, he is not united with it ; it exists therefore even out of him, and where else could this be, than in the land of the pure spirits, in heaven, in fact? So has man his own perfect prototype, his own higher and better self in the heaven, which, as his guardian genius, directs him. To the Greeks this belief was by no means unknown, although they have scarcely understood it. It clearly stands out prominently, however, as it seems, just in the case of the genius of the king, which, according to the Persian notions, stood as much high indeed, over the geniuses of the rest of mankind, as the king did over his subjects, inasmuch as offerings were presented to it. Theopompous narrates, that the Argiver Nikostratus flattered the Persian king so much that, every day during dinner, he especially put up a dish destined for the genius of the king, and filled it in with bread and other food, because he heard, that those other Persians also do this, who stay at the court, that is to say, the highest officers. Further, Plutarch informs us, how, at a Persian banquet, one having dared too much against the king, in his absence, the host called upon him to be in order in the following words : “Let us at present eat and drink, whilst we worship the genius of the

king." We know too, that in Pasargadae, the holy city of the Persians, an offering was presented to the Persian kings, inasmuch as bread and meat were brought down for them. Of the efficaciousness of these genii, as well of the dead as of the living, we know nothing, but the fact, that they were offered to clearly show, that men sought to make them propitious to themselves, that they, consequently, have a practical meaning, and as good spirits they work even good among mankind.

APPENDIX.

To the personal godheads of the Zoroastrian system closely follow, perhaps most conveniently, those gods whom the Greeks point out with their divine names, without, however, specifying anything particular about their character, so that it would be unjustifiable, from such isolated statements, to conclude, that the godheads referred to have had a place and a worship in the Zoroastrian system in that prominent sense, as Mithra or Omanos had. As, on the one hand, the Iranians worship, properly speaking, the entire world, the entire spiritual and natural kingdom with the exception of the evil, so, on the other, the Greeks trust to recover their gods in all the foreign nations, and devote themselves even especially on that task, so it is no wonder, that very nearly the whole of the Grecian Olympus has had to travel to Persia. So Strabo informs us, that the warlike Karmanians adored the Ares quite especially, by which he denotes this worship exactly as a local cult of this valliant race. In the acts of the Persian martyrs, we find a passage of Assemani, quoted from Menologium of Basilius, according to which, a bishop must have

been forced to offer to the sun and to Mars. But from the records of the times of the ancient Persian empire, no information whatsoever is otherwise found about a Mars. Further on, a Hera meets us, for which Plutarch has preserved to us a remarkable information: as Atossa, the queen of Artaxerxes, got leprosy, her consort prayed, from amongst the gods, to Hera alone, whilst he touched the earth with his hands, and forwarded to her sanctuary an enormous mass of presents. One can explain this in different ways; the Persians could have had a deity, which superintended over the female sex; on the other hand, if one looks to the natural meaning of Hera, according to which she is the goddess of the creative natural power, then Plutarch may have meant thereby either the Anaitis, which certainly had a temple exactly in Ecbatana, or the earth, which, owing to its life dispensing virtues, was worshipped by the Persians, and, therefore, could have been likewise beseeched for the bestowment of health; for this interpretation the posture of Artaxerxes speaks favorably. Lastly, one is tempted to refer the sanctuary of Asclepies, in Ecbatana, to this one, who perhaps is the same person with the former. Xenophon quotes the exclamations of a Persian protesting "by the Hera." In the cosmogonical poesis of Dio Chrysostomus, she also just enjoys a rôle, but there she stands clearly for the fructifying element of the air, in which Zeus descends, in order to generate the world with it. Besides, we hear of the temple of a martial goddess in Pasargadae, which, as Plutarch means, one could take for Athene. In this temple, the Persian kings received, through the priests, the kingly consecration. Strabo mentions also of a worship of

Athene among the Kossaers, by which he means, indeed, likewise a deity of war among this valiant race, which need not necessarily be female. We find a Hermes too, but only on an island of Karmania, which is sacred to Hermes and the Aphrodite. As this is so much as Anaitis, one could think of the divine pair, Anaitis and Omanos, since, the latter, corresponding to his origin, from an offering material, can well be represented as mediator between gods and men. More probably, however, a genius of business and intercourse, or even of the inexhaustible fruitfulness is meant thereby. According to Pliny, there existed further in Media a sea called after Saturn; this information Pliny has from Apion, who therefore had Chronos for it; consequently, a god of fertility. Lastly, two more Persian names of gods may find their place here, of whom, however, we know even merely the names, once the Anadatus of Strabo, who is already mentioned, then a goddess Baris, who, according to the same writer, must have had a temple in Media. Of this goddess we know not exactly even as much as the name, as the readings vary.

THE NATURAL DEITIES.

We have already seen, that, by the side of the worship of the spiritual and personal deities, the worship, appertaining to the old Iranian belief, of the natural forces and the natural objects, continued in force in the Zoroastrian religion, likewise, that both these elements of religious knowledge did not exclude themselves from the Iranians, because the Ormuzdian belief was built up altogether on the basis of the ancient

ideas of the wholesome and the noxious operations of the natural forces, and of the sharpest antagonism of light and darkness. The natural deities received, however, a different position in the Ormuzdian belief; formerly, nature, and with it even the divine, appeared to the Iranians divided into a multiplicity of independent beings, side by side with each other, now, these came under the creations of the highest God, the creator and the ruler of the natural as of the spiritual world. By this, however, these natural objects lost nothing of their sacredness and divine importance, they were adored after as before, only, now as the good and sacred creation of Ormuzd. The best proof, as to how well these two forms of religious conceptions endured in the consciousness of the Iranians, is, that none of the two became separated through the religious development, since we find both the elements in the self-same relation to each other, still in the Sassanian empire. This issues forth, in particular, out of the already cited passage from the acts of the Persian martyrs, where the natural objects are called the sons of God.

1. THE SUN.

Under the natural objects, the sun enjoyed the most worship, as the one, in which the blessing-contributing and the gladness-affording effects of light make themselves the most visibly and the most palpably manifest. The sun chariot, or, following Curtius, the sun horses came, in the festival processions of the Persians, directly after that of Ormuzd. To it were offerings made immediately after Ormuzd, and, likewise, it was

worshipped directly after him, at which Xenophon but expressly mentions only Helios, with Zeus, then, however, adds to it, "and the other gods." For the worship of the sun, one finds numerous proofs in the ancient writers, from Herodotus down to the Sassanian period. Even though we find very high conceptions of the effects and attributes of the sun-God already, in the times of the ancient Persian empire, yet, in the later days of the Ormuzdian belief, the sun worship seems to have acquired a still more prominent importance, so that it nearly put under shade that of the other deities. During the Christian persecutions, in the fourth and fifth centuries, the command to worship the sun or to offer to it was, as a rule, directed against the Christians; this is the surest characteristic of the Ormuzdian believers. So, as it is, it is designated by the Persians of that age as the "Great God, through the operations of whose might everything exists," as the "deity of the whole Orient." In an edict of the Sassanian King, of the year 348, worship for the sun is demanded of the inhabitants of the Persian empire, but for fire and water mere adoration. Where the king wants to establish himself as the pattern of a pious man, he says of himself, that he makes offerings to the sun and renders divine honours to the fire, by which, no doubt, it is intended to express a difference of grade in the worship. This vast prominence of the sun worship, in which the sun frequently appears in the position of the highest God, is a sign, that the Sassanian period was not any longer been able to hold fast, in the former purity of the earlier age, the standpoint of the ethical and spiritual comprehensions of the nature of the godly—a sign of the alienability of the Persian religion.

That the sun was regarded as especially pure, follows from an observation of Herodot, who says, that the Persians conceive leprosy as a punishment for a transgression against the sun; leprosy, just according to the above passage, is, in fact, taken for the greatest uncleanness. The same occurs likewise in the ceremony of the Omomi offerings, in Plutarch. It was, besides, of great significance for human life, particularly, for the success of enterprise, Xerxes, on the occasion of crossing over the Hellespont, waited for it until the rising of the sun, then offered and prayed to it; likewise did Cyrus on his war expedition, and Curtius says this expressly, that the Persians, according to ancient custom, march out only after sunrise. In the divine judgment through which Darius I became King, the sun-rise is likewise the sign. Oaths are frequently sworn also by the sun. It is the distinctive mark of power: on the tent of the king shines an image of the sun, enchased in crystal, and on that account, in the Sassanian times, it is regarded as the divinity of the king.

2. THE FIRE.

The fire, the light on earth, enjoyed the highest adoration, next to the great light on the sky; for it has the same efficacy as the sun, to scare away the anguishing darkness of the night, and in this quality it is a substitute for the sun. It is, besides that, not only the purest and the most spiritual under the objects of sense, on which score it passes for an image of the deity, but has purifying virtue also. Consequently, to the Iranians, who attached an infinite value to all these qualities and

effects, it was something in itself rejoicing, sacred and godly. According to the Iranian belief, however, it makes the same impression also on the gods as on men. The lustre of the flaming fire pleases, attracts, and invites them near. Therefore, it is a duty towards the gods, to kindle the sacred fire. In consequence, fire takes a double position in the Persian religion; it is, in the first place, an object of adoration, secondly, a medium and vehicle for the exhibition of honor to other deities in the cult. To our theme belongs merely the first phase. The worship of fire has ever remained the same; at least, the accounts out of all the different ages agree with each other. Indeed, Herodotus informs us, as he expresses himself like a Greek, that the Persians hold fire to be a god; just so does Xenophon, Diogenes Laertes, and in the Clementinian Homilies it is named even as much as a "heavenly God." The Hestia, so much mentioned in Xenophon, to whom Cyrus prayed yet previously than to Zeus, is naturally even nothing different from the fire; she is there often called "the one inherited from the ancestors." As an object of worship it occurs very frequently in the acts of the Persian martyrs, yet less as a God proper, whom offerings should be made, than as a sacred, worship-deserving thing. What Julius Firmicus, in a very obscure and moreover corrupt passage, says of the double nature, under which the Persians represented to themselves the fire, is decidedly un-Persian, and is, moreover, too uncertain to warrant drawing any conclusion therefrom.

The fire, according to its nature, is pure and purifying; it is, therefore, a sin, on which the punishment of death is set, to bring to it anything at all impure, to

blow it out with the breath of the mouth, or to bring it at all in contact with the dead, to burn a corpse with it. Now, although this applies generally to all the fires, it is, nevertheless, understood of itself, that one could not help but employ fire for the ordinary household purposes. Partly for this reason, to preserve a perfectly pure fire, partly however, also, because one did not wish to see the beneficent effects of fire disturbed, what, naturally, in the case of the ordinary fire, exposed to accidents, frequently happened—care was taken, by an especial contrivance, that a perfectly pure, never extinguishing, fire was ever kept burning, and this was the so-called sacred, or, as Curtius calls it, the sacred and the eternal, or the inextinguishable fire. This was carried about partly upon portable altars, the ancient custom of which we find, indeed, in Xenophon, that it was carried during the festival processions upon a vast hearth behind the sacrificial animals and the sacred chariot, but before the king, whereas, according to Curtius, at the end of the ancient Persian empire, it came in front of the whole procession, upon silvery altars ; partly, however, it had a permanent place, where it was adored in enclosed, sacred rooms, the *Pyrathans*, as Strabo calls them, which even Agathias mentions as existing at his time. According to Herodotus and Xenophon, fire was offered to ; this offer consists, according to Strabo, in that one lays upon the fire dry wood-logs without the bark, and pours oil thereupon, because it is not intended to blow it out, but to inflame it. Maximus of Tyre also expresses himself, likewise ; the priests, says he, offer to the fire, whilst they present to it the nourishment suitable to it and speak thereto : “eat, ruler fire.” After this

it is probable, that the Persians have not presented to the fire the otherwise usual articles of offer, *viz.*, wheat, wine, cattle, horses, but in place of them have cared merely for a pure, clear, the largest possible flame, as is to be observed from the words of Strabo. In so doing, the priests will have uttered the customary prayers and invocations. The prayer of Darius, which he addressed to the fire, besides to the sun and Mithra, for the bestowment of courage and valiancy to his army, shows that to the fire also was ascribed an influence on the conditions and destiny of mankind. The oath, which was sworn to by the fire, is a very weighty one.

3. THE WATER.

As is the fire, so is also water, from its nature, something pure and clear, and has similarly like the former, purifying virtue. In addition to this, it comes that it promotes the well-being of mankind and animals, refreshes them in the heat, and influences the growth of plants, the fertility of the fields and the luxurious green of the meadows. All these were very high and holy operations in the sight of the Iranians, and so water enjoyed, indeed, not much inferior worship than the fire. Only by Diogenes Laertius it is straightways called a god, but its high adoration is testified, in an uniform manner, from the earliest to the latest period of Grecian reports, by Herodotus, Strabo, Agathias, and the acts of the Persian martyrs, which, moreover, apply the distinction, between the worship of the sun and the adoration of fire, to water also. As its beneficent quali-

ties become conspicuous especially in running waters, so we find the rivers in especial as the objects of adoration. Against the adoration of water, the narration of Herodotus seems however to stand in contradiction, as Cyrus punished the sea by whiplashes and the letting down of fetters, in which act those commissioned therewith are made to exclaim : "saltish water, the sovereign lays upon thee this punishment—rightly no man offers to thee, because thou art a malignant and brackish stream." Diogenes of Laertius declares of those, who have written on the Magi, that they have designated this report of Herodotus as false, because water was a deity of the Persians. But the report of Herodotus is too precise to be justifiably condemned as incorrect ; it meets, however, with its solution within its ownself, in the words "rightly nobody offers to thee," &c. According to these words, the sea was excluded from the adoration of waters. Of the offers, which were presented to water, first, Herodotus, then, Strabo speaks amply. "When the Persians have to offer to water," says the latter, "they go to a sea, river or spring, dig a hole and slay an animal within it, and, in so doing, they guard themselves, however, against letting the blood run into the water, for this would be a contamination. Then they lay flesh on the myrtle or laurel twigs, and the Magi touch it with thin reeds and sing their invocations, whilst they pour out, for offering, oil mixed with milk and honey, not in the water, however, but on the earth ; in that act, they recite long hymns, whilst they hold a bundle of thin tamarind staves in their hands." Elsewhere, Strabo relates, that the Hyrcanians present their offerings to it on a spot, where the rivers precipitate,

from the up-rising rocky coasts, down into the sea, what indeed offered a mighty natural spectacle. Owing to its purity and sacredness, the water was, naturally, as less permitted to be polluted as the fire. Herodotus intimates that in a river the Persians neither make urine, nor spit into it, nor wash their hands therein, nor would permit this to be done even by others ; Strabo adds to this further, that they do not bathe themselves therein, throw no dead matter into it, and in general nothing which was held to be impure ; and still down to the Sassanian empire, in the fourth and the sixth centuries, they did not wash their face with it, touched it even not, except for the purposes of drinking and of the nourishment of the plants.

4. THE EARTH.

Further, the earth also was holy, because man owed to it his whole corporeal existence, with all its benefits, pleasures and enjoyments included. It produces the fructification of corn and trees and nourishes the cattle, and how highly the Iranians appreciated this is certainly sufficiently known. Herodotus enumerates it among the objects to which the Persians offer, Strabo follows him in this, and in Diogenes Laertius fire, earth, and water are called the gods of the Persians. From Xenophon, one could indeed conclude, that to it chiefly the consecrated oblations were presented. According to the acts of the Persian martyrs, it seems to have played a part in the atonements and religious purifications. The earth also, owing to its sacredness, cannot be polluted, it would be a contamination, however, if a dead

body were to be buried in it ; hence the peculiar method of disposing of the dead, which the Zoroastrian code demands, and of which we will be able to learn later on.

5. THE AIR.

Finally, the air and the wind, too, have a purifying effect and a beneficial influence on health, especially in a country so warm as Iran, therefore, to these even the Iranians did not deny their grateful adoration, as, indeed, Herodotus, and after him Strabo testify. The reason of this adoration, the Magi themselves declare in the acts of the Persian martyrs, as follows, "because men anticipate cheerful and serene days from the air."

6. THE MOON AND THE STARS.

Like the sun, equally the brilliant luminaries of the firmament, which diminish the darkness of the night and gladden man by their splendour, were held to be holy and deserving of worship. Before all, naturally, the moon. It belongs, with the sun and the other natural objects, to the "sons of God." Indeed, Herodotus, and after him Strabo testify to its worship. Latterly, we find it frequently placed together with the sun, in the acts of the Persian martyrs and in Ammianus Marcellinus, in which the Sassanian kings call themselves the "brethren of the sun and the moon." From Nicholas Damascus, we learn in detail of an offer presented to the moon. He relates, the Persian Oebares gave out, he wished to present to the moon at night the offer there produced, and begged Cyrus, the great, for incense, wine, valets and veils, and what else he required besides.

The stars vouchsafe, moreover, the especial benefit, that they, as we have seen above, indicate the right direction to the traveller in the wilderness, and guard him from destruction, when the track is filled up by sandstorms. The creation of the stars by Ormuzd is expressly mentioned in the well known section of Plutarch; they come between the 6 major and the 24 minor genii: "then Ormuzd embellished the firmament with the stars, he appointed, however, a star to be the warder and sentinel over them all, *viz.*, Sirius," which, in consequence, was indeed especially adored. According to the acts of the Persian martyrs, too, the stars appertain to the Persian deities, and in Ammianus Marcellinus, Sapor calls himself *particeps siderum*, besides, "brother of the sun and the moon," by which he meant to designate his own self as a divine being. With this is the list of the good deities of the Zoroastrian creed closed.

b. THE GODHEADS OF DARKNESS.

1. AHRIMAN.

Against the realm of light, there stands the realm of darkness, and as, for the Iranians, light was the essence of everything beneficent, wholesome, and good, so was darkness the essence of everything pernicious and evil. Here, the notion of the impure, as the higher one of the material evil, leads us over to the moral one, in a similar manner, as the notion of the pure does in the conceptions of the good and of light. The prince of darkness is Ahriman. His position in the Zoroastrian system is, consequently, that of direct antagonism to

Ormuzd, as this becomes clearly evident from the exposition of Plutarch. He is, according to this author, the principle of evil, which strives against the right—and straight—leading principle, therefore, the opposing worker against Ormuzd. This conception has indeed always been bound up with Ahriman, even though, in his relation to Ormuzd, he has latterly somewhat changed, and we venture to make use of all the reports relating to him, since they all coincide with each other. His nature is defined by Plutarch, thus:— as Ormuzd resembles light, so he resembles darkness and is born out of darkness. Since Ormuzd is enthroned on the summit of the heaven, so Ahriman must have of need his place lower down, in any case, at least on this earth, where he drives his profession ; but whether the Persians have conceived him dwelling in a sort of nether world, is not quite distinct. In Hippolytus, he is called the Chthonic, in contrast, against the ‘heavenly’ Ormuzd, and, indeed, Herodotus, who though does not name him, reports of “a god, who is said to be under the earth,” who must have been conceived indeed as a horrible God ; the Greeks : Plutarch, and Aristotle, in Diogenes Laertius, also hold him for their Hades. Even though it is in itself well imaginable, that this conception might be a genuine Iranian one, still we must, in so doing, constantly bear in mind, that the Greeks were unable to imagine a horrid, pernicious, in especial, a death-god to be anything else than an infernal one, than Hades itself. The field of the Ahrimanian activity is, however, in any case, the earth and the human world. As the opponent of Ormuzd and as the prince of darkness, he is, in consequence, himself the wicked, “the

wicked demon," as he is called by Aristotle and other writers, adduced by Diogenes in the quoted passages ; on that account, the Christians also call him devil or satan. He has his pleasure in producing harm, in destroying the good by his interference, hence, he is called by Agathias "the totally bad and deadly." It comes out of him, that the good is nowhere pure and perfect on this earth, but is for ever mixed up just with evil. He brings disease and famine, generally misfortune of every sort in the world, so that, when any thing evil befell the Persians, they considered him as the cause of the same. So Plutarch lets Darius, on the receipt of information of the death of his captured queen, to exclaim thus : "Woe to the demon of the Persians, when she is not only captured, but is not even at all buried with honours." Hereupon the eunuch replied, "as regards the burial, thou hast no cause to curse the evil demon of the Persians, because she was deprived of nothing." This evil demon is certainly Ahriman, and he is well called the Demon of the Persians, because, precisely the Persians, as the followers of his deadly enemy Ormuzd, had to suffer, in especial, through his pernicious machinations. He is, however, not merely the author of evil, but also of impudence and stupidity. As Themistocles came to Artaxerxes I., at the Persian Court, the latter exclaimed : "May, I pray, Areimanios give a like sense to all my enemies, that they might expatiate their best men." By this, he is proved, however, to be a mighty and terrific God, especially, when he angers. A Sassanian king of the 4th century says, thus : "what god is more gracious than Hormisdates or more violent than the enraged Harmanes?" In order to guard one's self against

his evil influences, there were employed averting means, *viz.*, ceremonies, which, as it seems, made a gloomy, shuddering impression upon the Greeks. Amongst these, Plutarch reckons the priestly act of the effusion of the Homomi, mixed with wolf's blood; under invocations, exact imprecations, of Hades. The interment of the seven living boys for the propitiation of the infernal god is—even granting that Herodotus has rightly comprehended the object of this human sacrifice—indeed hardly to be regarded differently than as a cruel fancy of Amestris, upon which she may have arrived under the influence of the Semetic culture. For a propitiatory offering for the evil deities was, according to all accounts, strange to the Iranian religion. Lastly, there is a passage of Hyppolytus yet to be mentioned. He relates, according to Aristoxenus, a disciple of Aristotle, and a certain Deodor of Eretria, that Pythagorus had gone to Zoroaster, who explained to him in details, that there were two principles lying at the root of all existence, one a father and the other a mother, the former was light, the latter darkness. Warmness, dryness, lightness, swiftmess were, however, portions of light; coldness, wetness, heaviness, and tardiness, of darkness. Out of these exists the world, which is congruent with the musical harmony. There are, then, two deities, the one heavenly and the other chthonic, and this, which withal is water, lets nature to flow out of itself. That such ideas are strange to the Zoroastrian creed lies at hand; it is, partly, a garmenting of the Zoroastrian teaching in the two world building Pythagorean principles, as this is still much more obviously clear in another passage of Hippolytus; partly, a blending of the notion

of darkness, in the Iranian sense, with that, which the Anterior Asiatic religion (in the Kybel cult) and the Grecian (in the Demeter cult) bound itself therewith, *viz* that of the generating natural powers.

2. THE AHRIMANIAN GODHEADS.

As is Ormuzd, so is Ahriman also surrounded with a host of godheads, which he himself has created for fight against the realm of goodness. As Ormuzd created those six major genii, the moral powers, so created Ahriman, it is said in Plutarch, even as many, "as opponent-workers against those"; and as Ormuzd created those 24 genii of a subordinate rank, "so created Ahriman also against them even as many." Over the nature of these Ahrimanian creations there is however nothing further announced. The Greeks of the earlier period do not speak of these demons, for the reason, probably, that the belief in them was not bound up with any cult striking to the eye. There is, however, no reason in existence, why we should not accept what one finds thereupon in later writers, as genuine Zoroastrian teaching, if only we keep all that aloof from it which is connected with the later Magism, passages, like those in Clemens of Alexandria, that the Magi boast themselves, through their conjurations and incantations, to be able to make the Demons serviceable to themselves, and that they adore as well angels as demons (in the context-wicked spirits); or, what Minucius Felix says, that the Magi practise their juggling and sorcery with the support and influence of the demons. In the above, the opposition of the angels and the demons alone is Persian, the worship of the latter not at all so.

Quite corresponding to the conceptions among the Iranians, of darkness and its spirits, Minucius describes them as spirits—whose sphere, in contrast to that of the heavenly spirits, is the earth—restlessly strolling about and inimical to mankind. The Pseudocallisthenes, in his wonderful narrations, which no doubt are borrowed from the Persian Alexandrian legend, likewise gives representations of the demons which have quite the Persian impress. On his expedition to India, relates this author, Alexander came across prodigious trees; as he commanded these to be hewed down, the people who did that work, were scourged by invisible demons; the hewers heard and felt the stripes, but saw nobody. And then they heard a voice which cried out, if they did not desist therefrom, the army would become speechless. A daughter of Alexander, narrates this author elsewhere, had drunk of a miraculous, immortality-producing water, whereupon Alexander sent her away from himself with these words: “thou hast become a demon, since thou art made immortal.” She, however, went into the solitudes, among the demons. On the other hand, him, who had given her the water, Alexander caused to be drowned, whereupon he turned into a devil and settled himself down on a spot in the sea. Hence, the demons drive their avocations in deserts and upon the desolate sea; at the same time, however, it follows from this, that wicked men become demons and augment their troops. That the wicked spirits haunt the solitudes, is very significant of the Iranian ideas. There are, in fact, not merely the perils of the deserts and of the sea, that this representation calls forth, but particularly, the anxious, oppressive feeling which seized the Iranians,

when they found themselves on a spot, destitute of men and of human habitations, of animals and plants, hence, of all that which Ormuzd has created as good.

C. THE CONFLICT BETWEEN BOTH THE REALMS ;
THE GOOD AND THE EVIL CREATIONS.

The entire Olympus of the Iranians, as is now completely presented before us, divides itself, thus, into two camps, engaged in a perpetual warfare against each other ; on the one side, stands Ormuzd with his heavenly hosts, on the other, Ahriman, as the leader of the evil spirits . As we have already seen, several Greeks knew of the antagonistic relations of these two ; but of a real warfare we are told only by Plutarch, which single account, however, would outweigh several others in importance. This author defines the situation between them as that of a fight against each other, which he seems in short to attribute to the fact, that Ormuzd repeatedly creates new gods, naturally against Ahriman, he, Ahriman, on the contrary, every time confronts his creatures against those Ormuzdian godheads, in the self-same number. Thereafter, where he speaks of the four periods of the world, he says more definitely that both, at the present period, fight against each other, and the one destroys the works of the other. Now, if the last words express, as it seems, just the mode of this warfare—and this consists in nothing else than in the reciprocal destruction of each others works—then the fight is clearly not at all direct, inasmuch as they do not fight person against person, but it is simply an indirect one, because each seeks to undermine the power of the other

by injuring and annihilating his works, and thus diminishes and weakens the empire of his adversary. From this it comes also that, according to the mythological conceptions, Ormuzd does not triumph in the end by the annihilation of Ahriman, in open fight; Ahriman himself rather falls to the ground through pestilence and famine, that he conjures up. The whole warfare of both the godheads accordingly develops itself then, merely within the empires created by them. These are, however, not yet exhausted with the deities created by both of them, but they stretch themselves also to the world. And since the genii on both sides have been created by them both, as we have seen, merely for help and support in their warfare, so it is properly the world alone, upon which the fight of Ormuzd and Ahriman with their troops of armies takes place. It is surely enough not otherwise conceivable, when one turns his eyes back upon the nature of the religion; a mere fight of the principals of the gods for their own sake, without any reference to mankind, would be a nonentity for any religion, but for the Iranian, however, it is perfectly impossible. For, if, generally, the religious conceptions, so far as they come on the surface in the cult,—mythology is to be excepted from this—are indebted for their origin to the needfulness of the human heart, if the gods of a nation express that which appears to it as worth desiring, holy, great and good, and, on the other hand, as the opposite thereof, then this is the case in special, above all the religions, in the Iranian, in which surely men regard everything only in reference to their good or evil issue, and comprehend everything under the point of view—naturally just for them—of what was whole-

some and pernicious. The combat of the (in their eyes) good and evil spirits must, therefore, in the last reference, turn just upon themselves, upon their corporal and moral happiness.

The theatre of gods' warfares is, according to the above, the earth, upon which mankind is established, and upon which its well-being immediately depends. Not merely were the wholesome and pernicious occurrences in nature ascribed to the influences of the good and bad spirits, but nature itself, animals and plants, were distributed into two great empires, of which the one appertains to Ormuzd, the other to Ahriman. The origin of these empires, one has to imagine to himself probably in the same manner as that of the created divine beings, *viz.*, that Ormuzd produces a good and pure creation; in opposition to this, Ahriman produces a bad and an impure one. Plutarch says, the Persians believe, "that of the plants some belong to the good God, the others to the evil demon, and just so of the animals, *e.g.*, the dogs, fowls, and the land hedgehog belong to the good; the sea hedgehog, however, to the evil." Of the plants, it is natural that the poisonous and the noxious belonged to Ahriman, all the others, without doubt, to Ormuzd, among them especially those which nourish men and cattle, particularly, however, such as were brought into use in the cult, as myrtle, laurels, tamarind and the homomi. Hence, the great value which the Persians laid upon planting trees, and the awe of reverence experienced before beautiful and huge trees. Herodotus relates, Xerxes had, on his expedition, discovered a plane tree of the most excellent

beauty ; there he embellished it with golden decorations and appointed one of his immortals to guard over it. As, in a war expedition of Artaxerxes, reports Plutarch, wood was required to be removed from one of the royal parks, for the needs of the army, the soldiers felt disinclined to hew down the magnificent trees, the figs and the cypresses, notwithstanding that they had express orders to do so. A plane tree and a vine tree worked in gold passed for a very precious present. Out of the animal world, the dogs and the birds then belonged to the creation of Ormuzd. Herodotus intimates, that in the army of Xerxes there was a prodigious collection of dogs, and that the satrap of Babylon entertained so many dogs that the maintenance thereof was imposed upon four large boroughs as a sort of tax. In the east of Iran, dogs were maintained, as we shall see, for the purposes of the disposal of the dead. The high esteem they enjoyed dates itself, indeed, from the earlier nomadic mode of living of the Iranians, in which condition they were indispensable for the guarding of the flocks from the attacks of the wild beasts ; besides that, they were required equally for the chase, a very important occupation for the Persians. Of the birds, in particular the eagle is mentioned as sacred. A golden eagle, with outspread wings, was exhibited on the chariot of the Persian kings, and Cyrus had, as a symbol of command, a golden eagle, stretched out on a long pole. We have also to bear in mind here the passage of Philo, in which the head of a falcon is the symbol of Ormuzd. Besides these, again, naturally all those animals were pure which promoted human welfare, *viz.*, the domestic animals and flocks, which, of course, were given in offerings, in

particular, however, the horse. To the Ahrimanian creation belonged, according to Herodotus, ants, snakes, and other creeping and winged creatures. In a denunciation against the Christians, in a passage of the acts of the Persian Martyrs, it occurs, "they believe that the reptiles, snakes, for example, and scorpions are created not by the devil, but by God." Agathias reckons in this class most of the creeping animals and all the rapacious ones, existing in the wilderness. The ants are mentioned as Ahrimanian creatures in the acts of the Persian Martyrs also, and by Plutarch the mouse too. All the animals, accordingly, that are either dangerous or frightful, and loathsome to mankind, by reason of their strength and their poison, belong to the unclean creation of Ahriman.

d THE INTERNAL RELATION OF AHRIMAN
TO ORMUZD.

Although we have hitherto spoken of both the realms as the two mutually opposing powers, we have not, however, taken any regard of the question, in what internal relations these same stand towards each other? It is a question, whether the Iranian religion, in the state in which it existed in the religious consciousness of the Iranians, has been really dualistic or not. The principal — antagonism of light and darkness, good and evil, in which Ormuzd and Ahriman stand against each other, and the consistent filtration of the same not merely into the world of gods, but also into the terrestrial world, the splitting away of all existence into two ranges, are the consequences brought close to each other by this comprehension. We find them already mentioned by the

Greeks, who frequently speak of two primitive origins, one good and the other evil, whom the Persians call Ormuzd and Ahriman; so says Aristotle, and Hermippus, &c., in Diogenes Laertius. Equally so speaks Plutarch, too, in the philosophical meditations, which lead him to the contemplation of the Zoroastrian religion of the two principles which for the elucidation of the existence of the world were necessary to be assumed—"the two beginnings opposing each other, the two powers conflicting against each other," and how then these could have been yet differently determined. Hippolytus and Damascius, who call the two realms "the double system of the superior powers," appear to point also to this, in particular, however, to the alternating government of Ormuzd and Ahriman mentioned in Theopompous. The latter account happens hereby to be the most in weight, because it professes to give an article of faith of the Persians. But even if one accepts that this may have been actually the common belief of the Iranians in Alexander's time, still it is to be regarded as not more than a mythological representation of a relation of gods which may have subsisted in the past, but no more exists in the present, whereas for the ascertainment of the substance of religious knowledge, it directly depends upon how men feel themselves drawn in actuality towards their gods. Moreover, nothing even offers us any security, that this mythology, standing in no essential connection with the Zoroastrian system and the Iranian fundamental principles, may not have been invented by some one Magus, after the specimen of the Chaldian periods of the world, or may not have been, at the best, the belief of a certain school or sect. What,

on the other hand, concerns those other Grecians, who quote the Zoroastrian system in connection with, or on occasions of philosophical meditations, there is just this to be said, that they do not utter any thing directly on the Zoroastrian teaching itself, but that their object has been to adduce it merely as instance and proof of the various possible forms, to elucidate the origin and the existence of this world ; a specimen of the correct comprehensions of such reports. If one examines, in fact, the Zoroastrian religion only in this manner, generally and superficially, notably, however, when one considers it, as those others have done, with the intention of there with, as with abstract catagories, to construct the world, then this religion presents itself certainly as a dualism. But, if, on the other hand, it is questioned, in what relation the Iranians themselves conceived them both, or to put the question deeper, more conformably to the essence of the religion, in what relation they have felt themselves towards both the gods, whether in their minds both have possessed equal essentiality and substantiality, then, of course, a different answer will be forthcoming. Even the Greeks, when they penetrated deeper into the subject of that relation—and they are mostly the same, who have been quoted in favour of the above view—were, by no means, blind to the correct comprehension of the same. Plutarch distinguishes, in the passage quoted, between these, who turn these two hostile principles into gods—of whom the one was the author of good, the other that of evil—and those, who call the better one, “god,” the other, however, (mere) “demon,” like as did Zoroaster, the Magus. What he himself, however, and with him the Zoroastrian magi,

understand by the demon is already seen above, namely, "a genus standing in the middle between gods and men," who, accordingly, did not possess the full godliness, particularly, not the power, to be able to pass for actual gods. Likewise, Damascius then defines in further particulars, the one as god, the other as demon; and Aristotle says, in a passage of his metaphysics, which, at all events, is comparatively much superior in weight to the mere report of Diogenes: "the Magi set down that what has begotten first as the best." Even though we have no reason to conclude from this an origin of Ahriman after, Ormuzd, still, in any case, it is a fact, that Ormuzd is the proper creator of the world, as, ceratinly, even according to Plutarch, he first created for himself the gods and Ahriman only followed after him. As, however, he was it, that has at the beginning of time called forth the world in existence, so, to the end of this time, too, he remains over, whilst Ahriman, by reason of the unwholesomeness that he himself will conjure up, falls to the ground, or, according to Theopompous, he will be obliged to give up the fight, because Ormuzd is too strong for him.

Out of all these ascertainments the inferiority of Ahriman is most clearly apparent, together with that of his dominion also as compared to the Ormuzdian. This is confirmed, when one compares, in general, the two realms of the Zoroastrian system. Ormuzd assumes therein, down from the beginning of time, such an overgrasping position, that he can impossibly bear to have an equal near himself. When we figure to ourselves the exalted notions of the Iranians, regarding his might and strength, his spirituality, wisdom and eternalness—

simple attributes, which an evil deity could equally well appropriate to itself, and in a dualistic system ought to be so appropriated—and compare therewith the meagre representations of the character of Ahriman, which ever and ever revolves only round the idea of the pernicious and impure, then, there can be no doubt left, as to whose character is more complete, therefore more real as well. Against this, one can retort, that the Persians have probably had as much exalted conceptions of Ahriman as of Ormuzd, and that the Grecian writers, only perhaps out of deficiency of understanding the matter, do not speak so much of Ahriman. But this objection would meet with a solution in the further reason against the acceptance of a dualism, that generally the Ahrimanian empire, partly in the representations, was not by far so perfected, partly in the actuality, was not by far so extensive as the Ormuzdian. For that certainly the reporters are not at fault, because for this inequality there is left no acceptable reason, not so much as to attribute it to chance. The luminous heaven of Ormuzd is richly inhabited with figures of the most various kinds, of which almost every one presents, in its turn, a phenomenon, quite individually impressed; thus besides Ormuzd, there are also Mithra, Omanos, the several genii with their different working spheres; then, further, the natural deities. The Ahrimanian realm, on the other hand, is, in comparison with this, extremely meagre in figures. The six, and then again the 24, spirits, that Ahriman creates against Ormuzd, are here merely to correspond with that of the Ormuzdian, in numbers, whereas, at least, the 6 Ormuzdian genii are distinct beings, as well in the conception as in their comprehen-

sion. In the hosts of the former spirits there is not one single figure that could be conspicuously pointed out from the rest as concrete, comprehensible; they are scarcely more than the ghosts of the popular beliefs and superstitions of our present day. Further, the Ormuzdian empire is considerably superior to the Ahrimanian in extent. Not merely the whole, wide, endless heaven, all the luminaries of the firmament, the sun, the moon and the stars, but also by far the greatest portion of the earth appertains to the Ormuzdian empire. Since, in fact, the appertenance of a thing to the one or the other of the two realms, is determined simply upon the principle, whether the same is wholesome or noxious to mankind, so it is natural, that the noxious element reduces itself to a very small compass of nature, since mankind appropriates to its benefit all the forces of nature and almost all the natural objects. With the objects of the evil creation already enumerated, and the above mentioned harmful influences of the soil's nature, the Ahrimanian area is very tolerably exhausted.

If, by this, it can be safely assumed, that the Zoroastrian belief was none of dualism, then, the reason of it being so assumed consists, partly, in the peculiar manner in which this belief more closely determines the antagonisms, partly, however, in the general character of the religion altogether. If the one of the two oppositions is characterised as light and goodness, the other as darkness and evil, then herein indeed is affirmed quite *a priori* the superiority of the first over the second. If it would in fact be treated hereby on metaphysical principles, then that would not, by any means, be clear

in itself, but regarded from the standpoint of religion—where the nature of the deities takes its direction after the exigencies of the pious sentiments, where the good God is he who satisfies the religious feelings, the evil he who disturbs and frightened them—the good God is necessarily greater than the evil. The former is full of substance, the real, for mankind, the latter, that which ought not to be, that which is null and void in itself. Of the former, the Iranians know themselves to be dependent from nature and with all their existence, not upon the latter, except so far as they render themselves dependent upon him, give themselves over to him by their own impurities. For this religious situation of the Iranians towards both the deities, it is, consequently, also entirely significant, that only the good gods have a cult, but not the evil; for, in the cult, the sentiment of dependence and the needs of the heart ever express themselves the most unmistakeably. Only to the good gods they prayed in Iran, only their favours they sought to acquire for themselves by means of offerings, but the evil deities they sought through prayer to scare away from themselves.

Generally, however, dualism is a religious impossibility. The aim of every religion is, that man seeks in the existence in the other world, out beyond his present existence, the repose of his soul, which he has not by himself. But how can he calculate upon this rest, when his religious knowledge distracts him into two, equally hostile, abstract oppositions? The abstract dualism—every dualism, however, is abstract—would bring an end of every true religiousness, and if it could anywhere be clearly established, there it would necessarily lead to an unhappy consciousness, to doubt and despair.

Although one can now say with certainty, that the Zoroastrian religion was no dualism, still it would seem to be pretty difficult, to determine positively, now, what relations the Iranians had imagined to exist between Ormuzd and Ahriman. In determining this, the superior might of the good god ought, on the one side, to be definitely expressed, on the other, reason must be shewn, why, after all, Ahriman ever more exists, why Ormuzd allows him—who alone is culpable for the fact that the realm of the good does not everywhere meet with success—to exist yet in life, whilst it lies undoubtedly in his power to annihilate him entirely? If we should allow ourselves, however, to enter into investigations on this subject, we would advance, in the first place, not far, and would have to arrogate to ourselves, in the next place, to be knowing more than the Iranians themselves have known even at the flourishing period of their religion. Of reflections on this subject, we find none from the ancient times, Ahriman, although he stood inferior to Ormuzd in power and godliness, was, together with his hosts, nevertheless there, for the simple reason, that the evil and the wicked were once in the world as a matter of fact. Reflections on the origin of the good and the evil are altogether not needful for the pious consciousness, but merely the cognition, that the evil is that which shall be annihilated, and the hope of a final cessation thereof.

In the later times, however, the conceptions of the relation of Ahriman to Ormuzd have somewhat varied, in that, assuredly, a tendency towards dualism unmistakeably sprung forth. As we have already seen in Plutarch, they commenced among the Persians, to

speculate on their origin and the cause thereof, and just therewith, on their intrinsic relations also. Thereby, those vivid figures of religious imaginatory faculty, transformed themselves into abstract metaphysical ideas, which now inflexibly stood against each other, the antagonism was so much stretched aside that it took its direction towards dualism. In the true Zoroastrian belief, Ormuzd is the supreme god, but when now, Ahriman was bolstered up so high that he was supposed to have established himself as an independent principle of darkness, opposing against light on quite equal terms, then that oneness that was perceived to exist hitherto in Ormuzd, was lost, and there was need felt to ascend up over Ormuzd and Ahriman, to seek for a higher unity. But when once the firm ground of popular belief had been quitted, the gates and the doors, of not only the arbitrary imaginative phantasy, but also, of the influences of the foreign, Grecian and Indian, speculations were opened. Such an attempt, obviously originated under Grecian influences, has been preserved to us by Damascius, who professes to have had his information from a certain Eudemos, who can hardly have been the well-known disciple of Aristotle : "The Magi, says he, and the entire Arian race, call the intellectual whole and unity, the one space, and the other time ; out of the latter, the good god and the wicked demon, or indeed, before them as some say, light and darkness, have secreted. These constitute, after the unseparated existences have separated, the double system of the higher powers ; on the summit of the one stands Oromasdes, on that of the other Arieimanios." This reminds us so much of the speculations of Plotin, not

merely in the sentiment but also in the expression, that it must necessarily be held as a philosophy, originated under the neoplatonic influences. In quoting this, however, for us, only the circumstance of the need, perceptible from this, for a higher unity, is of importance. In the Zaruam, we have, however, a product of the Persian speculations of the Sassanian times. "Theodor of Mopsvesta acquaints us of an abominable dogma of the Persians, introduced by Zarasdes, relative to the Zarunan, whom he introduces as the author of all, and whom he calls also fate. In the hurried effort, to give birth to Ormisesdes, he has had birth given to satan also. He also speaks of their incestuous intercourse." In this philosophy, then, there is, in truth, no failure of a higher unity, on the contrary, the irrational which includes altogether in itself the existence of Ahriman, is not here explained, but is transferred in the Zaruam, who, out of a quite incomprehensible reason produces Ahriman, through a miscarriage. An unity would, by these means, assuredly, be attained, but what an unity! an empty, abstraction, devoid of substance, an unpersonal being, which is neither light nor darkness, neither good nor bad, a kind of fate, which produces all, but just at the very beginning makes an unhappy, inexplicable mistake. That such a character, a nonentity for every true religiousness, never became an object of the proper popular belief, but much rather favoured the anticipation of its gradual dissolution, is clear at hand.

R.—MAN IN HIS RELATION TO THE DIVINE;
HIS DUTY.

The conflict between Ormuzd and Ahriman is but an expression of the religious representation and the imaginative faculty, for the struggle which man experiences as an occurrence in his own breast, and for the combat of the good and evil in the human subject. The good, moral, dispositions and strivings, which the natural man finds already existing in himself, become, whilst forming the conception of gods, unconsciously applied in a relation of cause to a good, holy God; the evil emotions of the human heart, which forcibly interfere in the moral efficacy, are applied in just such a relation to an evil god. This relation of cause which, at the origination of religious representations, indeed, ever lies at the root, but does not strike into consciousness, reverses itself for the purposes of religious consciousness into a relation of effect: because Ormuzd is the good God, so consequently man should become good; because Ahriman is the evil god, so, on that account, man should avoid and hate all that has any connection with him. Man involuntarily places out of himself his own good qualities unto a creator, stranger to him, and unto a point of issue, in which all reality, even that appropriate to him, has its origin. This real Being enters, however, into his consciousness just as the point of goal towards which he should direct his actions. This is the moral element in every religion. In the Zoroastrian religion, however, it is not merely its element, but its essential fundamental character itself. Thus originated for the Iranians too, their moral duties.

The Iranians saw themselves placed in the middle between the two realms of light and darkness, of good and evil. They could and should decide themselves with free-willing self-determination for the one or the other, to which, however, they should have to attach themselves, on that point, they could not have a doubt for a single moment. In Ormuzd they found, besides the appeasement of their moral consciousness, all the good things worth desiring; Ahriman, on the contrary, was it that embittered to them the enjoyment of these blessings, that sought unceasingly to harm them, and injured their spiritual and temporal happiness. The duty of man consisted, therefore, in devoting himself to the service of Ormuzd, and with him, with his assistance and for his support, in combating against Ahriman and his empire. The means which one is expected to bring into application for this purpose, we certainly by no means find to correspond to the spirit of this ethical religion and to the high conceptions that we have discovered of the nature of Ormuzd. We should have certainly expected piousness, propagation of the teachings of Ormuzd, following of his law in thought and deed, aversion from all evil. As means for this purpose, we find, however, specified instead, only: care of Ormuzd's creation, killing of that of Ahriman, and a host of laws relating to outward purifications. This strange phenomenon explains itself from a double ground, the one that the moral purity was certainly the highest with which one was able to serve Ormuzd, and when we find among the Persian people such high moral excellencies and such deep abhorrence for vice, that must necessarily connect itself closely together with the

religious comprehensions. This connection has, however, entirely escaped the notice of almost all the ancient writers, though not the matter of fact of it. They had an eye only for those singular, striking traits and actions of this sort entering into the phenomenon, which must have certainly struck them even as utterly singular. These actions lose, however, all their strangeness, so soon as one calls to mind, that the Zoroastrian religion is not one purely spiritual—and this is the second ground that explains the phenomenon. Although this religion has developed the moral idea to an eminence which is astounding for the age, still this spirituo-ethical kernel idea has grown, and ever remained so, with the natural intuitions of the purity and the nature of light, out of which it has formed itself. The same phenomenon we have discovered in regard to Ormuzd also. His empire is not merely spiritual, but the portion with which it stands closest to mankind is one much of substance, *viz.*, nature, the good creation. In the case of the realm of Ahriman, yet much more than in that of Ormuzd, the conception remained fully clinging to the material evil, to the material impurity. For us, it is assuredly pretty difficult to transpose ourselves into these peculiar intuitions ; indeed, if we were to so describe the extent of the realm of light, that it might comprehend within itself all that is pure and good in the regions of the spiritual as well as the natural world, yet this distinguishment would lead us indeed to as incorrect an image. Even though the Iranians distinguished between body and spirit, still this distinction was to them, at least in religious matters, in reference to the comprehensions of the good, pure, luminous ; and their opposite, a perfectly

fleeting and gradually vanishing one. Nature was adored as a good creation, over all that it contained beneficent for mankind a good genius was directly set up, and therewith it was deified, and even in a certain sense spiritualised. The Iranians had a perfectly strange idea of nature, into which we have not been able to dive deep, even with the greatest pains. In each animal, in each tree, in each plant, they saw a manifestation of some one or other of the good or evil existences. If they esteemed and took care, then, of a good natural object, so that therewith they advanced forward the whole empire of light, they then in so doing had brought to a completion a moral action; but if they injured the same, then, in that act, they had weakened the realm of light and strengthened that of Ahriman. Just, likewise, the reverse with the Ahrimanian. Consequently, even in taking the conception of purity, we need not make a distinction between the pure of sense and the pure of spirit, because the materially pure is, according to the Iranian intuitions, even morally good, and has, in consequence of that, even a spiritual significance. With both, Ormuzd is equally well-served. The impure, however, pollutes not merely the body, but also the soul; through the bodily impurity, Ahriman penetrates also into the soul. From out of these conceptions then, those strange customs and injunctions become perfectly intelligible.

The one means, to serve Ormuzd in the warfare against Ahriman, is therefore the fostering of the Ormuzdian and the annihilating of the Ahrimanian creation, in doing which, naturally, every injury that is

done to Ahriman comes to the good of Ormuzd, and every good deed that is rendered to the Ormuzdian creation, enfeebles the Ahrimanian. It is well known, what value the Persians have placed on the tilling of the fields and the rearing of animals ; he who cultivates sterile land, enlarges the empire of Ormuzd and reduces that of Ahriman. On this account, the watering and the irrigating of vegetable growths become a sacred occupation, for which one is permitted to use water alone.* A golden mill was the sort of a present with which the king rendered the highest honours to its recipient.¶ The breeding of the herds and cattle, particularly that of the horse on the plains of Nisia, was pursued on a magnificent scale ; even down to the time of Strabo, the young Persians used to learn, how to pasture and to manage the herds ; they practised themselves in garden cultivation and plant-rearing.† The kings laid out magnificent parks with beautiful large trees ; how highly these same were esteemed we have already seen ; likewise, the custom to breed the utmost possibly large number of dogs. We find, in support of this, but only few explicit proofs in the ancient writers, because this phase of the Iranian belief became less strikingly prominent, inasmuch as the great value of possession is everywhere appreciated, and was placed by the Iranian people only under a religious point of view. The other side is better testified, *viz.*, the meritoriousness of the annihilation of the Ahrimanian creation. The Magi, as the priests, had, in this matter, a double duty. Of them, Herodotus points out, indeed, that they suffered themselves to undergo great pains to kill ants, snakes and other creeping and

* Agathias II, 24.

¶ Ctes, Pers, 22.

† Strabo XV.

winged creatures.‡ Plutarch§ says, that the Persians prize them as happy who have killed most of the sea-urchins, and, in another passage, he acquaints us, that the Magi used to kill mice, as they themselves hated the same and believed also that this animal was inimical to God. Killing ants is regarded also in the acts of the Persians martyrs as a sign of the conversion of the Christians to the Persian religion.* Agathias, lastly, narrates of “the greatest Persian festival, named the annihilation of the evil substances, on which the Persians kill the most reptiles, and of the other animals all the rapacious ones and those existing in the wilds, and exhibit them before the Magi in evidence of their piety. For, by this act, they believe to have rendered a satisfaction to the good God, and to have anguished and harmed Ahrimanes.”†

The second expedient to expand out and to strengthen the empire of Ormuzd, and to weaken the influence of Ahriman, is the holding pure of one's own-self and of the sacred creation of Ormuzd. The Iranians had a cultivated sense for purity and decency; whatever has in the slightest degree anything impure, nauseous in itself, instils into them an unconquerable horror. This has a connection in part with the fact, that the impure is mostly even unhealthy and harmful, but in several cases the cause of the impurity does not allow of being traced back to that fact. The Iranians had in a certain measure a distinct sixth sense for the pure. All of that sort has, according to their view, their origin in darkness, in obscurity; in such substances, according to their

‡ Herod. i., 140. § Plutarch de Isid. 46. * Act. Martyr, p. 203.

† Agath. ii, 24.

conceptions, the evil spirits dwell, and when they let such sorts to approach near to them, they thereby offer to the evil spirits admission into, and domination over themselves. For unclean, however, passed everything foul and filthy on extraneous substances, as well as on the body of man; all that issues out of man, even his spittle and his breath,* then even men afflicted with hideous diseases. The most impure of all impures was, however, the dead body, dead animals and human carcases, hence even the blood. Besides these, naturally, the whole of the Ahrimanian creation. All these, therefore, men ought to hold off far away from themselves, Herodotus reports, that it was not permitted to them to spit out or to pass urine in the presence of another person.† Xenophon also says, that the Persians of his times held it disgraceful to spit out, to sneeze, or to otherwise behave one's self indecently, before another, also the act of a Persian going away to discharge natural purposes was not looked upon excusably.‡ Ammianus Marcellinus§ confirms this and adds to it further, that they do not speak at meals, probably in order not to defile anything through the spittle. Also about the treatment of the leprous there existed fixed regulations; Herodotus intimates, that a leprous is not allowed to come into the town, and does not mix with the other Persians; but if he happen to be a foreigner, he would be dragged out of the town.|| Likewise says Ctesias,¶ a leprous would be avoided by all. The unclean animals were naturally also not permitted to be eaten** by

* Strabo xv. † Herod. I., 133. ‡ Cyrop. 1., 2, 16, viii., 8, 8.

§ Ammian, xxiii, 6. || Herod, i, 138. ¶ Ctes. Pers. 41.

** Act. Martyr. S. 181.

human beings. But most of all one had to guard one's self against the dead. Darius I. passed not through under a gate, because in an upper chamber of it there lay a corpse.† The Magi carried this, according to Porphyry, so far, however, that they not only did not touch any thing dead, but even kept no intercourse with those whose profession it was to kill animals, *viz.*, with the butchers and the huntsmen.‡ Who, however, had so polluted himself, had to suffer himself to be again purified by the priests, through the means of religious ceremonies. Pythagoras, narrates Porphyry, had visited Zaratos, who "have had him purified of the defilements of his former life, and taught him from what things, by keeping aloof, pious men ought to preserve themselves pure." Agathias says in his description of the Persian mode of disposing of the dead that, when one, that may have been exposed as dead, happen to return back to life, every one fly away from him, as though from one curse-afflicted, who has already belonged to the infernal regions, and he is not permitted to take an earlier participation in the ordinary ways of life, until the Magi have purified him from the contamination which had come upon him by reason of his having closely expected death, and until he has thus received life like as if anew.§ A just as great, or even greater, sin than the one contracted through the pollution of one's own self, is incurred, however, upon one's self, through the contamination of a divine and holy natural substance, such as especially water, fire, earth, &c. According to Strabo,* the punishment of death awaits upon this sort of transgression,

† Herod. i., 187,

‡ Prophyrius Vit. Pythag.

§ Agathias ii., 32.

* Strabo xv.

which, however, is to be brought into execution only in cases of intentional infringements of this command, hence extremely seldom or never.

In accordance with this conception, then, the treatment of the human corpses, also, *viz.*, the mode of disposing of the dead, determines itself. If the earth would become defiled through the dead, the corpse then could not be interred therein, yet much less, however, could it be consumed by fire, for, in so doing, a greater outrage would be perpetrated against the yet much holier fire. This the ancient writers also say explicitly; so says Herodotus, that it was not permitted to the Persians to burn the corpse with fire, because they held fire for a deity.† Nicholaus Damascenus narrates: in the incident that befell Croesus, on the funeral pile, the Persians had afresh confirmed the prohibition of Zoroaster, already existing since the ancient times, against the destruction of the corpse by fire.‡ The mode of disposal of the dead, prescribed by the Zoroastrian religious code, was much rather to expose the dead body to the wild animals for devour. This proceeds from various grounds. In the first place, it was the method observed by the Magi; Herodotus says, about the disposal of the dead among the Persians no one knows anything certain, it is a sort of mystery. Of the Magi, however, he points out for certain, that they do not bury the dead body previous to its having become denuded of its flesh by birds or dogs. The Persians, on the contrary,

† Herod. iii., 16.

‡ Nicol., Damasc. frag. 68; Cfr. Ctes. Pers. 57 and Diogen. Laert. Prooem. Segm. 6; the adventure with Croesus himself is without doubt unhistorical S. Duncker ii., S. 539.

besmear the corpse with wax and bury it in the earth.* Just so say Cicero† and Strabo, only that the latter says,‡ the Magi do not at all bury the dead, but give them over to the birds. As even later notices testify that the bones, when they were once entirely denuded of the flesh, were furthermore interred,§ and as it cannot well be assumed that this could have been differently managed in the age of Strabo than before or after him, so indeed Herodotus turns out to be right in this matter. Secondly, this treatment of the corpse in eastern Iran was the only one in usage not merely among the priests, but also among the populace, and there it was to be sure, that the Zoroastrian code was first promulgated. So relates Onesikritus, in Strabo, that among the Bactrians the dead were thrown before the dogs, which were entertained expressly for this purpose, and were called in the language of their country “disposer of the corpse.”|| Cicero (at another place) says the same thing of the Hyrcanians, with the addition, that the populace maintained public dogs for this purpose; the chief men among them had however their own private ones, and that the latter was of an especially precious race of dogs.+ Of the Oritens also we know the same out of Strabo and Deodor.× Thirdly, and in fine, this was the only one permissible mode of disposing of the dead

* Herod i., 140. † Tusculan i, 45. ‡ Strabo xv.

§ Act. Martyr. S. 78 id fert Persorum consuetudo, ut cadavera tamdiu inhumata relinquantur quandiu consumptis carnibus nudentur ossa, eaque sola in sepulcrum inferunt, Likewise in Justin. Martyr xli., of the Parthians: Sepultura vulgo aut avium aut canum laniatus est. Nuda demum ossa terra obrurent.

|| Strabo xi., Cfr. Porphyrius de absitinentia iv.

+ Curtius vii., 24. × Deodor xvii., 105.

extant in the Sassanian empire, wherein all the religious injunctions were stringently carried through ; even the burying of the dead bodies, which was extant among the ancient Persians, was at this period forbidden. § A very detailed description of how it was managed with this in this period and, no doubt, even in the ancient one, is given by Agathias, According to ancient custom, says he, the dead body would be borne out before the city by those concerned with it, then laid down there, forsaken and uncovered, in order that it might be devoured up by the dogs and carnivorous birds. When, however, the flesh has been removed away, the denuded bones are scattered away, being cast all round and rotting on the fields. To lay the dead in a tomb or coffin, or to bury it under the ground, is strictly forbidden to them. When the birds and dogs do not immediately denude the dead of his flesh, then his relations bewail over him as though over an evil man, but when he is forthwith devoured up, they esteem him happy. Agathias narrates, that the common herd of the army, who may be afflicted with a very severe malady, are borne out, whilst yet alive, and a quantity of bread, water, and a stick to ward off the wild beasts are placed before them, so that often these unfortunates, whilst yet half alive, became torn asunder by the beasts of prey.* This would, however, be such an unheard-of atrocity and would stand so much in contradiction against the Persian notions of the value of life, that it, notwithstanding that even the ancients, Onesikritus and Porphyry, speak thus of the Bactrians, is yet not surely to be regarded as

§ Acta Martyr. S. 181, and Meander Protector frag. 11 in Muller.

* Agathias ii., 22, 23.

anything more than a fabulous exaggeration of this — certainly very surprising for a foreigner — proceeding, which according to the Grecian as well as the Christian notions, was such a gross impiety, that compared to those which these writers yet further imputed to the Iranians, appeared to be only a small step.†

This mode of the disposal of the dead, prescribed by the religious code, found, however, no recognition in ancient times, throughout the whole of the Persian empire, rather, it is firmly established out of reliable testimonies, that the west had its own mode, customary to the land. It consists, as it is already related from Herodotus, Strabo and Cicero, in this, that the dead bodies were besmeared over with wax and interred under the earth. This mode of disposing of the dead was the customary one, not merely in Persia, but also in Media. This follows from the narration of Ctesias, that the body of Astyages remained lying forsaken in the wastes, but, in a miraculous manner, was not rent asunder by the wild beasts, because the lions have been supposed to have watched over it. Then it was, however, pompously disposed of; obviously, then, in a different manner than the Zoroastrian one, yet it was not burnt though, because the same Ctesias* explicitly mentions the prohibition against burning, therefore it must have been buried. That this narration was to serve as a legend for the glorification of Astyages, has, naturally, nothing to do with our matter. Even Agathias‡ says, the ancient Medes could not have had the Zoroastrian mode of the disposal of the dead, because tomb-hills and vaults of

† Cpr. Duncker ii., S. 400. * Ctes Pers. 57. ‡ Agathias ii., 23.

the ancient times were to be found in Media. As regards the Persians, this custom is even more firmly established from other testimonies.‡ We are well permitted to assume, that this interment must have ever taken place after the preceding besmearing over with wax was gone through. But what had this to signify? Should the purpose hereof, as Cicero specifies,—to preserve the dead body the most possibly long—be rightly comprehended, then quite different conceptions of the circumstances after death ought to be presumed for the Western than for the Eastern Iran. Yet there is even another explanation perfectly well possible, that the dead bodies were smeared over with wax in order that they might not defile the earth by their immediate contact, and this is the more probable explanation. An entirely different mode of the disposal of the dead was brought into use, however, for the Persian kings. The Achemenians had, in Persepolis, a splendidly laid out burial place, in which all the Achemenians, from Cyrus downwards, were brought for interment after their death.* It was, according to Deodar, hewn in, high on a mountain wall in the cliffs, and contained several chambers, in which the coffins were interred.† These, however, in the absence of an entrance, were required to be hoisted up with machinery. An especial grave, on the contrary, Cyrus, the founder of this dynasty, had in Pasargadæ. It was, according to the detailed description of Arrian§ and Strabo,** a tower, in whose uppermost chamber,

‡ Herod vii., 117 of viii.. 24. Curtius iii., 31.

* Ctesias Pers. 13, 15, 44.

† Deodor xvii., 71; Cpr. Ctes. 15; the extensive description in Heereen's *Ideas* i., part, S. 253. Duncker ii., S. 400.

§ Arrian iii., 27, 7. ** Strabo xv.

covered over with a roof, there stood a coffin, and close to it several articles of habitual usage. The guarding of the same by the Magi is already noticed. When the Persians and the Medes changed that mode of the disposal of the dead, as practised in their countries, with that prescribed by their religious code, does not admit of being precisely determined, in any case, it must be after the termination of the ancient Persian empire, and very likely, just, with the founding of the Sassanian empire.

That the purificatory laws given by Zoroaster demanded not merely purity of the body but also of the souls, is intimated by the passage of Agathias, where he speaks of the mode of the disposal of the dead, as follows: "When the birds and the dogs do not forthwith denude the dead body of the flesh, then the Persians believe this man must have been unholy in his thoughts, and his soul must have become unrighteous and dark and gone over to the wicked demon. Who, however, is immediately devoured up, him they reckon as blessed and admire his soul, above the mass of others, as a perfectly excellent and godly one." The duty of man, therefore, in the most comprehensive and highest sense, consists in this, to become like to God, that is to say, to Ormuzd, in the holiness and purity of thought, in righteousness, especially, however, as we will see hereafter, in truthfulness.

C. -- THE AIM AND OBJECT OF THE CONTEST IN
THE HUMAN AND DIVINE WORLD.

The contest of light and darkness must, however, have an end and aim ; a perpetual change, a fruitless struggle of the inimical powers dominating over the world, would not merely be devoid of purpose, but divested of comfort and consolation ; it is, however, certainly, comfort and peace, of course what the pious feeling in the mind seeks for and meets with in a rational and benign Providence of a highest Being. That therefrom light shall finally bear away victory over darkness, and the good over evil, is necessarily the postulate of every ethical contemplation of the world and of every ethical religion ; and such a one is just the Zoroastrian. Good and evil do not exist, according to the Iranian intuition, as two equally measured principles, but rather the good is ever mightier than the evil, the light ever more than darkness, and, on that account, it must even at last prove itself mightier, may be through the gradual expansion and reinforcement or in a decisive critical moment of this warfare. To the moral and religious consciousness, it does not suffice, however, to desire after this final triumph of the good, in the management of the world. The subject in the sense of feeling of his infinite value demands also for himself a share in that acquisition of victory, especially, when he should fight out this victory, hand to hand, as do the Iranians. Just as the eternal warfare of the two powers would prove to be devoid of any consolation without the final victory of the good, so would also be the combat, which the

believer in Ormuzd himself undertakes, throughout all his life, in behalf of and for the empire of light and against that of darkness, a comfortless one, if man were not to receive any reward for it; and really he has a claim upon a reward, which would indemnify him in the fullest measure for all the sufferings of this world, upon one of the highest kind, which the finite, mortal spirit can wish for himself, *viz.*, immortality and bliss.

The belief in the continuity of the soul after death is, however, supported not only by the general character of the Zoroastrian system, but, in especial, two doctrines of that religion point out very precisely to it, *viz.*, the adoration of the souls of the dead as divine genii, and the command to destroy the body (dead). From the ancestor-worship, it becomes in itself clear; but even the Zoroastrian mode of the disposal of the dead necessarily sets forward that belief in prominence. In all the nations, the natural wish displays itself, that the memory of individuals might be preserved as long as possible, and when, as in the case of the Greeks and the Romans, the living of the soul in another world does not altogether satisfy this wish, then a compensation for it is discovered in the keeping in continued memory of what the deceased had been and done in his sphere of life, hence the solicitous preservation of the remains and the erection of the longest possibly enduring monuments are explained. But, if, now, a people entirely destroy the earthly remains of these deceased, and reject every thing tangible designed to call the same to remembrance, then it does that only in the confident hope of getting abundant compensation for it, which consists in the

continuance of the existence of the soul, after the destruction of its mortal integument. Consequently, we may be permitted to assume, that the Iranian belief in the immortality of the soul is as old as the ancestor-worship and the custom of exposing the dead bodies. The recurrence of the ancestor-worship among the kindred Scythian tribes indicates, however, a very high antiquity for this custom. For the earlier times, we are, to be sure, entirely left in ignorance of the testimonies of the ancient writers, and the later writers at the end of the ancient Persian empire, who speak of it in great details, give this doctrine only in connection with that of the universal resurrection, which indeed somewhat disturbs the precise belief in immortality. Indeed, Xenophon lets Cyrus, the Great, in sight of his death, speak very weighty words regarding the nature and the destiny of the soul, especially regarding immortality; but not merely the sentiment, but even the very expressions, are so perfectly Socratic, that it is very doubtful, whether* Xenophon had thought of the Persian belief in immortality also only from that. Only out of the age of Alexander, the Great, is the well-known testimony of Theopompous and Endemos, one of the disciples of Aristotle, that, according to the doctrines of the Magi, men will return to life and become immortal, and that through their prayers everything will come into existence.** Free from this latter admixture are, however, two statements of Curtius of the same age, which do not pronounce the belief in immortality as, in reality, mere doctrine, but indicate it quite distinctly.

* Cyp. viii., 7, 1729.

** Diogenes Laert. Prooem, Segm. 9.

As Bessus is delivered over to Alexander by his former friend Spitamenes, the latter says: "Would that Darius may open his eyes at this moment, would that he may arise from out of the departed, who is undeserving of that punishment, but is worthy of this consolation."† Thirty of the eminent Sogdians, sentenced to death, who were carried for execution at the command of Alexander, spent the day in singing and armed dances with an excessive pleasure. Being asked for the reason of this, they answered: "Since they were to be restored to their ancestors by the orders of such a great king, they solemnize this honourable death, coveted by all valiant men, through songs and rejoicings."‡ Again, Ammian narrates of the Parthians of his age, that among them those were prized happy above all, who had fallen in battle.§ In the two last passages, there is contained not only the expectation of immortality, but even of an immortality blessed with everything that is worth wishing, *viz.*, salvation. This hope we find in Agathias very precisely expressed in the quoted passage, "whoever's body is immediately devoured up, him they honour as blessed, and they admire his soul over the mass of others as a most excellent, godly one, that will ascend up to the habitations of the good."* This spot of the good can, however, be no other than the heaven of light, in which Ormuzd is enthroned in his glory, in whose surrounding therefore, the good souls are to lead such a life. What happens then, however, with the souls of the wicked? On this subject, too, we find explanations just in Agathias. "When a dead body," says he in the

† Curtius vii., 24. ‡ Curtius vii., 39.

§ Ammianus Marc. xxiii., 6. • Agath. ii., 23.

same passage, "is not readily denuded of its flesh, they believe, this man must have been unholy in his thoughts, and his soul become unrighteous and dark, and gone over to the wicked demon. Then his relations bewail yet much more over him than over one who is completely dead, and has no share whatever in the better lot." This to "be completely dead" is, however, not to be so understood, indeed, that the soul has ceased altogether, but only of a spiritual death, of a continuation of life, which is yet more to be dreaded than death itself ; because the soul has certainly gone over to the wicked demon, this, that is to say, Ahriman has it, therefore, in his control. In support, this subject is pronounced also in the already quoted remarkable passages from pseudo-Callisthenes, who has taken them no doubt as a piece of the Persian Alexandrian legend. The wanton daughter of Alexander goes, in this passage, "in the wilderness under the subjection of the demons," and the cruel cook, after that he was drowned, turned "into a demon and let himself down on a spot in the sea." Whether these views of the final fate of the wicked are also old, we certainly do not know. At all events, they coincide in general with the intuitive ways of the Iranians, so that we are well permitted to accept them. Nevertheless,* Clemens indicates another fate of the wicked, *viz.*, a punishment by fire, which, in accordance with the notion of fire, would necessarily include within it a purification, which the wicked had to go through in order thereafter to enter even unto bliss. Very strange it is, however, that, according to the acts of the Persian martyrs, the Persians during the Sassanian empire, should have been

* Clemens Alex, Stromat. v., p. 592.

reported to know nothing of a blissful continuation of life, after death, whereas surely, at that time, the Zoroastrian creed was in its full appreciation, and we have definite testimonies of that age in the statements of Ammian and Agathias. The Christian martyrs held the Persians everywhere, in fact, as opposed to their fixed belief in an eternal blissful life, in a manner, as though they have had nothing at all of the kind.* Sapor II., at one time, points out to the martyrs the fate of their predecessors, who, in the belief of an immortal life, have passed through death ; but, he points out how idle and inconsiderate was this belief of theirs, they certainly saw for themselves ; for the deceased have not yet returned to life.† And yet the Persian conception, as, for instance, Agathias gives it, of a blissful life in heaven, was almost the same with the Christian one of that period. We can only explain this anomaly to ourselves thus, that for the Christians, in the conscious belief of their religion being the only one capable of procuring salvation, every heathen conception, no matter if it be similar to or opposed to their own, had properly no existence whatever in their eyes, and if anything, at the best as a creed founded by the devil, and that, under this misapprehension, they denied to the heathens, from the very beginning, every conception that happened to be similar to the Christian. After this, we must unquestionably take those words of Sapor to be the product of the imagination of the composer of the martyrdom in question, of the Bishop Maruthas, and thus hold in doubt the authority of this act, which otherwise is well worthy of credit.

* Acta. Martyr, S., 24, 33, 34, 91, 117, 161, 185.

† Acta. Martyr, S., 114, 188, 195.

This genuine Zoroastrian belief in a blissful continuation of life of the good, which had maintained itself up to the end of the Sassanian empire, we now find, at the close of the Achemenian rule, modified into the conception of an end of the universal, divine and temporal warfare, of a great, suddenly appearing, victory of light over darkness, and of a great realm of happiness embracing all mankind. The already quoted words of Theopompous and Eudem, that, according to the Magi, men would again return to life and become immortal, and that through their solicitations everything would come into existence, meet with their explanation in the complete statement of Plutarch: "There will come a certain time, in which Arimanios, through plague and famine, which he will bring upon himself, will necessarily himself become perfectly vanquished and will vanish away; and after that the earth will have become firm and even, there will be one life and one state of the assembled happy ones, and men, speaking one language. Theopompous says, however, according to the teachings of the Magi, each of the two gods alternately dominate for 3,000 years, and the other becomes subjugated; for another 3,000 years, however, they strive and fight against each other, and the one annihilates the works of the other. At last, however, the Hades,* (Ahriman) succumbs, and men become happy, neither needing nourishment nor casting shadows. The god, however,

* We expect, after the foregoing, according to which the gods have alternately dominated before, then have fought with each other, that necessarily the one will have victory over the other. But if we comprehend Hades as space which alone would remain to the last, then we cannot know, whether Ormuzd and Ahriman have also fallen to the ground or are yet there. If they are both there, how can a realm of the blessed come into existence, so long as Ahriman is

who will have organised the universe rests for a time, which will not be long for a god, but as moderate as needful for a sleeping man." The sense of these somewhat indistinct words appears at all events to be: not long, but only so long, as will suffice for the human measure of the sleep of a man, like as man bears a relation to God so does the sleep of man to the time for which God rests. That this was the Persian doctrine in the age of Theopompous, is very credible. Some of the features are genuine Iranian, as for instance, that at that time the earth will become even, the clefts and the hollows, the habitations of the wicked spirits, will disappear; that men will no longer cast any shadow whatever. If, however, even both the ways of representations, the former simple, ancient, and the latter the Theopompian, could in themselves appear as well compatible with the Zoroastrian system, still they are, nevertheless, two separate modes of contemplation of the final events, which strictly taken are not reconcilable with each other. The older and the more widely spread—we have found it indeed even in the East—as it is principally expounded by Curtius and Agathias, will obviously let the soul enter, immediately after its separation from the body, into bliss, into the heaven of Ormuzd; the other, on the contrary, postpones the giving of salvation to the individuals till a general resurrection takes place, upon which a final restoration of

there? If they are no more there, then we must assume a downfall of Ormuzd, which is even not possible. So, no doubt, Plutarch wishes to supplement his own proper statement with the one of Theopompous, special though in all essentials accordant. This is confirmed also by the Minokhered: "When the 9,000 years come to an end, Ahriman will wane." Spiegel, *Avesta* II., S. 218.

all things*, and a vast empire of blessed men with glorious bodies,† will follow under the government of Ormuzd, Ahriman having been surely ceased to exist. Then the god, that has contrived all this universe, is without doubt Ormuzd himself, because of a third there is no mention anywhere, and it is to the realm of the blessed obviously that the government of the good God of light belongs. But such a realm of blessedness, coming into appearance at a certain conjuncture, is surely not wanting, for, according to the older conceptions, this already exists uninterruptedly in the heavens, where the good souls lead a blessed life in which they enter forthwith after death ; likewise, a body of any kind whatever is superfluous, when the souls are already previously blessed. But if these representations of the final disposal of things do not go deeply to the root, and in such matters the free imaginative faculty of the individuals had indeed acquired scope in the Zoroastrian religion, still both the doctrines will not just have excluded each other. Upon the question, which of the two, however, may be the simpler and at the same time purer and more spiritual, there can be no doubt whatever : it is, indeed, the older and the genuine Zoroastrian. Whereas the doctrine of the general resurrection results in a material expectation of a restoration of earthly forms of existences, on the other hand, that simple belief in the pious longing after a blessed union, commencing immediately after death, and after eternal communion with the pure god of truth, finds peace and solace for the sufferings and the struggles of this world.

* Diog. Laert. Prooem, Segm, 9.

† This follows from the fact, that they, in truth, speak one language and constitute one state, yet need no food and cast no shadows.

D. — MYTHOLOGICAL AND COSMOLOGICAL.

From the rich legendary world of the Orient, we justly expect a more variegated and ingenious mythical material, than the ancient writers give us. The Iranian myths have, as it seems, partly escaped them, because they did not outwardly come out conspicuously in the cultus, partly, however, because they do not seem to have had any taste for them, inasmuch as they present to us a certainly subordinate and comparatively worthless portion of the mythic world as a collection of curiosities, but little of the more important myths, however, and these too, they mention mostly very unintelligibly. That, however, by no means there was any want of mythical materials to the Persians, we see, for instance, from Strabo, who, in his delineation of the Persian education, says, that the teachers of youth add to the useful even the mythical, inasmuch as they place before them, partly without melody, partly with songs, the noble deeds of their gods and of their most eminent men. Still, in this matter, we have to take into consideration also, that the godheads of the Zoroastrian system are not, in a great measure, almost not at all, adapted for mythical formations. Ormuzd is too spiritually conceived, he is too elevated for this end ; for the myths, that require concrete persons, the genii are conceived to be too undefined, general and abstract ; the deities of nature, on the contrary, are too much confined to the natural elements and substances. Altogether, the Zoroastrian system is, by no means, favorable to the formations of myths ; the combat of the gods, which,

as we might believe, should have offered much material for them, is, on the one hand, not a direct one, on the other, it is spirituo-ethical. The dogmatically reflecting direction has so much preponderance in this belief, that it almost ties down the wings of the imaginary fantasies and of their offspring, the mythology, to the dogmatical regions alone ; beyond the sphere of religious system in its strictest sense, however, an abundant field was yet left to it, and that it has peopled this richly with figures the accounts of the ancients enable us, at least to conjecture.

As regards what belongs in mythology to the fight between Ormuzd and Ahriman, the creation of the gods, their alternating supremacy, &c., is already cited. We have only to add further to this the remarkable representation, that Ormuzd had enclosed the 24 genii in an egg, but the demons produced by Ahriman had the egg perforated, in consequence of which good came to be mixed up with evil.* The egg is an usual symbol current in antiquity, for the globe. To the mythologist, this does not at all give the impression of a fresh, popular legend of gods, but much rather one is inclined to discover in it the faint fancy-structure of a priest who had to reflect over the origin of evil. The otherwise interesting account of the creation of the world, given in Dio Chrysostomus,† is likewise an ingenious allegory, and is in addition moreover, studded with the Grecian philosophy. "The supreme God," it is there stated, "became eager to create a world ; and, having an eye and mind for love and creation, he reduced himself to

* Plutarch de Isid. 47. † Dio Chrysost. Orat xxxvi.

mildness, and, indulging in his inclinations, transformed himself into the fire-resembling atmosphere of mellow fire; then he associated himself with Hera, and participated in the most perfect of beds, and, after that he had reposed, he discharged again the entire birth of the universe. This happy espousal of Hera and Zeus is celebrated by the sons of the Magi on mysterious consecrational festivals." Of Mithra, who, of all the Zoroastrian godheads, is the best adapted for mythical formations, we find at least, intimations of one such. Julius Firmicus says of the Persians and the Magi that they extol a man who drives off cattle, and him they call Mithra.† As regards what is in particular meant by this expression, whether one has perhaps to understand by it the clouds, which scare away the sun god, or otherwise, further explanation fails us. In Porphyry, Mithra, of the mysteries, is brought in connection with the myth of a procreative bull: "Mithra rides on the procreative bull, and both are called Demiurg and Lord of the Creation."‡ Even of this sacred bull, that must, judging from those high predicates, be of considerable importance, we learn nothing further.

A strange mythical world has been built up, however, by the legends which were current among the Persians, relative to the mountain lands, east of Bactria and north of India—the cradle of the Arian nations, as is ascertained with certainty by the latest researches. It is this, the most ancient fabulous land of the Orient, which the Grecians mostly indefinitely comprehended

† Julius Firmicus de errore prof. rel. cap. 5.

‡ Porphyrius de antro Nymph., 23.

under India, or even more precisely designated as the Imaus mountain lands. This mountainous land was peopled by the Iranian imaginative faculty with an immense multitude of exceedingly strange figures, wonderful trees, animals, and human beings. Although much of it is borrowed from the actual fairy lands of the Indus, still, on the other hand, what remains is evidently the pure, free offspring of the Iranian imagination. To this class belong, above all, the marvelous animals of Ctesias, who, in describing them, did not intend to give either his own arbitrary fancy, or the actual matter of fact, but rather the legends, which he heard during his residence at the Persian Court.* “In the Indian mountain lands,” says Ctesias, “there dwells the wild ass, that is very large, and larger than a horse. His body is white, his head red; on his forehead he carries a pointed horn, an ell long, which is white below, black in the middle, and red above. It is one of the strongest and fastest of animals, neither a horse, nor any other animal, can overtake him. He defends himself with his horn, his teeth, and his hoofs; and has indeed brought a mortal end of several men and horses.”|| Aelian gives, from Ctesias, the name of this animal, it is called Kartazonon.† “There is,” says Ctesias further, an “Indian animal of mighty strength, larger than the largest lion, of red colour like cinnabar, thick-haired like dog; by the Indians it is called Martichoras, in

* What however offers a considerable importance to these wonderful figures, described by Ctesias, and so often undervalued, is their perfect accordance with the magnificent sculptures at Persepolis, the sacred city of the Persians, from which even their religious importance proceeds. This agreement has been very convincingly shown by Heeren i., Thl. S. 205—212.

|| Ctesias Indic., 25. † Aelian. Hist. Anim. xvi., 20.

Greek, maneater. Its head is not like that of an animal, but like the face of a human being. Its feet are like that of a lion, on its tail it has a prick like that of a scorpion." A third wonderful animal is the griffin, which indeed Herodotus knows, likewise in connection of an analogous legend: "The griffins," says he, "guard over immense treasures of gold in the high north; but it is said that the Arimasps, one-eyed men, rob the same from the griffins."‡ The griffin is described by Aelian, from Ctesias, in the following manner: "The griffin is a four-footed Indian animal; it has the claws of a lion, its back is adorned with wings. Its front part is red, the wings white, the neck blue. Its head and its beak are like that of the eagle. It nestles on the mountains and dwells in the wastes (evidently the wastes of Gobi) where it guards over gold."* That these legends lived long in the mouths of the people, is to be seen from a passage of Athenæus: Hipparchus makes mention (150 B.C.) of a Persian carpet, in which figures of Persian men and Persian griffins were woven in.† An idea of these wonderful figures is afforded us by the passages quoted here from Ctesias, of which he himself has yet several more, and which is likewise met with in several ancient writers, particularly the Alexandrian. Thus, for instance, Onesicritus mentions of monster Indian snakes, 80 to 140 ells long‡; Bāton, that in a vast dale of the Imaus mountain districts there is a place, called Abarimon, in which wild men lived, whose footsoles stood backwards from the legs, but yet they were of distinguished speed.§

‡ Herod, iii., 116.

• Aelian. Hist. Anim. iv., 26.

† Athenæus. Deipnos. xi., 7 § 55

‡ Onesicritus frag., 7 in Arrian.

§ Baeton frag. 3.

We perceive, how the Grecians exaggerated such legends even into absurdities. A complete collection of such wonders may be found by any one who has a taste for them, in the Pseudo-Callisthenes, in which Alexander is reported to have metfi in his expedition against the Brahmans||—therefore just in this land of legends—at times cannibals that barked like dogs,¶ at others men with** six hands and six feet, and with canine* heads, now wonderful trees that sprout out with the uprising of the sun, grow till mid-day, then, again, wane and perish.† What happened on the attempt to hew down these trees, is already related. Thereafter Alexander arrived in a country, where no sun whatever shone;‡ here, extraordinary birds lifted him up in the air, there he saw a large serpent which formed a circuit, and in the middle of the serpent a floor, and a bird in the figure of a man spoke to him: Dost thou comprehend what that is? The floor is the world, the serpent, however, is the sea which closes round the earth.§ Alexander, in a letter to Aristotles,× gives even names of monsters, Hebdomadarions, and Odontotyrannus. However much of Grecian imagination and exaggeration may well be there, still the ground-work thereof is, at all events, Persian, as it clearly follows from singular characteristics. Two particularly interesting myths may yet be mentioned here. The first is the following: Alexander carried on war against Eurymithres, the ruler of Belassyria. The subjects of this king were defeated and

|| Pseudo-Callisth. ii., 35.

** Pseudo-Callisth ii., 34.

† Pseudo-Callisth ii., 35.

§ Pseudo-Callisth ii., 41.

¶ Pseudo-Callisth ii., 33.

• Pseudo-Callisth ii., 34.

‡ Pseudo-Callisth ii., 37.

× Pseudo Callisth, iii., 17,

pursued for a long way, until they arrived close to two large mountains; as they had then gone in within, Alexander did not continue to pursue them any longer; as he saw, however, that the mountains were well adapted to hem them in, he prayed to the Deity, that they might be made to converge towards each other, and thus close the way against the captives emerging out. This happened immediately, and Alexander fastened the place with brazen gates. Alexander had, however, confined therein 22 kings, together with their subjects, and called the gates Caspian.* But these people became hemmed in on account of their uncleanness, because they ate unclean things: dogs, mice, serpents and flesh of dead bodies. Finally, a very attractive myth has been preserved to us by Chares of Mytilene. "Hystaspes had a younger brother named Zariadres, both were, according to the traditions of the natives of the country, sons of Aphrodite and Adonis. Hystaspes governed Media and the country below it (Persia?), Zariadres, the country above the Caspian gates up to the Tanais. The king of the Marathas, on the yonder side of the Tanais however, by name Omartes, had a daughter named Odatis. Of her it is related that she saw Zariadres in her dream and fell in love with him, the same however happened to him as regards her, and ever since then both yearned after each other. Odatis, however, was the handsomest woman in all Asia, and Zariadres too was handsome. Zariadres now applied to Omartes for permission to court her; he however declined to give

* Pseudo-Callisth iii, 26; cpr. a similar myth in Düncker ii., S 304; the district of Demawend is wholly the same as that of the Caspian gates, cpr. Düncker S. 296 and 322.

her, his only child, to a stranger. But shortly thereafter, Omartes got up a festive banquet, conducted his daughter to it, and commanded her to select one of those present there as her husband, by her reaching to him a golden cup filled with wine. She, however, retired therefrom weeping. She had, however, caused it to be told to Zariadres that their nuptials were imminently close at hand. He came, clothed like a Scythian, to the place during night, entered into it, and allowed himself to be recognised as Zariadres. Thereupon she handed over to him the cup of wine, and he carried her off, without her father knowing, whither. This love story was sung with extraordinary admiration, among the barbarians of Asia, and they painted this myth in the sanctuaries and in the royal palaces, even in private houses, and several prominent men named their daughters Odatis.”* That this myth had a religious significance, is expressed by the fact that it was figuratively represented in the sanctuaries. The key to this attractive enigmatical tale has, however, unfortunately become lost to us.

Equally, some cosmological ideas, appertaining to the Persian mode of thought, have been preserved to us by the ancient writers. We have already spoken of the Pythagorean exposition of the two world-creating principles, as found in Hippolytus, and of the Neoplatonic, as found in Damascius, and of the value of both of them. Conformable to the Persian religion, which distinguishes between a spiritual and a material world,

* Chares of Mytilene, in Dübner and Müller's Arrian; he was a companion of Alexander, and a reliable historian.

very likely also as a special indication of the doctrines of the genii which preside over men as well as over natural objects, is a statement by Clemens :* “The barbarian philosophy recognises an intellectual and a materially perceptible world, the former is the prototype, the latter the copy of that pattern ; they set the former equal to Monas, the palpable to Hexas.” The latter words are incomprehensible, they originate indeed out of the Pythagorean doctrine of numbers. We find, however, a very magnificent representation of the universe and of its Supreme Governor in the already many a times mentioned exposition of Dio Chrysostomus† He describes the cosmological ideas contained therein explicitly, and attributes them to the Magi ; as decidedly, however, as even a goodly portion thereof is besprinkled with Grecian representations, still it is not to be ignored, that quite peculiar Persian views are contained therein. Partly, that mixture with Grecian elements, partly its fantastical character, makes this section often very unintelligible. Out of the long exposition, it may suffice to draw out prominently a few important thoughts. The Magi praise the highest God, father and king, as the perfect and the first ruler of the most perfect of wagons. The wagon of the sun, say they, is, compared with the former, recent, but indeed well known to the multitude, because its motion is perceptible through the eye ; this also was sung generally by the poets. The firm and the perfect wagon of Zeus, however, has nevertheless not been worthily sung by any of our

* Clemens Alex. ; Stromat v. p. 593c. ; under the barbarian philosophy he understands always the Persian cpr. Strom. v., p. 592.

† Dio Chrysostomus orat. xxxvi.

poets, even neither by Homer nor by Hesiod, but only Zoroaster, and the descendants of the Magi who have learnt it from him, praise it. The substance of these songs is : There is but one management and government of the universe, which is always conducted by supreme wisdom and power, unceasingly in unterminating epochs of time. The revolutions of the sun and the moon are however mere movements of a portion, of the movement and the revolution of the universe, on the other hand, the multitude understands nothing and realises not the grandeur of this machinery. The world, then, in the eyes of the Persians, does not end in the visible sky with its bodies, but they look upon it merely as a part of the unending universal space that exists under the supreme guidance of Ormuzd. Hereafter follows a long description of the allegorical figures, in which the Magi contemplate the revolution of the universe. The fundamental thought thereof is this : the universe is a wagon of four spans, consisting of four horses of ever more and more increasing speed, who so move themselves, that the outmost and the first describes the largest arc of a circle, the second a smaller one, the fourth however revolves on his own axis. The first, the largest and the strongest, appertains to Zeus and radiates from the purest lustre of light (the sky with the brilliant celestial bodies); the second, soft, slender, inferior to the former in speed, belongs to Hera (the terrestrial atmosphere); the third, yet slower, to Poseidon (therefore the sea); the fourth is stiff, hardnecked and motionless, and belongs to Hestia (the earth). Before long, however, a strong pressure set in, which the first as the courageous one bore up, the others, however, fell in such a heat that they burnt up the manes and the entire decoration of the fourth (the earth)—therefore it was a conflagration

of the universe. At another time, however, the horse of Poseidon became shy and suffered such a terror, that he inundated completely the fourth with his tale—hence this was a great deluge. The horse of Zeus, however, as the strongest and by nature fiery, absorbed in himself all the others, and possessed in himself the entire character of all, and he then became much stronger and more brilliant, also much prouder, and therefore he took to himself a yet larger space. When the Magi, says Dio, have arrived up to this in their narration, they are afraid to call the nature of this animal yet the same. Because, the horse then is directly the soul of the manager and the master of the horse, or much rather the thinker and the leader of the soul itself. This, gr. Nous., which then fills the whole world, yearns itself after a creation. After that he has allowed the world to proceed out of self, he figures and forms it and all the different things upon it, and establishes the world indescribably well shaped and beautiful, much more shining, than it at present appears, “radiating and penetrating lustre through, and in all parts shedding brilliant light, at no time, however, in non-age and debility after the manner of the human and mortal infirmity of nature, but at once juvenile and vigorous from the very beginning.” In particular, the last conception is genuine Iranian. Persian contemplation of later periods contains very likely even that which Celsus tells us of the seven heavenly gates on the top of the seven heavenly ladders, which he compares with the seven Christian heavens. These conceptions are borrowed out of the Mithraic mysteries, and the seven gates are named after the five planets and the sun and the moon.*

* Origenes c. Cels. VI, 22; cpr. the seven heavens in the Ardâi Verâf nâ ne in Spiegel, *traditionell Literature der Parsen* S. 125 sq.

II.—THE WORSHIP.

1. THE PRIESTHOOD.

The priests of the Ormuzdian religion, founded by Zoroaster, were, according to the unanimous accounts of the ancient writers, the Magi. They were, as the disciples and followers of Zoroaster—the first of the Magi—in the possession of the Zoroastrian religious teachings, and they carried out the holy service of the deities of this religion. The fame of an extremely unusual, super-human wisdom, in which Zoroaster was conceived, descended consequently even to these, and if, of Zoroaster, only the learned and the well-informed Grecians ever knew anything, on the other hand, the name of the Magi was in the mouth of every one, and of the Grecian writers very few only would be found in whose works they were not somehow or other thought of. With what ardent eagerness the Grecians panted after all that bore the name of the Magian erudition, or even what appeared similar to it, we have already allowed Pliny most excellently to depict; the whole of the ancient world was filled with admiration for the wisdom of these priests—and yet, how few of the Grecian and Romans had but an approximately correct conception of that wherein their particular wisdom consisted! Now, if, by the ancient writers, especially by those more correctly instructed, like Theopompous, the Zoroastrian teaching is associated with the name of the Magi and designated as the teaching of the Magi, this is not to be so understood, as if this had been a teaching, a sort of mystery, appertaining merely to the Magi; but rather that, among the ancient writers, by some it was denoted as a Magian doctrinal idea what other explained

as an element of the Persian belief. It was intended thereby merely to express, that to the Magi the Zoroastrian religion had belonged in an especial manner, in so far that they, as the priests, in contrast to the laity, knew their religion more precisely, more completely, and in the sense of the Grecians, scientifically. Thus says Porphyry: "Among the Persians, those who know the divinity and serve Him are called Magi; in fact, the word Magi designates this, according to the language of the country."* With a like high esteem, the Roman Apuleyus also speaks of the art of the Magi, thus: "It is the art revealed by the immortal gods, of how to serve and honour them, a pious science, having knowledge of the divine, famed since its establishment through Zoroaster and Oromazes, a high-priestess of the heavenly."† Their practical destination, that they are priests, is placed in the foreground by Diogenes Laertius, who recognises their distinction from the astrological Chaldeans, in this that they occupy themselves with the service of the gods, with offerings and prayers, as they believe, that they alone would be heard. In so doing, they set up, however, says he, even doctrines relative to the nature and the origin of the gods.‡ Plato,§ finally, designates the Zoroastrian art of the Magi exclusively as the service of gods, and so does likewise Appuleyus,¶ in another passage. This priestly activity of theirs is then what we are to be occupied with here; through this alone they assume an especial position amongst the people, whereas they have their belief in common with their countrymen.

* Porphyrius de abstinent iv., p. 16. † Apuleyus de Magia, xxvi.

‡ Diogenes Laert. Prooem. Sgm. 6. § Plato Alcib. i., p., 122A.

¶ Apuleyus de Mag., xxv., Persarum lingua Magus est, qui nostra sacerdos.

Now, it is a question, how that position of the priesthood minutely determines its relation towards the Iranian people and the laity? Before all, we must bear this in mind, that the Magi occur everywhere merely as priests of the Medes and the Persians, but of the priests of the rest of the Iranian nations we know nothing at all. The rude races, which with Strabo, we are able to comprehend under the name Arian, had, although, upon the whole, the self-same religious conceptions, yet probably, a less perfected cult, perhaps without an especial priestcraft. Bactria, however, which took precedence of the rest of the Iranian countries in respect of civilisation—and add to that, it had the weight of the Ormuzdian belief—had for certainty a priestcraft of its own, for which, however, we search in vain in the notices of the ancient writers.* We ought, therefore, to decide ourselves to consider these notices, and the results to be deduced therefrom, to be pertinent merely for the west of Iran, and to pronounce our utter ignorance in this matter in reference to the East. That these western priests formed a state of their own, is clearly presumed in the evidences adduced here, and it proceeds also, as we will see, indeed from their outward deportment, and their especial mode of living, distinguishing them from

* Clemen Alex., *Stromat.* i., p. 305. places the Samanaer among the Bactrians in the same category with the Chaldeans among the Assyrians and the Magi among the Persians, as the philosophers of those nations. Since he divides, however, the Gymnosophists of the Indians in Sarmans, Brahman and Buddhists, so the names Samans and Sarmans are probably identical, without doubt the Indian Zramana, the name of the Buddhist monk, who of the course had important cloisters in Bactria. We might imagine also the Schaman of the Altaic nations, who however descend first from Zramana. These were therefore by no means Ormuzdian priests.

the laity. How have we, however, to imagine this position to have been composed? Were the Magi separated from their countrymen merely by reason of their profession, and their especial initiation in the same, or was the cleft an insurmountable one, by reason of the natural tie of blood, in short, were the Magi a distinct race? That they were so is pronounced decidedly by the most ancient and the most weighty testimonies, and, furthermore, in later ages, too, some writers have knowledge of it. Herodotus* mentions the Magi, together with four others, Paratacens, &c., as a race of the Medes, and this statement does not occur in him singly, so as to subject it to the chance of being held perhaps for an accidental error, but it is confirmed by the history of the Magi-revolt, which, as Hereen† has certainly rightly seen, is not to be regarded as an hierarchical attempt of the Magi, but as having an aim at the restoration of the Medean power. It was thus conceived by Cambyzes himself, when he, on his death-bed, conjured the Persians, especially the Achamenians, as follows:—"Never again let the supremacy return to the Medes,"‡ and similarly does the Persian Gobryas, when he says: "as we, the Persians, became governed by a Mede, the Magus."§ With the Magi come also the Medes to power; this is here assumed to be so self-understood, that it can have been no accident, if every Magus was directly a Mede, but as a Magus he was necessarily a Mede too. Xenophon, besides, ascribes to Cyrus the Great the transference of the Magian institutions and their cultus, from the Medes to the Persians.||

* Herod. i., 101.

† Hereen Ideen. 1., Thl. S. 412.

‡ Herod. iii., 65.

§ Herod. iii., 73.

|| Cyrop. viii., i., 23.

Even though this statement has no historical value at all, still, at all events, it is perceivable from it that, in Xenophon's times, people in Persia held the belief, that the Persian priests were originally none others than the Medean Magi. Strabo recounts the Magi among the remaining races inhabiting Persia;§ he agrees with them, therefore, at least in so far that he calls them a race; even in Cappadocia, says he, there are Magi, for the race of the Magi is extensive.|| Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of an especial district in Medea that was in the possession of the Magi; they dwelled in hamlets, had their own laws, and in consequence of their calling enjoyed universal esteem; they had continuously inherited their knowledge in their race, and even down to his times this ancient priestcraft, consecrated to the service of the gods, consisted of the one and the same old consanguinity.* Alike to this is said likewise by Sozomenus.† Just this race exclusiveness, Apuleyus also must have in his mind, when he says, that among the Persians not every one without distinction could become a Magus, as less as he would become a king.‡ Against this well-demonstrated perception, that the Magi have been a distinct race or tribe, and in truth a Medean one, hardly a well-grounded objection can be allowed to be raised. That the Magus Osthanes, who accompanied Xerxes, was a Persian,** that, according to Philo, no one among the Persians was entitled to become a king

§ Strabo xv., p. 1058; according to this, the Magi seem in Strabo's times to have been so numerous in Persia that they could have been regarded as an especial race. Strabo, however, does not mean to say by that, that it is a Persian race, only that it dwells in Persia.

|| Strabo xv.

* Ammianus Marc. xxiii., 16.

† Sozomeni Hist. Eccles. ii., 9.

‡ Apuleyus de Magia, xxvi.

** Plinius Hist., Nat., xxx, i., 2.

that had not enrolled himself in the race of the Magi,|| does not at all overthrow the above assumption, but merely modifies it in this particular, that, in this Magian race, by way of exception, Persians also were permitted to be received, as a distinct recognition of honour. Philostratus expressly intimates that the Persian Magi do not instruct any non-Persian, except at the particular command of the king.* A cogent reason against this assumption is just as less to be sought, in the fact, that the Magi were found even in Asia Minor, in Cappadocia in connection with the Anaitis worship, and even far in Lydia,† because in both instances they, as well as the cult which they served, have been designated expressly as Persian. If, however, even in reality, the Medean Magi went to foreign countries and undertook for themselves foreign cults, if, on the other side, other cults were instanced with the name of the Magian, then this is perfectly well conceivable in the age of that grand medley of religious; thus, in later times, every kind of Asiatic mysteries, sorceries and incantations, was called Magian. Pliny‡ speaks of the Magi of Persia, Arabia, Egypt and Æthiopia; Hippolytus§ does likewise of the Egyptian. All this, however, is naturally of not any influence on the question, whether the ancient Magi in the West of Iran were a Medean race or not. In particu-

|| Philon de special leg. p. 792c., of the Persian kings it is elsewhere stated merely that they were instructed in the Magian doctrines, from which up to the priestly ordination, there was always a yet more considerable step; Philo put down, however, his account merely as tradition. Osthane could also be called a Persian, probably as a companion of Xerxes, therefore in a wider sense, without being of Persian descent.

* Philostrati Sophist., i 10.

† Pausanias v., 27, 3.

‡ Plinius Hist. Nat., xxv., 2, 5.

§ Hippolyti refutal. iv., 28, sq.

lar, the misfortune occurred to them, very often, of being confounded with their Semetic neighbours and companions of their station, namely, the Chaldean priests in Babylon; thus indeed, by Ctesias,^{||} who says, that Darius I. was hindered by the Chaldeans from looking into the rock sepulchre that he had caused to be built in Persepolis; this happens, however, especially frequent in connection with the legend of Pythagoras, who has been credited to have been instructed by the Babylonian Magi.* Yet, there is even by no means a want of such writers who knew to specificate quite correctly the distinction between these two priesthoods, as, for instance, Diogenes, in the passage adduced, also Origenes,[†] who reproaches Celsus, as significant of his ignorance, that he does not know to distinguish between them two, and, lastly, Porphyry.[‡] This confusion explains itself, partly out of the indistinct notions of most of the Greeks regarding Magism, partly out of the, at least outwardly, similar position of both these priest-hoods, partly, but in particular, out of the fact, that, indeed in earlier times, the Magi doubtlessly had come to Babylon with the Persian and indeed with the Medean court, and had remained there sojourning, as, surely, even at the reception given to Alexander in Babylon, the Magi were the first to approach to meet him, singing their hymns in the manner peculiar to them, and the Chaldeans followed only next after them.§

^{||} Ctesias Pers. 15.

[§] Lucian. Nocyomant. cap. 3; Philostrati Vit Appolon. i., 2.

[†] Origenes c. Cels. i, 58.

[‡] Porph. Vit. Pythag., p. 6, who likewise contrasts the Chaldeans

as astronomers and the Magi as ministers of the Deity.

[§] Curtius v., 3.

The Magian priestcraft had a sort of an inherent constitution,* to which several traces distinctly point out. Pliny first speaks of the ancient teachers of the Magi, the Median Apuscorus and Zaratus, then extols the abovenamed Osthanes,† on account of his propagation of the Magian teachings and of his explanations, which he adds to them. Xanthus, the Lydian, says, after Zoroaster several Magi have followed in steady succession, *viz.*, Hostanes, Astrampsychos, Gobryas, and Pagatos, up to the downfall of the Persian empire through Alexander,‡ and then again a second Osthanes of the time of Alexander is named in Pliny, so that this seems to have become a frequent name for the Magian teachers.§ We have, then, without doubt, in all these, a kind of a chief superior of the Magi, or, as they are designated as teachers and learned men, they are presidents of theology, perhaps of the Magian priestly institution. In the Sassanian times, the Magi have had, at all events, a supreme chief,|| who bore, according to Therebuss' history of the martyrs,¶ the title of Mayptas with which, a college of head Magi seems to have existed in support of this supreme chief + Beside that, there are evidences, too, of an organisation and distribution of the Magi in classes. Already Herodotus distinguishes the sorcerors, as well as the dream-interpreters,

* Ammian, *legibus suis uti permissi*. † Hist. Nat. xxx., 1, 2.

‡ Diogenes Laert. *Proom*, Sgm. 6; to Pliny, it seems, this was not equally so known, because he says, in that passage, that the Magian art was not guarded by a praiseworthy and steady succession of teachers. § Suidas.

|| In the *Menologium Basilii*, mentioned by Assemani, at S. 169 of the acts, a princeps Moegorum is named.

¶ Spiegel *Avesta* ii., einl. S. 15.

+ Acta Mart. 217, 218; Sozomeni *Hist Eleccs*, ii. 10.

as an especial division among them;† Strabo, too, names, again, the Nekyomants and the rest of the soothsayers,‡ together with the Magi proper, whereas, in Origenes, on the other hand, the learned appear to be a special division of the Magi.§ According to Eubulos, as given in Porphyry,|| the race of the Magi is, in fine, portioned out in three tribes; the first and the most learned neither eat nor kill anything living; the second eat such things, to be true, but they kill no domestic animals; and even the third do not touch everything, just as do the common folks. Just as Porphyry expresses himself, these three classes were separated from each other through descent, and the Magian race divided itself again in tribes of various ranks, and, corresponding thereto, of various responsibilities. Whether this is correct or not, must remain undecided. Cicero¶ is aware even of the assemblages of the Magi in a sanctuary, for the object of considering and discussing over their soothsayings. The entrance into the priesthood was conditional upon a religious initiation. Lucian describes such a one, but it is of the second century. The priest took, at the beginning of the new moon, the person to be initiated under his care for 29 days, bathed him every morning, during which, facing towards the rising sun, he recited a long passage, in which he seemed to be invoking the demons. After this incantation, he gazed at him three times in his face, and then went away, without resting his eyes on any one accosting him on his way. The food of both of

† Herod. i., 107, 118.

‡ Strabo xvi.

§ Origenes c. Cels. i., 12.

|| Porph. de Absten. iv., p. 16.

¶ Cicero de divinat. i, 41, 90.

them was but fruits, their drink milk, honey and water, their beds, under the open sky, on grass. As the preparation was, however, sufficiently advanced, he conducted the to-be-initiated, in the middle of the night, to the Tigris, washed him, wiped him out, perfumed him round with a pine-torch, with sea leeks and many other such things, during which he muttered an incantation. Then, after that he had him completely instilled by witchcraft, and encompassed him round, so that thereby he might be rendered safe from harm coming from the spectres, he conducted him back home. The initiated was now invested with the Magian garment, which resembles the Medean, in a great measure.* Although even much of this delineation may be belonging to the later mysteries, still the groundlines of this initiatory process must be genuine Magian.

This priestly position, by virtue of its sacred calling, naturally enjoyed a high esteem, and rejoiced itself consequently in a significant influence even in the political line ; but Iran never has had a priestly domination,† in its proper sense, although the Magi had risen to a very important degree of power in the Sassanian empire. Their influence rested itself, however, not merely on the respect and the sacredness of their position, not even alone on the superiority of their culture, but chiefly upon the fact, that they were the exclusive and the indispensable administrators of divine worship. Indeed, Herodotus‡ assures us that the Persians were not permitted to present any offerings, without the intervention of the Magus, and Xenophon§ says that the

* Lucian Nocyom. cap. 3. † Herod. i., 120. ‡ Herod. i., 132.

§ Cyrop. viii, 3, 9.

Persians held the principle, to follow the Magi completely in all religious matters. In consequence thereof, they presented both the offerings and the prayers in the belief, that only they would be heard by the gods,[§] and it amounted fully to a sin, in the Sassanian times, to approach the altar, or to touch the sacrificial animals, ere the Magi, after prayers being said, had poured out the forth issuing offer-libations.|| But, if, in Ecbatana, the Anaitis had a priestess of her own, that even must indeed have been just a foreign cult, and none of the Zoroastrian. The priestcraft acquired, however, a high importance indeed, through the fact that it imparted to the king, in Pasargada, the so-called royal consecration, during which the king was invested with the robe of Cyrus,* in the midst of ceremonies full of mysteries. They instructed the Persian hereditary princes in their sacred science,† which constituted such an essential element of the education of these princes, that Philo, and with him Cicero,‡ too, have considered that this was a necessary condition on which depended their ascent to the throne. The Persian kings prized the knowledge of the Magian wisdom so highly, that Darius I., it is related, ordered it to be inscribed on his sepulchre, that :— “I was a disciple of the Magi.”× The Magi conducted generally the education of the Persian + princes, and instructed them in righteousness and truthfulness and in the law of the land of their birth.¶ But even after the princes have ascended the throne, the Magi continue to surround the king,** who inquire

§ Diogen. Laert. Proom. Sgm. 6.

|| Ammian. xxiii., 6.

* Plutarch, Artax. 3.

† Plato Alcib. i., p. 122.

‡ Cicero de divinat. i., 41, 91.

× Porphyrius de Abotin, iv.

+ Plut. Artax., 3.

¶ Nicol Damasc. frag. 67.

** Strabo, xv.

of them for advice about his dreams, whether or not he should allow himself to be influenced by these dreams in arriving at weighty political determinations.†† Their influence on the king was so great that Dio Chrysostomus‡‡ and Pliny§§ have been able to say (the latter of the Parthian empire), that the Magi ruled the kings. Ammianus and Agathias attempt to give a history of the standing of this priestcraft. Ammian says “in ancient times, only a small number of this race had come into existence, and the Persian authorities have had their services utilised in the solemn preparations for the service of God; but gradually they had increased themselves and formed a firmly compact race, with a special name; they had now their own settlements, their own constitution, and were highly respected, on account of the esteem entertained for religion.”* Agathias completely coincides with this, and says: “through Arsaces, the founder of the Sassanian empire, the Magian race has grown powerful and boastful, and although it was so even before and had preserved this character from olden times, still it had never before risen so high in honour and liberty, but were, on the contrary formerly lightly regarded by those in power.” Indeed, Agathias has borne in mind, in describing the above, the massacre of the Magi and the Persian festival of the Magophony. “At present, however, the Magi are honoured and admired by all, public proceedings are regulated in accordance with their advice and forecasts; they pronounce judgments also. Generally, however, nothing was reckoned among the Persians, as legal and

†† Herod. vii., 19.

‡‡ Dio Chrysostomus *Orat.* xlix., p. 538.

§§ Plinius *Hist. N.* xxx., 1., 1.

* Ammian. *Marc.* xxiii., 6.

correct, that was not sanctioned by the Magi.”† The Magophony demonstrates to us, that in ancient times, the profession by no means sanctified the person too, and that the ruling dynasty of the Persians understood well how to direct back the priestly station within the limits of its profession. Besides that Magophony, it is intimated to us that Darius made not the least hesitation to order 40 of the Magi to be executed,* and Astyages, the Medean king himself, once ordered a Magus, who had predicted to him falsely, to be impaled upon a pole.|| Notwithstanding the enhancement in the respect of the Magi, that took place under the Sassanians, it happened, as well, that Jazdegard, the king, decimated “the race of the Magi” — hence, as it seems, all of them — because they had deceived him.‡

To the prerogatives of the priestly state corresponded then its duties also. When every believer in Ormuzd was obliged to follow the commands of God, the ministers of Ormuzd then had naturally greater obligations in this respect. In particular, the highest command of Zoroaster is purity, which they had to observe. In this manner, they became distinct from the laymen, indeed through their outward behaviour and their mode of life. Strabo§ says they assiduously engage themselves in a holy life. The passage from Porphyry, relating to the various gradations of their abstemiousness, is already quoted. Porphyry relates that they go so far in the observance of cleanliness, that they not merely refrain from flesh, but they go out of the way even of the

† Agathias ii., 26.

• Ctes, 15.

|| Herod, i., 128.

‡ Socrates, Hist. Eccles, vii, 8.

§ Strabo, xv.

butchers and hunters.* Diogenes† Laertius gives, probably from Sotion, the following description of them : “embellishments and gold dresses they forbid ; the naked ground is their bed ; vegetables, cheese and small bread their food ; they have a stick of reed, with which, as it is said, they eat up the cheese, carrying it to the mouth, and so consuming it. That they abstained from sexual connection also, as Clemens‡ would have us believe, cannot, at all events, be true of all of them, for in that case they could not have succeeded in propagating themselves into a race ; further, the wife of a Magus is mentioned not only in the acts of the Persian martyrs,§ but, according to Persian conceptions, keeping one’s self a celibate is by no means any meritorious act, but, on the contrary, it is considered a neglect of the religious and social duty. It seems, Clemens, perhaps, the other writers also, had partly the descriptions of the Indian wise men in their minds. Just because the Magi themselves were pure, they were entitled to purify the rest of men also, and to give them instructions as regards from what matters pious men should always hold themselves aloof.|| Further that they have punctiliously observed the Zoroastrian injunctions regarding the mode of the disposal of the dead, is already remarked. They took pains, in an especial manner, however, to destroy the creation of Ahriman, by so doing to effectively serve Ormuzd. The chief duties assigned to them, however, consisted in the execution of the sacred services, which, surely, according to Herodotus, could not be completed

* Porphy. vit. Pythag. p. 6.

† Dio Laert Proom Sgm., 6; this agrees with Lucian’s account.

‡ Clemens Alex., Strom, iii. § Act. Mart. s. 94.

|| Porphy. vit. Pythag. p. 12.

without their presence. Xenophon* informs us that they specified to what god one ought to pray under particular circumstances. In the sacred festival processions, they attended on the perpetual fire, singing all along their national hymns.† They keep watch over the grave of Cyrus, and perform the sacred services thereat. They purify men from the defilements that they may have contracted in any manner whatsoever, particularly, however, from impurifications resulting from touching dead bodies.‡ Besides these, they have, however, yet other obligations, too. As they stand next to the deity, he reveals himself to them also, and lets them be acquainted with his will, in one way or another, in particular, however, by means of dreams, with the deliberations on which subject they seem to have deeply engaged themselves, indeed, in earlier times, as this is already mentioned by Herodotus;§ next by means of wonderful phenomena in nature and life,+ in the accounts of whose occurrence, in the ancient writers, like Ctesias,|| such as that blood does not ooze out on the slaying of the sacrificial animal, a woman brings

* Cyrop, vii., 5. 57; viii. 3, 24. i., 23.

† Curtius, iii., 7 cfr. v., 3. ‡ Agath, ii., 23 and 25.

§ Herod, vii., 19. Nicol Damasc. in frag. 66 relates, that the parents of Cyrus, during their sojourn at the Median court in Egbatana, determined to interrogate the Babylonian Chaldeans, on the subject of the dream of his mother. They ordered such a one to be called who had both a wife and brother in Egbatana. Are we warranted to conclude from this, that at that time (570—560 B.C.) the Magi had not yet taken to this profession, and in their stead, there were Chaldeans at the Medean court?

+ For this, that they practised the art of divination, see Dinon frag. 8 and 10, Aelian. Var. Hist. ii., 27; Acta Martyrum, s. 221; Diogen. Laert. Proom. 6; Agathias 2, 25.

|| Ctesias Pers. 12.

forth a child without a head, the apparition of the dead during night, and similar other strange things of this sort,‡ sometimes the Grecian views of the prodigious at others, traces out of the later non-Persian Magism, are interspersed, so that one cannot say with certainty whether such an act of divination resembling the Grecian, was really current among the Magi or not. For the later period, however, this is certain.§ Against this, Herodotus¶ is indeed correct, when he relates that, as a storm struck against the Persian fleet, the Magi had the wind charmed through their enchanter, probably through the invocations of the good and the imprecations of the evil spirits; still we have to guard ourselves in this matter against thinking of the incantations of the later Magism, in which the evil spirits were not deprecated but invoked. Manifestly, the Grecians mistook the invocations of the Magi, on the fleet, accompanied with gestures incomprehensible to them, for enchantment. With that well-known, later Magism, the Medean Magi have nothing to do, as Aristotle and Dinon right perfectly perceived, and said, “they never once knew the conjuring art of divination.” *Other writers, also, such as Apuleyus,† distinguish precisely between the genuine and the spurious art of Magic. The Medean priests have had however another occupation, indeed, in common with the later Magism, *viz.*, in the knowledge of plants and medicine, still not for the purposes of sorcery like in the latter, but for the cure of diseased persons. Pliny‡ says, the magic art first arose out of the healing art, and only transform-

‡ Herod. vii., 37. § Agath. ii., 25. ¶ Herod. vii., 191.

* Diogenes Laert. Proom. Sgm 6. † Apuleyus de Magia, xxvi.

‡ Plinius Hist. Nat. xxx., 1, 1.

ed itself into this pernicious art, first, after it took in its support religious superstitions and astrology. Among the several Magian herbs that he§ quotes in various passages, there has been, for instance, the antidote against the poison of serpents, the Ahrimanian creatures certainly in usage among the Magi. The proper and the chief function of the Magi consisted, however, in the performance of the holy service.

2. THE WORSHIP OF GOD.

With the religious representations is always given the cultus, too, at least with its essential characteristics. Just as man conceives his God, so in conformity with it, he believes, too, that he should be honoured, and so gives to his sentiments of dependence an expression, corresponding to his religious imagination, in sacred functions, usually sacrifice and prayer. If, however, even this expression takes its origin out of the direct pious sentiment, and thus has its own particular object in the actual utterance thereof—inasmuch as the pious sentiment satisfies its impulse after an actually to be accomplished union with the deity, indeed, in the fact, that it gives it this actual expression—still this need, particularly in the natural religion, will, in the most seldom of cases, be purely religious. The holy acts do not meet within themselves their aim and end, but there will be, as a rule, yet other needs, too, than those of the pious sentiment, coming into estimation, *viz.*, the necessities and the desires of the whole mankind, in respect as well

of its natural, as even, in particular, in an ethical religion, of its moral phase of life, in so far as man is placed as a person in a number of moral relations.* The good, in all its forms, the natural as well as spiritual, is what mankind wishes to desire from the deity, through the instrumentality of prayers and sacrifices. As, however, in the Ormuzdian religion, the good ever comes into realisation only in opposition and in warfare against the evil, so it is essentially even this negative side which finds its expression in the cult. Whilst the Iranians pray to the good god, they just by that very act scare away the evil, and they pray direct to the good god, in order to remove away the evil one from themselves. Both exist quite mixed into one another in the consciousness of the Iranians; inasmuch as when they beseech for themselves any one of the blessings highly prized by them, *viz.*, soundness of health, riches, purity, &c., then, conformably to their entire fundamental principles, this takes place only in the direct, immediate reference to the Ahrimanian opposition of these blessings, with which the god of darkness unceasingly threatens them. The good is, nevertheless, conformably to the peculiar relation of the Iranians towards Ormuzd, not merely the one first to be existing, to be implored for, but essentially also one already present, which they possess already in Ormuzd, in his complete spiritual empire, as his good creation; to this goodness, coming into existence in the realm of light, they have then to adhere themselves, in order to make it too their own property, and thereby to keep off the Ahrimanian evil away from

* We have here to remember the prayers of the Persians for their kings and fellow-subjects.

themselves. Ormuzd does not, to begin with, wait to be sought to be propitious to mankind, he is already, from the very beginning, on the side of man, opposed to his enemy, Ahriman, who is intent on injuring the human race. Out of these fundamental principles of the Zoroastrian religion, the following peculiarities result for the cult. In the first place, by the presentation of some article or other, the holy act has not the object, in the first instance, of disposing the good deities to be favorably inclined, and of moving them for the bestowal of the good things, but rather to maintain mankind in their constant dependence and union with Ormuzd and the realm of the good. The Zoroastrian religion has no sacrifices in the sense the Grecians understood them, and wherever it has them, they are found much in the background. The sacred act consists much more essentially in the prayers ; and, verily, less in the supplicatory prayers, than in that kind of prayers, in which men vividly hold before their eyes the nature and the attributes of the deity, in the invocations, in the prayers of praises and thanksgivings, in the sacred hymns. In the second place, as the sacred act itself has it in design, through the invocations and prayers to the good deities of light, the power of the realm of darkness can be broken at the same time. The effect of the same is considerably strengthened and heightened, when the act is performed at a spot over which the evil spirits have no influence, and is supplemented by another which scares away everything demoniacal, and advances forward the realm of light. The means of all means for this object is, however, the burning of the sacred fire, which, on this account, presents itself so strikingly in

the foreground in the Zoroastrian cult, and always ought to accompany the sacred act. In the third place, we have not to deal in the cult with this or that particular god or geniis, whom it should be necessary to pray on his own account, as it is the case, for instance, among the Greeks, but here we have to deal essentially with the two principles merely : the realm of the good and the realm of the evil, the former ought to be furthered, the latter annihilated. From this it follows then that the Zoroastrian genii (Anaitis being excepted, however,) could not have had special services for themselves, in which just this or that geniis exclusively was worshipped in its own temple, on its own special altar, and with its own particular ceremonies ; but, on the contrary, what was worshipped in it, was properly only the good principle—the realm of goodness, light, purity, &c., which manifests itself in a number of existences and forms—but only in so far as they belonged to this kingdom, co-operated and represented with it that they were prayed to. Hence, we find, too, notwithstanding the meagre notices of the ancient writers just on this point, very frequent invocations of many and several deities at the same time, nay sometimes of all the gods together.* This cult, though pantheistic, in the literal sense, has, however, conjointly with the absence of temples, idols, altars and things of this sort, its basis in the nature of the Iranian deities generally. They are regarded as we had opportunities of noticing in individual cases, in part too elevated and spiritual, like Ormuzd ; in part too abstract, like the six major and a portion of the minor genii ; in part too indefinite and spiritually sorted, like Mithra and another division of

* *Cyrop.* viii., 7, 3.

the genii ; in part, however, too much mixed up with the natural elements and substances, like the natural deities—to be adapted to form concrete, plastic personalities, whose worship would have procured expression for itself in a world of art with temples and idols. This mode of manifesting the pious consciousness was, from nature, quite a foreign one to the Iranian national instinct.* Thus, Herodotus is right in what he states in his well-known sentence : “To erect idols and temples and altars is not the custom among the Persians, but, on the contrary, they charge those that do this, with even folly, because, as it appears to me, they do not imagine the gods to be endowed with human figures, as do the Greeks.”†

The assertion of Herodotus, that the Persians had no kind of temples, is corroborated, not only by their well-credited custom of holding divine service in the open air, but also, by the fact, that wherever they went they destroyed the temples of other people.‡ Cicero offers the certainly correct reason of this proceeding, when he says : “Xerxes was obliged, on the advice of the Magi, to have destroyed the temples existing in the Grecian territories, because the Grecians had the custom to invest their gods with raiment, whilst, surely, for the gods everything ought to be open and free, and this whole world ought to be the temple and the habitation

* The sculpture works discovered in Persepolis do not altogether contradict this assertion, because, there, partly the Allegories, partly the phantastical legendary world of the east is figuratively exhibited. Heeren i., S. 200.

† Herod i., 131.

‡ Diodor frgm. 46, 4; Ctes. Pers 25.

of the gods.”* In actuality, we meet with no statements at all which prove to the contrary. The temple service of Anaitis, in Cappadocia and Armenia, even though administered by the Magi, is by no means Zoroastrian. The sanctuaries of an Hera and Athene need not for any reason necessarily have been temples, but there may have been even sacred groves, irrespective of the uncertainty of this cult in general. The worship of Zoroaster in temples with idols and altars, referred to in the Clementinian Homilies, dates but only of the fourth century, and this source is, moreover, unauthentic. On the other hand, the shrines dedicated to the heroes, the monuments in honour of the Grecian hero Jason, in Armenia and Medea, often quoted by Strabo, and very highly venerated, strike us as strange† What this Medean Jason was, whether a genius of that country, or a hero of the legend, who very likely had a similarly sounding name, and in what this monument consisted, are matters which defy being further definitely settled; but they could scarcely have been temples in the proper sense.

Besides, Herodotus denies idols to the Persians, and he is joined by Strabo,‡ who, before arriving at the profuse delineation of the Persian religion and the Persian worship, expressly remarks, that the same might be said equally of the Medes, Parataceners, Elymens, Susians, &c., therefore, of the whole of Western Iran. Dinon,§ an elder contemporary of Alexander, says, moreover of his own times, that the Persians, Medes and

* Cicero de leg. ii, 10, 26.

† Strabo xi., p. 789; p. 768; p. 813.

‡ Strabo xv.

§ Dinon fragm. 9.

Magi regard mere water and fire as their idols. Cicero[‡] intimates, that the Persians held it to be a piece of blasphemy to make images of gods. It was only after the lapse of a long period of time, says Berosus, that the Persians had commenced to worship images of human forms, inasmuch as this system was introduced by Artaxerxes, the son of Darius Ochus, who at first erected the image of Anaitis in the various cities of his kingdom. This demonstrates convincingly that the Persians learnt this kind of worship first from the Semitics. The images, which got smashed, according to Curtius,[§] on the capture of Persepolis, by Alexander, were probably just those well-known reliefs. The two images of Ninus and Bel, on the carriage of the last Darius,^{||} were themselves probably not merely Bebylonian deities, but even also of Babylonian workmanship. The carved idol of Omanos,[¶] mentioned in Strabo, and carried about in the festival processions, belongs, indeed, to a later worship, connected with the outlandish Anaitis. But that, in the fourth and fifth centuries, after Christ, the idol worship was indigenous in Persia, is repeated, besides in the Clementinian Homilies,* also in the acts of the Persian martyrs.[†]

When Herodotus, and with him Strabo, too do not impute to the Persians the erection of any altars to their gods, that is very possibly true in the fullest sense of the word, as regards the age of Herodotus, but, on the other hand, as regards that of Strabo, the statement

[‡] Cicero de republ. iii., 9, 14. [§] Curtius v., 20.

^{||} Curtius iii., 7.

[¶] Strabo v.

^{*} Homil. ix., 6. [†] Acta Mart. S. 70 of the year 340 and S. 244 and 246, of the year 424.

must be received with this reservation, that the Persians had not, indeed, any altars after the Grecian fashion, upon which sacrifices were performed, but they had mere hearths for the sacred fire, a sort of a pedestal, which probably had accidentally even the shape of an altar, and, at all events, was regarded as such by the Grecians. Only Ctesias† speaks of an altar, which Darius, as he set his foot upon the Bosphorus, had raised to the Zeus watching over the successful transport. Herodotus,§ however, who, as the more ancient of the two, probably knew this even more correctly, is, in this matter, right, without doubt, as against Ctesias, when he states that Darius set up two memorial pillars and not an altar. Finally, as regards what Agatharchide, of Samos* says of an altar, raised to the sun, upon which Xerxes wanted to have a child sacrificed, it is not only perfectly non-Persian, but the whole narrative, in which this statement occurs, is a fable imagined after the model of the legend of Minucius Skävola.

Finally, the Persians did not recognise any sacrifices of blood, although the Grecian writers everywhere intimate and describe this exactly that they, the Persians, have slaughtered cattle, cows, horses in propitiation to their gods. But if we examine these ceremonies more minutely, we obtain here a clear proof of how the Grecians allowed themselves to be misled into a false comprehension of the Persian ideas, viewing them through the medium of their own usages and notions. According to the description of Herodotus,† “The Persians conduct the animal to a pure spot, perform

‡ Ctes. Pers. 17. § Herod. iv., 137.

* Agatharchides frgm. i.

† Herod. i., 132.

their prayers, then cut the animal into pieces, and after they have cooked the flesh, they lay it down on the tenderest vegetable leaf they could possibly procure, mostly of clover, which they spread out for the purpose. When the flesh has been spread out on the leaf, a Magus, who is present on the occasion standing close by, sings his praises to the gods ; a Magus must, however, always be in attendance, at the time. After that the person making the presentation has waited for a short time, he takes away the flesh with him, and makes use of it for the purposes for which he may just have need of it." The last part Strabo* describes even more explicitly :—"They sacrifice on a pure spot, and after it is prayed to and the sacrificial animal placed, properly crowned, close to it the Magus who conducts the sacred function, cuts the flesh into pieces. After they have next distributed it, they go away, without assigning any portion of it to the gods. For, they say, the gods require the soul of the animal sacrificed, nothing else. Yet, they place, as some say, a very little of the fat on the fire." The last article, naturally, only for the purpose that by its means the fire might burn more clearly. Now, if therefore, as it clearly follows from both these descriptions, nothing of the animal itself is presented to the deity, the sentiment accompanying this sacred function must be something like the following : as all the animals that men support, maintain and use for their own purposes, belong to the good creation of Ormuzd, so, when arbitrarily, by their own hands, they take away the lives of their animals, they diminish and prejudice the realm of goodness, and strengthen, on the contrary, through

* Strabo xv.

the transference of a pure creature from life into death, the empire of Ahriman, to whom then the animal properly becomes forfeited. Such an act would naturally be inexcusable. In order then to obviate this consequence, the Iranians consecrate the life of the animal to Ormuzd, place it, as indeed it already formerly belonged to him, down in his hands, with the object that it might yet continue to appertain to the realm of the good. In this manner, not only was nothing taken away from the good creation, but the Ahrimanian also gained nothing by this act, inasmuch as Ahriman has, then, no control over the dead animal. Just for this reason, the slaughtered animal's flesh also does not become unclean by his death, but men can bring it in their usage, without any hesitation, for the purposes they may want it. These double aims, to guard against the injury which otherwise would accrue to the empire of Ormuzd, and to render the animal eatable and useful for the consumption of mankind, should be distinguished from each other in this function ; they are, however, not outside of each other, but rather run together in the fact, that the animal must needs be withdrawn from the grasp of the Ahriman. So, accordingly, this holy function, which has the outward appearance of a sacrifice, has, as a matter of fact, little in common with it. Both are, to be sure, offerings, but with this difference, that the former men owe to Ormuzd, when they kill one of his creatures ; the latter, the sacrifice, on the contrary, is a meritorious work, with which men propose to purchase the special favor of the deity. Even the abovementioned dedication is naturally well acceptable to Ormuzd, but the immediate benefit of it does not come to the deity but to man,

who averts from himself the guilt of an act sinful in itself, and obtains in the bargain flesh fit for his use. From the previously mentioned peculiar sacrifice offered to the water, it is well to conclude, that the dedication comprised, besides the holy words of the Magi, further in especial, the touching of the flesh with tamarind rods. According to Ammian,* the dedication followed only after the Magi had performed divine service and presented the sacrificial oblation. This right comprehension of the holy function is confirmed also by the enormous offerings the Persian kings presented, not merely on particular occasions, as did Xerxes with a 1000 cattle, confessedly to the Athene of Ilium,† but even daily, namely, a 1,000 horned cattle, donkeys and harts.‡ The Persian kings had, in fact, need of so many, not only on special banquet feasts, but even indeed for the daily consumption of their grand courts;§ in particular, however, on occasions of solemn festivities such consecrated meat was put in requisition.|| But when Xenophon mentions in his description of the festival processions, just 16 particularly handsome oxen and horses, which were slaughtered, the one in honour of Zeus, and the other, in honour of the Sun, then, that is, without doubt, to be so understood, that the lives of the animals to be so sacrificed were dedicated in especial to the particular god to whom the animal was sacred.

* Ammian. Marc. xxiii., 6. † Herod. vii, 43.

‡ Athenæus iii., 10.

§ Ctesias frgm. Pers. ii., on one such banquet there were 5,000 guests; see also Dinon.

|| Cyrop. viii, 3, 9.

The complete burning out of the animal by fire, of which Xenophon mentions in the passage related, and equally so the statement of Herodotus,* that the Magi used to slay white horses in the Strymon, would both amount to a culpable defilement of fire and water, and is therefore to be looked upon as an imputation of Grecian customs to the Persians. What is, now, to be thought of the human sacrifices, however, which, according to Herodotus, were common amongst the Persians ? If it was already a criminal act, in general, to kill a man, the sublimest of beings created by Ormuzd and living on the face of the earth, then the sacrifice of a human being was not alone a desecration of the sacred function, but it had no meaning at all answering to the explanation given of it,† inasmuch as the aim and purpose which lie at the root of the consecration of the animals, are not applicable to human beings. What Herodotus relates is that the Persians in Thrace collected themselves at a spot, called the “nine ways,” and that there they buried alive even as many youths and maidens, children of the natives of the place. Herodotus supposes that this custom of burying alive may be altogether a Persian one, since he informs us that even Amestris, the spouse of Xerxes, as she became old, had presented 14 male children of eminent Persians, on her own account, to the subterranean god, and had ordered them to be buried under ground.‡ There is no need at all, to accept the first instance, that of Xerxes, as an offering, because there is nothing there of a religious

* Herod. vii., 113.

† Justin. xix., 1. Darius forbade human sacrifices to the Carthagians.

‡ Herod. vii., 114.

significance of this act. If one is not inclined to regard this as a barbarity falsely imputed to the Persians, to take which view one is much tempted, then the history, as Herodotus relates it, would at all events be void of any sense, because we fail to perceive any connection whatever between the name of this spot and the burying of the youths, and it would therefore have to be regarded as an erroneous comprehension of an act which is at present impossible to be understood. On the other hand, as regards what is related of Amestris, it may be quite possible, only that it has absolutely nothing whatever to do with the Zoroastrian religion. A propitiatory sacrifice to a god of death is altogether foreign to the religious conceptive sphere of the Iranians. In conjunction with profound moral degeneration, superstition, too, always establishes itself, and Amestris seems, as she, shivering with the sting of conscience, saw death before her with horror, to have sought to prolong her life, by such a measure as this, which must have come to her ear, perhaps, in Babylon, where similar things were usually practised.†

Now, after that everything of a nature foreign to the Iranian worship—comprising in particular the misunderstandings arising out of the false comprehensions of the Greeks—have been removed, the ancient writers may be able to show us wherein the cultus of the Persians in reality consisted, and certainly we may at

† All the remaining instances of burying alive, in Herod. iii., 35, of Cambyses; Ctes. Pers. 42, of Amytis and Ctes. Pers. 55 of Parysatis have no significance for the cult, but refer plainly to the cruel methods of the Persians in executing punishments. In Plut. de Superstit. p. 679 c., there is just that narrative of Herodotus regarding Amestris.

first produce before our eyes the sacred functions, according to their outward appearance, in order then to be able to grasp within our eyes the substance and the significance of its interior side, *viz.*, of the prayers. Since the Persians have no temples, the divine service takes place in the open, as Dinon* too acquaints us that the Persians, Medians, and Magi offer under the open sky, and, according to Strabo†, the Hyrcanians did the same, and in truth, in ancient times, every spot appears to have suited itself for this purpose, if it only fulfilled the one indispensable condition, that it was pure. Herodotus‡ says, “whoever wishes to make offerings conducts the sacrificial animal to a pure spot,” in which Strabo§ coincides but that, however, no longer quite passes for his times, inasmuch as at that period every spot does no more seem to have been to their liking. With particular predilection, however, men have preferred heights and mountains for this purpose, in consequence of the very natural sentiment, that men, elevated over the ordinary earthly pursuits, in the open, unconfined sight of the celestial vault, and in the pure, body and soul-comforting, air of the heights, stand nearer to the Deity, specially to that one that is enthroned in heaven. To Zeus the Persians offer, according to Herodotus,|| while they ascend up on to the highest mountain. Xenophon ¶ relates, Cyrus had offered to Zeus and the sun and other deities on the heights, as this was the custom among the Persians. Diodor+ mentions a mountain in Media, sacred to Zeus, and yet Celsus

* Dinon in Clemens Alex, Protrept, 43. † Strabo xi.

‡ Herod. i., 132. § Strabo xv. || Herod. i., 131; of, Strabo xv.

¶ Cyrop. viii., 7, 3. + Diodor ii., 13.

reiterates the words in question of Herodotus,[§] although himself conversant with the Persian religion. Yet herein they have indeed adhered at times to certain definite places, which appeared to them to be best suited for this purpose. Thus, indeed, Xenophon^{||} reports those magnificent offers of Cyrus to have been presented in enclosed places, which were selected for the gods, adding the explicit remark that even in his times it was managed quite in a similar manner. Latterly, the cult fully appears to have been entirely attached to the permanent fire places, which meet our notice at first in Strabo[¶], therefore just about the birth of Christ. He sketches for us the fire-places that he must have seen with his own eyes, in Cappadocia, where a Persian cult existed attended by the Magi, who were called Pyratheens also, and who had spread themselves to that country. "There exists," says he, "Pyratheens, a remarkable sort of hearth (enclosed rooms, Gr. *sekoi*); in the middle thereof there is an altar, upon which there is a good deal of ashes, upon which again the Magi preserve the inextinguishable fire. They daily go within, hold their songs before the fire for about an hour, the bundles of reeds in their hands, on their heads the tiara of felt, which on both sides descend down so far that the cheek sides of the same cover up the lips." Similarly Pausanias describes this cult, which he saw among the Lydians in Hierocæsarea. "There is," says he, "in the sanctuary a chamber, and in this chamber upon an altar are ashes, whose colour however is not that of the ordinary ash. When the Magus has entered within the chamber, and placed dry wood on the altar, he first puts on the tiara,

[§] Origenes c. Cels, v. 44.

^{||} Cyrop. viii, 3, 9, sq.

[¶] Strabo xv.

then sings an invocation to some god or other in a barbaric manner, thoroughly incomprehensible to the Greeks. He does this however, whilst he reads out of a book. Now the wood must necessarily get into a flame without fire and shed around a brilliant light.”* This cult accords in the main matter with the genuine Persian one, but differs therefrom in this, that the fire in that did not burn perpetually, also the reading of the liturgy is not very likely to be attributed to the genuine Persian worship. By Socrates, in his history of the Church, it is stated: “As the Persians worship the fire, so the king was habituated to pray to the continuously burning fire, in a house or chamber.”+ And, yet, Agathias intimates that the Magi preserve in sacred and secluded little houses the unextinguishable fire, and gazing upon it they perform their mysterious divine service.† The service for this fire itself consisted in that an utmost possibly pure and clear flame was sought to be obtained. For that reason dry wood without the bark was taken to it, thereupon fat also was laid, or oil poured into it,‡ during which the priest invoked the fire, with the words, according to Maximus of Tyre;§ “Master fire, eat”! It is already related that fire is not permitted to be kindled by the blowing of the mouth. Certainly, the priests had, according to Strabo, so far covered their mouths, that even not unintentionally their breath could not pollute the fire. Particularly meritorious however it was to feed this fire with costly woods, with cypresses, laurel woods,|| whence probably even the unusual colour of the ashes comes, as described in Pausanias.

* Pausanias v., 27, 3 ed. Siebelis.

+ Socratis Hist. Eccles. vii., 8. † Agathias ii, 25.

‡ Strabo xv, cf, Pausanias d. angef, and Catull Carm. xc, 6.

§ Maximus Tyrius, Sermon. xxxviii, || Nicol. Damas c, frgm, 66, 8, 40, 5,

It is difficult to say now, however, in what relation this fire-worship may have stood to the remaining cult. That Herodotus, in his description of the sacrifices, expressly says that no fire was kindled for the purpose, is very strange; on the other hand, Herodotus is aware of the fire worship.* Accordingly, this must have been only a portion, subsisting for itself, of the entire cult. Strabo†, in his description of the offerings, does not at all mention the fire, but in this, as even in others, he has most obviously followed Herodotus. Then that, in his times, every act relating to divine service was bound up with the fire worship, he clearly expresses: "Whichever god even they offer to, first they pray to the fire,"‡ even in the case of the special offerings for the water, flaming fire is present. His contemporary, Nikolaus Damascenus, reports Cyrus to be likewise kindling a fire in order to render the offerings.§ During the grand festival offerings of the Persian kings, the sacred fire was borne out on a hearth, latterly on silver altars, far away to the sacred places destined for offerings, and this custom, which Xenophon|| met with in Persia, he traced back, as a very old regulation, to Cyrus. Now, since, moreover, the act relating to divine worship is in general much less subjected to a change, than the religious conceptions, so we will be entitled to assume, having regard to this testimony, that even in Herodotus' time fire was present during offerings, and that the fire-worship mentioned by him must be brought in close relation with the rest of the cult. From that remark, that ensures the contrary, we cannot directly conclude that he cannot ever have

* Herod, i., 131, † Strabo xv. ‡ Strabo xv.

§ Nicol, Damasc, frgm. 66, || Cyrop, viii. 3,9 sq.

himself seen the Persian sacrifices, but we must remember that he describes the Persian sacrifices for the Greeks and contrasting them with the Grecian offerings; his words that:— “The Persians erect no altars, kindle no fire, require neither drink offerings, nor flutes, nor wreaths, nor barley corns,” should be so understood to mean only, that they make no use at all of some of these articles; of others, however, in a perfectly different manner. The drink libations Herodotus himself mentions at other places yet more often; the crowning of the animals just in the next sentence. But, in the Grecian offerings, the libation would be poured on the altar and in the sacrificial fire, not so naturally in the Persian, for, of course, thereby the fire would become polluted; the Greeks put the crown on the mere head, but among the Persians the tiara of the priests would be wound round with myrtles. Unless we wish to let the obvious contradiction stand, the passage must be interpreted only in this sense. Just so now with the fire; the Persians erected no altars and kindled no fire upon them, with the object of burning the sacrificial animal and a portion of it; the fire has, in the Persian offerings, quite another object and quite a different usage. Also the animals and their consecration must have appeared to Herodotus as the proper offerings, compared to which the fire seemed to him to have taken not merely a subordinate position, but to have no purpose at all, because certainly nothing was burned by it. Now, even, though the flaming fire was present at every act relating to divine worship, yet at least in Herodotus’ time the same was not connected with the eternal fire, which was kept on a fixed place, but the spot for the holy proceed-

ings was, as we have seen, a chosen one. We have now to decide whether we will extend the custom, testified by Xenophon, of taking out, during the grand festival offerings, the perpetual fire upon a hearth to the sacred places, even to the occasion of the habitual divine service, or we will assume that, ordinarily, a new, special fire was kindled for the purpose. As is already mentioned, we hear, however, nothing more latterly regarding the custom of offering at a chosen pure spot ; whenever there is a question of the Persian cult since the times of Strabo,* so often, however, only the service of the sacred fire on the fixed fire places is mentioned, so that we would be warranted probably to conclude from this, that, in the ages ever since Herodotus and Xenophon, the divine worship has been held more and more in the Pyratheens, until at last it was performed altogether only in these places.† Whether, on the other hand, these Pyratheens were already in existence in Herodotus' times, can at present be no more determined. That the sacred fire in Xenophon's and Curtius' times was yet carried round, is no argument to the contrary, because it could, of course, have been as well fixed as moveable. With this restriction in respect of the sacrificial places yet another probably went hand in hand. Although according to Herodotus, the presence of the Magi was even indispensable, yet, compared to him, the layman,

* Strabo has, as he himself says, borrowed all other matters except the fire-worship in the Pyratheens that he has himself seen, from other ancient writers, mostly from Herodotus.

† We may perhaps seek an indication of this also in the fact, that in the festival procession of Darius Codomanus, as related in Curtius iii., 7, the Magi appear in conjunction with the sacred fire, and with it head the procession, whereas, according to Xenophon's description, this was not as yet so.

praying and presenting the animal, plays by no means a subordinate role. He offers to whom he wills, and conducts the animal to a chosen place, carries with it a tiara wreathed with myrtles, invokes the god in prayer, and next slays the animal. Only just then the Magus sings the liturgy and consecrates the animal. Equally, according to Xenophon, Cyrus himself always brings the sacred function to a termination, although, according to the direction and in the presence of the Magi, so does Xerxes.* This seems to have changed itself afterwards. When the latter writers speak of the divine worship, the Magi ever seem to be those who alone perform the same, and verily in the Pyratheens; the laymen, even the king, merely pray there,† and, according, to Ammian, first at this time begins the whole sacred function, then only the consecration of the animal.‡ In Media, this withdrawal of the laity from the cultus have had probably indeed taken place earlier; in Persia, where the Magian priesthood was introduced not until later, that change took place also equally late. To this the priestly functions of the national kings also point. Both observations however lead us to the reflection, that the Iranian cult, in earlier days, was given up more to the impulse of the pious sentiments and the subjective exigences, and on that account was even indeed multifarious, whereas subsequently, it became shrunk in settled, stable forms, regulated by the priesthood.

The function of the divine worship, which the priests performed, is pretty simple, and has probably ever remained the same in principal matters. That the

* Herod. vii., 54.
Martyr. S. 199.

† Socratis Hist. Eccles. vii., 8; Acta
‡ Ammian, xxiii., 6.

invocation constituted its central point is already mentioned. The Magi visit, according to Strabo, every day the places of the sacred fire, invoke then the fire first, partly on account of its own proper divinity, partly but in particular as a medium of communication between gods and mankind, according to which, it offers habitation to the good gods, and scares away the evil ones, by virtue of its purifying quality. On this occasion, the fire was provided with costly combustible stuffs, even indeed oil was poured into it. The priest had, during the whole of the proceedings, his mouth covered up. After this followed the invocations to the deities, the liturgy, which was sung by the priests, and, as it seems, made on the Greeks an impression unhomely and full of mysteries, because they designate this with a word which properly means "conjuración."* The substance of this invocation, differing from the Grecian prayer, is indicated by Herodotus, while he says that it consists of a hymn on the origin of the gods. This is, however, but the manner of conception and expression of a Grecian, who regarded those hymns of the Magi as mythological narratives on the origin of the gods, because the Grecian songs of the gods had preeminently this mythological tendency, but which in the Zoroastrian religion is found much in the background. Those songs of the Magi were much rather invocations, hymnic glorifications of the nature of the gods† and extolling enumerations of their attributes,‡ which comprehended naturally even prayers appropriate for seeking the bestowal of

* Herodotus, Strabo, Pausanias; Meander frgm. 11.

† Cpr. Catull. Carm. xc., 5.

‡ Cpr. the Glorification of Ormuzd in Philo,

this or that blessing.§ During these invocations the priests held all the while a bundle of reeds in their hands,|| according to Strabo, made out of tamarind reeds, and bring the offer in, indeed between those invocations. In the particular offering for water, it consisted of oil mixed with milk and honey, of wine too, according to Nicolaus Damascenus.¶ Herodotus and Xenophon often mention the drink offerings. At Ilium, they were presented by the Magi, to the heroes; ** by Xerxes, on his successful transport over the Hellespont, to the sun; * by Xenophon to the earth,† and in all these cases they were poured out. As regards this pouring out of the libation, that also might be a mere Grecian addition, for Herodotus expressly says, the Persians had no consecratory vessels. In Strabo we find the notice further, that the Magi during offerings “did not use the slaughter-knife, but a stump, with which, as with a pestle, they knocked over the animals.”‡ This reminds us directly of those words of Plutarch, that the Magi pounded a certain drink, called Homomi, in a mortar, and then presented it to Hades.§ If, however, this utensil, and therefore also the Homomi drink, were used in the service of the sacred fire, it could not have been used at the same time in the service of Ahriman too; Strabo, who has seen the affair with his own eyes, obviously deserves, however, a preference here, so that it proceeds from his statement, that the Homomi was the habitual drink-offering in the sacred functions. It was prepared

§ Suidas. || Strabo xv. ¶ Frgm. 66. ** Herod, vii, 43.

* Herod vii, 54. † Cyrop iii, 3, 21 cf. ii., 3, 1; vii, 1, 1.

‡ Strabo xv. § Plutarch de Iside, 46.

in a mortar by pounding it with a pestle. Besides this drink-offer, however, a food-offer also was very likely presented. Justin, the Martyr, intimates, in fact, that, in the Mithraic mysteries, there is the Lord's Supper also, as the wicked demons imitate it from Christianity; there are put up, in fact, in the holy service of Mithra, bread and a kind of drink of water, whereupon, at the conclusion, certain words were spoken.* This ceremony is, however, not imitated from Christianity, nor originated for the first in spurious, later Mithraic mysteries, but it is attached to a sacred custom that already existed in the age of the ancient Persian empire. Plutarch narrates, in fact, that in the royal consecration ceremonies performed by the priests, at Persepolis, the king was obliged to chew to pieces dried figs and turpentine. then to drink a potion of sour milk.† The connection between these customs is apparent. As regards the manner, however, in which the liturgy was accompanied by the presentation of the drink-offer and of the food-offer, composed, as it seems, of bread and fruits, and what significance the presentation had, the ancient writers leave us in the dark. To the sacrificial vessels belongs very likely also a chalice, which, according to Athenäus, is Persian, and to which, by virtue of its figure, miraculous effects are attached; it has the name of Kondy.‡ In these sacred functions consisted, therefore, the habitual, and as it seems the daily, divine service. Just at the conclusion of this, according to Ammian, "After that the Magus had performed the prayers and presented the libation,"§ the consecration

* Justin Martyr. Apolog, i, 66, † Plut. Artax. 3.

‡ Athenäus, Deipnos. xi., 7 §, 55. § Ammian xxiii, 6.

would be undertaken of the animal to be sacrificed, which, according to Strabo, was crowned, whilst, according to Herodotus, the sacrificer had his tiara wreathed.* Whether the act of crowning the animal is generally Persian, and not a transference of the Grecian custom, must remain doubtful.

Besides this ordinary and daily divine worship, the Persians had, however, yet more specially prominent religious solemnities. Under them is included the festival processions of the Persian kings, which displayed all the splendour of the cult and royalty combined together.† According to Xenophon, this custom was in usage indeed in the age of Cyrus, Herodotus knew it too. If the descriptions of the ancients are however, supposed to be complete, the splendour and the magnificence also of these processions enhanced with the increasing expenditure of the Persian court. In Herodotus‡, it appears yet much modest: at first, 1,000 select riders, next just as many lance-bearers, after that 10 sacred Nisaian horses, decorated most handsomely. After these came the sacred wagon of Zeus running, drawn by 8 white horses, which were led by a coach driver on foot, for it was permitted to nobody to mount the wagon; lastly the king. According to Xenophon, § the procession sets in motion before sunrise. After that

* Cyrop. iii, 3. 3 is decidedly un-Persian.

† These processions were, according to Herodotus and Curtius, held on the marching out of armies, whilst, in Xenophon, its religious import shows forth in the foreground, inasmuch as it moves out, on the celebration of a grand sacrifice, from the Royal palace to the sacred spot. Both, he says, however, were still customary in his times.

‡ Herod, vii., 40.

§ Cyrop. viii, 3, 9,

the gate of the palace opens, the horses sacred to Zeus begin the procession, surely 4 in 4 rows; then follow the horses sacred to Helios. After this, the sacred wagon of Zeus drives along, white, with golden yoke and wreathed with garlands, following this the white, likewise garlanded, wagon of Helios, and next thereafter again a third wagon, drawn by horses with purple decorations. Behind these the sacred fire is carried upon a grand hearth, then comes the king. Having arrived at the sacred spot, they then offered the animals to the different divinities. In Curtius†, many a things differ, yet several more are added also. In his account, the sacred fire begins the procession, attended by the Magi, who sing their songs; next follow the 365 youths, corresponding to so many days of the year; then the sacred wagon of Zeus, after it the sun-horses of exquisite beauty, whose conductors were decorated with golden rods and white livery. Next after follow the court; the immortals, the relations of the king, the Doryphones. lastly the king himself on a gorgeous charriot. From Herodotus‡ we see that these religious paraphernalia accompanied the army on the whole field expedition. Horses and carriages are, among the Persians, symbols of sovereignty, and have, in the instance of the sun and Ormuzd—has that third carriage of Xenophon very likely belonged to Mithra?—their definite object to glorify the victorious dominator over the terrestrial and the endless celestial firmament. On what occasions the festival processions were held in their simple religious signification, the ancient writers say nothing upon.

† Curtius iii, 7, ‡ Herod, viii., 115,

Also the knowledge of a few regular and annually recurring festivals had extended itself to the Greeks. Herodotus* and Ctesias† acquaint us of the festival of the Magophony, in the following manner: "The day, on which Smerdis was overthrown and with many Magi killed, is held by the Persians in a body very high, and they celebrate on that day a grand festival, which among the Persians is called Magophony, and on that day no Magus ventures to let himself be publicly seen, but they all remain on that day in their houses." That this festival has no religious import is indeed evident from the fact that it is directed just against the priests. It was a national and political festival of the Persian race, who by it solemnly celebrated the maintenance of the Persian supreme authority. On the other hand, the festival of Mithra was a religious one, which without doubt was celebrated in all Iran. Indeed, Ctesias‡ knows about it: "Among the Persians, on one day of the year on the day on which they offer to Mithra, the king is allowed to get drunk;" and a century later says Duris:‡ "On a day of the festival, which is celebrated in honour of Mithra, the king gets drunk and dances the Persian dance. Besides him, however, no one else dances on that day in all Asia." The Persian dance, however, was, according to Xenophon,|| an expression of the highest joy. To this festival, the satrap of Armenia had to forward annually 20,000 foals of Nisaian breed.+ This festival is, therefore, a public jubilee, and since Mithra, as we have seen, is situated in the middle between night

* Herod., iii, 79. † Ctesias Pers. 15.

‡ Ctesias in Athenaeus x., 115 p. 91.

‡ Duris ditto, || Cyrop., viii, 4, 12, + Strabo xi,

and light, and is placed at the time of the night and day being equal, we can deduce therefrom, that this festival was celebrated on the vernal equinox as a festival of rejoicing for the light, which has vanquished the winter nights, and now has received the sovereignty afresh. A genuine Persian festival is mentioned further by Agathias ; the Persians celebrate a festival which is greater than all the rest, called the "destruction of the evil," on which they kill Ahrimanian animals, and produce them before the Magi in evidence of their piety.§ This too was a jubilee festival, serving the realm of light. Since Herodotus already knows of the obligation to kill the Ahrimanian creatures, we may safely assume that this festival also was not got up first in the Sassanian times only, but that it descended from the old Persian period. Menander Protector, a contemporary of Agathias, gives the name and the meaning of a remaining festival. "The king Chosroes," says he "passed 10 days at Nisibus, which at that time belonged to the Sassanian Empire, in order to solemnise a festival here, which is called Furdigan, in Greek, offerings to the dead."* It is quite credible that such a festival was celebrated, and really not first under the Sassanians, considering the ancestor-worship of the Iranians and the belief in the continuance of life of the departed. Another festival, on the contrary, which, without doubt, is not genuine Persian, was that of the Sakaes. Already Ctesias† knew it, but Berosus first described it minutely in his Babylonian history. On the 16th day of the month of Loos, there was celebrated, at Babylon, five days long, a festival, called the Sakaen,

§ Agathias ii, 24, * Menander Protector, frgm, 15 in Muller.

† Ctesias frgm. Assyri, 20.

during which it was the custom for the masters to be governed by their slaves, and one of these latter presides over the house, being robed in garments equal to those of a king, and him people call Zoganas.‡ Strabo professes, though probably led into error by the cling of the name, to know of the foundation of this festival. After the conquest of the Sakaes, the Persians have had founded a sanctuary to Anaitis§ including Omanos and Anadatos, and the yearly festival of the Sakaes established in honour of Anaitis; and wherever there was a sanctuary of this goddess, there was celebrated also the bacchanalian festival of the Sakaes, not merely by day, but by night also, when they held bacchanalian revels with women.* The holiday at Babylon, the close connection with the Semitic goddess Anaitis, the bacchanalian character of this festival—all these relegate the festival distinctly to the Semitic cult. If, now, Dio Chrysostomus† says that it was celebrated among the Persians, then it may indeed have been possible in those days, but it is equally so possible, that the word Persian, as it does so very frequently, stands inexactly for Asia in general and the provinces bordering on Iran, as Mesopotamia.

This outward worship, particularly the doubtlessly stereotyped liturgy, which the priests recited in their daily worship of God, did not suffice naturally for the pious exigencies of individuals, especially when, as it

‡ Berosus in Athenaeus xiv., 9 § 44.

§ What is meant by this, is not clear; possibly the overflowing of Anterior Asia by the Scythians and their conquest through Cyasares, Herod. i., 106.

* Strabo xi

† Dio Chrysostom. Orat. iv. de regno, p. 69,

seems†, the laity did not take any part therein. For this reason, the Iranians had naturally a divine worship also, in which the community is mediated with the deity without the medium of any priests, but direct and hearty prayer is that, which comes forth in its turn, as we see from Herodotus, in combination with an act of divine service and prompting it, or even as a free out-flow of the pious sentiment. Its substance is naturally mostly everywhere the same, namely, the desires of the human heart, the fulfilment of which the person praying expects from the deity, but seldom praise and laud. The thanks-offerings, among the Persians, is, it is true, frequently mentioned by the Greeks,* yet nowhere in a single really historical case, but always merely in the garb of the Greek thought and speech, so that those passages are not to be regarded as instances in this matter. Of prayers during sacrifice, irrespective of the liturgy, speaks only again Herodotus, once in the noteworthy passage, where he says, it is not permitted to the Persians, when they produce the sacrifice, to implore simply for themselves, on the contrary, they implore for all the Persians, also for the king, that it might pass well with them; for among all the Persians even he is also included; next, the prayer of Xerxes to the sun during the sacrifice on the Hellespont. In later times we do not any more find such prayers of the laity combined with the divine worship. The various objects and blessings for which the gods of the Iranians were prayed to, are

† The participation of the laity in the divine worship is mentioned only of the king, who every morning prayed before the sacred fire, but just this special mention renders this custom to appear as an exceptional one.

* Herod., i, 118; Cyrop. vii, 5, 57; viii. 7, 3.

cited in details in these ; most of the prayers were addressed naturally to Ormuzd. Prayers were said for gracious assistance in undertakings,⁺ for victory,^{*} for the maintenance of supremacy,[†] and to be sure not merely for own's own-self but also for others, for instance, for the bestowal of fortune and riches,[‡] for health,[§] in particular of the King.|| In so doing, the person praying gave expression to his feelings even by assuming different attitudes. The raising up of hands towards heaven is frequently mentioned,[¶] and although this is, perhaps in most of the cases, an adoption of the Grecian custom, yet, on the other hand, the manner of honouring, which came to the share of the king also, by prostrating one's self on the ground before the deity, is genuine oriental.**

⁺ Cyrop. ii., 1, 1; iii., 3, 21; i., 6, 1; Herod. vii., 54.

^{*} Curtius iv. 48.

[†] Arrian iv., 20, 3.

[‡] Plut. Artax. 12.

[§] Plut. Artax. 23.

|| Nicol. Damasc. frgm. 66, S. 401.

¶ Arrian iv., 20, 3; Curtius iv., 42.

** Cyrop. iii, 2, 20; Plut. Artax. 23, 29; Nicol. Damasc. frgm. 66, S. 405.

BOOK SECOND.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE IRANIANS.

It appertains to the nature of religion generally, not to confine itself simply to the domains of conception and pious sentiments, but rather in addition to give a definite direction to the will of man in the shape of absolute moral power. This happens in two-fold manner, conformably to the two principal forms of religious consciousness. The nature-religion, as the first manifestation of national intellect, partly precedes the development of the civil circumstances of a nation, partly goes along with it. It lets not only the natural relations of the family, community, race and the whole nation, appear in their first contact at the organisation and law of the deity ; but engrafts its influence even as real, fashioning principle in the formation of these natural relations. Its absolute ethical value does not yet, at this stand point, enter into the consciousness ; the moral appears still in the garb of religion and merges into it. The spiritual religion, on the contrary, which certainly can appear from the first upon a higher stage of development, finds those relations already there. But even it does not remain powerless towards these, but comes forth with a demand that they receive their true significance only in their reference to religion. Still this reference is not direct, but it sets forth the moral value of those social relations, and leads man along into discovering pure moral relations in all the forms of social life. This, nevertheless, not in order to let this

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morality stand of itself absolutely, but it reserves to itself to impart to these relations a superior consecration, and by means of that just their true, absolutely due value, just by retracing them to itself. This connection of religion, be it then in the one or the other shape, with civilisation, must result in an intimate blending in a creed whose fundamental character is constituted of the forms and the contrarities of moral life, and such a one is of course the Ormuzdian belief. This has not simply ethical value, but it is the moral substance of mankind itself which here presses in its service the religious conceptions and imaginations on the one side, and the religious feelings on the other, in order to construct out of them a framework of the loftiest, stateliest, purest forms, as it alone is worthy to contain within itself this divine substance. We have seen, how the ethical fundamental character permeates through this whole belief, how it pervades through and spiritualises the natural elements also. The relation of the two empires is the expression of a national genius, which experiences the moral struggle of mankind in the innermost, lays hold of its moral destiny certainly and clearly as the verity of human life, particularly, however, comprehends the reverse of this, the evil, with moral earnestness and feels the affliction of sin most deeply. What pure representation, however, the Iranians had of the good God, is evidenced by the spiritual conception of their supreme God and the visible circle, in allowing to merge in this spirituo-moral personality not only all the rest of the divine beings, but generally everything finite also. As this did not succeed, his nature unfolded itself in a series of moral genii, and even the natural deities

received, as members of his realm of light, moral significance. From this issued the moral obligations of mankind, of which the principal substance is to promote the good with the help of Ormuzd, to fight against evil by every means and to hold it off far. A mighty stimulus for the fulfilment of these duties lay, as we have seen, in the belief in the final triumph of the good, and in the reward of pure life and punishment of the bad; and even the representations of the circumstances in yonder life of happiness—how free from all materialism, how pure and spiritual are they ! This belief sprang forth in a pure and spiritual cultus, which displays itself in the fairest light not only by the side of the Semetic excesses, but spares us also the spectacle, so repugnant to the moral sentiments and so common among most of the nations of antiquity, of bargaining with the gods for the acquisition of their favors.

Such a religion must have exercised an incalculable influence on the complete thought and civilization of the Iranian people, hence, in particular, even on the moulding of its social relations. The question now is, however, which of those two forms of the operation of religion on life, is to be applied to that of the Zoroastrian ? If we were obliged to reply to this question apriori from the general character of the Ormuzdian religion, it might place us in a pretty little embarrassment. For the Ormuzdian religion is neither a simple nature-religion in its ordinary sense, nor even a purely spiritual religion, but rather a mixture of these two religious forms is just its peculiar character. Therein it resembles the spiritual natural being, the man. The natural grounds its basis, out of which, as out of the

dynamical, the spiritual, as the energy, is constructed forth by a developing process. On that account, it can, considered in itself, operate on the moral life in both those forms ; only, however, to define anything on this, we must take in view the historical circumstances. In a land, where the Zoroastrian religion first appeared, in the east of Iran, it operated probably even on the perfection of the social circumstances in moulding them. That the Greeks were acquainted with a Zoroaster not merely as a founder of the Ormuzdian creed, but also as a social law-giver, is already narrated, as this certainly is even a perfectly usual phenomenon in antiquity, already noticed by the ancients, which in the nature of the thing was well grounded. A clear evidence of this influence is a determination, among the religious obligations of the Iranians, to foster the good creation of Ormuzd, particularly, however, to cultivate the land, lay out gardens and rear plant. This injunction permits us now even to conjecture, in what period of the development of the Bactrians, or of the Iranian east, the Zoroastrian religion was promulgated. Obviously, when man was just in the thought of crossing over to a change from the nomadic condition to settled habitations, when man had recognised the value of agriculture and of the civilisation raised upon its basis. Nevertheless, this recognition, which even probably only the people with penetrating intelligence had, must not have as yet answered to the real circumstances, the fixed settlements must not have as yet been carried through in a comprehensive manner, because the religious law was obliged to impose this as a principal duty. If we now take, yet in addition, the time, which has in an approximate

manner resulted for Zoroaster, the matter very likely so stood, that in the central point of the east, in the capital town, this furtherance of the developing civilisation was already realised, for certainly even for the origination of the Ormuzdian belief, we should lay claim to a moderate degree of spiritual cultivation, whereas, on the contrary, in the country, there was yet much remaining to wish for in this respect. From this we must conclude that the Zoroastrian religion in the east effectually exercised influence on the configuration of the social relations, that it was consequently carried through even there to its full extent, as we definitely know this, for example, of the injunctions about the disposal of the dead. For every thing beyond, however the notices of the ancients fail us completely, and we have even no knowledge of the form of popular life in eastern Iran.

Now, however, somewhat different are the circumstances regarding the West. When the Zoroastrian religion may have spread out from Bactria to Media, is difficult even merely to conjecture ; but as regards the manner altogether, how this religion became introduced into Media, how in particular the Magian priesthood may have formed itself, do not admit at all of even conjectures being uttered there upon, so certain is even the matter of fact itself, as just the harmonising mode of disposing of the dead among the Magi and the Bactrians proves. Now, if, indeed, Herodotus calls the Magi a branch of the Medes, he shows by this that in his time the priestly station was held to be as old as this race, that therefore no one knew any more of its origin ; to Dejokes besides were ascribed by traditions, rules and

regulations which are peculiar to the Zoroastrian code such as, one dare not spit out in the presence of another.* Both point out, even though naturally by no means with certainty, to the fact that the Zoroastrian religion did not enter into Media only after Dejokes, by no means, however, much later than Dejokes, because from his time forward the history of the Median empire ever more became better known. Since, however, on the other hand, the period between the 11th and the 13th centuries is allotted to Zoroaster, and, as we are required to accept, the Median culture took its rise somewhat with the Assyrian conquest, a certain degree of civilisation must be presumed, however, even for the Zoroastrian religion; so, the historical relations in general being taken into consideration, we are warranted to set up the introduction of the Ormuzdian belief in Media not too high, scarcely far beyond the time of Dejokes. That the thoughts, the manners and customs, with these even the social and civil relations, at least in their main features, had already acquired a definite shape, when the Ormuzdian belief entered into Media, admits consequently of being assumed as probable. Even the aboriginal manner of desposing of the dead points out, how generally the Median culture could well be older than it is ordinarily assumed. Thus, probably, for Media, that direct kind of operation of religion on the formation of social conditions, manners and customs has less taken place than the other sort, the spiritualisation and elevation of the already existing moral relations and modes of life, as this clearly appeared forth, as for instance, in the case of Royalty. Nevertheless, for this,

* Herod. i., 99.

too, a wider authentication is not possible, since the notices of the ancients on the culture conditions of Media, confine themselves almost wholly to the depiction of the splendour, the luxury and the corruption of the Median court.

But our sources for the social conditions of the Persians are more copious, so that in reference to these we have to expect even wider information on the co-dependence of religion with manners. However, the relation of religion to the already pre-existing civilisation, presents itself, without doubt, somewhat differently among the Persians, than among the Medes. We have seen above that the Persians have, for a tolerable period, remained behind the Median culture, and retained the ancient patriarchal mode of life of the ancient Arians. Now, here, too, arises the question, when indeed the Zoroastrian religion procured admission for itself into Persia ? Notwithstanding that the Persians did not follow the fashionable Median civilisation, their manners were, however, according to the unanimous information of the ancients, perfectly similar to those of the Medes, therefore, there must have taken place a close inter-communication, and probably even a brisk intercourse between the two races. If, therefore, the Medes have accepted the Zoroastrian religion not long before Dejokes, it is very likely that it itself extended to the Persians even not much too long thereafter. That the Persians received that religion only through the medium of the Medes, is proved by the circumstance, that they had no priesthood of their own, but latterly adopted that of the Medes. When this latter event

happened, Xenophon probably specifies correctly. He communicates, in fact, that Cyrus at the close of his reigning period had appointed the Magi even to be the priests of the Persians, and that since then the Persian kings had suffered themselves to be directed in their divine worship, according to the injunctions of the Magi.* By this, however, it is by no means meant to be said that the Zoroastrian religion entered into Persia even just with the priesthood. The former could have been there rather perfectly well without the latter, and that this was actually the case, is pointed out not merely by the yet very simple cult of the High referred to in Herodotus, in which the share of the laymen appears yet much more than in later period; but also by the statement of Strabo,† that Cyrus, before the adoption of that name, was called Agradatas, that is to say, Ahura-data “given by the Lord.”‡ Also in the inscriptions of Darius, Auramazda occurs indeed quite ordinarily as the highest God. Thus we will have to assume that the Ormuzdian religion, in reality, first through the Medes and after having spread itself among them, found admission among the Persians, but prior to the entrance of the Persians on the stage of the history of the world, therefore even previous to the adoption of the superior Median civilisation. Should we now actually examine the development of these two races in the circumstances already mentioned, we should find that the social conditions in the Persian race, at the time, when the

* *Cyrop.* viii., 1,2,3, this passage can only be so understood, not, as the words seem to purport, of the establishment of the Magian priesthood generally, because these, according to Xenophon's own account, even for long before this establishment administer the functions of divine worship.

† *Strabo* xv.

‡ *Cp. Duncker* ii., S. 324.

Persians adopted the Ormuzdian religion, was not yet so developed as this has been the case among the Medes, when this religion came to them. Here then the thought naturally occurs, that the Zoroastrian religion, just because it found the conditions of the Persian race not yet so firmly fixed, may have begun an important and lasting influence on the development and the perfection of the social relations, therefore also on the intrinsic civilisation and mode of thought of the Persian race. That the Persian nation has been more richly endowed by nature than the remaining Iranian ones, particularly the Medean, every one must assuredly acknowledge. But from the natural disposition of a nation its historical phenomenon does not explain itself immediately and directly ; it is very much merely the conjoint product of its nature, and the definite historical relations entering within from without. Such ought, however, to have essentially contributed to it, so that just this race shows to us the character of the Iranian nation in its noblest form and in its most glowing light. If, however, that assumption were correct, then this remarkable phenomenon would be at once explained. And this is no mere hypothesis. The Persian race is, at all events, the one which has taken up in itself the purest spirit of the Ormuzdian belief, and has given the most faithful expression to it in actual matters, in the moral forms of life. For the Bactrians, on the contrary, the truthfulness of this assertion could assuredly appear doubtful, because amongst them the Zoroastrian religion has sprung up, and indeed even the outward determinations of the religious laws were most fully carried through. But the accomplishment of the outward forms is still

not the exposition of the spiritual substance of the Ormuzdian belief ; and although the Bactrians have had a civilisation proper to themselves, yet, that, partly in comparison with the Medio-Persian, is not to be highly rated, partly it depends here much less upon the perfection of the outward civilisation—if only a certain degree of such is extant—than on the inherent culture of the intellect. The same is true even in comparison with the Medes. Neither the Medes nor the Bactrians have to exhibit those noble traits of character which come up conspicuously among the Persians, namely, the taste for every thing elevated and grand, particularly for freedom. the outward decency in all their deportment, discretion and moderation ; in intercourse with others, however, the strictest observance of the duty of truthfulness. If we find, however, these traits in part even among those two other races, besides still among the remaining Iranians, in particular the Sogdians, that cannot argue against but, on the contrary, in favor of the above assumption. They were the traits of the Iranian national character generally, they were not the exclusive possession of the Persians, but the conjoint property of all the Iranian races ; but the Persians have developed these traits the most brilliantly, among them they have acquired a definite and fixed figure in the forms of life. But if, now, as it easily admits of being demonstrated, the Persian character and the Persian life amazingly answer not only to the several determinations of the Zoroastrian law, but—on which it much more depends—to the whole spirit of the Ormuzdian belief, what is then more near than to regard the latter as the original cause, the former as its effect ? That however such a

close causal connection was possible, is shown by the historical relations, which were specially favorable for the transmission of the religion into the life of the Persians. Yet it would be too much to pretend to elucidate everything out of the historical circumstances. They are only the indispensable conditions, which even the most rich and the most beautiful talents demand, in order to be able to freely develop themselves.

The remaining races of Iran have, as we have seen, retained in the greatest measure the old nomadic ways of life, because the nature of their country offered that. Even though some carried on agriculture, yet we have surely no knowledge of any other culture than the Bactrian and the Medeo-Persian. Even as less do we know, how far they accepted the Ormuzdian belief, and how far it has had influence on their civilisation. Like as this civilisation, so has also the influence of the creed on the same not trespassed over the borders, which the Nomadic mode of life fixes of itself. Since, on the other hand, definite testimonies speak favorably of the manners, customs and languages of all the Iranian races being similar, so they too will have held together a common bond of belief. As, however, the uncultivated races have adhered partly to the Medio-Persian, partly to the Bactrian culture—and we know as much as nothing of the latter—so the exposition of the Iranian manners will very nearly all confine itself to the Persian, and only seldom it will be permitted to us to cast a glance on the other races.

I. THE FORMS OF THE HABITUAL LIFE.

I. THE MODE OF LIFE OF THE PERSIANS.

The division of the Iranian nation in Nomadic races and such others as were the bearers of the Iranian culture, repeats itself again within the Persian race itself, inasmuch as it was only a proportionately smaller portion, which has rendered the Persian name so greatly celebrated. This distinction among the Persians themselves is explicitly specified by Herodotus. "The Persians scatter themselves into many races, those from whom all the other Persians depend, are the Pasargadaes, the Maraphians and the Masprians. Of these the Pasargadians are the first, to them belong also the family of the Achemenians, out of which the Persian kings descend. The other Persians are, however, the following: the Panthialians, the Derusianians, the Germanians. All these drive agriculture, the others, on the contrary, are Nomads, namely, the Dains, the Mardians, the Dropikans, and the Sagartians."* The most prominent Persian race was therefore that of the Pasargades, it constituted the court of the Persian kings, to it belonged, as a rule, the grandees and the officers of the Persians, so that it can well be said: all that history intimates of the greatness and brilliancy of the Persian nation, is to be understood only of this predominant race. Since, however, the Persian court entered fully into the civilisation and ceremonials of the earlier Median court, and resided itself almost always out of Persia, in Ecbatana, Babylon,

* Herod, i, 125.

or Susa, so the Persians who remained behind retained, on the contrary, their earlier manners of life,+ so that, in all the notices on the outward manners of the Persians, which speak of the time following this separation, regard must be taken to ascertain which class is alluded to, the court or the people remaining in Persia, as even indeed the ancients have paid the requisite attention to this.× Only by means of this discrimination of time and persons, it is at all possible to place the various, in part, contradictory, statements in their right view.

The close connection between the nature of the Persian land and the mode of life of the Persians, has indeed been frequently remarked by the ancients. The country was, in a great measure, rough mountain land, which yielded no vine and no fig trees, and otherwise nothing good, so that the Persians, before they subjected the Lydians, had no enjoyment and nothing of good.* Xenophon says of the Persians of his time, that those inhabiting their native country have scanty clothing and a simple mode of life,† in consequence of which they distinguished themselves for firmness and steadiness against hunger, thirst and exertions of every kind;‡ therefore, the direct opposite of the effeminacy and splendour, which predominated at the Persian court. Their clothing was meagre,§ according to Herodotus,|| of leather. Upon the needy nature of the Persian soil, at the same time, however, certainly even upon the

+ *Cyrop.* vii, 5, 67. Cf. *Herod.* ix, 122.

× *Cyrop.* viii., 8.

* *Herod I.*, 71 Cfr. *Arrian v.*, 4, 5.

† *Cyrop.* iv, 5, 45; vii, 5, 67; *Herod.* ix, 122.

‡ *Cyrop.* I, 5, 12. § *Cyrop.* 1, 3, 2. || *Herod.* 1, 71.

anxious solicitude for cleanliness, depends together the moderation of the Persians, so much celebrated by the ancient writers,¶ in particular, their abstemiousness in eating. According to Herodotus, they eat little meal (principal) food, but a variety of vegetables (or dessert) which were served up, however, not all at once, but one after another.** Xenophon specifies their usual food to be flesh and bread.†† The moderation in eating was observed at the Persian court also, only great importance was laid here on the multiplicity of the dishes and the splendour of the vessels.* By Heraclides, who lived in the last days of the Persian empire, we have a certainly correct notice of this matter preserved to us: "The repast of the king," says he, "will appear luxurious to one who merely hears of it, but to one who accurately examines it, it shows itself to be frugally and sparingly ordered, and this is true likewise of the rest of the Persians who are of the governing class."† This virtue, certainly most to be admired in the midst of the otherwise existing pomp and luxury of the Persian court, we discover moreover in the Sassanian period also. A luxurious meal is avoided by them, says Ammian of the Persians of his times; with the exception for the royal repast no hour is fixed by them for breakfast, but every

¶ Xenophon, in *Cyrop.* 1, 2, 16, declares this expressly still for his own time; Strabo xv.

** Herod. I, 133.

†† *Cyrop.* I., 3, 4; Strabo xv.

* Strabo xv.

† Heraclides Cumanus frgm. 2 in Müller. The contrary supposition of Xenophon, in *Cyrop.* viii, 8, which contradicts the above 1, 2, 16, that the earlier Persians ate only once, the present ones, however, all the day long, well explains itself just from the multiplicity of the dishes served up. Moreover the authenticity of this Chap, which the Persians in every way lower, becomes already strongly doubted, so Schulz De *Cyropaediae* epilogo Xenophanti abjudicando Halle 1806.

one has his stomach for his watch, and when this demands, one eats the next best, and no body takes any superfluous food any more, after he has satisfied his hunger.‡ On the contrary, they seem to have dealt differently with drink, at least at the court, whilst in Persia itself in a large part no vine grew. True, Herodotus says; “To wine they are much addicted,” but from numerous notices, for instance, from an utterance of the younger Cyrus, and the wholly similarly purporting grave-inscription of Darius I., both of which set an honour on being able to bear much wine,* and from the express assurance, that the king intoxicates himself only on the Mithraic festival, likewise finally, from the observation that the ancient law of the Persians punished drunkenness—we seem to be entitled to conclude, that forsooth they drank much, but drunkenness, at least in the earlier period, was avoided; and if it, though late, prevailed at the court,† Ammian, on the other hand, assures us, that the Persians of his time avoided drinking propensity “like the pest.”‡ Strabo says of the Persians of his times quite generally “most of their habits are moderate.”§

From the simplicity of the Persians, which only in a few instances extends itself to the Persian court, the notorious pomp and luxury of that very court, brought over from the Medes, offers then, however, a direct contrast. The Greeks, to whom the court life of a monarchy was somewhat strange, were never tired of

‡ Ammian xxiii, 6.

* Plut. Artax, 6; Athenaeus x, 45 p, 91.

† Maximus Tyrius dissert, xxviii, 4.

‡ Heraclides Cum, frgm. 2. § Strabo xv.

sketching for us the expensiveness of that court, in doing which, they have however even mostly evidently busied themselves with the showing up of its shady side. They relate of the softness and the over-loaded splendour of their attire, of the luxury of their royal feasts, at which the most exquisite viands were required to be produced from the remotest parts of the empire and the enjoyment of which was enhanced still more by play and dance, of the enormous multitude of servants and court people, of the costliness of the paraphernalia and the rich arrangements of the whole royal palace.*

For realising the moral estimation of this monstrous luxury, we will have to be obliged to place ourselves, however, upon a somewhat different point of view than the one entertained by the ancient writers, who perceived therein nothing but a sheer wantonness, overstepping all measure. A splendid court life is the necessary consequence of a despotic state, in which roundabout the king naturally every thing grand and brilliant gathers. Now, if we take into consideration, further, the natural proclivity of the Persians for the magnificent and the majestic, in particular, however, the exaggerated ideas of the grandeur and the worth of royalty, it is easily explainable how this splendour of the Median and the Persian courts entirely formed itself not only

* For this there would be naturally innumerable passages to be cited. A few from the principal writers are: Herod I, 135; vii 83; Cyrop. viii, 1, 40; 3, 9 sq.; 8, 16 sq.; Plato Alcib 1, p. 122 c.; Ctes frgm. Pers. 10, 11; Curtius vi 8; Strabo xv. Extensive sketches are found in Dinon frgm. 15, 16, 18, particularly in Heraclides Cuman. frgm. 1 and 2.

spontaneously, but how both king and people in perfect conscience laid a large value upon it. This has not escaped the notice of the Greeks also. Xenophon says once, he believes to be obliged to observe of Cyrus, that he was of opinion, that it was a duty to dazzle the subject races by a certain enchantment and for that reason he has, in conjunction with the grandees of the realm, adopted the Median court manners.* With just as much justification, however, a writer of Alexander's times, Heraclides of Pontus, brings the Persian love of pomp in conjunction with their sense of the lofty and noble, as follow:— "All those who esteem enjoyment highly and lead a pompous life are large hearted and of noble mind, like the Persians and the Medes; because they appreciate enjoyment, before all others, whereas in so doing they are the most manly and the most high-minded of the barbarians."† These traits of Persian life do not let the influence of the Zoroastrian religion be ignored; their love of splendour, no less than their simplicity and moderation, find their linking points in the commandments and the spirit of the Ormuzdian religion. This is a consequence of the injunction, *viz*, to hold one's self pure from everything that pollutes body and soul, whereas that points out how the lustre and the sublimity of the light-religion urged the Persians on to direct their taste also towards the great and the splendid of things on earth.

* *Cyrop.* viii, 1, 40 sq.

† Heraclides Ponticus.

2. THE EDUCATION.

The most remarkable and the most beautiful form in which the moral spirit of the Persian people realised itself in life, is the well known Persian education. It, indeed, at an early age, implanted in the souls of the young Persians the sentiments which should always guide them in all their dealings, and which prepared and hardened their bodies in order that, as capable citizens, they might thereby be able at some future time to serve their native country with worthy deeds. This education, which, indeed at the time of the Median supremacy, was extant at the court of the Persian hereditary princes, at Pasargadae, and was sustained by the Persians even during the time of their own sovereignty, existed in the Orient quite singularly, and struck the imaginations of the Greeks also so much, that it became known, indeed since Herodotus,* all over the Grecian territories. Herodotus informs us that the Persians taught their sons, from their fifth to their twentieth year,† only three things: to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth. Before the fifth year has expired the boys are not brought in sight of the father, but are kept confined among women, and to be sure, as Herodotus supposes, for the purpose that in the event of their death occurring at this period it might not cause grief to the father. A very extensive delineation of this education is given by Xenophon in his *Cyropædie*. It is true, the trustworthiness of this sketch has indeed been several times

* Herold. i., 136.

† According to Herodotus i., 209, the capability to bear arms begins not until after one has passed his twentieth year.

held in doubt, and really mainly on account of the assuredly correct argument, that such an organisation could not certainly have pervaded throughout the whole of the Persian nation, because of the diversity of the culture and the large number of the Persian races. It is, however, not at all so meant even by Xenophon, for he himself rather circumscribes it, as it follows out of his own description, to the lads of the Persian grandees only. When he says that the place for this education was an open spot in front of the royal palace and the magisterial edifices, then, of course, that can only be in the capital town of Pasargadae. Therein, says he, the young Persians, who are desirous of bestowing this education on their sons, send them, and although no Persian was by law excluded from availing of this, yet those profiting by it could only have been out of the richer classes.* Now, since Pasargadae is at the same time the capital of the race of the Pasargadians, and Xenophon expressly says, that only those educated thus could attain positions of honour, there can no longer be any doubt that, according to Xenophon's own opinion, the education described by him penetrated first of all only into that race which formerly made up the court residences of the national princes, latterly the court of the entire empire. In another work, the *Anabasis*, Xenophon† says this expressly: That all the boys of the eminent Persians were educated at the gate of the King." The institution described by him is, in the main matters, as follows.‡ On an open spot in front of the royal palace all the boys, youngsters and grown men, daily collect themselves in four separate rooms, according to the four age-classifications; the classes are under

* *Cyrop.* i., 2, 15.

† *Anabasis* i., 9, 3.

‡ *Cyrop.* i., 2.

special superintendents, who for the younger classes are always drawn from out of the older ones. The boys, who go through this instruction, are constantly taught righteousness, as the boys elsewhere are to read and write, and assuredly in such a manner that the superintendents can give decisions on the unrighteous dealings and cases of strife among the boys, and punish them, especially so on account of slander and ingratitude. Besides that, they must practise themselves in obedience, especially, however, also in maintaining moderation in eating and drinking, and in drawing the bow and throwing a javelin. This they practise up to the 16th or 17th year, then they pass over to the youngster's class, in which they remain for nearly 10 years. The youngsters push forward the exercises of their boyhood, their principal occupation is, however that of serving the government in diverse employments, in watching and tracing out criminals and in capturing robbers and such like. Beside that, they attend the king on hunting excursions, which amusement passes among them as a preparatory exercise before qualifying for going to war, and in which naturally nothing was wanting to produce hardening of every kind. The class of men, who claim to be 25 years of age serve in war heavily equipped ; during peace, however, they take care of the state-offices, which are to be filled up only with such men as have gone through this state education. The aged, of which the fourth class consists, do not continue to serve any longer in the field but they were even yet employed in the state service, notably as judges. Whether these particulars were just so regulated as Xenophon intimates, does not surely allow of being said with certainty. This much is certain, however, that the ground lines

of this delineation entirely harmonise with the Persian mode of thought, and the main matter thereof,—namely, the fundamental principles, according to which this education was directed, and the diverse ways in which it was employed in the various age-classes,—is so well testified even by other writers that, in comparison with what is historically well established, the rest, which perhaps is to be put down to the account of the idealising description of Xenophon, has but a subordinate importance and can be removed from consideration without spoiling the picture. After Xenophon the next writer, who speaks of the Persian education, is Nikolaus Damascenus. “Cyrus,” says he, “was experienced in the philosophy of the Magi in which he was educated, he was instructed in righteousness and truthfulness, and in certain customs of his native country, which exist for the prominent men among the Persians.”* Strabo too adduces, on this subject, yet many things not merely peculiar, but also really Persian, so that he in any case must needs have utilised yet other sources than did Herodotus and Xenophon. He lets the education to proceed from the 5th to the 24th year of life, and specifies, as subjects of instruction, the drawing of the bow, the throwing of the javelins, riding and truthfulness; he says also, that their teachers combine in their instructions the mythical inventions also with the useful, and hold before them the deeds of the gods and of the greatest of men for their admiration. They carry on, further, also according to him, physical exercises of all sorts, and seek to steel their bodies by means of hardening processes and the practice of moderation. What is very remarkable is that, according to

* Nikolaus Damascenus frgm. 67.

Strabo, they learn the art of tending the cattle, and every night, after business is brought to a close, practise themselves in the art of rearing plants, the cutting of roots, and making ready of hunting nets.† Special solicitude was employed, however, naturally on the hereditary princes' education, which is sketched for us by Plato. "After the birth of a prince, he is entrusted, not to a female nurse, but to eunuchs, who take upon themselves all the responsibilities regarding him, particularly, however, they have to take care of that he attains a beautiful growth. With the seventh year he learns to ride and hunt, with the fourteenth he comes under the control of the royal pedagogues,—four select Persians, of whom the wisest instructs him in the Magian science of the Ormuzdian Zoroaster, besides that also in the royal laws; the most righteous teaches him to speak the truth his whole life long; the most prudent recommends him freedom from greediness: and the most valiant instils courage and bravery!"*

The value of this educational institution, just now delineated, has been esteemed indeed too high by some, but at the same time indeed too low also by others. Xenophon's description cannot by any means be justly taken for a simple invention. He enters into the historical circumstances that he found in Persia, only in order to set up for the Greeks a typical representation, based upon these ground lines, with the help of such ideas on the best constitution and education as were at that time the subjects of philosophical investigations in the Grecian land. The Persian education had much real, practical aim; it was intended to be a school for the

† Strabo xv.

* Plato, Alcibiad, Prim., p. 121, D.

perfecting of suitable officials and military officers, and was on that account conducted under the eye and in the service of Government. This, of course, is indeed apparent from the fact that, according to Xenophon, the youngsters were brought into engagements in civil employment. This, however, affords no justification to consider it an institution of despotism, in which were intended to be educated only such men as would serve the king in future with blind devotion to his will and with ready execution of his mighty word. Then it is well to bear in mind, that this school, even though it latterly degenerated in the above sense, nevertheless had, pursuant to its origin, an aim lofty and of popular usefulness; to this points the circumstance also that justness and truthfulness were the principal subjects of their education; or else what had these to do in a pure institution of despotism? It is much rather a genuine Persian organisation, that, according to the account of Xenophon, claiming distinct, historical significance, already flourished in Pasargadae, at the court of the Persian race-princes,—a property of the Persian nobles, which the Pasargadians adopted in the court already organised entirely on the Median model in other matters. And even here again this education was certainly of a favorable influence. Once we are permitted to discover in it a medium which was sufficient to preserve the Persian national character for long in spite of the degenerating influences of the Median civilisation. But even over the Persian court has its efficacy well gone forth. The brilliant court of the Persian king was the central point out of which, as out of an illuminating star, the rays of influence spread themselves abroad on all sides, over the whole of the empire. The manners and

the culture of the court served as a standard of excellence for the rest of the empire, and it is difficult to conceive how the Persian court education could be so developed, without, even otherwise, its influence offering the incentive to youths for directing their life in a similar manner. Of the satraps, who organised their courts entirely after the model of the royal one, we know so far that they too had their "education at the gate."* The importance and the value of this education appear, however, the most clearly in this, that here the germ was laid of just those qualities—the large heartedness, the love of truth, justness and manliness—by which the Persian people have deservedly earned for themselves the name of a noble race. And that out of this sowing of the seed a glorious fruit has grown, has been sufficiently shown by history. No other race of Iran has anything similar to exhibit, and Plato holds forth conspicuously, in a strong manner, the distinction between the Persian and the Median education when he says: Among the Medes, the boys are entrusted to the care of women and eunuchs, among the Persians, however, to free men.† Even as much, as the noble sentiment which constitutes the ground basis of this education, the exalted understanding, however, with which everything therein is arranged, fills us with admiration. Such arrangements were only possible by the help of a correct and clear insight into all that, which, not merely the proper moral nature of man, but also all his moral relations, particularly his duties towards the nearest and the fatherland, imposed upon him, and also into the means with which he was able to render efficient all the powers of his body and soul for the fulfilment of those duties. This insight

* *Cyrop.* viiii., 6, 10; viii., 1, 6. † *Plato Leg.* iii , p. 695 A.

into the moral life was even here manifestly accompanied with the religious belief to which the Persians acknowledged themselves, and that strives the development of moral life just through the incitement and the fostering of virtues, which just that education exerted itself to turn into an enduring, essential nature of individual men.

3. — THE FAMILY.

When the youth has become a man, what, according to Herodotus, happens after passing the twentieth year, according to others, somewhat later, he enters into matrimony, in order to found a family of his own, for which, however, as it appears from Xenophon, § the permission of his parents was necessary. The contracting of marriage appears, according to Strabo, to have been regarded as a religious act, at the least it was accompanied by a symbolical ceremony. The nuptials are celebrated, says he, at the beginning of the vernal equinox. The bridegroom enters into the bride's chamber, after having previously eaten of an apple or marrow of a camel, and nothing else, however, on that day.* According to Herodotus polygamy was common among the Persians. "Each one of them marries several legitimate wives, and acquires for himself yet several more concubines."† In this, Strabo follows him, but, testifies also, besides, the same for the mountain-races of the Medes, who all had these customs, so that even so much was not permitted as to have less than five wives. If the latter portion of the statement seems indeed to be an exaggeration, then what he adds to it, namely, that even the women are said to have set an honour on having

§ Cyrop. viii., 5, 20. * Strabo, xv. † Herod i., 135.

many, at least five, husbands, must be fully regarded as really such.‡ The polygamy seems to have latterly fully much increased. Ammian, in his description of the Persians of his times, says that most of them are given up immeasurably to sexual pleasures, and scarcely content themselves with a bevy of concubines. Each one enters, according to the amount of his wealth, into more or less number of marriages ; therefore, in consequence of the variety of enjoyments, the true love among them dissipates itself, and becomes void of sensation.§ The like is evidenced, furthermore, by Agathias, to the effect, that, although it was permitted among them to marry innumerable many wives, still, not being satisfied with that, they did not abstain themselves from breaking the marriage vow for fidelity.||

To estimate the real moral significance of the Persian marriage, it would be certainly amiss to forthwith pronounce a verdict against it, either from a philosophical or a general human point of view. In order to that, much rather ought we to transpose ourselves into the instincts of the Persians regarding marriage and its significance. In this matter, the Persians, like all the rest of the Orientals, do not stand upon the point of view, according to which, marriage is considered a purely moral relation, in which man is supposed to seek his complement by giving himself up fully to an individual of the opposite sex standing on an equality with him, and just thereby fulfil the duty devolving on that individual towards his species. The Persians, on the contrary, naturally conceive marriage purely from the latter point of view, merely as an intercommunion of sexes for the purposes of the propagation of the human species. This

‡ Strabo xi. § Ammianus Marcel, xxiii. 6. || Agathias ii, 30.

comprehension leads, on account of the unequal capability of reproduction of the two sexes, spontaneously to polygamy, in which the original aim is the best attained. Already Herodotus remarks that the Persians had the fundamental rule that, after the merit of valiantship in war, the next great was that of possessing a numerous progeny, and that the king sent annual presents to him who had most children. || Therefore, marriage is not merely a meritorious act, but even so far as a duty, first of all, towards the state. In the acts of the Persian martyrs, the Christians are accused that they prohibit men from having intercourse with women, so that they could not marry, nor beget children, nor thus be able to serve the king during war.* Likewise, it was naturally a duty of the young females to give themselves up in marriage, and on that account the holy Christian young girls were in particular an especial object of the Persian hatred, during the Persian persecution of the Christians.† These are such genuine Persian views, that we are justified in trans-assigning these duties, without hesitation, to the old-Persian period. This bare naturalism appears now in quite another aspect, however, when we see, how these views of marriage, in the latter respect, have their basis in the religious representations. One of the chief duties of the Iranians is certainly the strengthening and the increasing of the Ormuzdian realm. To this realm belongs naturally man also. Whoever is solicitous for this object, namely, that of multiplying the human race, before all, however, naturally, the nation of the faithful, who, through the enlargement of his community, furthers the professions and industry of every kind, in particular, widens the

|| Herod. i., 136; Cfr. Strabo xv.

* Acta Martyr. S., 181 and 188. † Acta Martyr, S., 124.

area of the land built upon and planted over with trees, such a man wins off ever more ground from the Ahrimanian thralldom, and acquires for himself a great merit in the realm of light. If, now, by these arguments, marriage, even the polygamic, receives a religious consecration, so even from a purely moral standpoint one cannot refuse all justification to it. The relation is, particularly when we take with it the subordinate position of women, which is a peculiar characteristic of oriental life, by no means such an unnatural one, as that of polyandry. It is certainly not the outcome of a reflecting inordinate longing after enjoyment, but a national, naturally grown institution, that was just as much to be found among the rude nomadic hordes of the West Iranian mountain lands, as at the Persian court. Every naturally grown form of the community necessarily contains, however, up to a certain degree, a moral substance also. Thus the king had, besides his several wives and concubines, who, according to Heraclides,* numbered up to 360, a consort proper, who bore the name of the queen and stood high over all the concubines, who were required to fall prostrate before her.† Her sons alone were entitled to the hereditary succession, and her very often observable influence on the proceedings of the empire proves that she stood in an especially intimate relationship with her husband. Thus it was, in a certain measure, still a close family, which felt itself conscious in its own coherence. It was just so indeed even among the remaining Persians. The words of Herodotus, that every Persian may have a large number of women, are, moreover, applicable only to the

* Heraclides Cumanus frgm. i. in Müller.

† Dinon frgm. 17 in Müller.

aristocrats. For the maintenance of so many, naturally, a considerable wealth was requisite, and that, according to its measure, the number of wives were determined upon, is observed even by Ammian in the quoted passages. A thorough practice of the system of polygamy would certainly indeed have been radically impossible, for otherwise the numerical proportion of the male and female sex should have been required to be quite an abnormal one. The most probability is, that out of the Persians, who had in their native country preserved their ancient simple mode of living, and out of the Median mountain races, of whom Strabo speaks, only those pre-eminent, on account of their position or their riches, perhaps the princelings, have had several wives, the remaining Persians, on the contrary, had contented themselves ordinarily with only one wife. From what polygamy originally was, it is then but incontestably well to distinguish that, to which it had in course of time grown at the Persian court. So soon as the natural stand-point, out of which polygamy issues, is transgressed and the same reduced to an instrument for a general inordinate desire for lust, then polygamy becomes an unnatural and odious institution, of which the consequence necessarily is, that in the result the gates and portals are opened to every passions. The blame of this ought to be borne, however, not by the institution itself, but by the neglect of the moral spirit among the people, who live in polygamy. That, even with the best of principles and ideas about marriage, there can happen dissolution of nuptial bonds and disruption of families, is shewn by the history of the Romans. This degeneracy of feeling displays itself directly with the sinking of the moral power of the Persian people, which, at the court,

at least, begin probably with Xerxes. From this time forward, the Grecian historians unravel before us a picture of the Persian court life, disgusting in the highest degree. A glance into it out of the time of Xerxes is given indeed by Herodotus. Xerxes coveted at first his sister-in-law, seduced then his daughter-in-law, whilst the inhuman Amestris mutilated the sister-in-law in the most outrageous manner,* illustrating indeed that every crime has ever a host of others to follow in succession. In particular, however, we find in Ctesias† a complete register of the outbreaks of the lowest passions, in noting which, however, the observation forces itself on us, that the female nature, when it has once abandoned itself up to passions, sinks into a verily beastly inhumanity, barbarousness and wickedness, man ever again remains powerful of himself, whereas in especial, the Persian. The infamous acts of Amestris and Parysatis have not been equalled even by Cambyses himself, who, moreover, exhibits himself in a mild light in Ctesias. Therefore, it is so much the more pleasing, when we constantly meet out of even this time, several instances of conjugal love and faithfulness. Masistes most decidedly sets himself in opposition to his royal brother, Xerxes' command to the effect that he should cast off his wife, justifying this resistance with the reason that he loved her and had sons and daughters by her.‡ And as Darius Nothus wanted to kill the wife of his son, Artaxerxes (Mnemon), he, the latter, entreated his mother Parysatis under a stream of tears, not to kill her and not to separate her from him.§ For chronicling the quiet faithfulness and love at the household hearth,

* Herod. ix., 108-113. † Ctesias Pers., 28, 42, 54, 55, 59.

‡ Herod. ix., 111. § Plut. Artax. 2.

history has scarcely allotted any room; but much indeed for the crimes and transgressions of the grandees, and therefore, we would do much wrong, if we apply these conditions of the court life to the whole nation. Very much liberty, however, as the men took in the marriage state, still against any further corruption therefrom a barrier was placed in the fact, that the women were held secreted with the utmost rigidity. What great value the Persians laid on the chastity of women, is seen from the anxiety with which Darius Codomannus puts the question, if his captive spouse had preserved her nuptial vows unscathed.|| This gives occasion to Plutarch for the general observartion, that among all the barbarians, the Persians, for the most part, are vehement and strict in jealousy in respect of women; for not merely the legitimate wives, but also the concubines, are watched by them most strictly, so that they could not be seen by any stranger, but ever remain confined in the house; when they have occasion to go out, however, they are driven in vehicles, veiled round* on the sides. Even in their own houses they are not permitted to appear before stangers, which fact Josephus testifies as true for the times of Artaxerxes I.†

On the position of the members of the family among themselves we know but little. That the wife was thoroughly subordinate to the husband, clearly proceeds from their unequal circumstances.‡ The esteem of children for their parents must have been very great, and this relation especially sacred. Herodotus intimates that the Persians hold a parricide for something perfectly

|| Curtius iv., 42; Arrian iv., 20.

* Plut. Themist., 26.

† Josephus, Antiq. xi., 6, 1.

‡ Expressly this is testified by Dinon frgm. 17; Plut. Artax., 5.

impossible, and where such a one occurs, they believe that the child must necessarily have been not of the legitimate wedlock.§ The authority of the father over the son was perfectly unlimited, so that Aristotle says, they treat their sons as if they were slaves.|| Very great esteem was enjoyed by the mother, as the one who has presented to the child life, the highest blessing, according to the Persian conception. On the entrance of the mother the son dare not remain sitting, and it is not before she gives him permission that he can sit down.* Of Cyrus it is related that he had rendered to the daughter of Astyages the honour due to a mother,† and on his death commanded his son to obey his mother in all respects.‡ Also, the king sat during dinner below the queen mother,+ who always had enjoyed the greatest influence at the Court.×

In the presence of this strict relation of subordination, the more to be wondered at custom, is consequently that of marriages between parents and children, and between brothers and sisters, generally between blood relations of every kind. To the ancients this custom seemed to be very singular, and they speak much of it, so that a frequent occurrence of the same, particularly in the royal family, ought to be assumed.¶ Philo says so far, that the son could marry his mother after the death of his father, and that the children begotten out of this wedlock passed for being especially well-born.** But the reports go yet further, inasmuch as they put down sexual intercourse between blood relations, not merely

§ Herod., i., 137.

|| Aristotelis Ethic Nicom. viii., 10.

* Curtius v., 9, 22.

† Ctes, Pers., 2.

‡ Ctes Pers. 8.

+ Plut. Artax. 5.

× Ctes. Pers. 10, 36, 40; 42.

¶ Ctes. Pers. 2, 44; Heraclides Cum frgm. 7; Eusebii Praeparat.

Evang. vi., p. 275 C.

** Philon de special. leg., p. 778 B.

within the marriage bond, but also beyond its limits, as something not unusual.†† Curtius mentions this custom also of the east, of Sogdiana*; in particular, however, this custom in the last form is reported to have been in usage among the Magi, which already Xanthus, the Lydian, specifies,† and Strabo designates as an ancient custom.‡ If, then, Herodotus conjectures that the custom of marriage between family members was introduced not before Cambyzes, who first married his own sister,§ so, on the other hand, according to Plutarch, this is an anciently transmitted and sacred custom. Parysatis addresses, in fact, according to him, to her son Artaxerxes, to make his daughter Atossa his own legitimate spouse, without needlessly concerning himself with the opinions and customs of the Greeks; “for to the Persians their religion is revealed by God himself, as a judge of the good and the bad.”|| With Plutarch, but against Herodotus, accords also a doubtlessly uncertain statement of Ctesias, that indeed Cyrus had publicly given out Amytis, the daughter of Astyages, to be his mother, and then married her.¶ It would be sufficient in the matter of this statement, if we could accept that the Persians believed this of their ideal hero, and it seems actually to be a version of the legend of Cyrus. If we now take the passage in Plutarch in combination with the circumstance, that it was an old custom of the Magi and of the Iranian east, then it seems assuredly

†† Ctes. Pers. 54; Plut. Artax. 26; Minucius Felix, Octav. 31; and furthermore Agathias ii., 23.

* Curtius viii., 8. † Clemens Alex. Strom. iii., p. 431.

‡ Strabo xv.; besides that Ptolemy in Diog. Laert. Prooem. Sgm. 6, and Catull. Carm. xc., 3. § Herod. iii., 31.

|| Plut. Artax. 23 cf. Theodoret c. Graecos orat. 9. de legibus, who traces back this custom even to the Zoroastrian religion.

¶ Ctes. Pers. 2.

to have been connected with the religious law. With this then the very definitely purporting statement of Herodotus would have to be so reconciled, that this description of marriage, as an element of the Magian religious law, must have found acceptance among the Persians, only in the time of Cambyses, whereas among the Persians it could not have been previously prevalent. A correction of that description is needed even by the statement of Herodotus, because such an act of Cambyses, if it sprang only out of an arbitrary fancy, or an incidental passion, could not certainly have become a common custom among the Persians, still less among the Magi, in the then indeed by the religious law so well regulated mode of life. From just this reason, however, we will be safer to regard marriage between blood relations, as a custom prevalent as well among the Persians as among the Medes—Magi—as among the Sogdians and Bactrians, therefore, as an old Iranian custom. Naturally, this is true, however, only of legitimate marriages, and although at the Persian court and elsewhere very easy transgressions over this boundary have occurred, still the report prevalent among the Greeks, that among the Magi and the Persians incest has taken place, is an exaggeration which as well finds its solution in the strange custom, as we have seen it in the case of the Bactrian disposal of the dead, out of which the Greeks have made out an exposition to the vultures of the aged and the diseased whilst yet alive. The importance of this custom, however, must only have been, that by its means the blood of the family was supposed to be preserved in its purest state.* What weight was attached to this by the Persians is to be

* Cpr. Spiegel *Avesta* ii., S. 11 Note

observed from the fact, that the kings chose their spouses out of the Achaemenian family only.† The self-secluding of one race from another, the pride not merely on the nation, but even on the race and family will result for us generally as a characteristic peculiarity of the Iranian nation, particularly the Persian. Among a nation, which has not yet arrived at the consciousness, that marriage between sisters and brothers, or parents and children, can never become a purely moral relation, but which, on the contrary, regards such a connection as something quite natural, indeed even so far as something meritorious, then this relation, immoral, when looked at from an elevated point of view, can impossibly exercise a demoralising influence.

Although we have thus warded off from the Persians, in main matters, the two severe reproaches cast by the Greeks against the household life of the Persians, namely, those of a measureless polygamy and incest, and detected in the ideas of the Persians, the relative justification of the phenomenon which gave occasion to the same, still we are not justified, on the other hand, to shut our eyes also to the defective part perceptible in this form of married life. Marriage is manifestly that form of moral life, which the moral spirit of the Iranian nation has been capable the least to perfect and to raise on a higher stage. When we present before our eyes the noble sentiments, which find expression in the public education and, as we will see, in the intercourse of man with his neighbours, we ought to say that, in comparison with this, marriage has ever remained standing on a tolerably lower step. The

† Herod iii., 70, 88; Ctes Pers 20.

reasons thereof are indeed various : the one above all is the small esteem peculiar to the whole of orient, for women, who were regarded not as persons, but rather merely as chattels, as instruments for the propagation of generation. With this there is a further reason combined, that, among the Persians, as among the rest of the orientals, sensuality in respect of the sexual relations appears to be very strong, compared with that of the Western nations, so full of moderation in this regard.* Finally, also the Persians were made much more for public life, they will work, produce, act, but for household life they have little taste.

4. — THE INTERCOURSE; THE RELATIONS WITH THE NEAREST.

We find the fundamental principles, which have guided the education of the young Persians, again in the sphere of business and industry, as the principal properties which henceforward mould the character of the man and determine the manner of the working of him, who now has become a member of the civil community. The fruits of this early training become especially manifest in the relations of a man towards those nearest to him. As regards, first of all, the outward forms of intercourse, the Greeks never became weary of extolling the deservedly admirable deportment, which the Persians throughout observed in the presence of others. How this is connected with the religious views of the Iranians, respecting purity, is well explained above, where also the chief instances in its favor have been adduced.

* Herod. i., 135 mentions that among the Persians pederasty was familiar; this is possible, but it could have even occurred and but seldom through the Babylonian influence; Ammian. xxiii., 6, says decidedly, that the Persians of his age do not know this.

Though the removal of uncleanness from the human body was doubtlessly an indispensable act, yet it was a duty towards one's neighbours not to undertake the same in their presence. To what has been already adduced above there is now yet something to add. With respect to clothing it passed for indecency, indeed, for a disgrace, to allow a naked part of the body to be displayed.+ Therefore, the Persians wore a sort of a dress which covered them from head to foot.* At dinner nothing was permitted to be spoken,† in order that nothing might get polluted by the spittle, and no Persian can move about with his eyes or hands on eatables or drinkables, but they eat quite quietly.‡ They do not eat or drink in the streets,§ surely the etiquette forbade even so far as turning round about the streets in order to be looking after something, because it was not proper for a man to be curious about anything.|| Likewise, laughing in the presence of another violates good manners.¶ They carefully avoid improper conversation, principally to say something what one cannot dare to perform.** Ammian, yet in a later age, says of them, that it was incredible how self-containing and foreseeing they were, and with what great care they avoided everything indecent.†† Notwithstanding this reverential and ceremonial treatment of the nearest, the relation of a Persian towards others was, however, yet a very hearty one. This is testified by the manner of their greetings. "When they accost each other on the road," says Herodotus, "they have first to decide if they stand on an equal rank with each other. If so, instead of address-

+ Dio Chrysost. *orat.* xiii., p. 429. ed. Reisk.

* Strab xv., cf. Ammian xxiii., 6. † Ammian ditto.

‡ Cyrop. v., 217. § Cyrop. viii., 8, 11. || Cyrop. viii., 142.

¶ Herod. i. 99. ** Herod. i., 158. †† Ammian. xxiii., 6.

ing they kiss each other on the lips. But if the one is inferior to the other, then they kiss each other on the cheeks, and if the one stands much lower, then he falls prostrate before the other.”* Kissing between relations on meeting and parting was, according to Xenophon, customary only among the Persians, not among the Medes.† To observe faithful friendship has been held for a great virtue, of which Darius is said to have prided himself, on his grave inscription, above all other excellences.‡ Not purposelessly then the Persians adored the virtue of benevolence as one of the great genii of the realm of light.

The chief pledge, however, which the Persians had to observe towards each other was that of truthfulness, upon which, indeed, in particular, their education is intended to exert its influence. The connection of this duty with the religious ideas of the Persians is indicated already by Porphyry.§ The conception of truth lie very close to the religious contemplations of purity and light; the luminous, the transparent, the pure is at the same time the true. Like, however, as a man thinks of God, so he feels himself impelled to act and to speak; for, it is certainly his destiny ever to become more and more similar to God, in order to unite himself with Him after this life is over.|| Falsehood, on the contrary, belongs to darkness, it is the impure, the Ahrimanic. “Amongst them,” says Herodotus, “falsehood passes for a most disgraceful act, next to that comes the incurring

* Herod., i., 134 cf. Strabo xv. † Cyrop. i. 4, 27.

‡ Onesicriti frgm. 31 in Müller's Arrian.

§ Porphy. vit. Pythag., p. 41 says, ‘Pythagoras has taught, the speaking the truth alone makes men more like God, for the Magi too said of their God that His soul resembled truth.

|| Agathias speaks out very decidedly on this subject.

of debt, and, in truth, notably, for the reason that the debtor necessarily is obliged to speak lies in addition,†” that is to say, he will seek to escape from debt by lies. In the category of speaking the truth is included, therefore, also, not to deceive and overreach others,‡ which is said to have been purged off from the Persian youths, indeed, by the nature of the education they received. Plutarch says the reverse, that the Persians held lying to be the second crime, the first being the incurring of debt, for the reason that those who incur debt often have to court falsehood also.§ Consequently, the ancient Persians have, according to Herodotus, had no markets even, for that institution would afford temptations for fraud and deceit.|| So we find, then, that the Persian kings punish falsehood always with extraordinary vigour, even to Cambyzes himself, a liar was most deeply hateful,¶ and the reproach of falsehood was regarded as the greatest that one man can cast on another.** The Persians made truthfulness a duty no less in business than in speaking. Nothing was so sacred to them as a proffered promise; it was to be preserved inviolable. The usual mode, in which a formal promise was given and received, was by the striking of the two hands.* This was acknowledged, according to Diodor, to be the surest pledge of faithfulness among the Persians.+The sacredness of a pledge is heightened when it is given before the deity, with an oath, which, as it seems, was very frequently brought into requisitionx

† Herod. i., 139, cf. iii., 72. ‡ Cyrop. i. 6., 33.

§ Plut. || Herod. i., 153.

¶ Herod. iii., 27; Cres. Pers. 2; Plut. Artax. 14.

** Plut. Artax. 6, 28.

* Nepos, *Datam.* 10. + Diodor xvi., 43; Nicol. Damasc. frgm 9.

x Herod. v., 106; Cyrop. vii, 5, 53; Plut. Artax. 4:

Pseudo-Callisth. 1. 40.

and, in truth, as we have seen above, frequently it was taken by Mithra, but sometimes even by Ormuzd. We read in Menander of a characteristic manner of the age of the Sassanians of concluding a peace, *viz.*, the Persians and the Romans swore to the treaty in fact in the presence of their sacred books § If, now, the Grecians have furnished us with very many instances of the breaking of pledges and acts of perfidy,|| it was naturally not otherwise possible, as the deterioration of morals at the court undermined also the sacredness of contracts. On the other hand, it would certainly be not right to accept such deeds as the outcome of the character of the entire Persian nation. The instances, which are adduced in support, are partly to be attributed to the guilt of such reprobate women, as Parysatis, who not only herself often breaks promises given upon oath, but also incites the king to do the same, partly they are the deeds of those dissolute satraps, like a Tisaphernes, to whom before the favor of the king, and the promotion of the aggrandisement of their own power, everything passed for venal. And even though the king was so weak as to reward such servants, whilst he and his subalterns had formerly held with the greatest culprits their word,* still the guilt of these blameworthy deeds is even, in a certain measure, mitigated by the circumstance, that such breaches of contracts, as a rule, were political measures against criminals, rebels in one's own country and against foreign foes. Likewise, there is by no means any want of instances, in which the veracity of the Persians has proved itself brilliantly. So

§ Menander Protector frgm. 11 in Müller.

|| Herod. iv., 201 Ctes. 48, 51, 52, 60; Diodor xvi., 52; Nepos;

Conon 5.

* Cyrop. viii., 8, 2, 4.

narrates Ctesias, how a Persian general, by name Megabyzos, prevailed upon the irritated King Artaxerxes I. by his expostulations, to keep true to his treaty, which he had concluded with a capitulated rebel, even though this rebel had struck the brother of the king with his own hands. Then, neither Megabyzos nor the king suffered themselves to be moved, by the pressing entreaties of the sister of the king, to punish this miscreant.† In reference to the prejudicial statements made by the Greeks, we must even here bear in mind, that a breach of contract strikes much more on our attention than an observance of it, and that most Greeks loved to speak even more willingly of the former than of the latter among the Persians. In the most ancient times, however, even, according to that notice of Xenophon, the principle of veracity must have been upheld in an exemplary manner, if among the Greeks but a single voice of recognition of that fact happens to prevail. Josephus says the same to the credit again of the Parthians of his age, that among them a proffered stroke of hand is without exception redeemed.* With the truthfulness of words and deeds, justice connects itself most closely, as indeed even Xenophon mentions, in the place of truthfulness, as done by the rest of writers, that the young Persians were instructed in justice and righteousness. Not less reproachable than falsehood, deceit and fraud is, consequently, as well unthankfulness, which certainly consists even in the disowning of that which one is indebted to another; and in truth, on this subject, there existed, what struck specially strange to the Greeks, a particular law which punished this offence.‡ Nicolaus

† Ctes. Pers. 34-37.

* Josephi Antiquit. xviii, 9, 3.

‡ Cyrop. i, 2, 7; Ctes frgm. Pers. 9.

Damascenus relates of Cyrus, that, when he waged war against Astyages, he had him told that he counselled him to withdraw with his army, and leave the Persians to their freedom; he did this because Astyages had rendered him acts of kindness.‡ Furthermore, Ammian knows of a law against unthankfulness which counts for one of the strictest.*

The significance of these obligations towards the nearest in social intercourse is by no means to be lightly esteemed for the purposes of realising the moral spirit of the nation. The observance of the outward decency in everything, that the Persians did in the presence of others, had necessarily even a favorable influence on their mind. The outward tact, which everywhere accompanied them, turned imperceptibly into a possession of their will and entire character, into a defined tact in the region of morals. The outward demeanour in speech and deed, when it is persistently held fast, guards against a multitude of vicious habits and endows the soul with a certain nobility, to which the unbecoming in every shape is repugnant. Of yet greater influence on the ennobling of spiritual life must naturally be the veracity in word and deed, and however much the same reacted even on the moral tendency of individuals, still its importance for the formation of the daily life of the community is to be rated yet much higher. Truthfulness in business transactions is the first stipulation of a sound national life, of order and security in social conditions. When, among a people, confidence in the state, community and family, vanishes away, then that is a sign, that the moral earnestness, which supports the social order in the latter respect, is undermined, a foreboding of its

‡ Nicolaus Dam frgm 66.

* Ammian. xxiii, 6.

approaching decline. This the Roman empire has most strikingly displayed, and even in modern history this example allows of being multiplied by others. As has the genius of benevolence, so has also the luminous spirit of verity, not remained indolent in the yonder heaven of the Persians, but it has descended down and founded for itself an empire here, inasmuch as an entire large nation has acknowledged itself in its service.

5. — THE KINGDOM AND THE CONSTITUTION.

Here, where we have to treat only of the representations of the Persian manners, it can naturally not be our object to dissect the whole structure of the Persian state, in its various parts, but rather our purpose will be, as hitherto, to extract the moral worth, which is contained in the various forms of the moral society, and to disclose the importance of these forms for the character of the Persian nation, together with, in particular, also the inter-dependence of the same with the religious perceptions. Here, there can only be the relation of the king towards his people which presents some materials for it. The central point of the Persian empire was formed by royalty. The highest and the greatest that the Persians acknowledged on this earth, was the king. What, however, procured such a high veneration for royalty, was principally the religious idea which bound itself up with it. We have seen that the king had his authority from Ormuzd, that he stood in an especially close relation to Ormuzd and the other divinities: Mithra, sun and fire. Thus, the worship, which was presented to these divinities, passed over likewise to him, the king. What Ormuzd is in heaven, that the king is on this earth, the latter is just the image of

the former. This is pronounced in a remarkable passage of Phanas, a young contemporary of Aristotle. A Persian commander says thus to Themistocles, who desired an admission in the king's presence: "Among us, out of several excellent customs, the most excellent is that of adoring the king and prostrating one's self before him, as if before the exact likeness of God who keeps all."* The king ought to be included by the Persians in their prayers,† his genius ought to be offered sacrifices,‡ for his health the gods were concerned,§ and on his death the sacred, inextinguishable fire was quenched.|| The highest fortune that could befall to the lot of a Persian was "to glance upon the light of the king."¶ That the king himself, out of policy, sought to enhance this exalted idea of himself, by his outward deportment, is seen above. Likewise, Curtius remarks that the divine veneration for the Persian kings was an outcome, not only of the exalted esteem, but also of wisdom, for the Persians knew that the dignity of royalty was the backbone of the empire's welfare.+ An effective means for this end was in particular the court ceremonial, which secluded the king away almost from all contact with his subjects. This grand conception of royalty seems to have fully transgressed all measure in the Sassanian empire. Here the king is no longer a mere image of God, but God himself. In the acts of the Persian martyrs he is once addressed thus: "king of kings, who, as the God himself, upholds and governs the earthly globe with the eternal power hereditary in him,"× and the epithets which he receives, notably,

* Phanas Fresius, frgm, 9, in Müller. † Herod. i., 132.

‡ Z.D.M.G. Bd. xix, s. 69. § Nicol. Dam. frgm. 66.

|| Dioder xvii., 114. ¶ Plut. Alex. 20; Nicol. Dam. frgm. 10.

+ Curtius viii., 18. × Acta Martyr S., 158.

however, even gives himself, are close to like tumbling from the sublime into the ridiculous. Menander Protector gives a translation of a document of the year 562, of a letter of Chosroe on Justinian, which begins thus: "the divine, the good, the father of peace, the honour-deserving Chosroe, king of kings, the fortunate, the pious, the benefactor, on whom the gods have bestowed great luck and a great royal kingdom, the mighty of the mighties, on whom the gods have impressed their stamp."‡ This style is genuine Persian, and was employed likewise in the ancient Persian empire, though with more moderation.§

This high veneration for royalty grounds itself naturally on its corresponding mighty position. The oriental empires, first the Semitic, then the Iranian, were despotic monarchies; this form of the empire had developed itself forth not of the earlier patriarchal race-constitution. All the more striking phenomenon is the political constitution of the Persians, as we find it in Xenophon. He lets the Mandane define quite precisely the distinction between the despotal form of government and the moderate constitutional one, and designate the former as the Median, the latter as the Persian.* Throughout, Xenophon speaks of a *Polis* † and of a *Koinon*, ‡ among the Persians, which stands over the king of the race. The most conclusive evidence on this subject is afforded by the narration of the treaty, that

‡ Menander Protector, frgm., 11 in Muller; cf. Ammian xvii., xxiii, 6.

§ There are several instances of this, indeed, in Herodotus; Cp. Pseudo-Callisth. i., 36, 38 in Muller, also the Achæmenian inscriptions.

* Cyrop., 3, 18. † Ibid. i., 4. 25; i. 5, 7. ‡ Ibid. iv., 5., 17.

Cyrus, when he became the dominator of the whole empire, is reported to have concluded with his clan. § The father of Cyrus, the king of the Persians, summoned the elders of the Persians and the Magistrates, "who have to decide on the most weighty of matters." In his address to them says he, both parties, the Persians and Cyrus, are bound under obligation to each other, the latter to the Persians, because they gave him the army and appointed him as commander over the same, the Persians to Cyrus, because he raised them to a dominating race. He exhorted Cyrus, not, confiding on his own power, to endeavour to obtain as much unbounded sovereignty over the Persians as over the rest of the nations; he admonished the Persians, on the other hand, to uphold the sovereignty of Cyrus with all their might. So long as he lives, he himself still continues to remain the king; after his death, however, the Persian kingdom passes over to Cyrus, and whenever Cyrus comes into the possession of the country, he will have to provide the priestly functions for the people, as he, the father, hitherto has done this. In his absence, however, the first of the Achaemenian family shall have to take his place. This covenant was then sworn to. This narration of Xenophon will naturally be regarded by nobody as purely historical because from where could Xenophon know precisely what had happened and been spoken in Persia 150 years before him? But this narration entitles us to draw important conclusions. The dominating race stood manifestly in another relation to the king than the rest of them. This proceeds out of various reasons. From

§ Ibid. viii., 5, 22.

out of the Persians were composed the court, the nobles of the realm, and the officials. The province of Persis was exempt from taxes,* and whenever the Persian king returned to his native country, he brought with him presents for all the Persians.† This position of the Persian race, in accordance with which it stood much closer to the king than all, the other races, had, undoubtedly, first of all, therein its reason, that the king himself belonged to this very race. But partly the considerable concessions given to the Persians, which the king had been under no necessity to grant, partly the narration of Xenophon, reposing itself obviously on historical circumstances, distinctly point out, that this exceptional position had not become a creation of latter days, but had its origin in the ancient Persian circumstances, in a sort of a constitution. That the Persian hereditary prince was by no means unfettered, but had given to him for advice a popular assembly, whom he had first to gain over to his plans just by the mightiness of his speech and the use of artfulness, is testified by Herodotus also.‡ The general ground lines of the constitution appear, according to the sources mentioned, to have been the following: The king, who is from the noblest race of the Achaemenians, had a somehow composed council around him, which consisted in most probability of the heads of families out of the governing race of the Pasargadians. This council was convoked by the king, it counselled on the most weighty questions, and arrived at a final decision. The king car-

* Herod. iii., 97.

† Nicol. Damasc. frgm. 66; Cyrop. viii., 5. 21.

‡ Herod. i, 125.

ried this decision into execution, he was the leader in war, especially, however, was he the supreme priest, who had to offer sacrifices for the people.† On the elevation of the Persian national princes to the rulership of the whole empire, this constitution naturally got into danger, and it is quite credible, that the Persians have secured to themselves an exceptional position through the instrumentality of an especial treaty. The office of the high priest passed over, as it seems, to one out of the race of the Achæmenians. It appears, however, indeed in Herodotus' times, to have been supplanted by the Magi. But, then, if the power of the king was restrained in the direction of the Persians, it was still so much the greater towards the remaining Iranian races and at his own court. The all-powerfulness of the king is too well-known, and, from every feature of the Persian history, too apparent, to render it all necessary to vouch it by particular instances. In Herodotus, surely the royal judges themselves pronounce it as a ground principle of the realm, that the king of the Persians could do whatever pleases him.* Unconditional submission to authority is consequently the duty of every subject, even of the Persian. Obedience is certainly one of the virtues, which is said to be very early instilled into the minds of the young Persians. This was indeed a chief point of view of the ancient Persian education, and it naturally became yet more so, as the same entered in the service of the unrestrained monarchy of the empire. Strabo says yet of the Persians of his age, who at that time had again their national king, that

† Cyrop. viii., 5, 26; iv., 5, 17.

* Herod. iii., 31.

those who proved themselves insubordinate had their heads and arms cut off.* Especially were those royal servants, on whom the highest powers were conferred, particularly instructed in subordination to their royal master.† Since, however, royalty is established by God, so submission is at once a religious duty. Not merely is in those hymnical glorifications of Ormuzd, as the father of obedience,‡ praised, but there guards likewise over the relation of the Iranians towards their king, an especial light-genius in the heaven of Ormuzd; the third of those great genii, namely, that of the lawful order. But to the influence of this genius are not merely the underlings subjected, but even the king himself Great as, namely, according to, theory, is the power of the king, still it is in reality considerably restrained. Just for the reason that the king had received his sovereignty from God, with it there were imposed upon him sacred obligations, not merely towards the deity itself, inasmuch as every morning—according to the directions of the Magi—he invoked the gods praisingly, and offered sacrifices to them, but also towards his subjects, whose government was entrusted to him. For this purpose, according to Plutarch, a particular chamberlain was appointed whose duty it was to approach near him every morning, and call out to him: “get up, king, and attend to the business, the performance of which Oromasdes has imposed upon thee!” || As by the religious law, so was he also by the customs circumscribed, in proof of

* Strabo xv.

† Compare the numerous admonitions of Cyrus to his Satraps viii., 1, 2, b; in particular his strict control over them, viii. 6, 16.

‡ Z. D. M. G. Bd. xix. s. 50. § Cyrop viii, 1, 24. || Plutarch.

which there are several instances. Previous to his undertaking the expedition to Europe, Xerxes summoned his state council, and defended himself solemnly against the imputation, as if he wanted to introduce a new principle with his conquest-policy: he said rather that was the one custom that he had received over from his predecessors, and to which he would even remain faithful.† Darius Codomannus illustrates, in a war-council, the customary procedure of his ancestors, who, always entering into war with undivided fighting forces, allowed of no division of the army.‡ In isolated cases the king stands so much under the ban of custom, that he dare not refuse any request made, for instance on the day of his birthday festivity.§ Now, with these examples, which are adduced from the various spheres of life, politics, war engagements, as well as private life, if we take into consideration also the then mode of life and action of the king, regulated by the ancient customs, if we remind ourselves further of the rigid court ceremonials, which naturally bore on the king first, then we will rather be sooner inclined to regard in the king a slave of customs, than an unrestrained ruler.

All these restrictions on the royal omnipotence ought to have reduced, down to a certain degree, the deep cleft which the oriental despotism creates between the governors and the governed. Even this despotism bears, however, withal, a patriarchal impress. The monarchy had certainly developed out of the national constitution, the royal family was a native of the soil,

† Herod. vii., 8. ‡ Curtius iii., 19. § Herod. ix., 111.

not merely for the Persians, but also for all the Iranians, and how dear all these appertainings of the native country were to them, we will see hereafter. We will come across touching instances of faithful attachment of the subject people towards their ruling dynasty, so that, what the outward form of the rugged despotism, facilitating in itself no moral relations, left vacant, was at least in part filled up by the intrinsic bond of the sentiments of coherence, of love and faithfulness between the rulers and the ruled. A customary form of public life we have, on the other hand, in the constitution of the Persians, which was even nearer to its figure. We have no right naturally to apply to it our notions of state and popular government. Even it bore at all events a purely patriarchal impress, and was without doubt more like an aristocracy than a democracy. But what pronounces itself in every institution of this description, is the appreciation of personality, the consciousness of the proper worth of the man and of his proper power, and the love of freedom. And since this organisation has proceeded out of such a sentiment, so it was likewise the best medium to implant firmly into the Persians these fundamental principles, and to turn it into an abiding element of the Persian character.

II.—THE GROUND LINES OF THE IRANIAN CHARACTER.

Whilst we figured to ourselves the visible forms in which the daily life among the Persians—of the community as well as of individuals—had realised themselves, the outward forms ever again led us back to the intrinsic

principle as the maker and the former of the same. Both stand in the close relationship of cause and effect, however not so, that they would completely cover themselves. Several outward forms of life, of the community and of individuals, have no, or, if any, but very little, spiritual and moral intrinsic worth behind them, they stand in no necessary connection with the character of the national genius. Such have, in a great measure, but a pure antiquarian interest, as for example, dress, professions, trade, and particularities out of political life. On the other hand, however, even the spiritual worth of a nation does not find from all sides an expression in the outward, visible forms of actual life; several traits of character, as for example, the national pride of a people, are not of such a description that they could distinctly stamp themselves on the community in palpable forms. In life, of course, they must needs appear, otherwise they would not be effectual and life-invigorating; but they exhibit themselves only in what the individual one or more accomplish, presumed always, that the circumstances justify us to regard the individuals in given cases as real members, as genuine children of their own nation. To ascertain these traits of the Iranian national character out of the notices of the ancient writers remains for us, then, as yet unattempted, to do which, however, for the sake of completeness, we will take a retrospect of those results which have already yielded themselves to us from what has been said hitherto.

The first virtue, implanted by nature herself into a nation, is the national sentiment, the love for all that

belongs to it, the love of one's own native country. For every nation, it is, not merely a condition of greatness and power, but even of life itself, of self-preservation. A certain degree of love for the father-land every nation must naturally cherish, this conduces indeed to the uniformity of manners, language and religion ; but it all depends upon this, whether the love for the common-wealth so takes possession of, and pervades through, the individuals, that they prize the public as higher than they are in their individual capacities, that they are in a position to sacrifice their own interests and even their own personal selves for the weal of the whole. A most beautiful expression of this sentiment we find in a passage in Herodotus, where he speaks of the prayers of the Persians :— “It is not permitted to a Persian to implore the blessings all for himself alone, but instead of that he prays for all the Persians, likewise for the king, for under all the Persians he also is comprised, that everything might farewell with them.” The love of the Persians for the belongings of their race exhibits itself to us even in the hearty mode of greeting in practice among them. To this appertains equally the peculiar view of the Persians regarding the preference given to neighbours. “They honour before all,” says Herodotus, “those who dwell in their closest proximity, then, those who reside next after them, and so on ; whereas they hold in the smallest respect those who reside at the greatest distance from them, because they believe themselves, out of all others, to be by far the most excellent, and that virtue diminishes among others in proportion that they are distant* from them.” The

* Herod. I., 134.

love for the father land transforms itself spontaneously into the love for the dominating dynasty, in which the entire national life centres itself, and verily, in this respect, the Eastern races by no means stand inferior to the Persians. Ctesias narrates: "As Cyrus wanted to subjugate the Bactrians to himself, the battle had remained undecided, when they, just of their own free-will, first surrendered themselves to Cyrus, as they came to hear that Astyages was the father of Cyrus, and Amytis his mother and consort."* The love for one's own country appears in special, however, in the shape of fidelity and attachment towards the person of the king, in whom the unity of the empire bodily displays itself. Touching has been the attachment of the Persians towards the last Darius. The Persian nobles perceived him to have arrived in the last extremity, they thereupon expressed a desire to accompany him in battle in order to stake their lives for his.† It has become, says Curtius, but an unanimous opinion among the Persians, that it would be tantamount to a crime to ever let the king remain unassisted out of his difficulties; the high esteem for the king is not withheld from him even in his misfortunes.‡ How easy it was for the royal family to draw the love of the populace towards itself, is illustrated in the example of Stateira, queen-consort of Artaxerxes II. who, having placed herself beyond the restraints of rigid ceremonials, had herself driven in a travelling-carriage without taking the precaution of having any veils hanging round, and permitted herself to be kissed by the ladies of her country. Now, so often as

* Ctes. Pers. 2.

† Curtius V., 26.

‡ *Ibid.* V., 27.

she exhibited herself thus, a joyous emotion sprung out of the breasts of the people.§ The king also did not the less keep himself true to his race, inasmuch as he selected his wives only out of it, and gave general preference to the Persians in all other respects. The disposition for faithfulness towards the king and the native land was so deeply impressed into the Persian character, that we find it again, several centuries later, even as much pure under the Sassanians. In the war between Julian and Shapoor, two Persians promised their king to desert over to the Romans and mislead their hostile army. The deceit succeeded for a time long, but it became at last discovered, and being conducted before the emperor they said: "For our native country and our native king, for the preservation of them both, we have risked our lives even unto death and designedly led you erroneously."* Menander narrates likewise an instance of the year 578, how a Persian lieutenant-general, out of fidelity towards his king and state, had repelled all attempts at corruption tried on him by the Romans.†

The consciousness of cohesiveness becomes merged of itself into national pride. In the consciousness of the greatness and the mightiness of their empire, the Persians held themselves, as Herodotus says, to be the rightful lords of the whole of Asia and of the people inhabiting it.‡ He makes Croesus speak of them, that they are truly poor, but nevertheless proud.|| This peculiarity belonged, however, not only to the Persians, but to the Medes also, who, as the mightiest races, each

§ Plutarch, Artax. 5.

* Magnus frgm. I., in Müller.

† Menander Protector, frgm. 57.

‡ Herod. I., 4: IX., 116.

|| Herod. I., 89

reciprocally envied the supremacy of the other, as neither of the two acknowledged itself to be inferior to the other; on that account the Median supremacy was felt to be very oppressive by the Persians,* and even the Medes could not help feeling anguish at having the empire lost to themselves in favour of the Persians.† Like the races, the individual families also prided themselves much on the nobility of their descent; before all, naturally, the Achæmenian family; thus Xerxes once exclaims: "I should not be Xerxes, the son of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, &c., if I did not revenge myself upon the Athenians;" in so exclaiming he recounted all his nine ancestors up to Achæmenes himself.‡ At the Persian court it was positively resolved that no produce of a foreign country should be permitted to be exhibited on the table of the king.§ On the other hand, however, the king, in order to exult himself on the vastness of his empire, himself allowed salt to be brought from Egypt and water from the Nile and Ister.|| How this excusable pride latterly degenerated into haughty-mindedness, vanity, and ostentation, has been already noticed above in the puffing titles that the Persian kings assumed for themselves. And, indeed, in the last period of the Persian empire, the Persians were notoriously known for their superciliousness and their swagger.¶ Ammian (xxiii. 6) attributes to their insolence the great disasters that befel them. The Persian people, says he, have founded a great empire, but the arrogance of their high-

* Herod. I., 127; Nicol. Damasc. frgm., 66.

† Diodor xi., 6; Nicol. Damasc. frgm. 9.

‡ Herod. vii., 11; this is genuine Persian, cpr. the Achæmenian inscriptions. § Dinon frgm. 12 in Müller.

|| Ibid. frgm. 15, 16. ¶ Ephippus, frgm. 3.

flown princes, like Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, who undertook senseless conquest-expeditions, has been broken by great misfortunes. He describes the Persians of his age, thus :— “Indeed, they are very valorous, but yet they appear even more dreadful than they actually are, because they are full of inane words and carry on extravagant and wild discourses ; they are great swaggers and full of threatening words.” On the other hand, however, that pride which exhibited itself in the order of the king prohibitive against bringing anything of a foreign country’s produce on his dinner table, had even a wholesome effect. In the consciousness of their own proper virtues and the excellence of everything native, they, above all the kings themselves, adhered themselves staunchly to the time-honoured customs and usages of their forefathers.* And if even the prohibition against the foreign importation did not admit of being altogether strictly enforced, if, particularly in the creed and in the worship, much of the Semetic element had already crept in, nevertheless the Persians have to be thankful, certainly in a large measure, to this prejudice against the introduction of foreign things for the retention of their extraordinary vital power, which conspicuously displays itself in the rise and flourishment of the second Persian empire. Thus we know, in particular, that they were very intolerant in the matter of religion, inasmuch as they always sought to annihilate the foreign cult everywhere.†

* The utterance in Herodotus I, 135, holds good according to the context, only against the Medes, what he says therein of Egypt and the Grecian land has no historical worth. The Medes however, were no foreigners but an allied race; also what he says is true only of a relatively small portion of the Persians, namely, the court.

† Herod. i., 183; iii, 137; viii, 109; Diodor. Bibl. Hist. ii, 9; fragm. Sentent 46, 4, and several others.

The pride of the Persians, as on the one hand, it is to be regarded as the natural outcome of the sense of feeling of mutual cohesiveness and strong consciousness of political power, is rooted, on the other, in a deeply-lying ground-principle of the Persian character generally. In the noble sense susceptible of all elevation and greatness. The nobleness of sentiment, the tendency towards the spiritual, is a trait which nature has sunk most deeply in the Persian and Iranian national spirit, in order that it might manifest and develop itself in the various departments of the intellectual world and of life. We have already seen, how it has appeared forth most beautifully in the Iranian religion, next, how it has created for itself its own sphere and moulded the life of the Persians in their education and in their relations to their nearest. Likewise, even its influence on the sentiments of the Iranians towards their country and countrymen, makes itself now perceptible. The Greeks, too, have been sensible of this. The entire *Cyropædie* of Xenophon is an evidence of this, for what else was it that inspired this Grecian historian into drawing his poetical sketch of the Persian conditions and of the Persian national heroes, if not the esteem-commanding noble character, the moral capacity of the Persians, which had embodied itself into an ideal archetype in the then already mythically conceived figure of Cyrus? That nobility of the soul proves itself further, above all, through a sense directed on the spiritual and the moral with such force, that the considerations of the corporeal weal and woe and of one's own advantage lose all determining influence on the will. It is this the immediate joy of the Iranians at the good for the sake of the

good itself, which they experienced in themselves as such a divine operation, that they felt constrained to imagine a genius in heaven, "that produces forth that delight, which attends the performance of moral functions." This sentiment stood the proof, as we have seen, in the extraordinary readiness of the Persians to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the king and the people. To the instances already adduced is to be added further the memorable deed of Zopyros, an eminent Persian, who, as Darius lay before Babylon in the greatest embarrassment, on account of the revolt of almost all the Iranian races, without being able to bring that city in his power, ensured to him the possession of it, by voluntarily undergoing a cruel mutilation of his own body.* Xenophon lets Cyrus pronounce as a fundamental principle of the Persians, that they would not accept all the wealth of the Syrians and the Assyrians, in exchange for their virtues and their good reputation.† Especially of the Sogdians have we traits of noble-mindedness preserved. Those thirty eminent Sogdians, who had rejoiced themselves at the prospect of meeting death at the hand of Alexander and thus getting themselves restored to their ancestors, being put to the question, what security would they pledge for the observance of their faithfulness, in case they were released? answered: "The life, that Alexander proposes to present to them, shall be that security; this will they give back whenever he may demand for it." They said also, among other things, that they never despised their foe in the field. They made good these words in the end by the display of staunch fidelity.‡ Great-mindedness is

* Herod, iii, 153. † Cyrop. v, 2, 12. ‡ Curtius, vii, 39.

celebrated very frequently as an attribute of the Persian nobility. Thus it is done of king Artaxerxes I., Macrochair, of the younger Cyrus, and of others besides them. § Of the lofty-heartedness of the Persians and the Medes generally, Heraclides of Pontus, as we have seen, speaks, even at the end of the Persian empire, very acknowledgingly. Thucydides speaks extolling of the Persians, that it is a custom among them, sooner to give than to receive.* The sense for the noble and the grand finds its expression in the political arena in the shape of love for freedom. The most explicit proof of how much all the Iranian races were animated by this, is furnished by history. In Bactria, the Assyrian conquest met with a strong national opposition, indeed ; also of later frequent revolts of the Bactrians we have intimations. The Medes shook off, "like brave men," as Herodotus expresses himself, the foreign yoke, and as they were obliged to surrender the sovereignty to the Persians, they by no means willingly and quietly reconciled themselves to the bondage, but made repeated attempts still later to render themselves free of the Persians. How much the Persians valued their independence without regard to what it cost them, proceeds clearly out of the various notices we have of their revolts. Of some of the remaining races of the Iranians, particularly of those in the Median mountain-lands, we know that they have never, or if at all only with intermissions, reconciled themselves to the Persian sovereignty. As Cambyses, on his death-bed, adjured the Passargadians, and among them in particular the Achæmenians, never to let the sovereignty turn

§ Plutarch Artax, 1 and 6 *op.* Curtius iii, 18; Plut., Artax, 4 and 30; Nicol, Damasc. frgm, 66 S. 401 and 405 in Müller; Curtius ii., 141.

* Thucydides ii, 17, 4.

back to the Medes, he offered them, if they followed his advice, his blessing, in which he promised them, besides outward welfare, freedom in particular.* The great blessing of freedom it was also what Cyrus held before the gaze of the Persians, in order to infuse within them courage before going to war against Astyages.†

As the Persians allowed themselves, in their dealings and in their life, in fact, everywhere, to be guided by their inborn nobility of soul, so they proved the same also by the fact, that they brought to bear an intelligent sense on everything lofty and magnificent that, and wherever it, presented itself to them. So had the bright refulgent appearance of Cyrus, coupled with his genuine Persian qualities, engraved itself deeply in the hearts of the Persians; according to Herodotus, the Persians knew nothing that could be possibly higher, "no one ventures to compare himself with him."‡ Xenophon describes him precisely as the national hero, to which position the legends and the ballads of the Persians had raised him— as the ideal of the Persians "beautiful of figure, friend of mankind, eager after wisdom, a lover of honour and persevering."§ Strabo informs us that the Persians in imparting education to their youths were intent, especially, on impressing such ideals on them. The acquiring of merit generally, but in the presence of the king and empire particularly, finds nowhere so much recognition, as among the Persians." Surely, they knew to honour virtue if found anywhere, even though in an enemy; Herodotus gives his testimony in their favour.

* Herod., iii. 65,

† Nicol., Dam. fragm. 66 S. 404 in Müller,

‡ Herod., iii., 160,

§ Cyrop., i., 2-1.

|| Herod., iii., 154.

that of all the nations that he knew, they held valiant warriors† the most in high esteem. This proclivity of theirs towards the grand they give expression to even in their external appearance. It is again especially intimated to us that, besides the pomp and splendour of the Persian court, which certainly indeed Heraclides puts in connection with the above disposition that the king never lets himself be seen on foot out of his palace,‡ and Xenophon testifies the same of the Persian nobles.§ Great value was attached to beautiful growth, and the same was laboriously sought to be attained, particularly among hereditary princes.|| “To be distinguished and queenly” in appearance as well as in disposition is the highest ambition of a princess.¶ The disposition to impart to their outward appearance the most possibly exalted dignity and majesty, prompted even the Persians to choose for themselves an amazingly wide and imposing dress**; and, furthermore, Ammian relates that all the Iranians without distinction appeared begirdled with swords, even at dinner time and festivals, and that they liked a gorgeous and huge dress.*

Whilst engaged in their efforts after attaining the ideal, in giving direction to their intellect towards the grand, the noble, the moral and the true, the Persians did not forget, however, the actual world, the duty of this life; much rather, whilst we regard the above mentioned disposition as the very fundamental trait of the Persian nature, we ought not to fail to place by its

† Herod, vii, 238,

‡ Heraclides Cumanus frgm. i., in Müller.

§ Cyrop. vi, 3, 23,

|| Platon Alcib, Prim, p, 121 D.

¶ Plutarch Alex, 23.

** Diodor ii., 6.

* Ammian, xxiii, 6.

side the tendency of the Persians towards the practical as an equally so essential and equally so fundamental a trait. Both these traits conflict against each other but so little, that the one much rather supplements the other: each is in truth but the counterpart of the other. They find their ideal combination in the notion of the moral, as it is defined in the Zoroastrian religion. The moral notion consists, on the one side, in the purity and sacredness of sentiment, particularly in truthfulness; on the other side, in consequence of the natural aspect of the good as the luminous and the lifeful—in labour, in the fostering of the good creation, in the promotion of all life; this is the material notion of the ethical substance of the spiritual religion of light. In actuality and in life, however, both those phases of the Persian character were conjoined in this, that the already mentioned predilection of the Persians towards the noble and the grand by no means exhausted itself in void emptiness, or perhaps in that love for mere outward splendour, but, on the contrary, by the production of those forms of the moral community, communicated a high, spiritual impress to the entire life of the Persians.

However strong the horror and the dread of the Iranians was for the pernicious and the Ahremanian, still in their eyes yet greater was the worth of all that which contributed to promote life. The value of life, of life's subsistence, of possession, appeared indeed to the Iranians so divine, that in the middle between those genii of the moral powers in the luminous heaven of Ormuzd, a genius was enthroned, which Plutarch described as the genius of wealth. How the Iranians

toiled and laboured to carry out the commandments of the religious law, by means of pursuing the cultivation of the field, the rearing of the cattle, the fostering of the useful animals, the planting of trees, we have already observed above. Fruitfulness of the earth, women, and flocks was counted among the highest of blessings that a human being can desire for himself,* and the propagation of the human race believing in the Ormuzdian creed was certainly also the leading sentiment in polygamy, hence marriage became a duty. Moreover, in the Sassanian times, it is made a subject of reproach against the Christians, that they disdain to acquire for themselves a competence by means of useful and remunerative labour.† The Iranians were enjoined to derive enjoyment from all those things that Ormuzd had created, before everything, of course, from their own body. Consequently, every Persian celebrated his birthday, the day on which life was gifted to him, as a day of rejoicing. "On this day," narrates Herodotus, "they hold it to be the right thing to spread a larger banquet table than on other days; among the opulent an ox, a horse, or a camel, or an ass would not be much to be served on the table, baked entire; the poor, however, are content with a joint of small cattle."‡ Naturally, that life was celebrated the most which had the most value in the empire, namely, that of the king. On his birth-day, the king held a grand feast, only then he anointed himself; he gave then presents to his Persian subjects, and, what was more, dared not decline any request whatever.§ Plato intimates that in all Asia this

* Herod. iii, 65. † Acta Martyr, S, 186.

‡ Herod. i, 133. § Herod, ix, 110.

day was celebrated as a grand festive one.‡ Entertaining great appreciation of the value of life, it followed of itself, that every one took all possible care for the preservation of his health. That the healing art was much cultivated and developed among the Magi, is testified by Pliny, despite of that, however, there were ever again Greek doctors, such as Apollonides§ and Ctesias, at the Persian court. Even out of Egypt the king ordered out some for himself.* Nevertheless naturally, every one had himself to be careful for his health, and the Iranians looked for the best means to that end in the avoidance of everything impure; life and purity are certainly the fundamental notions of the Ormuzdian religion, and in this way, notably, the temperate, simple and decent manner of living of the Persians is traceable to the religious intuitions. Not merely life in general, but healthy and vigorous life in particular, is the end and aim of the Persians, only through its medium can they satisfy the object of life. Hence, it constituted so essential an element of the Persian education, to invigorate the body, to steel it by hardening processes of every kind, to exercise it in riding and in the wielding of weapons, and thus to make it very tough for the defence of the fatherland. Yet, this is naturally not to be so understood, as to mean that in this matter the means and end were so clearly placed before the eyes of the Persians. It was much rather the innate joy in the corporeal solidity and in the proving and exercising of the same in dangers of every kind that promoted the Persians thereto. The means was even again in its turn, its own particular end.

‡ Platon Alcib, Prim, p. 121 c. § Ctes. Pers. 42. * Herod, iii., 1.

To the Iranians in general a warlike spirit was innate ; some even were yet, at the blooming period of their empire, wild mountain tribes, who subsisted upon raids and depredations, the others had, from the remote epoch of their nomadic life, preserved heretofore, even in their civilisation, their warlike capability, and one would go far wrong, if he were to form a conclusive opinion of the cowardice of the Persians and the Medes from the results of the different battles with the Greeks and the notices taken of them by the Grecian historians. The prime cause of why that encounter of the Persians with the Greeks ended so unfortunately, rests not in the lack of personal valour : the Persians have fought again in the wars against Alexander with praiseworthy heroic valour,* and the Medes and the Bactrians stood indeed not much behind them. Moreover, under the Sassanians, the Persians were formidable to the Romans, on account of their courage. That the Persian court-life, and the institution of the Grecian mercenary troops, should have exerted a very relaxing influence, is but natural ; but the whole nation is not to be judged after the example of the court. Partly, the natural delight arising from engaging in dangers and fights, partly the object of the preparatory exercise before qualifying for war, called forth the vast predilection of the Persians for hunting.† The grand huntings, which the Persian kings frequently organised, attracted the attention of the Greeks much ; for the purposes of which there were laid out in all parts of the empire, even in Bactria,‡ splendid parks, which were planted with handsome trees and replenished with wild animals. §

* Curtius iii, 27., † Cyrop. i, 2, 10, ‡ Curtius viii, 2,

§ Cyrop. viii, 1, 138. and several other passages.

In the same category with the other excellencies, which generally distinguished a man, namely, valour, wisdom in counsel, beauty of body, large-heartedness, aptitude in hunting is also mentioned† by the kings themselves on their gravestones.‡ To lay out parks and maintain animals, commended the king, even in especial, to his Satraps ;§ and, moreover, the Parthians entertained displeasure against a king who, departing from the custom of his ancestors, seldom went a hunting and set no value on beautiful horses.|| Even dance itself the Persians are reported to have placed under this point of view of bodily exercise.¶

The practical, intelligent sense of the Persians pronounces itself again in another virtue, that has likewise indeed often presented itself to us, namely, temperance and discretion. It connects itself, even otherwise, most intimately with the character of the Persians, on the one side, with the religious duty of purity and moderation, on the other, with their praiseworthy demeanour and behaviour. Passion, as the wicked, the misguiding, the originator of the unholy, is, according to religious contemplation, an evil of Ahriman, freedom from passion therefore is a commandment of Ormuzd. By the side of the exercising of the body and the habituating in truthfulness, the third object of the Persian education was to implant in the youths that which the Greeks designate with the expression *Sophrosyne*, which certainly includes in it so much as : the wisdom which

† Nicol, *Damasc*, frgm. 10; *Plutarch Artax*, 6.

‡ Onesicritus, frgm. 31 in Müller's *Arrian*. § *Cyrop*, viii., 6, 12.

|| Tacit, *Annal*, ii, 2. ¶ *Athenæus*, *Deipnos*, x., 10, § 4, 5.

observes the right medium in everything, the discretion which carries everything safe to a rational end, lastly, the self-control. As, however, this qualification is especially a great accomplishment for a prince, so, according to Plato, the royal princes were educated by an especial teacher into practicing freedom from passion. Here then we stand again within the precincts of the last of those six major genii, that reside in the luminous heaven of Ormuzd, because, according to Plutarch, it is the practical, worldly wisdom, and not the mere knowledge that the genius of wisdom is said to represent. Now, if even this, fully in conjunction with its five companions, watches over the Persians and directs their lives, then it is well and fittingly placed with them.

Although the self-control of the Persians is to be attributed, in great part, to the influence of an external constraint, namely, that of the Perso-Medean etiquette, still just this rests partly upon the moral fundamental-principle of the esteem entertained towards one's neighbours, partly upon religious conceptions. That etiquette forbid, in fact, as we have seen, all improprieties in the society of others, but conceived the notion of indecencies very widely, so much so that every unbridled utterance, not merely of passions, but even indeed of strong excitations of feeling passed for unbecoming. This is true, as of the expression of joy and admiration, so also of wrath, so that Xenophon says : "One does not ever see a Persian bursting into a cry in his anger or laughing over-exultingly in his joy, but whoever watches them could easily be of opinion, that they adopt in

reality in their lives fairness as the rule of conduct.”* This just medium in all that they did and said, precluded of itself rude outbursts of passions, and Plutarch says expressly, that the Persians deal severely with ill-breeding and violation of good manners.† The quoted word of Ammian denotes also—it may be incredible, how content in themselves and provident they were—so universal a trait of the Persian national character, that there under we cannot be content to understand merely the observance of those regulations for the purposes of intercourse. As an instance of the self-control of the Persians, is certainly to be regarded their taciturnity also, so very highly extolled by the ancients. Curtius intimates that it was a custom among the Persians to preserve the secrets of the king with admirable fidelity; neither fear nor hope was potential in extorting a word from the Persians. Talkativeness was even more severely chastised than any other offence, and the Magi did not lay much value on him to whom to hold the tongue proved very hard.‡ Indeed, silence was, as we have seen, adored to the degree of a good genius. If we now undoubtedly see, how all crimes and passions had their full swing at the Persian court, that in itself should not be sufficient to mislead us much about the above virtue of the Persians. But here, too, it is to be observed, first, that it was by no means the entire court, particularly, not the king himself mostly on whom the guilt of all that was cruel attached, but, above all, on those notorious women, such as Amestris and Parysatis; next, however, that the deterioration of morals at the Persian court, which cannot be denied in a general way for the latter

* Cyrop. viii., 1, 33. † Plutarch Artax. 27. ‡ Curtius iv., 25.

days, is not a fit standard by which to measure the character of the whole of the Persian nation. On the known cruelties of the Persians, there is scarcely yet any thing further to say. In all the writers who relate Persian history, we meet with examples of unheard atrocities; in particular, when one reads the remnant fragments of Ctesias, he is led to believe, that burying alive, blinding the eyes, flaying the skin, crucifying,* pelting with stones,† casting in glowing fire,‡ and the horrible punishment of confining one in a trough,§ had completely become the order of the day. If, however, one cannot even dispute that all these punishments were of frequent occurrence, since surely they are corroborated by other writers, still we are not warranted to assume such an ever recurring employment of the same as would seem to appear from Ctesias, for the reason 'hat the latter has from his personal predilection introduced such matters in his history, whilst Photius, from quite a contrary predilection, has, on the contrary, extirpated all such from his. Instances of wanton and base outrages, perpetrated for the gratification of mere brutish savage pleasure at the agony of the unfortunate victims, are met with seldom. No one out of the Persian kings, with the exception of Cambyzes alone, seems, in particular, to have had any special propensity for cruelty, like, perhaps, a Nero. On the other hand, some of the doubtless firmly established punishments for certain crimes are cruel in the extreme degree, particularly those for such crimes as must have been most repugnant to the Iranian feelings, regulated in accordance with their entire

* Ctes. Pers. 5, 59, frgm. Pers. 3. † Ctes. 46, 51.

‡ Ctes. 48. § Ctes. 30; Plut. Artax. 16.

instincts. Falsehood was punished with death, likewise every infringement of the duty of observing truthfulness in its wildest sense, breach of faith, sedition against the king,* mostly with crucifixion, insubordination with the severing of the head and the right arm,† and similarly ingratitude and injustice. Furthermore, Ammian says that the laws against the ungrateful and the deserter are conspicuous for their cruelty. The poisoner, too, belongs to the category of this, originally the injurious violator of religious duties, because insidiously, sneaking in darkness, he plies his vocation, exactly like Ahriman. His head was laid on a broad stone and then pounded upon by another stone until the skull was smashed to pieces.‡ Likewise, as we have seen, the punishment of death attended on him who caused impurification of fire and water. From this we observe distinctly, that the rigour of these punishments had in a great measure its origin in the moral and religious earnestness with which the Persians comprehended those various transgressions; they were in the eyes of the Persians so atrocious, that every punishment, even the punishment of death, if it was not more than simple, seemed to be yet too small an expiation. Of a basely designed and vile cruelty there can consequently be no question, and even though despite of it the fact even remains—and this trait of the Persian character cannot possibly be excused in consideration of those other noble motives—still we have always to remember, that the idea of humanity had not yet sprung up in the whole of antiquity, but has grown, for the first time, on the soil of the Christian world, and that, placed in juxtaposition with the barba-

* Ctes. 48, 52, 30, 34.

† Strabo xv.

‡ Plut. Artax. 19.

rousness of the Romans at the time of their highest external civilisation and of the Greeks even in the Peloponesian wars, that of the Persians seem indeed to appear in much milder light. The Persians and the rest of the Iranians were a warlike nation, that in part had never laid aside the rude nomadic mode of life, and, even wherever this had happened, had the warlike spirit for ever preserved in consequence of the numerous wars in which the Persian empire was engaged, within as well as without. Herein we seek, at the best, the origin of the Persian barbarity which, from this point of view, by no means, appears as a refined but as a totally natural and naturally grown one, and which explains itself not merely out of the historical situation of the Iranian nation, but also out of the character of the ancient world generally.

THE CONCLUSION : THE STAND-POINT OF THE IRANIAN NATIONAL SPIRIT.

Whoever grasps in his mind the lastly mentioned utterance on the Iranian character, might justly wonder how these traits of a rude naturalness can well be reconcilable with that fine sense for the noble and the moral, with those pure conceptions in the Zoroastrian religion? This question leads us on to the confines of the Iranian national mind and to the judgment generally, which history passes on this phenomenon of the human mind. In an age, in which religion is actually a living national one, in which the individual completely finds his solace in it, in which it has not yet become an empty form, and the tenor of the popular mind, having got

emancipated from it, has not yet changed into another, in this period religion, as the highest form in which the spirit of a nation manifests itself, constitutes the measuring standard for those points of view on which the national mind rests. The starting-point of the blooming condition of the Ormuzdian religion among the various races of Iran, notably among those of the west, we must leave undetermined ; because our reliable information begins only with the fifth century. That we find here, at least in the west of Iran, the Ormuzdian religion in its full bloom, in the said sense, admits of no doubt. We venture to assume with certainty, that this bloom also met with its end only with that of the ancient Persian empire. Some events seem, it is true, to speak against this assumption : the first of these, the early intrusion of the Anaitis worship, indeed before Herodotus' time ; next, the alteration in the notions relative to the resurrection, as found in Theopompous, consequently it must have occurred before the end of the Persian empire, and could point to a very independent position of Ahriman, to a conception of relations between Ormuzd and Ahriman, tending towards dualism. The latter indicates assuredly an alteration of a fundamental conception, but we have no evidence of this alteration having entered in the actual popular belief also ; and even though this be the case, yet it touches our assumption only so far as to make it consequently necessary to remove up the final point of the blooming period a little higher. Of more importance is the first phenomenon. If Anaitis with its especial cult, had, in Herodotus' time, been worshipped commonly in Iran, then that would have been a certain sign that

their religion had no more satisfied the Iranians. But, in the first place, we know positively, that its worship was formally introduced not until the commencement of the fourth century ; further, that it showed itself always only on the western borders, from over which it had arrived ; so that in Iran the Semetic cult peculiar to it never came to its share, in consequence of which it has had no disintegrating influence even on the Ormuzdian religion, but, on the contrary, pulled on well with the same. If, in consequence, even this alteration in the belief has not much to signify, and besides that—at least so much allows itself to be concluded from the reports of the ancients—in any case it exists there solitary up to the commencement of the fourth century—all other deviations, as that in the case of Zaruone, take place only in later times—then the above assumption will appear as justified. For the Persian empire in general then the following results of this research have a value.

A few phenomena in the Ormuzdian religion, such as notably the figure of Mithra, the recognition of natural deities, the command for purity, led us to the observation, that the amalgamation of the natural and the spiritual was an essential characteristic of this religion. This direct unity of the natural and the spiritual is the most significant of the entire point of view on which the Persian, and with it the Iranian, spirit generally stands. It assigns to the Iranian nation the position which it assumes in the long course of the development process of the human mind, and the direction towards the spiritual we have established as a decided characteristic of the Iranian nature, as well in

religion as in morals and the mode of thought. It yet remains over for us now to demonstrate, that this spiritual, throughout everywhere that it appears, determines itself as a natural one, that this determination pervades throughout all the expressions of the Iranian spirit and all the phenomena of Iranian life. It is mostly, indeed remarked above, relative to the figures of the deities, that this characteristic was necessary for the formation of their images. The conceptions of the pure, glorious, good nature of Ormuzd take their roots in the Iranian notions of the nature of light; in the figure of Mithra the spiritual and the material conceptions seem wholly mixed up with each other, so that it is not at all possible to establish a certain fixed idea of his character; Omanos, too, had a natural ground basis. The six major genii of light are, then, indisputable personifications of moral powers, but even here the natural element obtains a right for itself. We find among them not merely a genius of opulence, and of fulness of life but even the remaining ones receive a taint of nature, on account of the method by which blessings and virtues, which they represent, are more closely conceived in the Iranian thought of mind. This holds true equally of the other remaining good genii, inasmuch as, for example, the tutelar genii of the Iranian provinces are alike a sort of personifications of these visible territories, just as the same happens in other religions also, for example the Roman. In the case of the deities of nature, the natural element is of itself understood, but the spiritual also appears in addition thereto, by reason of these same being adored as holy, divine, as pertaining to the realm of light. That equally the conceptions of the

deities of darkness have a strong material admixture, would be observed, and itself the conflict between the two realms takes place in the material world, because, therein, mainly the reciprocal destruction of the creation is concerned.

Yet more than in the conceptions of the Ormuzdian belief does this intermixed existence of the material and the spiritual appear forth almost in its ethical substance. The fundamental determining of the same, the notion of goodness, however much we must admire its pure and spiritual comprehension, has its origin in the old Iranian natural instincts, which certainly constituted the ground-plan of the Ormuzdian belief. In the Iranian way of looking at things, the good is, in short, an entirely universal notion, good is all that is, it is in itself good indeed, for the reason that it exists. The determination of the good is, consequently, originally comprised in the notion of existence; but that this determination does not correspond to the reality, is owing to the defective, the irrational that the reality has in itself. This comprehensive determination, which lies at the root of the Iranian instincts, brings the mythological mode of representation of its kind within a relation of time. Ormuzd has originally created the whole world good, but afterwards Ahriman has arrived—from where it is not said—and strewn the germ of evil in the good creation. Good is, then, further, pre-eminently that which proves its own existence out of its own self, which lives, consequently, vegetable, animal and human world; good is naturally, however, even that which bestows life and creates life, and this result light produces in an exquisite

manner. Yet, light is not merely good in this derivative. secondary sense, light and life stand not merely in the relation of cause and effect to each other, but they are mixed in each other, not merely where light is there is life also, but, further, where life is there is light also, light and life are identical, in the direct view they are wholly one. Likewise, we do not express the Iranian thought, indeed not completely, when we say: light is good. For the good is not merely a predicate of light, but substance and attribute converge here wholly together. Light is good and good is light. Light, life, the good are only different expressions for the one thing which includes all these in it, and the which, since surely we require a name for it, we designate at the best as the good; only every one must constantly bear in mind what that properly means. Both the conceptions, light and life, lead us on now to the further one, that of purity; the luminous is in itself the clear, the pure, and it is purity, *par excellence*, that produces healthy, vigorous life. Thus, then, the good defines itself as wider than the pure, and here too again, not in that predicative, but in the substantial manner. Now, how the material pure turns quite involuntarily and spontaneously into the spiritual and moral pure, has been seen above, likewise, how the one not merely stipulates the other, but the one frequently appears wholly in the place of the other. Thus, we have now the moral as the wider definition of the good, and, we own, we arrive at the idea of the moral not solely through the idea of the pure but, as in the case of all these conceptions, really everything penetrates through each other, so the moral accords together even as closely with the other definition of the one, the

universal, the good. The luminous, the transparent, the clear is also the true, the right, the moral ; and just life in itself, even the life, innocent of knowledge has, according to the Iranian intuitions, moral worth. Thus, the moral, even though it belongs to a higher sphere, to the sphere of free spirit, assumes, nevertheless, no other attitude towards the conception of the good than that other definition. All are but different phases of the one, the good. Although by this it in no wise is intended to be said, that the Iranian spirit, with the accumulating invigoration of the moral consciousness, may not have longed for, and found, something higher in the moral than in the material good, still this intrinsic conference of the moral and religious fundamental instincts has never altered, the moral has ever remained bound up in the natural, and the moral spirit of the Iranian people, notwithstanding all the struggle, has never exalted itself to the height of free spirituality, although many a times one may be inclined to say, now this height has been attained. The inadequateness of the reality to the destiny, which, properly speaking, all existence has, leads us on to the notion of the evil which is taken up empirically—of the harmful, the death-causing, the impure, the dismal, the mischievous, what all quite similarly accord together. We have already seen above, how this antagonism connects itself with the contrasts of the nature of the Iranian country and improves farther upon them.

In this—that the Iranians, with all their energy, place this antagonism of the good and the bad in the foreground, refer everything to it, and exalt the good in the ethical problem, which they themselves raise, into

absolute power—is hid the ethical character of the Iranian religion and life-intuitions. The ethical question determines itself completely conformably to the tenor of the ethical essentiality, we have perceived in it likewise that peculiar admixture of the material and the spiritual. Field and garden cultivation, in common with purity and truthfulness of word and deed, holiness of thought so well as the killing of noxious animals, form a religious and moral duty of the Iranians, the one fundamentally as much meritorious as the other. The one-in-another mixed existence of the material and the spiritual pervades likewise throughout the whole life of the Persians in its various forms, and, in truth, not merely so, that we find, for instance, by the side of the naturally growing mode of family life, that noble formation of the relations towards the neighbours, but in every single one of those forms we meet with both, only that the one preponderates at one time, the other at another. In the system of the Persian education, the youths learn to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth; in family life the much naturally grown conception of the object of matrimony formed in the primitive condition, together with also at least the beautiful relation of the children to their parents, notably to their mother; in social intercourse the high conception of duty towards one's neighbours, again the equal appreciation of the observance not merely of outward decorum but also of an elaborate etiquette; finally, in the relation of the king towards his subjects, on the one side the rude despotism, on the other the devoted love and fidelity of the subjects. This blending of the spiritual and the natural displayed itself, finally, even in both the

principal traits of the Iranian character, in the sense for everything noble and grand and the tendency towards the material, the reality, the life. By the side of the noble fruits that it has borne, we see it, nevertheless, even again cleaving to the sensuous, the superficial, the frivolous, although this appears forth only in later ages in a blameworthy manner. The practical rational sense of the Persians, which finds its utterance in the excellent qualities of wisdom and circumspection, recovers, on the other side, its goal and its solace in the extraordinarily high esteem for labour, notably that of the cultivation of the field and the breeding of cattle; and if in this matter the natural element has exercised its best effects on the Iranian life, so, on the other hand, the warlike spirit and the heroic feeling had suffered a degeneration and a wildness and ultimately ended in the inhuman atrocities, which will ever remain a stigma on the character of this noble nation.

This undeveloped condition of the direct unity of spirit and nature—in which the natural indeed continuously strives after the spirit and even attains it, but this spiritual, surely ever again remains bound to the natural—displays itself not merely in the domains of religions for itself and of the morals for itself, but also in the intermingling of them both, and in truth not merely of religion and morals, but generally of religion with all the other spheres of life. To religion is not one any exact department assigned, on the contrary, it is the absolute power, which presides paramount over all the rest of the departments of Iranian life, rules dictatorially in all, so that the civil institutions and laws, the morals and the

customs, are at once religious laws, the commandments of religion are at once the laws of the state, that it is present to the Iranians in all their important dealings of life, indeed we may say, at their every step and pace, and stamps its impress on all the relations in which the Persians stand towards each other. One may but imagine, for instance, how the Iranians must have constantly held before their eyes the religious laws, which were apt to be so lightly violated if incessant watchfulness was neglected. This interference of religion in the spheres which are, properly speaking, foreign to it, accords together in so far with that blending of the spiritual and the natural, that the religion, as the spiritual, draws within its reach things that are properly speaking not merely indifferent for the religion, but have really nothing at all to do with the spiritual generally. The pernicious influences, which this position of religion has had among other nations of antiquity, *viz*, the priestly dominancy and the stand-still of the spiritual and social development, have, in the Ormuzdian belief, however, not had their place, on the contrary, we are compelled to acknowledge, that wherever that religion had made its influence felt there it produced an ennobling, refining effect, conducive to spiritual and moral elevation.*

If we have now to regard this comprisal of the spiritual in the natural as the barrier of the Iranian national spirit, still it would surely be unjust, if, over the admiration, however, with which, the loftiness of the Ormuzdian religion, the purity of the moral ideas contained therein, the deep earnestness of the Iranians

* Origines c Celo vi., 80.

in their comprehension of sin, and the moral capability of the nation, fill us, we wished to keep back the other factor of the Iranian character and regarded it merely as the imperfect and the bad, as that one which had hindered the Iranian genius from climbing completely the height after which it strived. Rather it is just the natural and the naturally grown that renders the traits of the Iranian people specially dear and the revived portraiture of this ruined world of a kinsfolk especially attractive to us. When we allow the earliest history of the human race to be held before us and perceive from it, how the Egyptians really with earnest will conceived life and all that it offered, but only to perpetuate the same in eternal, immutable forms; how the Semites in the rending of their innermost nature, in the dividing in twain of their consciousness, extirpated their own-selves, how the Indians sought their salvation in their escape out of the earthly tenement: then lingers our eye with pleasure on the Iranian nation, who, with a healthy look, comprehends the problem of life, places before itself a real, attainable goal, and with powerful, fresh strength casts itself ardently on life; who had a true delight in life and in all that life produces and life creates. Conscientious utilisation of the good things, that the nature and notably the earthly soil offers to mankind, advancement and dissemination of the health-producing, sound, and vitality—strengthening elements through the instrumentality of constant watchfulness and nimble activity, in short, labour itself it was to which their nature impelled the Iranians. That is the one gift, which they owe to the conspicuous presence of the natural and the nature-augmenting elements in

their character ; the other excellence lies on the side of the spiritual, and is properly speaking only the ideal expression of that actual direction of life. Throughout the entire Iranian contemplation of the world there wafts a fresh, lifeful breath. In every object of nature, in each plant, each tree, each animal, they hail a peculiar, divine life; even the efficacy of the inanimate natural substances, of water and fire, of the moon and the sun is, according to the Persians, borne by a divine light-genius. In everything, in which they can possibly rejoice themselves, their grateful sense recognises but a holy creation of the all good God. The whole nature vivifies their fancy with the spirit-like, ingenious figures of the realm of light that everywhere surrounds and accompanies them, and even though the spirit among them, is still concealed within the vestures of nature, yet, on the other hand, they observe in nature that spirit which fills and animates the universe with its divine power.

ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION
AS ONE OF THE SOURCES OF
MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

FROM DR. ROTH'S GERMAN WORK ON THE EGYPTIAN
AND ZOROASTRIAN DOCTRINES OF
FAITH AS THE OLDEST SOURCES
OF OUR SPECULATIVE IDEAS.

Extracted and translated

PREFACE.

This book forms the first portion of a work that is the result of great exertions and labours of several years. The plan to accomplish it was conceived in those happy years in which youthful enthusiasm sets a high aim before it, and a yet unbowed-down spirit of life shrinks not back from any difficulty. Out of the study of the prevalent speculative systems of the day, I had from early youth acquired for myself the conviction that the state of our present-day speculations was to be understood only out of the development-processes of all the combined philosophies ; I had sought the elucidation of our present from the past. As I had advanced so far, that I was able to form a conviction peculiarly my own, which would be sufficient for the ends of practical life, I felt myself impelled further on. I believed to be on the verge of many discoveries that would not have been undesirable even to others who were striving after enlightenment ; certainly the furtherance of our entire intellectual culture appeared concerned in a correct view in our speculation. He, therefore, who could give such an exposition of the historical development of our speculation, that the reader could acquire a real insight into its nature, appeared to me to be the one fitted to undertake such a work that could reckon on the thanks of its contemporaries. Such an aim was admittedly stuck at a far distance, and it was to be foreseen, that it would have to be attained only after several efforts. Its attainment, however, appeared to be necessary, and the highest intellectual interests were therewith connected. I undertook, therefore, to strive after this goal.

Between the plan and the execution thereof there lay, however, a wide gulf. The field was immense and even the very tracts already smoothed away difficult enough. At times it was necessary to widen it yet further and stretch it out even over untreaded streaks. I perceived, that the principles of our systems of ideas were to be sought after not merely in the West, not merely in the Roman and Grecian antiquities, but also in the East; I saw the necessity of investigating even into the sources of Christianity, into its origin, from Judaism. After several years of occupation with quite neglected fields of literature, and led on from one investigation to another, I discovered at last results, such as I had not at all expected, and recognised in the doctrinal faiths of the Egyptians and the Persians the common sources of the Grecian philosophy and of the Jewish-Christian schools of ideas. Now I had to entertain a new resolution. These outlying fields too I had to seek to explore for myself; the key to them was offered by the hieroglyphics and the Zend. Already thirty years of age, I went to Paris, where I occupied myself for four years with the study of the languages and the authorities. After my return to my native land, I began to manipulate the accumulated materials, till ultimately my work so far advanced, after the uninterrupted labours of many years, that I am here able to place before the reader the first volume thereof, to which with the most possible speed the next will follow.

I believed myself necessitated to mention this much, in one part, in order to convince the reader, that here he has before him the results of a conscientious

research that lasted for several years, which indeed might on this account deserve some confidence even where it strikes out new paths on an uncultivated field; on the other hand, in order to obviate the prejudice that a new writer must necessarily also be a young writer.

INTRODUCTION.

FIRST CHAPTER.

THE THEME OF A HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY,
DERIVED FROM THE NOTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY.

A survey of the philosophical development attained hitherto, a history of philosophy really befitting its name, appears to be more in appropriate time at this moment than ever before. For, according to all indications, our intellectual culture has at present entered upon one of those crises which in the course of human development make epochs. The circle of ideas come down to us from the earlier generations, — given birth to by the culture-conditions so strange to us and long since disappeared, produced out of a contemplation of the world which has now already since three centuries been out of fashion, — shows itself insufficient for the culture-stand of our present day, without harmonising with our present view of the world. Already, since three centuries, among all the European nations that were in the course of history the promoters of modern civilisation, the greatest intellectual minds have unremittingly laboured on the task, to build up a system of ideas which should correspond to the culture-stand and the exigencies of modern times. After that the rest of the nations have exhausted their intellectual faculties on the solution of this problem and rested wearied of their labours, the German nation in these recent times has become the home of philosophical activity, and in a few decades has made a series of magnificent attempts, with an expenditure of intellectual powers rare in the history

of the world, to solve this difficult problem. None of these efforts, although all hailed by a portion of contemporaries with jubilation as the final appearance of truth, has proved itself sufficient or has permanently satisfied the intellectual craving. Even the last school, that proclaimed its "found" with the most elated self-sufficiency, finds itself placed now, having waked from its inebriation, in the consciousness of having been self-deceived. Will every one, after this last attempt even having failed, abandon for the present every endeavour after gaining a completed and concluded knowledge, as a presumption surpassing the human powers ? Will every one abstain from the producing of a new philosophical system, as from a resultless web, in which, as in the mantle of Penelope, to-day is unravelled what was woven yesterday ? Will even the thinkers from among the German nation, discouraged by the fruitlessness of the efforts made hitherto, likewise desist from the struggle after the possession of truth, as they would from the realisation of an avowedly beautiful but really unsubstantial dream ? Or will one much rather, after the pause that has occurred just at present, like as after a time of internal rallying in which one surveys once again the path that philosophy has already traversed and prepares himself ready for fresh exertions, finally make one more fortunate attempt, for the object of setting up a complete cognisance satisfying our present state of culture ?

We believe in the last. For we are of the persuasion, that in truth the science of cognition will never even once attain a state of conclusiveness and completeness,

and never will the truth be offered entire and complete, but that, despite thereof, an unceasing striving after knowledge lies deep in the nature of the human intellect; that the formation of philosophical systems, even though they should never once contain truth, conclusive and complete in itself, is yet a necessary and essential utterance of the human mind, by means of which it at least approaches to the attainment of truth; and that consequently even our own age has the mission, to erect for itself a knowledge-structure corresponding to the state of its civilisation.

To contribute to the attainment of this end, seems now to be the theme of a history of philosophy for our as for every age.

A short comprehension of these points will, it is to be hoped, clear up the plausible contradictions contained in them, and conduct us to an approval of the views established in them.

Our collective knowledge consists of two great domains, much different from each other. The first comprises the information of all the numberless single phenomena, that the universe, interminable in its parts and in its circumference, offers to our perception and observation. This is the circle of our knowledge.

The second domain of knowledge consists of our discernments of the universal prime causes underlying the phenomenal world and of the laws of their activity. This is the circle of our cognition.

The first branch, that of our knowledge, presents the aspect of an interminable, apparently anomalous

multifariousness. The every single objects observable in the universe, their activities and conditions, the phenomena, which the whole universe involved in an eternal flow of development incessantly presents to the sense of perception, constitute the substance of this field of knowledge. All our empirical sciences are comprised therein, and consist solely of a regularly arranged compilation of our knowledge of individual things and individual phenomena, however they may relate to the single portions of the outer world and of the phenomena perceptible in it, — the materials of the outer experiences, — or, to the individual energies and visions of our own intellect, — the materials of the inner experiences. The collective result of all these single informations derived from experience, as well of the materials of the outer as of the inner experience, combines itself into one great whole, into a collective form of the phenomenal world, into our view of the world. Our perception of the world arises, according to that, out of the union of that interminable multifariousness of our knowledge of the single things and the single phenomena. To expound these phenomena rightly, *i. e.*, harmoniously with the reality and separated from the illusions of the appearances of sense, is the complete theme of empirical knowledge.

This collective idea of the phenomenal world, of our world-contemplation, offers now the material for that higher activity of the mind, appropriate to and exclusively befitting the human intellect, which consists in tracing back this infinite multiplicity of single phenomena to one intrinsic unity. This is the theme of

our cognition; the one which constitutes the second, the superior field of our science. This higher field of our science professes to present the revelation of a deeper order and regularity of laws, which lie hidden behind that apparent disorderliness of the phenomena; it comprises the attempts, which the human intellect has made, to resolve the multiplicity of the phenomena into a small number of common first causes, to indicate the laws of their operations, and to trace back the collective phenomenal world to one simple last primitive cause, the deity.

For, to search after such an unity in the multiplicity of the phenomena and, in accordance with that, to trace back even the whole of its cognition, that shall be an utmost possibly faithful image of reality, to such an unity, to that end the intellect of man is driven necessarily partly by the inner nature of his thought, because the conception-formation of the very same proceeds on out of the multiplicity of the perceptions, ascending up higher, towards such an unity, partly by the observation of the phenomenal world, which discovers to him through thousand vestiges such an unity.

Such a structure of the collective cognition, traced back to a last and supreme unity, to which the individual cognitions range themselves in order, — this would, if it were extant, be the philosophy, the cognition-science. Philosophy professes then to unite in itself the views deduced out of the knowledge collected together in the collective empirical sciences, and every empirical science would with its last and highest results be sufficiently present in this science of cognition, in philosophy. This

idea of philosophy, as of a complete cognition embracing the collective empirical sciences, it was, which hovered before the mind of Aristotle. To construct such a complete cognition out of the knowledge extant in his times, and to leave it behind him to posterity in his writings, was the aim of his efforts and the fruit of his life.

These two fields of science, that of the empirical sciences and that of philosophy, are just as different even in their modes of origin, as in their nature. The circle of our knowledge arises out of our perceptions, out of experience and observation of phenomena. The circle of our cognition, on the other hand, springs out of the pure activity of our thoughts on the knowledge of the phenomenal world, derived by us through the medium of our perceptions. Knowledge is the material out of which our intellect shapes the cognitions. Although, in this manner, cognitions are a pure production of our intellectual activity, of our thoughts, still they have by no means an existence independent of the phenomenal world and experience. For, even though cognitions are not offered to us immediately through experience, but the human intellect itself rather produces them by means of a creative activity, still without the knowledge of the phenomenal world this creative activity of the intellect could not have its place, because then the material for the production of the cognitions would fail.

It is a great error, to believe, that the human thought can produce cognitions out of its own self, independently of the phenomenal world; an error, that

rests upon a self-delusion, first of all occasioned by the manner and way in which the human intellect produces for itself the cognitions of its own proper nature. Because men needed to this purpose no experience of the external world, so they fell into the delusion, that thought could generate the cognition through its own self, through its mere exclusive activity, in as much as they overlooked, that even here a perception and observation of the inner conditions of the soul must precede the simple thought, namely, of the formation of the conception and of the production of the cognition mediated through it, hence an inner experience, which for the formation of the conceptions and cognitions as well offers the materials, as the perceptions and experiences of the outward world offer them for the production of cognitions of the phenomenal world.

A second cause for this error lies herein, that the formation of the conceptions and the cognitions of the phenomenal world, in most cases, does not proceed forth out of the immediate perceptions of experience and observation, but procures its materials out of the ideas, *i.e.*, out of the impressions collected in the mind from the possessed perceptions, which the intellect may be able to call forth in itself, according to the requirements of the formation of conception and cognition, at its absolute free will. Even this circumstance could produce forth the delusion, that the so-formed conceptions and cognitions were free productions of thought, independent of the phenomenal world.

A third cause for this error, finally, is the manner and way in which the intellect brings forth the cogni-

tions of the infinite, the deity. In the production of all cognitions of objects of the finite phenomenal world, there lies before us foremost a definite series of single phenomena, the explanation and interpretation of which the cognitions to be formed are expected to contain. The solution brought forth by the intellect, by the help of thinking, can in such a case be compared directly with the phenomena and thus its correctness determined; for it is only then correct when it sufficiently explains all the phenomena, consequently, when it corresponds with the reality. Whereas, in the matter of all cognitions which refer to the infinite and the deity, there are no single phenomena, the explanations of which should be given through means of these cognitions, but it is only the general world-contemplation in its entirety and fulness. Only, our ideas of the world-all,—and in so far as the deity is considered a spiritual being, the general similarities of the individual spiritual beings that we come to know directly by means of experience, — as well as of the human intellect, — these they are, which present materials for the conception-formations and conclusions, by means of which thought strives to produce an approximate cognition of these most high and most difficult of substances. In the case of the cognitions brought forth in this manner, there can therefore be no question of any proof of their correctness being tested by means of a direct comparison with the reality, because just over the most difficult part of this inquiry the phenomenal world vouchsafes to us no direct information. But the singular means of proof of this kind of cognitions, are the conclusions issuing out of them, whose agreement or non-agreement with the

phenomenal world authenticates the correctness or the incorrectness of the views out of which they are derived. Because, in this manner, these highest cognitions stand in a mere loose and remote connection with the experience resulting out of the phenomenal world, neither could proceed forth directly out of the same, nor be proved directly on itself in reference to their correctness, so it is possible for the opinion to form itself, that they must have arisen quite independently of all experience derived from the phenomenal world, and become a simple production of mere mental activity.

This opinion is therefore a mere delusion; simple thought cannot produce any cognitions independently of the phenomenal world; on the contrary, these two fields of knowledge, that of our information, of our empirical science, and that of our cognition, of philosophy, depend together the most closely in spite of the diversity of their modes of origin, and our system of cognitions is totally dependent upon the position of our knowledge derived from experience.

If, now, the empirical informations were concluded, and our knowledge embraced actually the collective field of phenomena, then the possibility would come into existence, that even our cognitions, as the highest results of the empirical knowledge, would constitute a fully accomplished whole, concluded in itself, at least so far as it is possible to the human intellect generally to produce for itself a sure cognition. Then, all the highest and the latest conceptions, under which admittedly all the rest become subordinated, but which, them-

selves, even as the highest, cannot any more be subordinated to any yet higher, like all those standing in connection with the infinite, the deity, partly according to the nature of our conception-structures, partly according to the nature of our finite intellect, are to our thoughts incomprehensible in their inner character, and attainable approximately only by the negative ways. Only in a concluded situation of the empirical knowledge, therefore, philosophy could be a completed science, and cognition would vouchsafe the truth, at least so far as its possession is conceded to the human intellect.

SECOND CHAPTER.

THE EXTENT OF THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY AND RESTRICTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF OUR WESTERN COUNTRIES.

Since, according to what has preceded, the individual philosophical systems are but links of a coherent chain of the development of philosophy, and the present state of our cognition the result of a preceding long intellectual culture, a valuable possession transmitted to us in a great measure out of past ages, so, to succeed to the understanding of our present circle of ideas, it is necessary to reach upwards back to its sources, up to the starting-point, with which the development of the philosophical culture began. In this manner the history of philosophy receives the determination of its compass through the origin and improvement of philosophy itself. For if this has really passed through a series of

internal developments, of which each is a distinct system by itself, so that our last system constitutes but the last link of a coherent chain reaching up into antiquity, so must even the history of philosophy,— if it expects to vouchsafe an intimate view into this process of development and consequently in the present state of our knowledge, — trace back up to the commencement of this chain. Where then is to be found the beginning of our present philosophical culture ?

To every one that but in any measure attempts to render to himself an account of the reason of his higher convictions, based either on belief or reflection, it must instantly strike as evident, that, at least as regards his religious convictions, it takes root in a circle of ideas originated indeed before nearly two thousand years ago, in the Christian, in fact, and that, even just if it were found in opposition with the same, even then nevertheless it depends for that reason from the very same.

But even the second, still older, historical source of our total superior intellectual culture of the present day, cannot be unknown to any one to whom a careful education has been allotted, not to mention besides of the erudite culture : in fact, the literature and in particular, the philosophy of the Greeks.

Out of these two sources, the Christian religion and the Grecian philosophy, has flown in matter of fact all that in our present cycle of cognition which is not a direct product of the experimental sciences ; the greatest portion of our mental cognition originates, as regards matter or form, out of these two circuits of ideas.

Up to the rise of the Christian religion and the Grecian philosophy at least, we ought, accordingly, to trace back.

An exact acquaintance with these two circles of ideas teaches us, however, that even they again are not at all original, but flow down out of yet more remote sources, and, in truth, — by a curious coincidence — both from just the very same two common sources : the Egyptian and the Bactrio-Persian doctrinal belief.

The Christian circle of belief in fact agrees most precisely with the Jewish.

The Jewish circle of faith remained, however, since its origin, not unchanged in itself, but adopted in course of time two features, essentially diverging from each other in their most material representations. The more ancient of them predominated among the Jews at the period of their political independence, previous to the so-called Babylonian captivity, and appears in the earlier books of the Old Testament. The later, in the strict sense so-called Jewish doctrine of faith, developed itself among the Jews not until after the Babylonian captivity, when Judæa was a Persian province, and is found in the later books of the Old Testament and in the Jewish writings a little older than, or contemporaneous with, the books of the New Testament, as well as in the oldest portions of the Talmud.

That more ancient form of the Jewish doctrine of faith has its origin, like the entire political and civil organisation of the Jewish nation, in the Egyptian culture, the recent one, on the other hand, in that

Bactrio-Persian circle of ideas that had spread itself out beyond Persia over the whole of Western Asia, so far as it was subjected to the Persian supremacy.

The researches in the further progress of this work will elucidate and place in proper light these yet not sufficiently understood relations.

If it appears perhaps already strange, that the Jewish circle of ideas should be derived from Egypt and Persia, then it would meet with yet greater opposition to say, that even the Grecian philosophy must be regarded to originate from Egypt and Persia; for it is a favourite tendency of the most recent times, to explain the Grecian culture, and in particular, the Grecian philosophy, to be an independent fruit of the Grecian soil, and it is held for an old prejudice, scared away by modern interpretations, for an absence of critical acumen, nay almost for an offence to the honour of the Grecian nation, to be disposed to assert, that just the highest bloom of its intellectual culture, namely, the philosophy, may have been acquired from the countries of the barbarians and transplanted on the Grecian soil. Nevertheless, even the *éclaircissement* has its prejudices; and there is also a false criticism. Without doubt, the great names, which support this opinion by their countenance, claim a well-founded consideration, and only after great hesitation, and not until after the most mature reflection, will one come to a decision, to reject an opinion so weightily put forward. But one must repeat with Aristotle: Honour to Socrates, honour to Plato, but still more honour to Truth.

The ancients notice unanimously, that the earlier Grecian thinkers, derived their accomplishments from travels in the East, and, in particular, of Pythagoras, from whose school, as it will be shown in this work, the entire ancient Greek philosophy proceeds, it is expressly intimated, that he had resided in Egypt and Persia for a great part of his life, and that he had brought with him his knowledge from these two countries. The most minute examination of the chronological dates and a closer acquaintance with his teachings confirm both the statements in the most definite manner. Nay, our researches will prove with perfect clearness and accuracy, that not alone in the Pythagorean system, but also in those of the thinkers succeeding him, till down to Plato, and he too included, all the principal doctrines, in manipulating which the scientific thought of the Greeks first developed itself, are borrowed from one of these two circles of ideas, either the Egyptian or the Bactrio-Persian.

Thus, then, at last we have the Egyptian and the Bactrio-Persian speculations left to us as the earliest sources, as well of the Grecian, as of the Christian circle of ideas, and consequently also yet of our present-day philosophy. In Egypt and Persia, or, properly speaking, in Bactria, there was, accordingly, the cradle of our philosophic culture of the present day, and its development upto its present state must have required a period of time of nearly three and a half thousand years.

To this period of time and to the streaks of land from Western Asia, and from Egypt along the countries

of the Mediterranean Sea up to Western Europe, is limited, then, the sphere upon which the history of the development of our philosophy of the present day has played its rôle.

The rest of the Asiatic nations, which had any philosophy, namely, the Indians and the Chinese, lie beyond the limits of our theme, because no influence from their arena of ideas is historically traceable upon that of ours. Because regard to this is the regulating line for the limits of this work. It purposes to expound only the development-history of our European philosophy. Not as if by saying this it is desired to deny to an exposition of those East-Asiatic philosophies their deserving great value; on the contrary, besides the historically developing method, that leads into deeper insights into the nature of a phenomenon, for the reason that it allows it as though to arise and perfect itself before the intellectual eye, there exists even again another method, alike successful, to penetrate into the inner nature of a subject, namely, that of the comparison of several kindred phenomena among each other, inasmuch as in this manner, by the acquirement of a plurality of common results, even the inner character is brought into inspection. This comparative method is it principally, which has raised the modern natural sciences to such a high degree of perfection. It will, therefore, without doubt, be of the greatest interest, if we are once in a position, to expound with perfectly intimate knowledge of facts, the idea-circles of two nations, that have a peculiar culture, independent of us and respectively of each other. For, already even at present, with

our yet very inadequate knowledge of the philosophical literature of those nations, their philosophies surprise us even as well by the oft strange heterogeneousness of their unique teachings, as also, on the other side, again by the as much unexpected similarity, as well of their speculative systems, wholesale and complete, as even in the course of their development. What instructive conclusions on the general laws, to which the intellectual culture generally must be subjected, will consequently have to be expected, when their literatures are so accessible to us, that a philosophically cultured head, provided with the necessary linguistical knowledge, can give us an exposition of the same out of the study of the proper sources !

For the present moment, however, such an undertaking is nevertheless impracticable. We know the philosophy of both the nations still merely out of information of second and third hand, and stand just only on the threshold of their literature. And particularly the Chinese literature, so deserving of a close study, on account of its richness and its vast extension, is among us, in Germany, yet as good as unknown.

The work before us will therefore confine itself to pursuing the development of our occidental philosophy from its very first source, on through antiquity and the middle ages till down to our present day.

It will have to begin with the sketch of the Egyptian and the Bactrio-Persian doctrines of faith ; thereafter it will have to prove, how through the medium of Pythagoras a series of representations, compiled out of both

the doctrines of faith, has transplanted itself into the Grecian countries, and there offers occasion for the perfecting of a number of speculative systems ; how then the Christian series of ideas comes next into existence, moulding itself, first of all, under manifold influences of Grecian philosophical questions, and, thereafter, in the middle ages, perfecting itself into a substantial independent philosophy ; until, finally, on the occasion of the resuscitation of ancient literature in the fifteenth century, through the renewed acquaintanceship with ancient philosophy and the awakened rage for intellectual life, modern philosophy takes its rise out of the Christian series of ideas, and produces a concordant range of philosophical systems, of which the last falls in our present times.

THE OLDEST SPECULATION.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The beginning of our Occidental philosophy reaches, as we have seen, through the medium of the Grecian speculation and of the Jewish Christian circle of ideas, back up to the Egyptian and Bactrio-Persian doctrines of faith. The essential connection of these two circles of faith with the later development of the philosophical and religious speculation, the further progress of this work will put forward in its full light and raise above all doubts. With an exposition of these two circles of faith we must therefore begin the history of our Occidental philosophy. By this we see ourselves led to a field, very obscure in itself and quite heterogene-

ous for our modern ways of thinking, to the field in fact of ancient religion. The same appears heterogeneous in a double view : for the nonce, here at this place, in its combination with philosophy ; for by far the greater plurality of our contemporaries has well accustomed itself to regard philosophy and religion as two quite differently assorted, yea indeed contrary, circles of ideas. Then, however, these ancient religious circles might even in themselves appear extremely strange to our modern ways of thinking, for the speculation, which is contained therein, much differs in substance and form from what we are accustomed to conceive under these names in the modern philosophical and religious systems. Obscure however is this field in every respect. It belongs to the beginnings of history that are known to us but extremely incomplete, so that, as every critic will concede, it is extremely difficult to offer, from the sundry notices come down to us in the most varied of literatures, in some measure connected whole, in a reviewing exposition like this. It is conceivable, however, of itself, that the knowledge of the most ancient history is indispensably necessary for the right understanding of these religious systems of ideas ; for without this knowledge the most ancient religious circles are in want of every fixed grounding and remain themselves incomprehensible, because one can form to himself no conception of the culture-circumstances and the historical conditions out of which they have issued forth. Add to this then, that these religious systems were hitherto but very insufficiently known to us, because the indirect authorities, out of which alone we were able throughout

a long period to acquire their knowledge, namely, the notices of the Greek and Roman historians, flow but very sparingly ; the direct authorities, however, the yet preserved original monuments, are found in the languages and literatures that formerly were entirely unknown to us, have become accessible to us only just since short time ago, and for that reason is but even yet less cultivated and fostered. There is therefore in this matter yet everything to be done anew. The researches must have in the greatest portion to be freshly instituted and grounded, and before they could find but a free field, there are, first, erroneous views to be obviated, that must have issued forth necessarily out of the hitherto prevailing want of knowledge of the true circumstances of the matter. The exposition of these most ancient systems of beliefs belongs therefore to the most difficult and the most troublesome subjects in the history of philosophy, although in there is no want of hard portions ; at the same time such inquiries rank probably among the most unthankful ones, because for most people they have indeed only a slight attraction, since they stand apart palpably very far from the interests of the day, and our contemporaries are moreover inclined to make it a reproach to the German erudition, that it neglects for the useless researches of the most distant past the needfuls of the nearest present. Nevertheless could they not be avoided, because, quite irrespective of the fact, that several of the most principal representations of our religious circles of ideas, still at the present day current among us, reach up to that hoary antiquity and find their roots directly in these two most ancient

systems of belief, the determination of correct opinion on the beginnings of speculation exercises a decided influence on the understanding of the entire ancient philosophy, in that therefrom the correct insight in the development-process of ancient speculation depends in a great portion.

Owing to the peculiar difficulties of the subject, the inquiries must however be conducted with the greatest acuteness and circumspection, and the whole future course of our exposition must determine itself hereupon. To meet the objection that one could take to the fact, that the beginnings of philosophy are traced to the religious circles of ideas, it is before all necessary to discuss the relation of philosophy to religion yet more closely. Then, in order to prepare beforehand for the correct apprehension of those most ancient religious systems of representations, the essential difference of the ancient speculation from the modern, and really not merely in respect of those two most ancient systems of belief, but also as regards the most ancient Grecian philosophy down to Plato, must be set in clear light ; for the mistaking of this great difference has obstructively hindered the right understanding not merely of the ancient religions, but also of the entire ancient philosophy. Only just when the erroneous views on these two points are obviated that we are able to go over to the exposition of the most ancient systems of beliefs. To this end, to acquire the necessary sure footing for the exposition, it is needful, at the very first, to premise in a short survey the historical relations and circumstances which took place between the West Asiatic nations and

the people of the Mediterranean Sea, in doing which we propose to attempt, so far as it is at present possible, to introduce light and order in the dim chaos of primitive history. To this survey of the primitive history a discussion of the most ancient deistical conceptions prevailing among the principal nations shall follow, so that the reader may be in a position to pursue the development of the particular religious speculations from their very commencements. After that the reader is in this wise placed in the possession of all preliminary knowledge needful to a deeper understanding, the exposition itself of those two most ancient speculative teachings of belief shall succeed. The exposition of these two doctrinal beliefs will be produced directly out of the original sources; and in order that the reader can even here see with his own eyes and himself form his own judgment, there shall precede, before the exposition of each of these systems of beliefs, a survey of the authorities and especially of the original documents in their original languages, which have remained to us yet from the religious literature of those ancient peoples; and a sketch of its historical origin, so far as it admits of being still recognised, shall follow, so that the sum total of what we are able to know and not know of these things remains before the critical eye of the reader even as clearly as before that of the writer. Finally, in addition to all these researches, shall be adduced in the notes the requisite passages of the original documents, out of which the author has produced his results, in the original languages themselves, with the most exact grammatical interpretations. Thus the reader with

practical knowledge can follow the author at every step into the minutest single inquiries, and is not constrained to accept anything whatsoever, either great or small, merely on faith and belief. When, at last, the exposition concludes with a characteristic and critical examination of the speculative contents of these doctrines of faith and of the standpoint of the development of thought appearing therein, in order latterly to be enabled to connect the beginnings of Grecian philosophy to these systems of faith, then the observant reader that has not avoided the trouble of the after study, is fully in a position to form an independent judgment as well on the materials produced before him as on the author's exposition.

The author has on the one hand chosen this method of the exposition which renders to the reader the most certain control possible, for the reason that it is the only worthy one principally in matters of scientific researches; for it vouchsafes to the reader on the part of the author the position of a joint inquirer; amongst men however no one teaches, but every one learns from the circumstances, the composer first, the reader next. On the other part, such a mode of exposition appeared doubly necessary in the province of a science that is yet as good as not known, that only just begins to be cultivated by sundry inquirers, and renders necessary widely extended studies of languages and literatures that are entrusted singly indeed not to many, in their aggregate however indeed to yet fewer; a department of science therefore, which up to the present was a wrestling-place of the most windy hypothetical inquiries,

so that it has just only as yet to acquire its credit among the considerate critics.

In a happy wise the trouble taken upon these difficult researches is not without fruit, and the author hopes that, at the end of the exposition, this obscure subject, at least in its main features, will appear clearly elucidated before the intellect of the reader, and no essential questions will remain without reply. For a great portion of the obviously impenetrable obscurity in which for our purposes these early times are enveloped, had its reason not so much in the insufficiency of the authorities handed down to us, as rather in the inadequacy of our ordinary studies. For the necessary material lay in so many varieties of linguistical and literary circles, that in no single inquirer the needful multiplicity of the previous studies appertaining thereto was found easily combined together; the single individual therefore, restricted to the limited sphere of his knowledge, never looked over the whole materials collected together. The author, from early times oppressed by this truth, has not therefore shunned the trouble to undertake the linguistical studies needful for the inquiries into the philosophical sources, and hopes by his example to encourage younger scholars to proceed further on the way laid down by him and to place their predecessors betimes in themselves of their complete results. For much as is felt that these researches are not concluded, yet it must be remembered that they are scarcely just commenced, and promise to the assiduity of the persevering inquirer yet abundant booty.

Let us pursue now the range of our researches in accordance with the course just pointed out.

FIRST CHAPTER.

THE RELATION OF PHILOSOPHY TO RELIGION.

Out of the two circles of faith, the Egyptian and the Bactrian, it is that our philosophical culture has proceeded. Out of these two circles of faith, first of all, the Grecian philosophy has developed itself. Another circle of belief is again the Christian, one likewise taking root in those two earlier ones, that has by its influence remodelled the Grecian philosophy and produced forth that of the middle ages. And out of the clashing of the Christian circle of belief and the philosophy perfected in it with the Grecian intellectual culture newly awakened since the restoration of the sciences, arose our present philosophy. Out of the religious circle of ideas, then, philosophy has sprung up, by means of a circle of religious ideas it has become remodelled, and out of the conflict with this circle of religious ideas its modern form has proceeded forth.

The connection of philosophy with religious ideas is, then, evident to every unprejudiced observer ; and an insight into the development of philosophy is quite impossible without taking reference of the religious ideas. The sequel of this inquiry will make the religious character of the whole of the ancient Grecian philosophy clearly established. During the whole of the middle ages, there existed a close connection between philosophy and

religion, and really to such a high degree, that philosophy was subordinated to religion. It was not until in the last centuries, when the speculative thinkers became conscious of the split between the prevalent doctrines of faith and their own particular opinions, that they sought, for the security of their freedom of thought, to separate philosophy from religion, and to appropriate to it an independent position. Out of this manner of thinking proceed the attempts of the moderns, to construct the history of philosophy without any regard whatever to religious ideas, and to take no notice of the close connection that exists between religion and philosophy.

The defectiveness of these attempts and the insufficient insight, that these vouchsafe in the development of philosophy, are a necessary consequence of this one-sidedness. Only just the most recent times of all have again acknowledged the unity of religion and philosophy, and sought again to blend with each other the two circles of ideas separated from each other for an age long, without, however, any one of these attempts being able to succeed in attaining to a general appreciation.

The unity of religion and philosophy is therefore a truth, which must be placed at the top of every history of philosophy. Since, however, this proposition has decisive influence on the entire mode of treating the history of philosophy, and is affording criterion for its innermost nature, so it needs a more precise examination.

At the very outset, the prejudice must be laid aside, that the ancient religions have been nothing if not like

mythologies, in fact, those clusters of deitical stories, legends, and tales, composed together out of the popular representations, that are the most known to us, because we meet with them in the works of the artists and the poets. For, it is just this part of the religious representations, which offers the most appropriate materials for the creations of fantasies, because it is the most human, since, from its nature, it cannot be anything else than a faithfully reflected image of those national conditions in which it has originated ; whilst the higher religious representations, the proper deitical conceptions themselves, in the self-same measure as they are purer and more suitable to their subjects, shun the anthropomorphous modes of representations and expositions. At the same time, it is that circle of ideas that spread the most widely among the people, because it is intelligible even to the lowest powers of comprehension. No wonder, then, that the poets and the artists, for whom the exhibition and the embellishment of human nature and human life, from the point of art, is the highest theme, attach themselves by way of preference to this circle of representations, and also veil the higher religious representations themselves in such a form, since they become susceptible for a beautiful representation only when under this dress. Every one circle of belief has this envelopment of tales and legends round itself ; in no one, however, is it the real kernel. In order to vividly convince one's self of this, we need only recall to our remembrance the Christian art and poesy, and we will find again the self-same relation towards religion ; for human nature remains everywhere the same. Even as

ridiculous, as it would be so much, if we propose to attribute no deeper representations to the Christian religion, than those which lie at the root of the exhibitions of the Christian art, just as much it is unjust, if we desire to confine the ancient religions merely to that circle of representations which are to be met with in the works of the ancient artists and poets.

Besides the requirements of its fancy, every nation has, however, in addition, those of its heart, of its pious sentiments, and those of its understanding, of its cognition. Every ancient religion has, therefore, besides that circle of legends, which is indebted to fancy for its origin, also additionally other parts, which have proceeded forth out of these two latter faculties of the mind, namely, the sentiment and the understanding. Its pious feeling it satisfies through the worship paid to its deitcal forms and through its deitcal worship; the requirements of its understanding through a doctrine of faith, through a religious speculation.

It is natural, that the deitcal belief and the deitcal worship were in existence earlier than the religious speculation; because the requirements of the heart are the very first to awake, the requirements of the understanding, on the other hand, become aroused only just with the progressive intellectual culture.

The history of all the ancient religions points out accordingly to an age, in which but a proportionately small number of deitcal conceptions was extant, and the deitcal worship was yet very simple. The deitcal conceptions themselves were borrowed from the out-

ward nature ; the deitical worship, on the contrary, proceeded forth out of the human requirements. The sensuous perceptions of the great being and the forces which make up the entirety of the universe and produce forth therein universal life, those regularly measured changes of phenomena, from which the condition of human life and the satisfaction of its requirements are dependent : this it was that offered the materials for the deitical representations. The natural wish, to induce this Being to be inclined towards one's-self, to acquire its favour for one's-self, to avert its disfavour on feeling conscious of having committed errors, to implore benefits for the future, to thank for those already possessed — in short, the requirements of the human heart in the varying conditions of daily life, it was, which called forth the first deitical worship. Both, deitical belief and deitical worship, were grounded in the consciousness of the overpowering greatness and power of the surrounding nature and of the weakness and dependence of the human beings living within it. Hence, the history of all the ancient religions shows, that the very first deitical conceptions had issued forth out of the contemplations of the outward world, and were conceptions relating to the outward world. Just the universe itself and its large portions with the forces actively engaged therein : the nutriment-offering earth, — the celestial vault spanning the whole universe, — the great celestial orbs : the sun and the moon, — light and darkness, — humidity and warmth, the sources of all growth and all life, — these were the most ancient deitical conceptions. This is demonstrated by the reli-

gious histories of all the ancient nations that ever had a substantial culture, namely, the Egyptian, Bactrian, Indian, and the Chinese. All other opinions, that assume fetichism, zoolatry, &c., as the most ancient forms of religion, are the reveries of the moderns, particularly, just of the last centuries, of which the history of the most ancient religions know nothing at all, fetched from the modern forms of indeed again degraded civilisation, that without reason became considered as forms of incipient civilisation and referred back to the most ancient periods, arbitrarily and on mere hypothesis.

Now, to these deitical conceptions arising out of the contemplation of the outer nature, there attached itself, during the long duration of human society, a second subordinated series of deitical ideas, which developed themselves out of the circle of history and of human life itself. These deitical ideas sprung up out of historical reminiscences. They are the human personages, that for one reason or another continued to live in the remembrance of posterity, and on that account in their imaginations distinguished themselves as higher beings than the nameless hosts of the rest of the departed souls. The origin of these deitical conceptions is therefore indeed on that account later, that it presupposes the prior belief in a continual duration of the soul after death; notwithstanding that, however, it reaches back indeed to the oldest times of the history known to us, and in the beginnings of human civilisation. For the wish for a continuation of life after death lies so deep in the human breast, the idea of a total annihilation is so offensive and unbearable to the feeling, that the belief

in a lasting duration of the departed souls, even though only as shadowy phantoms, must indeed have established itself already in the earliest ages, with the very first awakening of reflection. And in matter of fact, the idea of a nether world is to be found, indeed in the most ancient religions, at the commencement of our historical reminiscences, as of a gathering-place for the phantoms, for the departed souls ; an idea, out of which afterwards developed itself, but only by slow degrees, the complete doctrine of another life after death, as the essentially chief part of our existence, and of the close reciprocal relations of these two divisions, through the recompense of life on this side of the heavens received in that of the other. So soon, however, as for once the possibility was offered to the belief in a continuous duration of soul after death, to imagine the dead as continuously living and continuously working, then the elevation of historical personages to godlike beings becomes of itself fully intelligible, from the manner and way in which the remembrance of an important personage is customary to transmit itself. For, it is a common phenomenon, which pervades through the whole of history, that the remembrance of an important personage, the more it loses in the course of time its definitiveness and sharpness in the memory of posterity, the more it enhances itself in magnitude and miraculousness, till such personages transmute themselves in the imaginations of the succeeding generations straight ways into superhuman beings. Their worship, which in the beginning proceeded forth out of admiration, gratitude or fear, becomes afterwards among the later generations put on the same

level with the worship of the proper deities themselves, of the original deitical conceptions, and in this manner the worship of the dead perceivable among most nations developes itself. Nay, in as much as the historical reminiscences bound together with such personages, embellished with the miraculous, address themselves more to the fantasy of the multitude and are more accessible to their faculty of comprehension, than the really more general, and therefore ever more undefined deitical conceptions themselves, so there appeared in most of the circles of belief the phenomenon, that the worship of the dead ever more increased with the progress of time, and eventually almost displaced the worship of the common deitical conceptions. This phenomenon appears itself hence even in most ancient religions, some few excepted, in which special religious prohibitions forbid the worship of the dead, as, for example, in the Jewish.

According to this, we find in most ancient circles of belief, a double class of deitical conceptions, the one proceeding forth out of the contemplation of nature, the other issuing out of history and the human life itself. The first class of deitical conceptions connects itself most closely with the view taken of the world by a nation, because it proceeds forth immediately out of the perceptions formed of the outward world, and contains ordinarily the first germs of a proper religious speculation. The second class, on the other hand, is that which makes up the kernel of mythology, of the religious traditional history, and to which the entire remaining legendary region attaches itself, which the fancy of a nation fashions forth out of its own proper social

conditions. Just this portion of the deitical conceptions, however, it is even, that is mostly destitute of proper religious value, and has to do the least with the cognition obtained from thought.

Not until after the completion of this deitical circle, the necessities of the understanding will, in proportion to the measure of the increasing intellectual culture, stir up to demand an explanation of the universe itself, which lies at the root of the deitical representations. The first attempts at setting up a system of cognition for the interpretation of the universe, originated in a necessary way much later, than the remaining portions of a system of belief. For, a nation must already have travelled over a large, nay almost the largest, portion of its development, before just the craving after a cognition could become perceptible in it; the intellectual culture must already be very much advanced and thought itself ripened, before a thinker could just be capable, to undertake an attempt for the satisfying of that craving. At least, the history of all the nations, whose intellectual development we could follow, shows that among them the activity of imagination precedes that of the understanding. The poesy and not the scientific thought accompanies the commencements of civilisation, and when the scientific thought makes its appearance, poesy has already run through a large portion of its nature-conforming forms and figures. The historical fiction, *i.e.*, history in poetical forms, the singular method of historical traditions, before there is any history-writing, begins ordinarily the intellectual development; the sentimental fiction, the lyric, follows next; and it is not until, when

by means of the last, the circle of ideas of a nation is already completed and refined, that then the nation is sufficiently ripe to make the first, and still often yet very rude, attempts at scientific thought. Among a nation, whose intellectual culture depends principally on its priesthood, the religious fiction: namely, the religious epic and the religious lyric, the latter besides an important portion of deistical worship, long precedes the first attempts at religious speculation.

Now, whether among a nation, the first attempts at thought assume, or not, a pious, *i.e.*, piously-believing, god-fearing or priest-fearing propensity, depends entirely upon the fact, whether this nation has or has not a distinct priesthood as the promoter of its intellectual culture. If a nation has, in consequence of its original civil organisations, no distinctly separate priesthood, then naturally its development also displays no traces of a priestly influence, and its thought, as well as its fictions, is without any especially pious tinge. This was the case, for example, among the Chinese. Among a nation, on the other hand, of which the civil institutions favoured the origination of an independent priesthood, of which the intellectual life in consequence became especially fostered by this priesthood, among such a nation even the entire intellectual culture must attract the priestly influence towards itself, and its thoughts, as well as its poesies and its collective remaining literature, must preserve a piously-believing appearance. This was, for example, the case among the Indians.

Whether the scientific thinking among a nation received, or not, a religious tint, depended altogether,

therefore, upon the regulations of the civil life and of state, upon the political institutions — upon, whether these call forth a distinct priesthood or not — certainly upon, in fact, whether its collective intellectual life becomes fostered by a distinct priesthood, or not. The religious colouring of thought, of speculation, is therefore no insulated phenomenon in a nation, but the very same religious spirit rather stretches itself out upon its collective intellectual culture, and perflates its entire literature; the imagination, for instance, is just as well penetrated by this as the thinking. If in a nation the priesthood does not take up within itself the collective culture, but even by the side of it there are yet other classes intellectually active, then the phenomenon arises, that in those other classes there develops itself a culture, different from and independent of the priestly one, that enters into a more or less sharp opposition, nay even as much as into conflict, against the same. This spectacle is presented by most modern nations. If, on the other hand, the priesthood in a nation takes up within itself the collective culture in such a manner, that the other classes are straightways excluded from it, that they dare not at all occupy themselves with science, then the entire progress of the intellectual development, by means of the most varied mannered and in part the most contrarily placed systems of cognition, finds its place within the priestcraft itself, and then at the first sight astonishing phenomenon displays itself, that in the priestly state itself the very same oppositions of intellectual culture happen to be in a constant feud against each other, which in other conditions take place only between it and the non-priestly classes, and that the

priesthood finds springing up within its own pale the sceptic, the infidel, and the scoffer, who among other nations could ordinarily find their place only outside of its own circle. This striking phenomenon takes place, as for instance, among the Indians.

Only in the external political institutions, therefore, it has its ground, if philosophy in the course of its development at times assumed, at others again forsook a religious savour. Among the Greeks and the Romans, philosophy lost its original religious character, because both the nations did not possess any independent locked-up priesthood. In the middle ages, on the other hand, philosophy came once again in close contact with the church doctrines of faith, because Christianity gradually possessed an independent, though not hereditary, priesthood which, during the entire middle ages, was the most principal promoter of the higher scientific culture. In the most recent times, once again, particularly in the Protestant countries, philosophy severed itself from the church doctrines, because, by the side of the priesthood, an independent teaching class formed itself, which found its sphere of action principally at the universities, and became the prime cause of the intellectual culture propagating itself over the aggregate higher classes of society; and from this time one single class ceased to be the promoter of science and philosophy.

There can therefore be no question at all of a more than external, of an actually internal, diversity of religious speculation and philosophy. Both have one source: the spiritual exigency; one subject: the universe and the human race therein; one object: to offer an explanation

of this universe and of the position of the human race in the same, to teach men therefrom about the reason and the final aim of their existence, and to let them take an estimate accordingly of their duties and their aspirations. The religious speculation can, according to this, be different from the philosophical only so far, as the single philosophical systems are among each other ; in fact, only through the manner and way by which to solve all the common problems, through the higher or lower stand-point, the wider or the narrower extent of the horizon of view, indeed according to the superior or inferior conditions of intellectual culture, out of which they have sprung forth.

Since, however, both the nations, from whom the Grecians received their first speculative circle of ideas, namely, the Egyptians and the Bactrians, had a distinctive, independent priesthood, which undertook the intellectual culture among them, so it is not at all to be surprised at, that even their first attempts at cognition had issued forth from the priests, and had a thoroughly religious aspect. The tracing back of the Grecian speculation to two circles of belief will accordingly appear quite natural, and can have nothing more of the surprising. At the same time, since religious speculation and philosophy have proved themselves to be only different modes of comprehending the one and the same subject, the established proposition of the intrinsic relationship of religion and philosophy will be completely explained and justified.

Through the laying aside of this prejudice, a considerable gain is already acquired for the understanding

of ancient philosophemes. For, now it will surprise us no more, when it becomes apparent from the exposition of the most ancient Grecian speculative systems, that the nearer they are to the sources out of which they have sprung forth, the more have they of a very strong religious colouring, as, for instance, even the Platonic system. In a yet higher degree this takes place naturally among the more ancient systems, for instance, self even in that of Democritus, whom the earlier theological writers of the history of philosophy made into an Atheist, into a real philosophical monster ; quite in especial, however, in the Pythagorean system, which is almost nothing further, than a doctrine of belief, composed together out of the two abovementioned circles of ideas, namely, the Egyptian and the Bactrian.

Now, however, there is another hindrance to be removed out of the way, that stands opposed yet more obstructively to the understanding of the ancient philosopheme, and on whose first origin we shall become ourselves perfectly clear very difficulty and that too not until late ; this, in fact, that these ancient philosophical systems have quite a different substance and quite a different mode of thought from that of our present-day philosophy, so that, when we betake ourselves from the study of modern philosophy to that of the ancient, we find rather everything else therein, but not that what, in accordance with our modern conceptions, we expect and even search for a philosophical system. This phenomenon demands, therefore, a closer examination.

SECOND CHAPTER.

ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCES OF THE ANCIENT
SPECULATIONS FROM THE MODERN.

That, in the course of the constant flow in which the development of cognition with the intellectual culture generally is continuously conceived, a steady change of its form and even of its substance must have taken place, admits of being concluded indeed of its own self from the very nature of things. The several systems of cognition succeeding each other are certainly only attempts of various kinds to solve the problem of science and to discover the cognition sought after. Only the subject and the theme of philosophy remained uninterruptedly the same, the universe itself, and the erection of a complete cognition over the same; all the rest however was uniformly subjected to an incessant variation; the empirical science upon which cognition must be raised, was in a perpetual, although a slow advancement; no wonder, therefore, that even the sum total of cognition itself must have transformed itself wholly or in part, according to each essential enrichment and alteration of the empirical science. All is changeable in this highest circle of science, all, even the very conception of philosophy itself. How would it have been even possible, that the human intellect, just at the beginning of his thought, had been able to imagine, indeed beforehand, the notion of a science that was not then as yet in existence, which he had as yet to bring forth into light, of which the extent and sphere he himself did not then as yet know, to which every system

of thought was but an experimental attempt; one of those things for study exercises, at which the human intellect during his long apprenticeship is supposed to develop his powers, and upon which even the master-achievement will not yet so soon follow. One of the most important parts in the history of all sciences, specially however in the history of the greatest among them, namely, the science of cognition, consists exactly in this, that it points out, how the human intellect, in his efforts after knowledge, learnt to know more accurately, though little by little, the theme itself that was to be solved, how he but so gradually descried that very field to be explored through. And so tardily the development of human science progresses forwards, that the human race required so very many centuries to its accomplishment, before it acquired merely the most principal problems of knowledge, so that the greatest and the most important of our modern sciences in matter of fact originate only just out of the last centuries, and very likely others, of which we have at present even no presentiment, are reserved back for the generations succeeding us hereafter.

We must therefore make up our minds to find the conception of self the philosophy changing itself in the course of its history, and one requires to know moreover only the history of modern philosophy since the last three centuries, nay only since the last decades, in order to understand how manifoldly, within this short time, the thinkers, indeed according to the progress of the intellectual development, nay even indeed according to their personal state of culture, shaped and moulded the

notions of philosophy. The more so must this be the case, then, the further we step back into antiquity, of which the culture-conditions were quite different from those of ours, and in which notably quite a different and yet infinitely much more imperfect state of empirical science prevailed. The more we approach the dawn of intellectual culture, the more the real empirical knowledge fails us, the more the mere imaginations that take the place only of the cognitions issuing out of empirical science, the more so undeveloped and indistinct must be the idea also that one formed to himself of the superior science, of which the first fosterers signalised themselves modestly with the names philosophers, lovers of wisdom, and that came to be called only just lately with the peculiarly altogether empty name of philosophy, the love of wisdom. The name itself shows, how undefined the conception of the thing was throughout a long time, and still at this day, after that the schools have already long time since sought to connect a defined idea with the word philosophy, the evil consequences exhibit themselves, that from the lack of clearness of idea so insignificant a name was chosen. A more precise name than this empty one, hallowed merely through its descent from antiquity, would have had surely a salutary influence upon an exact comprehension of science itself, for it would have moreover constrained even possessors of intellect, who even too willingly make themselves believe, that they had the substance when they have only the name, to connect with the name even a defined notion.

An authentication of what diverse transformations the notion of philosophy has gone through, can only be given in the course of history itself, because the alteration of ideas the most strictly corresponds with the alterations of knowledge itself.

An exposition of the diversity however, which exists between philosophy in its very first beginnings and in its present perfection, is indispensably necessary for the understanding of the oldest cognition-structure, of the oldest speculative system ; in order that the reader might be able to place himself forthwith on the correct standpoint for its comprehension. This exposition must therefore be given here in a short outline.

The diversity in cognition between its early beginnings and its present perfection, admits of being traced back to three main causes : firstly, the speculation of the ancients is based on a different view of the world ; secondly, it comprehends the problem of cognition in a totally different manner ; and produces, thirdly and finally, the cognition through a different mode of thinking. Each of these points requires an especial consideration.

The cognition-structures of the ancients repose upon a view of the world quite different from ours. Now, cognition is however nothing else than an exposition, an interpretation of the universe, as it strikes into our sensuous perceptions, in fact, an exposition of the phenomenal world. If the thinking in this manner produces forth cognition, by the help of an exposition of the world of phenomena, of the universe striking into

our perceptive senses, then the idea, that a thinker forms to himself of this universe — the very world-view itself that swims before his mind perpetually whilst making his attempts at an explanation of the universe — is of the most decided influence as well on the question that he starts to himself for an answer, as upon the mode by which he solves it. This is so strikingly evident, that it needs no special proof. Now, we should certainly remember, that the phenomenal world must nevertheless be the same for us as it was for the ancients ; and that it is naturally too. Nothing the less, however, is our method of conceiving it essentially different from that of antiquity, nay, it is diametrically opposite ; and we appear heretofore to have completely overlooked, that this our mode of conceiving the phenomenal world, although it has at present pervaded through all classes of society, and, — already sucked in through the first instructions of youth, — almost unconsciously constitutes a portion of our range of ideas, despite that, however, was not in existence from earlier times, but has developed itself only just in the last three centuries, since Copernicus. Our view of the world stands in direct contradiction with the perception of our senses. Modern science has habituated us to consider the outward appearance — according to which the earth stands still in the middle of the universe, whilst the sun and the moon, together with the celestial orbs, revolve round about the earth in daily rotations—as a mere delusion of the senses, to ascribe the visible vaulting of the heavens to the endlessness of space, and to trace back its daily revolution with the sun, the moon, and stars, con-

trary to the testimony of the perception of our senses, to a revolution of the earth round its own axis and round the sun. Our modern contemplation of the world rests essentially on the idea of an interminable boundless space, that is filled up with an endless unlimited number of worlds, suns and planetary systems, of which the one, our terrestrial globe, forms so subordinate a part, that it, in comparison with the immensurability of the rest of the universe, dwindles away almost into a point, into a nothing. The universe itself, according to the ideas of the present day, is endless.

Antiquity, on the contrary, knows, even though it possesses the notion of an endless space, still only a finite limited world, in the middle of which the earth rests tranquil, round about which the celestial orbs, namely, the sun, the moon and the planets, together with the entire celestial vault, the heaven of the fixed stars, circumrotate in daily revolution. The celestial vault is the outermost boundary of this world, which, accordingly, of itself forms a limited, round globe, surrounded by the infinite space. This view of the world, taken by the ancients, is, as we find, founded wholly on the evidence of the eye, and with it thoroughly harmonious. And this was not perhaps merely a popular view, but it was so earnestly entertained, that it lay at the root of all the astronomical systems, during the entire duration of antiquity and of the middle ages.

This diversity, among the ancients and the moderns, of the contemplation of the world, is the proper and the true first cause of the entire transformation which

universal cognition must have gone through in modern times, and in the throes of which at the present day speculation still labours. Only ever since the human intellect has advanced forward into a correct view of the world, has it opened out to itself the possibility of a true insight into the nature of the whole universe. This new view of the world constitutes the groundwork on which the new cognition edifice must be erected, the laying of the groundlines of which is the problem of our age, but the constructing and the finishing of the same well remains reserved over, however, for the coming generations ; a problem, the solution of which will call forth, as far as we can see in the future, a similar series of efforts to be carried on through centuries, as the history of philosophy in the past, during the duration of the ancient view of the world, points them out, and the final termination of which, as regards the human intellect, lies hidden in even as unbounded distance, and in an even as impenetrable darkness, as the cognition of that infinite Being itself, which is only so far comprehensible to the human beings, that it can be merely guessed at, but never comprehended. How great, however, is this influence of the view of the world upon the entire cognition-culture, can be estimated, *e g*, directly from the teachings respecting the deity itself. The ancients, in their view of the world, in their assumption of a limited, closed-up, spherical world, used to imagine, with perfect intrinsic logical consequence, a supra- and extra-mundane deity, which round about from without surrounds the whole celestial vault, and encloses the world-globe as it were in its bosom. In the whole of antiquity, therefore, the outermost celestial vault, the

outer side of the fixed-starry firmament, is regarded as the proper abode of the deity, of the divine and spiritual world, and the habitation of the blessed is imagined likewise in this supercelestial space. According to the modern contemplation of the world, however, the deity can be nothing more of the extra mundane and the supramundane, for it does not at all allow of being conceived how an infinite, unbounded world could be enclosed by the deity in an infinite, unbounded space; but rather it must with necessity be comprehended even within this infinite universe. The consequences, which this view of the world must exercise on the conception of the deity, offer us the key to the understanding of the most modern speculative systems, which all hinge themselves round on the question of developing the conception of a God, immanent and existing within the world, instead of that earlier conception, transmitted to us, through the traditions out of antiquity, of a supra- and extra-mundane, transcendental God.

In a necessary way, accordingly, the cognition-structures of the thinkers must be comprehended with constant reference to that view of the world in which they take root. Notably, however, the ancient thinkers must be comprehended with constant regard to the ancient view of the world, in order that one might not fall into the error of carrying the modern view of the world into their speculative systems. For, if we once deprive them of this their ground, and shove upon them unconsciously the modern view of the world, then they must without any inner hold fall off to pieces, and all that, which in reference to the ancient view of the world had, even though not truth in itself, still at least inner coherence, must appear as incomprehensible and

preposterous. The gradual, though but very tardily occurring, alterations in the very view itself of the world could not accordingly altogether remain unconsidered in the history of philosophy, so that we can give to ourselves a precise reckoning, as regards what view of the world lies at the fundament of a certain cognition-structure. In general, it may be sufficient for this purpose to observe the following, by way of preliminary: The antique view of the world, that assumes a circumscribed spherically formed world with an extra-mundane deity encompassing the globe of the world, divides asunder of itself again into two modes of representations. The one, the earlier, imagines to itself the terrestrial globe as an universe active and animated in all its parts, and considers its individual parts, *viz.*, the celestial vault, the stars and the celestial bodies, the universal space, and those immense active forces bringing forth the production and the origin of things — likewise again as independent animated beings, as single deities. The world itself constitutes a part of the deity. This is the view of the world taken by all the ancient peoples. The second, the later mode of representing, differs in this, that this world-globe, surrounded by the deity, bounded by the celestial vault, with the earth in its middle point, is regarded as a merely material universe, severed from the deity, for its own self dead and inanimate, indebted for its maintenance and continuation merely to the influence of the deity surrounding it. In this manner of conception, the world to the deity was in the relation of a work to its maker, of a work of art to its artificer. The world was deprived of its divinity. This is the Jewish, the Christian and the Mahomedan view of the world, which,

during the entire middle ages, up to the 16th and 17th centuries, enjoyed general acceptance. Only just after this time, in the two last centuries, formed itself, in consequence of the opposition of Copernicus, the present-day view of the world, which is opposed to the old one in all the main features, and has essentially contributed to the development of modern philosophy and of our crisis of the present day. It is, therefore, an indispensable condition for the understanding of the ancient speculation, that we should never once leave out of our sight the great diversity which prevails between the ancient and the modern view of the world. And that this point was overlooked, or at least the same was not made out sufficiently clear, was one of the most principal hindrances that obstructed the moderns from forming a correct judgment of the ancient speculative systems.

A second difference, that takes place between cognition in its first beginnings and its present perfection, lies in the diverse ways of comprehending the problem of cognition. Even on the subject of cognition, one would think, no difference could take place, for all cognition relates certainly to the explanation of the universe, of the phenomenal world. But let us consider the matter more closely.

Cognition concerns the common, the general, lying at the root of the several phenomena of the empirical world. Only the several phenomena fall directly within our perception, but not the reasons and the first causes of those phenomena; they must rather be discovered therefrom by dint of thinking. All cognition relates therefore to something lying out of the limits of the

perceptions of the senses. This principle is so apparent and clear, that it pervades through the whole of the history of philosophy. It obtruded itself upon thought, indeed on its first awaking, and lay as hazy feeling at the beginning of the oldest efforts after a cognition-structure, until it gradually developed itself more and more clearly, and became a definitive characteristic token for the determination of the conception of cognition and of the science of cognition, of philosophy, in short.

What lies, then, according to the conceptions of our present-day conditions of culture, beyond the perception of the senses ? First of all, in the present, in the part of the universe falling directly under our perception of the senses, the collective forces lying at the base of the phenomenal world and working in it and the laws of their activities ; in fact, the life in nature, the spiritual, the deity. So then, the past and the future of this universe is equally removed away, however, from the perception of our senses. Ever since we have learnt to recognise the universe itself, however, as infinite, it, spread in an uncircumscribed space, consists of numberless clusters of celestial bodies, which all find themselves on the most various stages of development from origin up to destruction ; ever since modern researches on the past and the history of the development of the earthly globe alone have expanded themselves into a technical and important science, which carries back the origin of the terrestrial body into such a remote past, that our heretofore entertained ideas on this subject have, in an unexpected manner, proved themselves to be completely

untenable and much too narrow : ever since is the intention to be disposed to firmly determine something relative to the past and the future of this infinite universe, even as less limitable in its duration as in its expansion, has become so gigantic and over-striding beyond the bounds of every one possibility of representation, that science has entirely given it up, to make these questions the subjects of cognition, and confines itself merely to the cognition of the present, to the cognition of the universe, as it continuously presents itself to our sensuous perceptions : the beginning and the end of the world remains for us, as issuing out in indefinable eternity, under a thick mist full of unrecognisability.

What, however, at the dawn of thought and of a yet totally undeveloped condition of culture, must have appeared to man to be out of the range of the perception of the senses ? Nothing but the past and the future of the universe ; the present, the forelying condition of the universe, must have appeared to him to be already clear through the medium of the sensuous perceptions ; because the distinction between cognition and sensuous perception could not as yet even have come to his consciousness. To be sure, Aristotle reproaches, moreover, the ancient Grecian thinkers, that they had not recognised this distinction, and that to them cognition and sensuous perception were still altogether synonymous. How much more must this then be true of the yet earlier thinkers ? And, in matter of fact, what could these have known of all the problems which are to be solved, in order to succeed in attaining to an actual insight into the phenomenal world, what of the diffi-

culties, which our present-day learning seeks to overcome, in order to advance into an understanding of the universe, as it presents itself before our eyes, of the influences, which hold the universe together in its wholeness and fulness and put it in motion ; of the first elements of the stuff out of which the universe is composed together ; of the forces which animate this stuff and bring forth the corporeal world ; of the laws, according to which these universal forces are active in the formation and the animation of the corporeal world — questions, with which the sciences occupy themselves, out of the results of which, in its turn, natural philosophy constitutes its system of cognition — of the relation of the spirit to the corporeal world, and of the laws, to which the spiritual nature of man, in its various activities namely, thinking, feeling and touching, is subjected —, questions, with which heretofore philosophy in the strict sense, the cognition of the spirit, eminently occupied itself —, finally of the relation of the corporeal and the spiritual world to the deity, as to the first cause and the mediating bond of these two worlds — questions, which form the subject of religious speculation, of the cognition of the deity —: Of all these questions, the answering of which presupposes an actual cognition of the phenomenal world, man at the dawn of thought, could give as yet no account naturally although in the older speculations there occurs a presentiment of a portion of the same, at least in a general way. The cultivation of our present-day empirical sciences, which are occupied with these questions, is in greater part but of yesterday and the day before, *i.e.*, these sciences have sprung up only just in the last three centuries ; a scienti-

fic system, however, which would unite the cognition issuing forth out of all the empirical sciences into one whole, so far as it is at present already possible, such a junction of our collective cognition into one concordant system, which so far alone the philosophy of our day would expound, is not at all yet in existence, and is awaiting now, even after already three-and-a-half thousand years of our spiritual culture have passed away, as yet only for a discoverer. What wonder then, that to the earlier thinkers, at the dawn of thought, such a science lay as yet totally beyond the sphere of their intellectual horizon ? A superficial cognizance of the visible world yielded itself out of the immediate perception of the senses, and one satisfied himself with this, since no one had as yet any presentiment of the questions lying hidden within the same. Men believed to understand the present of the universe, because they perceived it.

But even only of the present of the universe the sensuous perception gave such a superficial information, not, however, of its past, and not of its future. As, however, the present is but the middle link in a chain of changes, constantly hastening towards the future, as men saw everything originating, everything vanishing away : so appeared the cognizance of the past and the future of the universe to belong to that higher knowledge, out of which the condition of the present may find its interpretation ; it was hoped, that man would comprehend the universe, when he knew, how it has sprung up and what was destined to come out of it ; a cognizance of the past and the future of the universe was

the intellectual aspiration that made itself felt to the first thinkers. And on the matter of satisfying this yearning, the first attempts at thought were directed ; because it was by means of pure thinking alone that one could discover an answer to these questions, since the sensuous perception did not reach up to them. How and whence was the universe, together with the human races found therein, originated, and what will become of it in the future, that constituted the very first questions, on which men became conscious of their ignorance, and which they propounded to themselves for solution. Their reply gave, as it were, a complete history of the universe, that had an intrinsic conclusion, a beginning, a middle and an end, and thereby afforded to the requirements of the inquiring intellects, so far as they had become palpable to mankind, a natural satisfaction. Hence show then even the history of religion and philosophy in a similar manner, that the oldest speculative systems, as complete cognition, presented such a history of the universe, and we will see in the course of this work, that the older philosophical systems of the Greeks, that of a Pythagoras, of a Heraclitus, of an Empedocles, have, in this respect, subjects quite the very same with the Egyptian and the Bactrian doctrinal teachings.

All the ancient speculations contain, therefore, in essentialities, the following four main divisions :—

Firstly.— A doctrine of the origin of the universe out of the very first deity : a doctrine of the primitive deity and a doctrine of the origin of gods and the world, a theology with therewith attached theogony and cosmogony, for these two is one to the ancients, because,

as we have seen, they conceived the world as an animated, living whole, of which the individual parts are just the individual deities. To conceive the world as a dead corporeal mass and the animated thinking beings, the deities and the spirits, as separate and independent from the corporeal world, is, as has been already said, but a very later mode of representation.

Secondly.—An exposition of the formation of the universe existing in the present, with its divine parts, an aggregate figure of the universe : a view of the world.

Thirdly.— A doctrine on the position of the human race in this universe, an interpretation of the cause and the aim of its existence : a teaching about mankind.

Fourthly.— Finally, a disclosing of the future and the impending fate of this universe : a doctrine of the future.

The substance of the ancient speculation is then far different from the contents of philosophy as we conceive it in modern times.

Instead of putting forward an actual, from empirical knowledge abstracted cognition of the universe, of the forces operating within it and the laws of their activity, as it is the object of modern philosophy, the first researches after thought offered, because to the most ancient thinkers as yet there failed totally every empirical knowledge, only a magnificent fiction, a glittering, but arbitrary structure of the fancy — a sort of an epic poem of the world, which professed to expound the

entire history, as it were, the course of life of the universe, its past, present, and future, formed partly in accordance with the direction of the knowledge of the existing condition of the world, so far as man could have such a one, partly however and chiefly according to the measure of the human wishes and the exigencies of the heart. The whole had issued out of the sensuous contemplation, that all that is in existence displays a constant change of conditions, of which always the present has issued forth out of a past, and prepares a future; and out of the observation, that one can only then give account of the temporary conditions of a thing, when one is able to range them in the collective course of evolution, in the complete concatenation of the changes of condition.

Instead of an appropriate cognition-structure, the oldest efforts at thought offer accordingly an historical narration of the universe, and in verity a relation of history that in its most essential parts rests altogether upon imagination. A history produced from imagination supplied the place of a cognition that required to be abstracted from experience gained from the formation of ideas.

To solve such a problem was, however, perfectly impossible in those days, because there was then as yet a complete lack of scientific experience and observation, and the very thought elevated itself high into formations of conception only some centuries later, and then even very slowly, out of the sphere of mere imaginations. Thought in mere representations, thought of the imaginative fancy, must have at that time yet com-

pletely kept the place of the thought measured by conception. And this is the third point that distinguishes the ancient cognition-structures from the modern ones to their disadvantage. Indeed, this their form of thought excludes them out of the field of cognition, because the formation of conception, the most essential property of every one cognition, fails them completely ; for a cognition can take place only in the form of conceptions.

An individual thing to wit, or an individual phenomenon, reaches our consciousness through the impression of a perception, be it then an outward or an inner one. All our cognizance of things or of phenomena rests then upon a faculty peculiar to our spirit, of reiterating the impression of such a perception in our consciousness according to the turn of our absolute will, like as calling forth in our spirit an image of a possessed perception. These perceptions possessing images are, however, the ideas. All our knowledge rests therefore upon representations ; all our empirical sciences consist in their essential parts of representations.

On the other hand, the common prime causes and laws underlying at the root of the phenomena, they that make out the substance of cognition, are no subjects of perception, because they do not occur to us directly in experience, but must be discovered, just through the medium of thought, as common to a plurality of phenomena. This product of thought, discovered out of a multiplicity of things and phenomena as the one common to all, is denominated by us, however, a conception ; and in the search of this common element of a plurality of things and phenomena, rests just the forma-

tion of conception, the which is a simple effect of understanding. No cognition can accordingly assume the form of a representation, but it can be clothed only in conceptions.

All thought, therefore, that occurs in the form of representations, — be they then representations of memory, reiterations of perceptions already possessed, or representations of the imaginative faculty, of the creations of thought, which the phantasy produces after the analogy of the possessed perception itself, — in short, all the so-called secondary thoughts can contain no cognition, but only either a mere knowledge, an experience, or even only an imagination, a poesy. Since, then, the putative cognition-structures of the collective ancient thinkers occupy themselves only in representations, indeed, mostly only in poesies and imaginations, so it is of itself apparent that they have no claim whatever to the name of a cognition, indeed on account of the form of their thought.

Now, in this imperfect state of thought, the two systems of belief, namely, the Egyptian and the Bactrian, out of which the Greek speculation developed itself, find themselves still most completely. Not the less do the first systems of the Grecian thinkers, of a Pythagoras, Heraclitus, &c., also still suffer under this very same defect, they are yet mere poesies and fancy formations, instead of complete cognitions in strongly imprinted conception-forms. And also after Parmenides had called forth the first appropriate formation of conception and strongly doubted the hitherto prevailing phantasy thoughts, the same nevertheless ever continued forward

by the side of the fast-developing conception-conformable thoughts, and attained in Plato, although he brought the strict conception-thoughts indeed into a higher development and handled them with a rare mastery, surely once more again into a glowing bloom, as this wonderful genius possessed united in himself in a rare degree the otherwise incompatible-seeming gifts of an imaginative fancy with sharply-thinking understanding. And first it was Aristotle that developed the conception-measured thought into its complete perfection. Widely different, however, now that the conception-thoughts had retained in the perfecting of knowledge the sole supremacy befitting it and dislodged the fancy thoughts quite out of the region of speculation, so the last, on the other hand, became in the decline of science again preponderating, and has preserved itself up to the present in practice, even among the gifted and important thinkers, continuously and almost with equal supremacy. Certainly, it is much the question, if this after-thought will ever at any time hereafter completely sever itself out of the regions of scientific cognition. It indeed excites a commingled feeling of amazement and pain, when we see, with what oft crude poesies mankind satisfied themselves through so many centuries instead of the desiderated cognition ; with how little they allowed the thirst after knowledge to be quenched, the requirements of the heart to be met. It is therefore instructive in the highest degree even for our times, to learn to know more accurately the most ancient constructions of thought of the human intellect, for even regardless of the fact, that they oft contained views that, by reason of their foreign peculiarities, surprise and incite to reflec-

tions, so just their rude poesies not seldom lead us to confounding comparisons.

It is therefore an essential condition to the understanding of the ancient speculative system, that we should be clear on the subject of this difference that exists between the ancient and the modern speculations themselves, as well in the mode of comprehending this problem of cognition, as also in the manner of thought which is applied to the solution of that problem. The ancients, down to Aristotle, set up for the interpretation of the existing conditions of the world, a complete history of the development of the world, the product of a more or less arbitrary imagination, and serve themselves for this purpose with the simple representations of the ordinary fanciful thinkings; the moderns, commencing from Aristotle, confine themselves more to a mere interpretation of the existing conditions of the world, and seek to reach these in the more stringent form of a rational thinking supported upon conception-formations.

Philosophy has, therefore, since its origin, changed as well its substance as its form, and its history offers consequently in general the following ideas of its development :

Firstly. — It begins with fiction. The world's contemplation and the speculation brought forward for the explanation of this contemplation of the world are in like manner mere fancy figurations.

Secondly. — In the measure, then, as the individual thinkers avail themselves of the oldest speculative

systems as a matter for promoting their thought, they transform the original region of representations, in as much as they strive to adapt them to the requirements of the culture-conditions, existing in their respective times. By reason of the diverse standpoints and requirements of each individual thinker the to-be-solved problems of cognition also change, and the various phases of the theme of cognition reach degree by degree to the consciousness of the human intellect.

Thirdly. — Gradually, however, appears to the clear thoughts at the outset small but thereafter ever increasing mass of experience and observation, and the place of the mere fancy thoughts is by slow degrees supplied by a rational thought, measured by conception, and deduced from observation. Out of the thought in mere representations the scientific conception-thought develops itself.

Fourthly. — In the measure as, by the side of the mere poetical thought, the mass of experiences and observations grows, there of course begins to arise, according to the individual parts of the visible world, the several separate empirical sciences. The experimental sciences form themselves by the side of mere speculation.

Fifthly. — By this, the conception of philosophy determines itself as a knowledge separate from the empirical sciences, and attains, in the course of the intellectual culture, after manifold fluctuations and transformations, to the present conception of a cognition-science; the conception of philosophy enters into consciousness.

Sixthly. — And finally, self the contemplation of the world changes, and the necessity brought forth hereby of a complete reconstruction of the collective cognition leads, under the influence of the swiftly developed empirical sciences, after many sorts of unsuccessful attempts at setting up a satisfactory cognition-structure, to our present crisis.

SURVEY OF THE MOST ANCIENT HISTORY,
NECESSARY FOR THE UNDERSTANDING
OF THE OLDEST SPECULATION.

The theatre on which the history of the development of our western philosophy plays, is distributed over three large tracts of land, the abodes of three different races of people, with their own peculiar languages, writings and civilisation. The one of these races inhabited Central Asia, from the Indus to between the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea : namely, Carmania, Persia, Bactria, Media, Assyria, Armenia, till beyond this towards Asia Minor, between the Black and the Mediterranean Seas : namely, Cappadocia, Lydia, and Bithynia. We are disposed to call them the Arianic, because the most important of these nations, the Medes and the Bactrians, bore the collective name of the Arians. With these national races there were related on the East the Indians, on the West the most ancient inhabitants of the Grecian territories and Italy. The second race had the mastership of the countries between the Persian and the Arabian Seas, up to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea : namely, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and in special Babylon, Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. We have all conventioned to call them the Semitics, however erroneously. The third race inhabited the African territories along the Nile, namely, Egypt and Ethiopia lying at the south of Egypt. The languages of the Arian nations, namely, the Assyrian, Median, Persian, Bactrian, &c., are all closely related to each other, and

belong, according to the remnants preserved to us, to the Indo-Germanic stem of languages. The Egyptian formed likewise a peculiar, independent stem of language. In the middle, between these two, there are the languages of the so-called Semitic nations, which, though attaining to a particular grammatical perfection, in several respects conform to the Ethiopic-Egyptian stem of languages, and contrarily differ considerably from the Indo-Germanic.

According to the indications which the construction of these stems of languages presents, the Arian and the Ethiopic-Egyptian national races stood contrasted against each other the most separated and the most independent, whereas the Semitic national race takes a less independent position between these two national races, in that it conforms itself more to the Ethiopic-Egyptian.

The most ancient historical intimations on the genealogical derivation of these nations go even still further. The well-known genealogical table of the different races of people, in the beginning of the Mosaic law-book (Gen. x.), recapitulates together the Arian nations, mentioned by us above, likewise into one national family, in that it makes the Medes (Madæi), — the people on the Black Sea: namely, the Tiberians (Thusbal) and Moscher (Meschech), — further the Scyths (Gog), the Thracians (Thiras), the Greeks (Yavan), and finally even the Cymbrians (Gomer), to be the children of the one and the same race-patriarch, Japhet. It explains, however, the people, falsely so called

Semitic by the moderns, as nationally related with the Ethiopians and the Egyptians, in that it derives the descent of Kusch, whose son it makes out to be even Nimrod, the founder of Babylon, — therefore, the Ethiopians, — with Misraim, the Egyptians and Canaan, the Phœnicians, from one and the same race-father, namely, Ham. Whatever value we may now attach even to this genealogical table, yet out of it at least so much becomes evident, that its composer regarded the nations so-called Semitic by us, the Babylonians and the Phœnicians, as related with the Ethiopian-Egyptian national races.

On the primitive history of these national races, during the beginning of civil society and civilisation, altogether nothing definite admits of being determined, on account of the easily conceivable insufficiency of all historical intimations of so early an age. We can at present, when the hitherto received assumption of a common point of derivation of all the nations proves itself as untenable out of reasons of natural history and language, find it supremely probable that each of the two principal national races had its original cradle in the highlands in the neighbourhood of its subsequent places of abode; that consequently the Arian race inhabited originally the highlands of middle Asia, and the Ethiopic-Egyptian, with the so-called Semitic people descending from it, the highlands of central Africa, the modern mountain-lands of Abyssinia, and that they gradually descended down from out of these two points to their later habitations.

That the primitive abode of the Arian nations is to be sought in the north-east of Bactria, hence on the highlands of Central Asia, and not about the present so-called Caucasus, has been made extremely probable by the researches of modern inquirers into the Zend and Indian authorities.

Even so it seems more consistent, — instead of, as hitherto, supposing the Egyptians to be migrating from South Arabia over the Straits of Babel-Mandeb towards Abyssinia, and from there taking along the banks of the Nile towards Ethiopia and Egypt, — much rather to assume conversely, that both the national races, the Ethiopic-Egyptian and the Babylonian-Phœnician, have had their primitive abode in the Abyssinian highlands, and out therefrom the one may have descended down along the banks of the Nile, towards Merve and Egypt ; the other, on the contrary, may have spread themselves abroad, over the Straits of Babel-Mandeb, in the southern portion of the Arabian Peninsula, and from here on to the coast of the Persian Sea and along the Euphrates and Tigris, towards Mesopotamia and Syria. So we can conceive, on the one part, how the Mosaic genealogical table of nations could derive the origin of the Babylonians from the Ethiopians, for, according to the Old Testamental books, just as well as according to Herodotus, assuredly the Ethiopians abided in Southern Arabia, whereas it is yet more natural to seek for their homes where they formed a great and very old state — in Central Africa, in fact.

This assumption does not rest, however, on explicit historical notices, and it becomes probable only for this reason, that, according to the unanimous testimonies of the ancient writers, a yet remoter antiquity is ascribed to the Ethiopian state at Merve, than self to the Egyptian at Thebes, notwithstanding that the latter is said have been already in existence, when Lower Egypt was still an uninhabitable swampish region. Only the gradual spreading abroad of the Egyptian culture from the south towards the north, from Ethiopia downwards till towards lower Egypt, along the banks of the Nile, is historically certain. In what age, however, this gradual emigration of the Ethiopian races towards Egypt may have taken place, lies beyond the reach of all historical traditions.

According to the unanimous utterances of antiquity, the Egyptians belong to the most ancient peoples of the world. The registers of the Egyptian royal dynasties, as Manetho has transmitted them to us, reach up to six thousand years before Christ ; to a yet remoter antiquity the Egyptians carry back their legendary and deitcal histories ; not to mention at all of the periods of their cosmogony counted by millenniums. They ascribe to their state a duration not interrupted during this whole time, and suppose it as having remained undisturbed by all the revolutions that have overtaken the rest of the world.

If we are compelled, even in the measure that our knowledge of antiquity widens itself, to throw the commencement of history further back, and to ascribe to the

human race a remoter antiquity than, relying upon Jewish authorities alone, we have hitherto assumed, still a sure determination of the age of the beginning of one of these most ancient states lies, quite in a conceivable manner, beyond the compass of all historical possibility. The accounts of the Egyptians of the beginning of their proper history, quite apart naturally from their traditional history, must therefore remain doubtful, and each one can think of it what seems to him best. Only so much is certain, that the antiquity of the Egyptian state mounts up very high. That is testified in an irrefutable manner, by its yet existing monumental buildings. For, the most ancient monuments provided with hieroglyphical inscriptions derive their origin from the kings of the sixteenth dynasty, which, according to the list of Manetho, still ruled before the second thousandth year before Christ, earlier than the Hyksos fell into Egypt. So, an obelisk, which still exists at Heliopolis, is, according to the inscriptions upon it, the work of Osortasen, a king of this sixteenth dynasty, whose rule happens to occur in the 23rd century B.C. The rule of Hyksos himself is authenticated by the records of the Pyramids, in which the most recent excavations by the English, altogether against all expectations, have discovered hieroglyphical inscriptions, partly on stone, partly on the Mummy-remains, with the names of Cheops, Chephren and Mykerinos, the kings specified by Herodotus as its founders. Of the rulers succeeding the Hyksos, particularly of the 18th dynasty, under whom Egypt, from the 19th up to the 15th century B.C., stood in the zenith of prosperity, there are even abundant

monuments, with hieroglyphical inscriptions, in existence. When Egypt in these earlier times already stood upon so high a stage of perfection, that it was able to erect such structures and possessed its own particular writings, then must necessarily have already preceded several centuries of its existence. The Egyptian people are therefore one of the oldest.

A similar fabulous antiquity is ascribed by the Grecian writers to the Arian nationalities in that they put down the founder of their most ancient deistical worship and doctrine of faith, the so-called hoary Zoroaster, the Hom of the Zend books, in the 7th or the 6th millennium before the birth of Christ.* Of such a high antiquity, the particular writings of these people say nothing, however; they mention only in general terms the earlier primitive abodes in which the Arians had inhabited previous to their subsequent wide expansion. The sacred writings of the Bactrians, the Zend books, that are traced back to Zoroaster, contain in fact, in a passage on the various domicilial abodes of which the Arian people had knowledge, the following intimation: namely, the Zend people had been compelled on account of the cold to migrate towards the south from their original habitations, lying in the north of Iran. This dim statement a modern scholar † is inclined to connect with those immense terrestrial revolutions which, in accordance with the reasons of natural history, must have taken place in Northern Asia, in the primitive times,

* Plutarch de Iside et Osiride, c. 46.

† This hypothesis is raised by Rhode in his "Heiligen Sage des Zendvolkes," p. 97 sqq.

and which so suddenly transposed the previously hot climate of Northern Asia into an icy one, that the gigantic inhabitants of the hot zone of those early days, the mammoth, frozen in ice-flakes, have been preserved through the thousands of years up to our own times. That is, nevertheless, indeed, somewhat too rash a hypothesis to construct.

In this emigration a portion of the Arian nationalities from out of Central Asia appears to be drawn westwards, and to have very gradually occupied Bactria and the Persian territories, its subsequent abodes, between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf up to the Euphrates and the Tigris, whereas another portion betook themselves to the south eastwards, towards the plains of the Indus, and there extended themselves on the Indian Peninsula. To such an assumption we are forced by the identity of the Indians and the Bactrians in name, language, and the earliest modes of life; an identity, which issues as well out of the sacred writings of the Bactrians, as out of the most ancient religious writings of the Indians. For, as well the Indians as the Bactrians call themselves Arians; their languages, the Zend and the ancient Sanscrit, are so closely related to each other, that only a dialectical difference between them two is to be found; and both the nations appear in their sacred books as pastoral nations* pursuing agriculture. Later on we shall see, that they have even the very same circle of deities, the very same cultus, and particularly the fire worship in common.

*For the ancient name of the Indians was *arya*, *arya*, the Arian, *e.g.*, Rigveda, ed. Rosen, hymn 51, v. 8, by which themselves the Indians so far distinguish themselves as belonging to the Arian

Self Bactria itself, in which, according to the Zend books, during all this while, a distinct empire, under a

national stock. The general name of the country, between the Himalaya and the Vindhya mountain ranges, and between the Western and the Eastern Oceans, is called therefore [^]Ārya-[^]vartta in the Brahmanical writings (Wilson, *s. h. v.* and [^]Manava-dharma-shastra II. 22 sqq.). The name Indian, Skt. *saindhava*, the Arian emigrants received only just on account of being inhabitants on the Indus, Skt. *Sindhu*, Zend, *Hendu*; for a mere glance on the map shows that the region through which the Indus flowed was just that tract of land over which the emigrant Arian national races from Central Asia must have at first reached. The word *Sindhu* was, however, originally nothing more than an appellative name; and the most ancient name of the Indians, taken from the rivers streaming through the same country, means therefore "belonging to the seven rivers," *Sapta Sindhavas* (Rigveda hymn. 32, 12; 35, 8) in the Zend; *hapta hendu* (Burnouf, *Comment, sur le Yacna*, notes et éclaircissement, p. cxv. sqq.) Ritter already recognised in these seven rivers the Punjab with the additional reckoning of the Indus and the Cabul.

Likewise, the most recent researches of the linguistical inquirers; namely, that of Bopp in his *Comparative Grammar of Zend and Sanscrit*, &c., in particular, however, that of Burnouf in his commentary on the *Yacna*, one of the Zoroastrian book composed in the Zend language, have arrived at the results, that the languages, of the Indians and the Bactrians, the Sanscrit and the Zend, in their grammatical construction and in their word-derivations, are essentially identical and so belong entirely to the one and the same stock of languages, that they are related to each other only as dialects, *e. g.*, as Hebrew and Arabic, the Gothic and the old High Dutch are to each other.

This relation has established itself in a particularly clear manner, ever since the older form of the Sanscrit has become known through the publication of one of the Vedas, of the *Rigveda*, by Rosen. This linguistic kindredship is, however, in an acknowledged measure, the most convincing proof of the kindredship of the race-stock of the two people.

As related by race, we find consequently the Indians of the most ancient times also on the same platform civilisation with the

native dynasty, the Achæmenian, existed, occurs in a hieroglyphic papyrus roll as a country conquered by

Bactrians. As in the Zend books the Bactrians appear as a pastoral nation, that has arrived at the transition stage of becoming an agriculture-pursuing nation, so also the Indians in the Rigveda. Although in the Rigveda are already mentioned villages (grama, hymn. 44, 10; 114, 1), hence fixed habitations with agriculture, and even ships themselves (hymn. 116, 5), hence the commencement of business intercourse by navigation; still that people carries on principally the breeding of cattle, and leads in that pursuit a roving pastoral life, thus in hymn. 42, 8 Pushan, the sun, is implored: lead us to a spot abounding in grass; in hymn. 67, 3 it is said: protect, O Agnis, the pasture-grounds acceptable to the herds; hence the oft-repeated implorations to the deities for abundance of horses, cows and grain. That however these ancient, though half-nomadic, Indians were a very warlike people, is apparent particularly from the hymns in the 15th and the 16th chap. of the Rigveda.

This close stock-relationship of the Bactrians and the Indians settles itself finally even out of their ancient doctrines of belief and worship of deities, which, among both the nations, was completely identical in all essential points. This Arian pastoral people found now before them in their wanderings on the Indus indeed a stock of people indigenous to the country, whom they subjected: namely, the Sutras. The class of the Sutras constituted hence in later times the serving one of the Indian people; they stood forth, however, even as an independent people in the south of the Deccan. Their race diversity from those Arabian races speaking the Sanscrit language becomes evident from their language, for this is of distinct origin from the Sanscrit species; this language of the original aborigines, indigenous to the country, has preserved itself still in the four principal languages of the Deccan, in the Telinga, Canarese, Tamil and Malayala languages. For these four languages, although at present so diversified, that one cannot reciprocally understand the language of the other, belong still to one and the same family of languages.

Out of this relation of a foreign wandering people,—succeeding to authority by conquest—to the subjected aborigines of the land, the like of which is so many times met with in history, the Indian caste affair also is now clearly explained, although it has little by little perfected itself to its present strong position, probably just only in the later times. In the Rigveda, at least, it does not yet

Sesostris. The mention of the Bactrian state is very sparing in other places ; it lay far from the political horizon of the Greeks and the Anterior Asiatics, because it seldom came in immediate contact with the West Asiatics, even with the lands on the Euphrates and the Tigris, separated as it was by the great landstreaks of the Persian steppes.

* * * *

For the priestly race of the Chaldeans, that properly bore the name Mag, i.e., priest, ordinarily, however, is denoted likewise with the name Chaldean, must accordingly be most closely related with the priestly class (the Magi) of the rest of the Arian nationalities, the Bactrian, Median and Persian ; and so it explains itself then how among the later Grecian writers the belief-lore of the Chaldeans is regarded as perfectly identical with that of the Magi, what would be totally incomprehensible, if these so-called Chaldeans, who even yet in the later

admit of being proved with certainty as already in existence. For the pancha chitayas (hymn. 7, 9, and Rosen's observations thereon), often recurring in the Rigveda , "the five assemblages, families" are verily, according to a portion of the commentary, the four castes together with the rejected Nishadas; according to another, however, the five deitical classes: that of the Gandharvas, the Pitaras, the Devas, the Asuras and the Raxasas. The highest classes, the nobility and the clergy, constituted themselves naturally out of the Arians, and thus, then, is made clear even the appellation [^]Arya, which yet to-day the Brahmanas apply to themselves; [^]Arya is composed likewise out of the national name arya, as Vaishya, the name of the third caste, is out of vishya, the house-owner; Khsattriyya, out of Khsattra, the warrior; it signified originally obviously only the Arian, and received the meaning: noble, venerable, which it has yet at present in the dictionaries, just on account of the social position of the race which bore it.

Grecian period, when Babylon had long since ceased to be the capital city of a particular realm, had even in that place unceasingly their seat, there had been a really native priestly class of the Babylonians themselves and therefore had appertained to the Babylonian-Phœnician or to the falsely so-called Semitic nationalities.

The rule of the Chaldeans in Babylon, already sunk low from its greatness, was afterwards made an end of, about 550 B.C., by the Persians, who had heretofore not yet become known in history. And thus it was in this wise again an Arian nationality that possessed itself of the supremacy over Western Asia. Even Egypt, already once conquered by the Chaldeans, fell once again now, at the hands of Cambyzes, into foreign thralldom. This Persian supreme-sovereignty over Asia continued till up to Alexander; because the Persians remained the governing national race, although, after the death of Cambyzes, with Darius, one of the great vassals of the Persian empire, a descendant of the Bactrian royal family had come on the Persian throne. For Darius was the son of the Bactrian king Hystaspes, and Hystaspes, although not conquered by Cyrus, had nevertheless subjected himself to the Persian supremacy.

Thus far we have gone through this survey of the ancient Asiatic and Egyptian history. For the epoch, in which in Bactria under Hystaspes, contemporaneously with Cyrus, Zoroaster perfected the Bactrian doctrines of faith into a religious speculation, has been at the same time assumed in this work even as the point of recital for the Egyptian speculation, because it is the point of

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time in which Pythagoras, as we shall see, sojourned in Egypt, in the reign of Amasis, in order to learn to know the Egyptian priestly lore, at the same time, however, also, because at this time, in the last years of the independent existence of the Egyptian state, the Egyptian speculation must have received its complete perfection, and from that time forward — up to its gradual extinction, indeed — experienced no new development.

When we have now pointed out further the original and the oldest deitical conceptions also obtaining among the nations whose oldest history we have sought to represent in the above sketch, then we shall be sufficiently equipped to penetrate into the understanding of the religious speculation that has developed itself among these nations.

REVIEW OF THE OLDEST RELIGIOUS
CONCEPTIONS.

What obtrudes most strikingly on our attention, whilst making a deep investigation into the oldest religious conceptions, is the observation, that even in respect of the intellectual culture among the Egyptian, Arian and Babylonian-Phœnician nationalities the very same conditions present themselves which come out conspicuously in their languages and in their history, that, in fact, only the Egypto-Ethiopian and the Arian races took an independent position in respect of each other, whereas the Babylonian-Phœnician races appear to be dependent upon both the others. Only the Egyptian and the Arian races had an independent civilisation; that of the Babylonian-Phœnician, on the contrary, is a medley of the Egyptian and Arian elements, the natural outcome of alternating influences, which both the other races exercised on those lying between them two. This shows itself, first of all, in their scriptures. The Ethiopic-Egyptian and the Arian races have each one its own peculiar written letters, that have nothing in common between them, and rest upon quite different kinds of fundamental laws of sound notations; the former the hieroglyphic, the latter the cuneiform. On the other hand, the Phœnicians and the ante-Asiatic Semites kindred with them, and likewise the Babylonians, had an alphabet that is constructed after the same particular fundametal laws, like the hieroglyphic letters, and very likely has originated merely out of a number, limited to

the most urgent necessity, of hieroglyphical characters, that were selected out of the rich abundance of Egyptian letters.

Yet more strongly this circumstance appears in the religious conceptions. Only the Ethiopic-Egyptian and the Arian races had an independent doctrine of their gods and creed, developed out of their own civilisation-conditions, grown as if upon their own ground and soil, whereas the doctrines of the divinities and the creed of the Semitic races prove themselves to be merely an admixture out of those of the two other races, that as much as even a portion of the names of their gods betray an outlandish origin.

The most ancient notions of God, as well of the Ethiopic-Egyptian as of the Arian races, are based upon the direct contemplations of the external world and concern the single portions of the universe itself, as well its immense corporeal and spacial portion, as even the forces working in the same, the first causes of the phenomena of the origin and decay visible in the universe. The celestial vault and the two great celestial orbs, the sun and the moon, the earth, warmth and moisture, or fire and water, the immense celestial space, light and darkness, or day and night, and the tide of time becoming evident in their changes, these are the divine things appearing in common as well in the oldest Egyptian as also in the oldest Arian doctrine of faith. Only in the conception of the first cause of evil in the world the two spheres of belief seem to have become different from each other, although they possessed

generally in their oldest but yet uncultured state indeed the conception of such an evil first being, in as much as later among the Egyptians the time, among the Arians before Zoroaster the fire in its destructive quality, became regarded as the evil first principle. The oldest deities of the Ethiopic-Egyptian races were accordingly the celestial vault, Pe, and the earth, Anuki, both conceived as feminines; the sun, Re, the moon, Joh, both masculine; the day, Sate, and the night, Hathor, both feminine characters; the warmth, the god Phtah, and the water, the goddess Neith; these two last obviously as the creative deities of the universe. All these conceptions of gods are of cosmical nature, but not one of them indeed was imagined as a purely spiritual being; for the original spirit, Kneph, as well as the deity of the original space, the Pascht, and the god of time, Sevek, the destroying first principle in the improved Egyptian dogmatics, were indeed but a far later production of the proper speculation and as such unknown to the original area of conceptions. We are induced to accept this by the fact, that the Egyptians fix the number of their first and oldest deities expressly to eight, which are just the above specified eight deities. These eight deities, as the first and the oldest, are perfectly certain through express evidences of Grecian authorities and hieroglyphic inscriptions, as we shall see here down below.

Less certain are the number and names of the oldest Arian deities, since they could be determined only by means of the comparison of the Zend books with the Grecian writers' statements on the deities worshipped in Western Asia; in doing which we must let ourselves be

guided mainly by those names of deities which acknowledgedly do not appertain to the Semitic, but to the Arian branches of language — that is to say, they are of the Bactro-Persian origin, and their explanation is to be found in the Zend or self even in the modern Persian. But although, by this method, the chief figures of that ancient area of belief easily appear on the surface, yet a fixed determination of the remaining divine figures still remains a very difficult task and in part almost impossible. For, on the one part, the notices of this system of belief are very scanty and consist only of occasional quotations that are to be met with in later Grecian and Oriental writers and in the sacred books of the Jews; on the other part, even these notices refer, however, to the only latterly occurring variations of this circle of belief, so that therefrom it is only with great caution allowable to conclude on its earlier original state. This variation is of a double nature; firstly, a preponderance of the star-worship, coming forward ever more and more strongly in later period, which at last almost pushed out the worship of the older deities; a phenomenon, which is noticeable in the Egyptian doctrines of faith, though not to such a large extent; next comes, however, the formal transformation, which Zoroaster undertook with this ancient department of belief through the medium of his religious speculations, and by means of which he totally abolished a chief portion of the ancient divine worship. The first alteration, which, to conclude from the traces in the books of the Old Testament, particularly in those of the later Prophets, had gradually taken place already several centuries before Zoroaster, displays itself chiefly in the worship of the

gods of the nations of the so-called Semitic stock, specially among the rude Syrians and Arabs, and has preserved itself there in vogue even yet long, after the transformation of the Arian dogmatics brought about by Zoroaster, and even yet close by the side of Christianity, until the introduction of the teachings of Mahommed. For, the religious speculation established by Zoroaster could not very lightly find entry among them, notwithstanding that it early became a state religion in the Persian Empire, because, having been promulgated by a learned priestly race, it must have become unsuitable to the inferior spiritual culture-state of these Semitic nationalities. The second alteration in this ancient circle of belief, caused by the Zoroastrian speculation, finds itself predominant in the sacred Zend writings. These books — of invaluable worth, as genuine primeval records of the Bactrian language and of the later Bactrio-Persian dogmatics, even though in their condition of the present day they are but only spare remnants of an extensively rich priestly literature, — offer consequently very uncertain indications just on the pre-Zoroastrian conditions of the Arian doctrines of faith, because they contain naturally only the doctrines already transformed by Zoroaster. Out of these authorities, partly so sparing and defective, partly in themselves indeed so little original, we are permitted consequently to recognise the principal figures of the ancient Arian circle of gods almost yet by means of conjectures only.

In general, what Herodotus says of the Persian conceptions of the gods, holds true of the oldest preva-

lent among all the Arian nations :— “The Persians had imagined their deities not analogous to mankind, as did the Hellenes, and had, in consequence, built to them even no temples, nor erected any images ; but rather it was a custom among them, derived from most ancient times, to perform their divine services on the tops of mountains, and in truth as well of the supreme deity, as which they invoked the whole celestial sphere, as also of the sun and the moon, the earth, fire, water and wind.” Exactly the very same manner of worship and the very same divine circle are met with also among the Bactrians and among the Indians, as it becomes apparent from their sacred writings, the *Zend-Avesta* and the *Vedas*. Equally in the *Zend-Avesta* and in the *Rigveda*, there is a mention of divine worship without the use of temples, and as the deities thereof appear, with the exception of that which in the *Zend-Avesta* is an offspring of the Zoroastrian speculation, the heavenly space with the sun and the moon, the earth, fire, water and wind. It is therefore clear, that even the ancient divine conceptions of the Arian nations have proceeded from the contemplations of the external world. The highest of these divine conceptions, as stated by Herodotus, was that of the whole circumference of the heaven ; by this, however, the celestial vault itself is really not to be thought of, but rather the celestial space, that, with its infiniteness, encompasses the celestial vault. The idea of infiniteness seems to make up the essentiality of this conception of the gods, and in truth the endlessness conceived as well of space as of time. That such a notion of deity existed among the Arian nations already before the Zoroastrian speculation, in

which, as is well known, it stands at the head of all the divine conceptions, under the name of Zaruana-Akarana, the uncreated time, becomes seemingly true from this, that among the Anterior-Asiatic nations, the Phœnicians as well as the Babylonians, a god of time under the name El-Elyon, the supreme God, Kevan, Bel-Itan, Baal-Cheled, Lord of Time, Melech-Olam, King of Eternity, appears as the highest deity, which is conceived as enthroned immediately over the celestial vault. It is this the very same deity which is called Kronos among the Greeks and Saturnus among the Romans. The name Kevan, which cannot be derived nor explained from the Semitic, seems to have been the original Arian name of this deity. For Kevan, in its Zend form Kâviyan, accords obviously with Kavi occurring in Zend and Sanscrit, that has preserved itself in the modern Persian in the form Key, meaning, “the high, the elevated,” so that El-Elyon in consequence would be only the Semitic translation of the name Kevan. Add to this further, that in the Zend writings the name Kevan has preserved itself, by the side of Zaruana- Akarana, denoting a planetary deity, and truly as the god of that very same planet that is appropriated also by the Phœnicio-Arabian national tribes to Kevan, by the Greeks to Kronos. We shall see, however, further down, that the chiefs of the planets, that have, in the teachings of Zoroaster, sunk low into subordinate genii, were, in the pre-Zoroastrian epoch, held as deities among the Arian nations, and really such, as were already for long worshipped, before the progressive observation of the heavens separated the planets from the rest of the stars, and thereby gave the occasion to transfer over the already existing names of

gods to the newly discriminated planets. From this then it would explain itself also, how among the original inhabitants of the Grecian territories and of Italy, who had their derivation from the Arian nations the worship of a God of time, under the name of Kronos or Saturnus, found its place as the oldest, prehistorical divine worship; for it can have only this sense, when it is said that Kronos and Saturn had in the oldest periods dominated in these countries. The nature of the ideas, then, of time and space even, which lie at the root of the conception of these gods, explains its early origin, for, time and space, as the already pre-existing before everything else and evermore continuously enduring after all other existences shall be no more, without beginning and without end, in fact, that alone that the spirit cannot picture as ever absent, must even upon the simplest reflection obtrude themselves spontaneously.

A femininely conceived goddess, which was considered as the prime cause of all production and origin and of all increase on the earth, seems to have received the highest position, next to Kewan. Her most ancient conception seems to have proceeded out of the idea of the heavenly waters, which, according to the opinion of all ancient nations, are gathered on the fixed celestial vault, and from there the fructifying rain descends on the earth. Since, consequently, these heavenly waters appear as the first cause of all production and fructification on the face of the earth, as the primitive source of all growth and of all life, so they are in the Zend writings as well as in the Vedas adored as one of the greatest things exercising influence on the universe, and consti-

tute consequently one of the highest divine notions. Even among the West Asiatic nations this deity became highly adored, and occurs, on that account, in the notices preserved to us, under multifarious appellations. One of its commonest names is Astaroth, Astarte, which the Greeks render by Rhea and Aphrodite-Urania; Rhea, the flowing, they call the deity, obviously because, in so far its idea has proceeded out of the conception of the heavenly waters; Aphrodite-Urania, the heavenly deity of progeneration, in so far as these waters are the prime causes of all beginning and growth on the face of the earth. Among the Arian nations this deity had, besides its simple matter-of-fact name: Ap, water, moreover, according to Herodotus' evidence, the surname of Mitra, *i.e.*, "the friendly, the affectionate." In the Zend writings the deity appears, however, to occur neither with this surname nor generally with a proper name, but, like the large number of the venerated conceptions of gods, rather only under its habitual common name. It is, however, an universal phenomenon in all ancient religions, that the names of gods at first were nothing else than simple common nouns, because they denoted only things: water, wind, fire, &c.; and the notion of a personal being was not at all yet bound up with them. This last feature developed itself not until late but gradually out of the peculiarities that were attributed to the divine being, and thus originated then also its proper name out of one of those surnames which were attributed to the divine being originally in larger numbers in order to denote its various qualities. If we pursue therefore a divine idea till up to its origin, then the circumstance appears to be, that the nearer we trace

it to its beginning, so much the more undefined it becomes, so that a name of a god resolves itself at last in a mere matter-of-fact name of a thing or in an attributive word. In this process there can occur the double circumstance, first, that a name, that is latterly bound up as a proper name to one certain being, was formerly applied as a mere common surname often to several deities simultaneously ; reversed, however, also, that two names, with which in later times various sharply imprinted representations have bound themselves up, so that they are considered as proper names of various beings, are originally surnames of the one and the selfsame being, inasmuch as they denoted only the different properties, the various sides of the one and the selfsame deitical idea. Both the cases occur in the Zend books even as well as in the Vedas, and make it very difficult to again recognise, in their incipient yet undefined form, the ideas of gods, already sharply stamped in the later reports. Both the incidents discover themselves now also in the idea of the God whom the Western Asiatics denote by the name of Astarte. For, in the portion of the Zend Avesta hitherto interpreted, water really occurs as an idea of the deity of the female sex, prayed to and worshipped ; since, however, there is the question in general only of the water, Ap, so the identity of this undefined divine idea with that of the latterly so sharply stamped one of Astarte, does not yet any the more admit of being conjectured with certainty, because the hitherto known materials do not any the more permit us yet to sufficiently review the course of development of the divine idea, from the simple and indeterminate form that it must have had at the beginning, up to that

sharply individualised impression, with which it occurs in later ages among the West Asiatic nations. When, on the other hand, Herodotus specifies Mitra as the Persian name of the female deity, then it is nothing else than a mere by-name, "the friendly, the lovely"; a by-name that is applied to other gods also. Besides, this deity bore this same by-name among the West Asiatic nations also; for the name Nemanun, which the Phœnicians applied to Astarte, signifies likewise, "the friendly, the affectionate," and is therefore a literal translation of the name Mitra.

The sun and the moon constitute, among the Arians, as among the rest of the ancient nations, a second pair of gods; the sun, Hvare, conceived as a male being, the moon, Mah, as a female. In this matter, the Arian doctrine of God differs itself from that of the Egyptian, in which both the divine beings are conceived masculine; obviously, because the word Mah in the Zend language is feminine; the word Joh, the moon, on the contrary, in the Egyptian is masculine. The sun and the moon are called "the heavenly king and the heavenly queen," and under these names they stood in high veneration even among the West Asiatic nations. Under their own proper names these deities occur less frequently under the two appellatives, on the contrary, they appear in the ancient accounts, as highly venerated by all the Arian nations. The sun-god, in fact, as an essentially good deity, is named "Mithras, the friendly, the good," and the moon-goddess "Anais, *i.e.*, Anahita, the pure," the Artemis, the pure young maiden of the Greeks. That the names of both these gods are mere

attributive words, becomes clear, not only out of the Zend language, from which they derive their origin, but also from the fact, that both these names occur also as by-names of other deities. So was above Mitra, the friendly, the Persian by-name of Aphrodite-Urania; so in the Zend books the divinely worshipped source Arduiser also is called : Anahita, the pure.

The fifth chief deity of the Arians was finally the fire, Atar, conceived, on the one hand, in its beneficent quality as the warmth, animating and vivifying the universe, on the other, in its destroying capacity, as the flaming heat, singeing everything. It was conceived as a male deity, and received, in its first capacity, as a good being, the appellative "Siva, the salutiferous," under which name it occurs on the Mithraic monuments; the very same name, under which, although conceived from its destroying side, it forms a member of the Trimurti, the Indian trinity. In its destroying capacity it receives, on the contrary, the name Sarva, the destroyer, which has preserved itself in the Sanscrit also as a surname of Siva. Fire was comprehended in this last character, as an exclusively frightful deity, by the West Asiatic nations, among whom its service was likewise widely spread. This is that deity Ader, Adrammelech, *i.e.*, Ader the King, called also, by way of mere distinction, Molech, Moloch, the King, whose horrible cult was associated with human sacrifices. The later Indians also comprehended Siva from this terrible point of view. It is well known that the worship of fire among the Arian nations was by far the most widespread divine service; beginning from Asia Minor, it extended itself

along the southern coasts of the Black Sea, over the whole of Central Asia, till up to India, for even in the Vedas there occurs quite the very same simple mode of worship of the pure fire, as in the Zend-Avesta. Zoroaster made consequently the fire worship into a chief element of his purified divine service, and the exaltation of the Zoroastrian doctrines into Persian state religion, under Darius, could only serve the purpose of yet further extending the fire service. For, on one of the Persepolitan cuneiform inscriptions Darius demands of the nations subjugated under his rule just as well the worship of fire, as the presentation of a tribute. And the worship of fire stretched itself not merely over Asia, but it was also in the Grecian countries and among the nations inhabiting in the north of the Grecian territories, a highly venerated deity, under the name of Hestia, Vesta.

These five, or more accurately speaking six, deistical ideas of the ancient Arian sphere of belief are the immediately important for our researches, because their worship was predominant already in the oldest times, not merely among the Arians, but self even among the Babylonian-Phœnician races, and through the migrations of the latter became carried over even into Egypt, where it blended itself with the worship of the original Egyptian deistical ideas, and thereby essentially contributed to the formation of the later Egyptian doctrines of faith.

The two remaining deistical ideas mentioned by Herodotus, of the earth and of the wind, occur in the sacred writings of the Bactrians also as divinely worshipped beings, and make up with the above six the number

eight of natural deities, which accord quite close with the cosmical deities of the Egyptians. Even the Zoroastrian doctrine of faith, together with its purified divine ideas, preserved this worship of external nature in its entire expansion. This is a cult, that quite corresponds to that old Grecian worship of the mountain and grove deities, of the spring and tree nymphs, of the rivers and winds, &c., as it had preserved itself in the later historical times, in Arcadia; only with this difference, that the Arians represented to themselves the external nature truly even alive and animated, but not vivified with anthropomorphous character, as did the Arcadians and Grecians of later age, but that they conceived and worshipped the things themselves as animated in their actual material figures; that their ideas of gods were, in one word, ideas of things, and not of persons. It is, however, much probable, that even the Græco-Arcadian natural deities in their oldest forms were mere ideas of things, and not until late they became transformed into ideas of persons, when the entire Grecian circle of gods lost its speculative significance, and sank down into mere anthropomorphous character.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Now, when, from what has been hitherto said, the reader sufficiently knows the origin of speculations of our Occidental countries, we are desirous to inquire, to make ourselves even more clear on the inner speculative character of every one of the depicted circles of ideas, in order thereby to disclose before us indeed at the outset, the understanding of the now resulting development of the mind. We recur, therefore, no more to the general characteristics of the ancient speculations ; the reader will have discovered in the delineated circles of ideas, the full confirmation of all that which was noticed on the subject at the outset in the introduction to these inquiries.

When making critical examination of the Egyptian doctrine of faith, we have already drawn attention to the fact, that the character of the circles of ideas contained in it, is that of a yet rude materialistic pantheism ; we called it a cosmotheism, a doctrine of deifying the world. The Egyptian doctrine of faith received this character for the reason, that it has sprung forth, first of all, and originally, from meditations on the outward visible world, on the physical nature, a stand-point, from which man becomes himself lost further in the universe, and does not at all become conscious of his individual spiritual wants, of his personal wishes of the heart. We have proved, how such a mode of thought, — at all beginnings of civilisation, so long as the social habiting

together of men has little developed, and the individuals pass the greatest portion of their lives in the open nature, surrounded by the objects of the outward world, — must of necessity take rise, because the unconscious cultivation of every one of the circles of thought depends upon the principal impressions of daily life. Only just later, when in civil life man becomes the chief essential to man, when through the social incitations and relations the moral qualities of mankind develop themselves, then meditation directs itself also in an eminent way on man and his moral nature, as it was passingly mentioned already when making researches into the Grecian system of belief. In harmony with this it is found then even, that that portion of the Egyptian system of belief, which relates especially to man, to his life on this earth, and to his survival in the next after his death, has taken its rise, at the furthest, several centuries after the divine lore and cosmogony, and in verity just only in the most flourishing period of the Egyptian state. The peculiarities of this materialistic pantheism; *viz.*, its conception of the original deity, composed and united out of material and spiritual elements, its doctrine of emanation, its essential notions of gods, which represent parts of the universe, the astrological superstition closely bound up with it, and other similar things, are well known from the exposition that has preceded, and do not require to be repeated here. This complete system of ideas, with its peculiar method of representation — although proceeding immediately out of the contemplation of the external world, and so natural to every one contemplation of the world commensurate with the

senses, that it is found among all the oldest nations — stands from us so far on account of our alienation from the external nature, that it costs us the greatest effort to transpose ourselves again into the understanding of it. Certainly, it astonishes us in the highest degree, to find notions of gods, — that occur to our mode of thinking extremely abstract, and wanting in sensuousness as, for example, the interminable space-expansion comprehended as the guardian of the world-organisation, — worshipped in the days of the most hoary antiquity and by people whom — like, for example, the Phœnician Philister — we have accustomed ourselves to imagine but as rude barbarians.

Infinitely closer stands to us, indeed, the Zoroastrian school of ideas. True, even it has nevertheless an element, that appears to us sufficiently strange, namely, the adoration of the material external world : of fire and water, of the sun and the moon, of the wind, the mountains, &c. But just this for us so heterogeneous portion is not particularly Zoroaster's own ; on the contrary, it is an heritage from the ancient Arian circle of faith, which, quite closely related to the old Egyptian, was, in like manner, a deification of the world, a cosmotheism. The conceptions of gods specially peculiar to Zoroaster himself do not, on the other hand, in the least astonish us as strange, because they stand indeed entirely on the stand-point of our own present-day mode of thinking ; they are the anthropomorphously conceived spiritual beings, like our angels. In Zoroaster, therefore, our modern mode of thought finds indeed its beginning ; he contemplates the world indeed quite from the human

stand-point ; he humanizes, as we do it in our modern mode of thought, even indeed the highest conceptions of gods ; they are, as we ordinarily imagine the deity to ourselves, personal beings of preponderating moral nature. The moral stand-point predominates with him, as with us, all throughout ; he carries over, like ourselves, the moral way of contemplation even in the external world. What touches us as disagreeable in his system of ideas, is only the perpetual intermixture of these two quite different modes of representations, with which he treats the material portion of the universe quite so as his personally conceived gods, invokes them, implores their blessings, contemplates them as beings working with conscience and will ; an intermixture, that strikes obviously only from the reason, that he, in spite of his quite different way of thought of his own person, was not able to free himself from the fetters of custom and youthful impressions. This dual capacity of the Zoroastrian school of ideas, it is obviously, what mostly troubles us in him.

This mode of thinking, comprehending the universe from the human point of view, has now in the later ages become ever more predominant, and is still so at present. And not merely our speculation on metaphysical and religious conceptions : namely, on the deity and the world-organisation, stands almost exclusively on this stand-point incarnating the universe ; no, even our natural sciences, although they have begun to wring themselves out of it, are still in the greatest portion dependent upon it, and wherever they have disembar-

rassed themselves from it, there they alienate themselves from the prevalent mode of thought.

That was so far up to our present day the general course of the development of the mind, that, gradually withdrawing itself from a school of ideas, that was conformable with the phenomena, that conformed itself to the outer visible world, as it is met with in the Egyptian teachings of faith, it wended itself towards a school of ideas, exclusively constituted after the human life, and quite incarnated, of which the first beginnings show themselves in the Zoroastrian faith.

In this general transformation of the mode of thought, the two oldest schools of ideas were now equally strongly represented ; it arose only out of a long-lasting conflict between the two schools of ideas, during which that of the Zoroastrian became ever more dominant, the Egyptian ever more subsided, without the result, however, of this last being entirely extinguished ; for one of its successors has still preserved itself up to this day. And here it is not a question of the schools of ideas that, being congenial merely in spirit with those most ancient ones, had historically, however, come into existence absolutely and independently thereof, but of such, that really accord together with them historically and originate therefrom. This is truly a not well known matter of fact, but on that account nevertheless not the less truthful. Its unacquaintance to us need not surprise us. For the one-sided narrowness of our antiquarian studies has also had in its consequence such a limitedness of our intellectual sphere of view, that the Oriental spheres of ideas were generally as regards ourselves as

good as not at all in existence, and it occurred to no one, that the two religious systems, the Egyptian till in the seventh, the Zoroastrian till beyond the tenth century after Christ, had survived, therefore even till in these later times exercised their influence on the western countries, and were well known to the Greeks as the “foreign philosophies” (*barbara philosophia*). It is in consequence quite natural, if even the very history writers of philosophy started with surprise at a foreign, non-Grecian philosophy (*barbara philosophia*), which they found mentioned in their authorities here and there, and consequently relegated them to the regions of the fables.

That the ancient Grecian speculation has sprung up out of the Egyptian doctrines of faith with an admixture of the Zoroastrian elements, has been already previously remarked. In these altogether ancient times till down to Plato, he included therein, the Egyptian school of ideas is preponderating, and lies at the basis of the Grecian speculation, unless it followed immediately the gradually developing empirical knowledge, — in the systems of most of the Grecian thinkers. Admixture of the Zoroastrian mode of representation is to be met with but little, and in a great measure only in sundry thinkers, as, for example, in Democritus and Plato. Afterwards, with Aristotle, commenced a period, in which the Grecian school of ideas made itself free from the Egyptian and became independent. This is the highest bloom of the Grecian intellect. Hereafter declines the Grecian culture. Christianity develops itself out of the Zoroastrian school of ideas, but under the continual influences of the

Egyptian, which had, through the new Platonic, one Plotin and his followers, once again, in the renovated, more scientific form, become transplanted from its native soil to Rome and Athens. Not merely a widely spread Christian sect, that of the Gnostics, formed their doctrines through a blending of the Egyptian and Christian ideas, in which, moreover, the Christian elements are yet extremely spare, because most of the Gnostic thinkers were born Egyptians, but even the very orthodox church doctrines themselves formed their shibboleth, the doctrine of the Trinity, after the fashion of the Neo-Platonic, *i.e.*, Egyptian ideas. With the extinction of the Grecian culture, the Egyptian school of ideas too disappeared from the Grecian soil, and with Christianity, the Zoroastrian school of ideas became generally predominant in the Western countries, abundantly remodelled, but still unaltered in respect of the principal points. Even Mahomedanism itself, which in the East simultaneously supplanted the Zoroastrian and the Egyptian schools of ideas, is closely related with the Zoroastrian doctrines, because it is composed out of the Jewish-Christian elements. The Egyptian-Neo-Platonic mode of thought, on the other hand, finds its further culture in the Mahomedan philosophy, and truly in the free thinking schools of Arabian physicists, as well of the East as of Spain, until far into the middle ages. Certainly, through the influence and the writings of the Spanish-Arabian philosophers, this very manner of thought penetrated even into the Christian countries of the West, and produced in the school of the scholastics that pantheistic element so incompatible with the Christian mode of thought, which the scholastic speculations made so

heterogeneous and unintelligible to the later generations. Even in Judaism the Egyptian school of ideas transplanted itself through the medium of the Kabbala, and maintains itself so up to this day. During this whole of the modern period there entered, however, between these two modes of thought, a circumstance opposed to the previous one, namely, the Zoroastrian mode of thought preponderated, the Egyptian lagged behind.

The particular speculative value of these two most ancient systems of beliefs is therefore this, that they represent two modes of thought, diametrically opposed to each other, pervading throughout the entire course of history, just at the commencement of intellectual culture, and through their influence continuously preserve themselves even in the later ages. Both the modes of thought are met with in those systems of beliefs in their most primitive, most incomplete shapes; both the systems of belief have on that account no or only a very small intrinsic worth; demonstrable truth they both do not contain, a criterion, before which, moreover, few speculative schools of ideas could generally make good their stand. But they have a very great historical worth, since they contain the key to the understanding of the later speculative systems, and vouchsafe the heretofore not existing possibility of penetrating into the historical course of development of our schools of ideas, such as are still at present in existence. These two modes of thought first uttered through them exist in refined, perfect forms even at present, and will most probably continue to exist by each other's side even in the future. For the mode of thought, comprehending the visible

world from the human point of view, does not stand before science, and the other proceeding out of the phenomenal world, attaching itself to it, will scarcely ever again become conformable to the culture-stand of the multitude. But whether a superior stand-point, accommodating or combining both the modes of thought, may be possible, that first the coming times will indeed teach the next generations.

The beginning of the contest of these two modes of thought with each other is pointed out to us now just by the immediately succeeding developments of philosophy among the Greeks ; it pervades throughout the whole history of philosophy and survives even yet, even after the ancient view of the world, to which it was at first attached, is very long since fallen into disuse, it must be founded therefore indeed deeply in the nature of human thought.

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