THE QUEST

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THE QUEST

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE SLAVIC JOSEPHUS QUESTION.

ROBERT EISLER, Ph.D.

(Several articles on the Slavic Josephus have already appeared in THE QUEST: (1) by the Editor, vol. xv., July 1924; (2) by Dr. R. Eisler, vol. xvii., Oct. 1925; (3) by Prof. A. Marmorstein, vol. xvii., Jan. 1926; (4) by the Editor, a Note on the last, vol. xvii., April 1926. The German edition of Dr. Eisler's *magnum opus* on the subject, which is a monument of fine scholarship and replete with historical and other surprises, is beginning to appear in parts. Three parts (240 pp.) have already been issued by Carl Winters Verlag, Heidelberg, and the 2 vols. will contain 1,200 pp., with 50 plates, Roy. 8vo. The title is: IHCOYC BACIΛEYC OY BACIΛEYCAC: *Die Messianische Unabhänigigkeits-bewegung vom Auftreten Johannes des Täufers bis zum Untergang Jakobus des Gerechten, nach der neuerschlossenen Eroberung von Jerusalem des Josephus Flavius.* In English, this title would run: 'Jesus the King who did not Reign: The Messianic Independence-Movement from the Appearance of John the Baptizer to the Downfall of James the Righteous, according to the Newly-accessible "Capture of Jerusalem" by Flavius Josephus.' There are in preparation also English, French, Italian, Swedish and Russian editions. The title of the English edition (Methuen) will be: 'The Messianic Jesus and John the Baptist, according to the Unedited Old Russian Version of Flavius Josephus's "Capture of Jerusalem."' The following Communication was presented to last year's Congress of the History of Christianity held in celebration

of the Jubilee of Alfred Loisy. It is rendered from the French by G. R. S. M. Dr. Eisler also summarized the latest position before an informal gathering of The Quest Society on July 28 of this year. We venture to suggest to readers who are seriously interested in Christian Origins, that they should read what follows carefully and not casually. They will, doubtless, hear much more of these new and surprising researches in the future, and it will therefore be useful for them to have the chief points clearly in mind.—ED.)

MODERN HISTORY OF THE QUESTION.

IN 1866, Andrey Nic. Popoff published, for the first time, some very strange passages on the lives of John the Baptist and of Jesus, which he had found in the Russian version of a work by Flavius Josephus, entitled 'The Capture of Jerusalem.' In 1879, Ismaïl Iv. Sresnewski gave several other specimens of this text. These publications aroused no curiosity among the Russian scholars of the time. They were unable to share in the great movement of critical research on the origins of Christianity, which had been inaugurated in Germany by Hermann Samuel Reimarus and David Friedrich Strauss, and in France by the School of Strasbourg and particularly by Ernest Renan,—studies which have ever since been followed up with tireless energy, not only in these countries, but also in England and in America.

In 1906, a Baltic pastor, Alexander John Berendts (1863-1912), Professor of Theology in the University of Dorpat, published a German translation of the fragments in question in von Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen.*

The advent of these texts in the scientific world of the West did not take place under fortunate auspices. Berendts, it is true, deserves all our gratitude for his later labours—when he copied in their entirety, and

for the most part collated, the 17 Russian MSS. of Josephus, and made a German translation of Books I.-IV. But in his first study, in 1906, he did not yet know the complete version of Josephus from which he obtained, and commented on, the passages dealing with Christianity. Moreover, he was so deficient in critical insight and historic method, that he failed to distinguish the most obvious Christian interpolations in what he translated. The result of his publication was disastrous, seeing that Berendts attributed these 8 fragments to Josephus, just as they stood, and in particular as though they came directly from his first, Semitic, edition of the 'Jewish War' which Josephus mentions in the preface of the Greek text.

We could naturally not expect any modern historian, however credulous he may have been, to believe that:

Flavius Josephus had told us: that Jesus had healed Pilate's dying wife; that Pilate in return had set Jesus free; that the Jews had then bribed Pilate to let them kill Jesus; that, further, Josephus had believed in the miracle of the rending of the veil of the sanctuary in Jerusalem; and that he had made long theological reflections on the various possibilities of there having been a resurrection of Jesus, etc.

These texts were, accordingly, almost unanimously condemned, in the lump, as forgeries, just as Berendts had declared them, in the lump, to be authentic.

The Right Method of Treatment.

The surprising fact is that no one had thought of the third contingency, which had been for long argued for and against in the case of the passage concerning Jesus in the Greek text of Josephus's 'Antiquities.'

No one had attempted to do for the new Slavic Josephus-passages what Dr. Théodore Reinach had tried, with so much

good-sense and sagacity, to do for the Greek text of 'The Antiquities,'—namely, carefully to sift out the slight, clearly Christian additions to the original text, whose anti-Christian intention is so manifest in all that remains after this simple critical operation has been performed.

This is, we may add, a task that otherwise has had to be done in the same way for all the Jewish literature which has passed through the hands of Christian scribes, in particular for the Jewish 'Sibyllines,' the 'Testaments of the Patriarchs,' the 'Book of Jubilees,' the 'Odes of Solomon,' etc.

It would have been exceedingly regrettable if it should have been necessary for us to reject in the lump, as Christian apocrypha, all the Jewish writings of this period, all the works of so high an interest for religious history, for the sole reason that in them are found numbers of lines—quite easy to cut out—which betray the thought of a Christian author.

The Crux of the Special Problem.

The task of making this very simple analysis was undertaken, only in 1925, by the present writer. It succeeded in convincing straight away two eminent historians,—F. C. Lehmann-Haupt, of Insbruck University, and F. Kampers, of the University of Breslau,—that the narratives about the Baptist and Jesus, when stripped of the puerile additions with which the Christian scribes had tricked them out, might really come from the stylus of Flavius Josephus. In any case, it is impossible to admit that a Christian forger could have dared to speak of Jesus in such a tone, and in particular to implicate him in the conspiracy of a revolt of Jewish Zealots against the Roman garrison of Jerusalem.

Frey's hypothesis (1908), of our having to do with *Jewish* interpolations in the text of Josephus, is untenable if we refuse to sift out the manifestly Christian portions from the rest of these chapters.

If, on the contrary, we duly separate the Jewish warp from the Christian woof of this muddled weaving, there is no gain in attributing to an unknown Jew what the MSS. attribute to Josephus himself, and what is written from beginning to end with words and phrases which Josephus uses habitually in relating other events of the same order. Such an hypothesis could have no other object than to invalidate a testimony, which is as inconvenient for modern theologians as it must always have been inconvenient for the ancient Christians, as is witnessed to by the interpolations, corrections and mutilations of which the texts have been victims from the beginning of the 4th century.

The Wider Problem.

But the critics of my first publications on this subject were entirely justified in saying, that it was impossible to give judgment on the question before studying the whole of the Slavic version of Josephus, and in particular the nature of the passages which, though in no way affecting the history of Christian origins, sought to give us the means of forming a judgment on the eventual tendencies of this version—the general drift of the many divergencies existing between the known Greek text and the new Slavic text,—variants, of which Berendts had already studied and published a striking example in 1908.

Helps to the Solution of the Question.

It has never been my intention to avoid this pressing task; and I have the pleasure to-day of being able to announce that my researches in this direction have drawn to a head.

The problem of the origins and tendencies of the Slavic version of Josephus is now entirely cleared up, thanks to the friendly co-operation of certain *confrères* and patrons: the late Konrad Grass of Dorpat University, colleague and literary executor of the late Alexander Berendts, with a generosity that I shall never be able too greatly to appreciate, has placed at my disposition the pages of his excellent edition of the German translation of Books I.-IV., which Berendts had completed during the last three years of his life. In addition,—thanks to the goodness of Prof. Grass and of Prof. Vladimir Istrin, of the Academy of Leningrad, who has for many years been preparing a critical edition of the Slavic Josephus,—I have been able to get manuscript copies of the Old Russian text of all the passages which are important from a critical point of view. The liberality of Mrs. Alice Chalmers, of London, has enabled me, moreover, to have the more important pages photographed; and, lastly, Dr. James Lœb has, very generously, had reproduced for me an entire MS. of the Slavic Josephus of which Berendts was not able to avail himself.

Analysis of the MSS.

On the basis of this documentation I have been able to establish the following facts:

The Russian texts are not—as Berendts believed—copies of a single archetype. The Russian translator first of all published the version of a MS. which was mutilated at the beginning and in the middle, but which still contained, in the opening passages, the remains of a preface differing very considerably from the Greek *proœmion*. To complete this first edition of his work, the Russian translator was able later to utilize other MSS. which were in a better state of preservation.

These MSS. did not all end at the same date-point:

The Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy Codex 651 (227) finishes its narrative—without anything being possibly missing at the end—before the paragraphs of the Greek Josephus which relate the

destruction of the schismatic temple of the Jews at Heliopolis in Egypt; whereas Codex 991 of the heretofore Holy Synod of Moscow ends with the very order of the Emperor Vespasian to carry out this harsh measure against the revolted Jews of Egypt.

Various Editions of Josephus's Works.

We see, accordingly, that Josephus published successive, though naturally very limited, editions of his work prior and subsequent to the year 73. As occasion required, other supplements and retouchings were added to his text,—for instance, the mention of the dedication of the Temple of Peace (75 C.E.), which has hitherto provided historians with a *terminus ante* to date the publication of the 'Jewish War.' The Slavic MSS. prove that this is a mistake. As could have been seen by the table of contents (κεφαλαίωσις) of his work, which Josephus gives in the Greek preface and which ends with the triumph of Titus and Vespasian, the first edition of it was made in great haste, so as to be presented to the two Emperors and their leading generals, as a *souvenir* of their triumph. The 'Jewish War' was, therefore, a publication for the occasion, of which the first edition appeared in 72 C.E. Whereas the Greek text of our editions,—which ends with the narrative of a lawsuit against Josephus, who was acquitted of the charge of having fermented the revolt of the Jews of Cyrene led by Jonathan the Weaver,—is subsequent to a second charge brought against Josephus in 81 C.E., at the time of Domitian's accession to the throne. It is probably only after this second trial that Josephus,—who was once more acquitted on formal grounds, and not because he was really entirely innocent,—made up his mind, in his second work, to speak of the annoying accusations from which he had suffered, and which he had till then preferred to pass

over in silence. None of the Russian MSS. shows the slightest trace of these lawsuits.

The 'Capture of Jerusalem' History.

The Slavic version discloses yet another peculiarity —the Title:

Berendts-Grass have published it under the title 'Flavius Josephus: On the Jewish War.' But this heading is not found in a single one of the Russian MSS. The title of the Slavic work is *Josifa evreja o plenenii jerusalima*, which is equivalent in Greek to Ἰωσήπου Ἑβραίου περὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ—a heading already known previously by a whole group of Greek MSS. and of Patristic quotations. Prof. Laqueur of Giessen University has remarked that a patriotic Jew could not possibly speak of the '*Jewish War*' in connection with the campaign of 66-70 C.E., and that the very title Πόλεμος Ἰουδαϊκός betrays the Roman point of view, which its author (J.) has assumed. On the other hand, Berendts had already discussed some very Romanophobe passages in the Slavic version of Josephus, that could not have appeared in the edition of its author which was dedicated to Titus.

It is, therefore, clear that the edition of Josephus which, in his own words, he presented to the Emperors and Roman generals, was different from the one which, again on his own confession, he sold to his Jewish co-religionists. These two editions were distinguished from one another by their titles. The work presented to his Roman patrons had as its title *The Jewish War*, whereas the volume which Josephus sold the Jews, bore one more suitable to their national point of view,—namely, *The Capture of Jerusalem.*

There are even very clear traces of a still more primitive heading: Ἰωσήπου περὶ ἁλώσεως. This means: 'Josephus on his Captivity'—'My Prisons,' as Silvio Pellico wrote—or more precisely: 'Josephus, How he was taken Prisoner,' or 'How he gave himself up as Prisoner of War.' Such a title is significant of Josephus's apologetic for his own treason, which this cowardly

turncoat had begun to write in defence of his dastardly behaviour, before the idea struck him of writing a history of the whole Jewish rebellion against the Romans and of its tragical outcome. Prof. Laqueur, already in 1920, had shown that Josephus had incorporated a statement of this kind in his 'Life,' which was published in 93-94, to defend himself against Justus of Tiberias.

The Slavic version, therefore, allows us to make clear that the different titles of Josephus's work correspond to different editions of his undertaking. The title of the final edition of the 'Complete Works' of Josephus, as they were published by their editor, the book-loving grammarian Epaphroditus, was simply: 'Histories' (*Ἱστορίαι*).

The Slavic Version, Translated from a Greek Original. Josephus's Incompetence in Greek.

It is out of question that the Slavic interpreter translated from a Greek MS. This is proved by the fact, that a number of times Greek words, which he did not understood, are simply transcribed, as they stand, into Russian. On the other hand, two instances in which Semitic words are kept untouched in the Russian text, because the Greek translator had not understood them and, therefore, simply transcribed them into Greek, prove (in concurrence with a number of corruptions of proper names, Semitic terms of expression, etc.) that the Greek text which the Russian interpreter used, was translated from a Semitic original.

Josephus confesses indeed, that he made use of Greek 'collaborators' (*συνεργοί*) because he did not write Greek well enough. This admission of his, however, is anything but a full confession. The fact, that the Greek style of his first works is far superior to that of his latter publications; the fact, that in certain books

of the 'Antiquities' regular use is made of forms of the type θάλατται, whereas in other books of the same work θάλασσα is always found; the still more serious fact, that not infrequently expressions displeasing for Jews to read are found in his writings, without Josephus appearing to notice them;—all this proves positively that he could not write Greek at all; that he could not even understand enough of it adequately to distinguish the shades of meaning of the words which his 'collaborators' used; that he ought rather to have called his translators—editors. Josephus should, therefore, henceforth be wiped off the list of Greek authors. He was never able to write well anything but his mother-tongue. We find a diplomatic avowal of this pretty embarrassing fact for our sham Greek man-of-letters, in the paragraph with which he ends his history of the 'Jewish War,' when writing: "Here ends our history, which we have told with all precision to those who wish to know how this war was waged by the Romans against the Jews. How it has been translated (πῶς ἑρμήνευται), the *readers* must judge"—that is, he could himself form no opinion! "Its truth I venture to guarantee; for I have had no other care throughout its whole composition (παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γραφήν) all the time I was writing it."

Josephus's Original Semitic Rough-Draft.

The Slavic version, therefore, reproduces a Greek translation of an original Semitic rough-draft, which was made from it in the Roman *scriptorium* of Josephus, and not the Aramaic edition of his book, which Josephus published, by order of the Roman government, for the Parthians and the Jews of Babylon, to dissuade them from making an attack against the Roman Empire

on behalf of the oppressed Jews of Palestine. The passages hostile to Rome in the Slavic version (some of which were already pointed out by Berendts as early as 1908) could not stand in this complaisant Aramaic version, of which, moreover, no trace has survived for us in the national literature of the Jews. They might easily have been found in the primitive rough-draft of Josephus, which serves in the chapter in question as a Semitic translation, with Romanophobe touchings-up, of the History of Herod the Great by Nicolas of Damascus. It is very easy to see that Josephus simply gave these so-called 'collaborators' to translate a copy of this work which he had in his possession, without these poor slaves,—hellenized Phœnicians, who used the Tyrian calendar—having the slightest doubt that there was a very elegant Greek original of this history of Herod! These literary hacks took advantage of the fact—so patent in many a passage—that their employer was unable to check their work, or did not take the trouble to do so, to leave, either of malice prepense or through lack of care, a number of things which might prove seriously embarrassing to Josephus on the part of his Roman readers. He must very quickly have noticed the existence of these compromising passages in his book; and the result of this discovery was the Greek expurgated edition which we possess, and which has hundreds of very striking variants from the Greek version which the Russian translator used. In all these instances the former, Greek text has its explanation in the care it takes to correct mistakes, to please the Romans, to add subsequent information or cut out compromising confessions.

This is the case, for example, in the chapter where Josephus

relates the terrible scene, when he drew lots with his comrades in arms, in the reservoir of Jotapata, to decide who should kill the other so that they all might escape imprisonment by Rome. In the Greek edition he unctuously declares that Divine Providence directed the lots so that Josephus himself should be the last survivor, and give himself up to the Romans. In the original edition, underlying the Russian text, however, Josephus had confessed, in a way too cynical even for his Græco-Roman public, that he himself it was who had cast the lots by spotting the numbers *so shrewdly* that he was the last left in the blood-drenched cellar. This loathsome fact of arithmetical sciolism, known in the history of Jewish mathematics—as Mons. Julien Weill informs me—under the name of 'the theorem of Abraham ibn Ezra,' was not likely to have been to the taste of Josephus's Roman readers,—soldiers who, though certainly not squeamish, nevertheless observed certain military points of honour, of which this vile traitor to his own nation had no inkling.

To sum up—there is not a single passage that could be explained in a sense contrary to the above; and we can take it as a settled fact that the edition which underlies the Russian version, is certainly earlier than the Greek 'Jewish War.' We are now, in a large number of instances, able to compare three dissimilar versions of the same occurrence in the life of Josephus—all three emanating from his own pen.

The Treachery, Peculation and Lying Character of Josephus.

As we can imagine, it is very easy in this way, as if by a cross-examination of witnesses, to discover the brazen-faced lies which Josephus has handed out in the different phases of his literary defence against his various accusers. He has, in reality, entirely perverted and magnified the political *rôle* he played in Galilee in 66.

Josephus never did anything to fortify the cities and townships whose walls and towers he boasts he built. He was nothing but a scheming and dishonest junior secretary, in the suite of a political mission of certain aristocratic priests, sent by the High-priest into Galilee, there to try to recruit for him a military force, which would enable the conservative and Romanophile party of Jerusalem to cope with the party of the Zealots, who had just routed the cohorts of Cestius and got possession of their arms and equipment.

Instead of helping his superiors in this difficult—not to say desperate—task Josephus conspired with the insurgents behind the back of his chiefs, and succeeded in making for himself a pretty strong position in the revolutionary government of Galilee, where he helped in the formation of an anti-sanhedrin of 70 members, and in the organization of a military force, of which he was, moreover, more a sort of secretary of the staff and administration than, as he would have liked to make his readers believe, commander-in-chief.

In this capacity, Josephus not only allowed his accomplice and rival, John of Gish-Halab, to handle certain pretty shady undertakings, and to realize unbelievable profits by a monopoly for the exportation of oil from Galilee, but he also evidently tried to divert to his own profit a considerable share of the loot of his band of bandits or irregular troops. The lies he piles up to free himself from this accusation are very amusing reading.

His Access notwithstanding to Documents of Matchless Historical Value.

On the other hand, however, this brazen-faced impostor, unworthy of credence in all that concerns his own person, in his capacity of complaisant publicist to the Roman government was able to make use of documents of matchless historical value. Prof. Wilhelm Weber, of Halle University, has already proved with a wealth of details that the 'civilian' Josephus, ignorant as he was of all military science, was incapable by

himself of writing the brilliant and very accurate, technical description of the Palestinian campaign and of the long and intricate siege of Jerusalem. There is not the faintest doubt that Josephus was able to draw on the memoranda (*hypomnēmata*) of the two Emperors, the note-books of the princes (*commentarii principum*) Titus and Vespasian,—that is to say, on the official journal of the headquarters' staff. He completed these materials with his own notes on what the deserters, whom he had to cross-examine in his capacity of interpreter, had told him about what was happening in the besieged city.

The analysis of the make-up of his narrative, based on the comparison of the first edition (Russian) with the second edition (Greek), enables us now to prove that he made use, not only of the *commentarii* of Titus and Vespasian, but also of those of Nero, Claudius and Caius Caligula, and in particular of those famous diaries of the Emperor Tiberius, which—as Suetonius tells us—were the favourite reading matter of the Emperor Domitian, Josephus's third patron.

The records of Caius Caligula contained the reports of the lawsuit against Herod Antipas and the accusations brought against him by Herod Agrippa I. From these Josephus took the passage of the 'Antiquities' on the activities and the execution of John the Baptist —which took place in 35 C.E.—whereas the chapters devoted to the 'wild' man who was baptizing the 'multitudes' and stirring them up to free the nation at the time of the war of Varus (4 B.C.E.) are taken from a Life and Passion of John which was written by his disciples, and which Josephus must have got from the Baptist Banūs, whose disciple he boasts himself he had been.

The Genuine Acta Pilati.

As for all that Flavius Josephus (who was born at the beginning of Caligula's reign) relates concerning the period of the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate,—I have not the slightest doubt that Josephus took it from the *commentarii*—that is to say, from the rolls of copies of the official correspondence of this Emperor with his procurators and other administrators.

What Josephus tells us about Jesus is, therefore, neither more nor less than an extract from the last, genuine 'Acts' of Pilate.

That is to say, an extract from the reports which the Emperor received in the way of routine from the government of Judea, and which he as regularly forwarded to the Senate. Because the Christians knew this, they fabricated, from the beginning of the 2nd century, and once again at the beginning of the 4th, apocryphal 'Acts' of Pilate, and a forged correspondence between Pilate, Tiberius and the Senate.

The genuine *Acta Pilati* were still in existence in 311 C.E., in the time of the Emperor Maximinus Daïa,—which is moreover quite natural, since the archives of the Imperial Palace, those of the Senate, the State archives at the Capitol and the Treasury (*ærarium*) of Saturn, all kept copies of the Government's official correspondence. This Imperial persecutor of the Christians had them published and copied by the thousand, and gave orders for their compulsory reading in all the schools of the Empire.

Eusebius, the Church Father historian of Constantine's day, makes desperate efforts to show that these *Acta*, which were blazed abroad by Maximinus, were spurious. But the only argument he has, is their

date: the year of the 4th consulship of Tiberius, the 8th year of his reign (Aug. 21—Aug. 22),—which does not agree with the date of Pilate's procuratorship (26-36), "if," says Eusebius, "we can trust the indications given by Josephus," in his 'Jewish Antiquities.' The Bishop of Cæsarea had reason to use the language of cautious reserve.

If the Imperial Chancellor's office of Maximinus had been in any need of forging the reports of the trial of Jesus, it could easily find in the public libraries, where Titus had had them put, the works of Josephus; it with equal certitude was also not ignorant of the date '15th year of Tiberius' (29 C.E.) which the Lucan gospel gives as a *terminus ante* of Jesus' passion. In short, the chancellery would surely have dated its forgery according to the Christian chronology—*if* there had been any forgery.

If, on the contrary, these *Acta Pilati*, published by Maximinus, were dated by the year of the 4th Consulship of Tiberius, it is just simply because this year is the real date of Jesus' crucifixion. The analysis of the text of Josephus (which places the scandal of the knight Mundus, dated by Tacitus in 19 C.E. under the procuratorship of Pilate and immediately after the first appearance of Jesus) and particularly the study of Josephus's chapter on the procuratorship of Gratus (who nominated every year a new High-priest, four in all) prove that the Christians have determinedly falsified the dates of Gratus and of Pilate, in their MSS. of Josephus, for the sole object of getting an argument against the authenticity of the *Acta Pilati* of Maximinus.

The New Date of the Ministry of Jesus.

This critical result enables us positively to date the ministry of Jesus:

Jesus made his public appearance in 19, immediately after Pilate had had the standard of the Roman cohort, with the medallion of Tiberius's portrait, planted on the soil of the sacred mount of Sion, immediately after he (Jesus) had realized, by this imprudence of Pilate's, the Danielic prophecy about the 'abomination

of desolation,' set up in the sanctuary, and the advent of the Messiah 'three times and half a time' after this utmost desecration of the temple. Jesus suffered crucifixion in the spring of 21, before dawn on April 16. That is to say, the crucifixion took place in the very night which forms part of the day of the Feast of Passover in the Jewish calendar (which begins every day with the evening's twilight), but which still makes part of the evening (preparation—παρασκευή) of Passover, according to the vulgar reckoning of the Greeks and of the Romans, who begin the day with sunrise. It is this difference of calculation which explains the divergence of date between the synoptics and the 4th gospel.

Systematic Falsification of the Text of Josephus by the Christians.

We see, moreover, *when* the Christians made up their mind to falsify the text of Josephus: it was precisely their reaction against the publicity of Maximinus (311 C.E.). The subsequent edict of the pro-Christian Constantine, ordering the destruction of anti-Christian books, enabled the faithful to 'purge' the MSS. of Josephus; though preferably they disfigured them so dexterously that Josephus has now been used for upwards of twelve centuries as a Jewish witness of the truth of the Apostolic traditions. This explains the fact that Origen still read a text of Josephus which proved for him, that the Jewish historian *did not in the slightest degree believe in the Messianic status of Jesus;* whereas Eusebius quotes us a Josephus, numerous expressions of whom might very well—as it has been neatly phrased—have been quoted from the Nicæan creed. The MSS. which chanced to escape the censorship and Christian

interpolation-industry in Constantine's time, were subjected to the same alterations as the others, when Hormisdas and Theodosian renewed the Constantinian edict against the writings of Porphyry and other anti-Christian works, after the brief Pagan reaction under Julian, the so-called Apostate.

The Slavic text of the 'Capture' of Jerusalem discloses for us the extent of these Christian interpolations, of which we have been hitherto ignorant:

Into the history of Herod the Great has been inserted an allusion to the 'massacre of the innocents' of Bethlehem,—an apocryphal passage quoted by Eusebius and Photius. A change has been made in the date of the wonders foretelling the destruction of the temple, to make out of them miracles coinciding with the passion of Jesus. A silly line has been added to Book V. of the 'Capture,' some words to bear witness to Jesus's resuscitation of Lazarus. Finally, in the same passage of the 'Capture' of Jerusalem they intercalated an allusion to the death of James the Righteous, to which Josephus had made reference in his first work, availing themselves of the opportunity to suit the text of Josephus to Origen's criticism, that the historian *should have* explained the destruction of Jerusalem as a punishment of God in vengeance for—not the murder of James, but—the crucifixion of Jesus by the Jews.

The other way about, they cut out of the text of Josephus the lines which spoke of the riot (στάσις) during which Jesus was arrested as leader of the revolutionaries. These have been preserved only by a bit of good luck,—through a Christian chronicle of 149, used by Clement of Alexandria; who in turn was copied by John called Malalas of Antioch; from whom again, the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus has preserved for us extracts. These lines were thus ultimately borrowed from Josephus.

Lastly, they have destroyed in the majority of MSS. an important passage between II. 12, 7 and 8 of the 'War' and in the corresponding chapter of Book XX. of the 'Antiquities,' that was still read by Orosius, in a copy which was as imperfectly censored as that which Jerome used. This passage was about the appearing in Rome, in the 9th year of Claudius, of Simon the Magian,—

the Egyptian Messiah of the 'Acts of the Apostles' and of Josephus, and the Samaritan Messiah who appeared formerly under Pilate. This Simon caused serious riots in the Jewish colony at Rome, by claiming to be, not only the Messiah, but Jesus himself risen from the dead and come back for his advent,— disorders that ended in the expulsion of the whole of the Jewry in Rome.

How the Slavic Text has been Transmitted.

The fact that the so very characteristically Christian interpolations above mentioned, which are extant only in the Slavic text of the 'Capture of Jerusalem,' are quoted by Eusebius, Photius and the Bulgarian Archbishop Theophylact of Achrida, show that MSS. of this type have followed a certain direction. That is to say, MSS. of the 'Capture' (that is of the first edition of Josephus, which he sold to the Jews before publishing the bowdlerized edition for the Romans, which we know under the name of the 'War') were copied and freely interpolated by the Christians, and then passed by way of Byzantium to Slav lands.

The MS. which our Russian interpreter translated (in Lithuania, between 1250 and 1260) was, moreover, in existence at Constantinople or in Asia Minor in the time of the Latin Empire (1204-1261). This is shown by a gloss added by a scribe to the strongly Romanophobe passage of Josephus,—an interpolation which betrays the fierce hatred of the 'Rhomean' Byzantine scribe against the 'Italian Latins.'

I hope in a further communication to describe in detail the origin and tendency of the Slavic version, and the circumstances which occasioned the disappearance of the passages on Jesus and on Josephus of the Greek MSS. of the 'War,' none of which MSS. is earlier than the age of the Emperor Alexius Comnenius (11th cent.).

R. Eisler.

WHO ARE WE?

B. C. S. SHARMA, M.A.

IN this paper I wish to elaborate a view of the universe such as is found in the Upanishads, and to which I subscribe. The elaboration is attempted, not so much for what it is worth as an explanation of the universe, but for what it means for man,—an attempt to discuss in a general way the prospects of human beings. The net conclusion arrived at is the divine origin of man in virtue of divine immanence in creation. Such a view is not infrequently called pantheism. But that the view sketched here is divergent from pantheism, will be patent as the paper proceeds. The two views part company very early in the exposition.

In modern days epistemology (theory of knowledge) is of great importance because of its arrival at the conclusion *inter alia* that there is a knowing Self. This rediscovery, as it were, of the Self has opened up great possibilities for further speculation. Idealism, be it absolute, subjective or personal, finds its beginnings in the recognition of the existence of the Self. Grant the reality of the knowing subject, and the universe will have to be acknowledged as spiritual. The thing known,—the object,—is in relation to the subject. That we cannot know the object apart from the subject becomes a self-evident fact.[1]

[1] Berkeley, Leibniz, Kant and the post-Kantians affirmed this fact in various ways and in various degrees of complexity and detail. This is the basic fact of modern Idealism in all its forms.

The same conclusion is otherwise expressed when we say that reality is spiritual. This may be deduced from two standpoints,—from the standpoint of the knowing subject and from that of the object known, or in general from the universe itself. We find it so because reason informs both what is within and what lies outside. It blends them into one, though the differences and the details are preserved. That is why we are justified in asserting that the universe is a cosmos, not a chaos. It is so, not because *our imagination* pictures it as spiritual, but because *the Spirit indwells it.* It is immanent in it.

This Spirit, as the ground and explanation of the universe, is sometimes called the Absolute. But Absolutism, if it possesses an excellence, exhibits a defect also. It talks about experience, and of experience of two kinds,—the Absolute Experience, which it spells with a capital E and calls the sole reality, and the finite or ordinary experience. But it forgets that experience is a *possession* simply, not an independent and concrete agent. This, it appears to me, "is like ignoring the consciousness of the singer, and saying that only the singing is in progress."[1] It forgets that "the completed house" cannot be "the architect."[2] You may write volumes about sentience, experience, and so on, but you cannot help admitting the existence of the sentient Self. No doubt there is constant reference in Absolutism to an experient; but the Absolutists do not seem to have been impressed by the asset of a Self. Bradley, for one, repudiates its reality and calls it an intellectual construction. The absolute Experience, moreover, is described as including all the others as its members, and as being the sole reality. But this does not better the matter. Who is the experient of this Experience? No one knows. The Absolutists themselves confess as much. Hence such an Experience remains an unclaimed property. It becomes a baseless fabric, an unsubstantial pageant, just because that which confers substantiality on it is left out of account. It is in short

[1] Tagore, *Sādhanā*, p. 126.

[2] Ward, *Realm of Ends*, p. 156.

a generalization from common experience. To raise such a generalized concept to the position of the Absolute is unmistakably to hypostatise. Belfort Bax is quite right in his opinion that the Absolutists "nowhere explain how they arrive at an all-embracing *whole* of experience without a *that* which experiences, *i.e.* the experiencing centre of the whole,—or, otherwise put, the common subject of this complete experience. We surely have here a circumference without a centre. It is an experience which, so to say, hangs in mid-air."[1] Further: "To retain the Absolute as universal consciousness while denying it as universal subject of consciousness is surely in effect a *contradictio in adjecto*." Experience cannot exist in its own right. The passing thought can *not* be the thinker.

It is this defect in Absolutism that has given rise to Personal Idealism with its protest against the Absolutist negation of human personality and human achievements. The defenders of this theory concede a hypothetical existence to the Absolute, but they are very emphatic in asserting the reality of the finite individual. Nay, the Absolute, they maintain, is real only in so far as it is related with finite persons. Whatever the details may be, the rise of Personal Idealism signifies the recognition of the existence of the Self as the root and reason of experience. "For Reason or Thought is not conceivable apart from a subject."[2] Personal Idealists seem to have no objection to granting the existence of an Absolute Experience; but I am sure they have very grave objections to recognizing it without at the same time accepting, as a necessary condition, the existence of an Absolute Self. That is why they seem to find it requisite to posit the personality of God, since personality, in their definition of the term, requires the reality of experience also to be postulated. But their attempt seems to me to be an instance of the irony of fate. In their attempt to clear up some of the obscure points in Absolutism they have dethroned the Absolute. Though for all practical purposes it is given the traditional name of God, the change of name does not conjure up in us the same reverence it does in religion. Personal Idealism began well in maintaining the persistence and irreducibility of the Self; but its work has been

[1] *Contemporary British Philosophy*, ii. 69.

[2] C. C. J. Webb, *Divine Personality and Human Life*, p. 237.

left half-done owing to its attention being diverted into other channels and conclusions.

From the above paragraphs it is clear that I wish to prove the existence and reality of the owner of experience. Whether this experience is absolute or finite, we require a Self to whom it belongs. The further question as to whether there is an absolute subject in the same sense in which there is a finite subject of experience will be dealt with later on.

It will, however, not be out of place here first to refer to two philosophers who have chosen to doubt the reality and *concreteness* of the Self. Kant, some century and a half ago, obsessed as he was with ideas of scholastic logic, could find no substance in the Self. To him it was but a shadow, a fond delusion of the credulous mind. At best, he said, it is but the 'synthetic unity of apperception,' only a methodological principle, a formal unity. He could give it nothing more than a logical status. The conclusion could not be otherwise for him because of his peculiar mode of treatment of the problem of knowledge. But if he had reflected more deeply on the question as to whether experience could exist independently, I have little doubt that he would have come to believe in the existence of the Self as the sole cause and creator of experience. In our own days Pringle Pattison takes much the same view of the Self. He calls it a 'conceptual shorthand,' as it were, for the 'coherent unity of our experience.'[1] It is a system, a web of relations. But on this theory volition and creative initiative, and with it morality and free will, are ruled out of court.

With due deference to all such 'unbelievers,' the Self or Spirit in the individual is real; it is the subject of all our experience, and is the beginning of philosophical enquiry. In fact, on it depends the possibility of such a quest. It is the supreme precondition of experience of every sort. Without it experience cannot be interpreted in any terms. The

[1] *The Idea of Immortality*, p. 100.

Spirit without is intelligible only by finding the Spirit within. Sift the various strata and the various phases of experience, and you find that they expose to view a consciousness or spirit that runs through them all and is the sole condition of their existence and value. J. B. Baillie opines that the universal persists through all the levels of experience, from sensation to self-consciousness.[1] Bradley has it that: "Every element of the universe, sensation, feeling, thought and will, must be included within one comprehensive sentience."[2] It explains them all, but none of them can explain it. It has these conscious states, but is not they. Or rather, it *is* all these, but there is a remainder when all these are exhausted. It can exist independently of them, as is evident in trance and other psychic states, but they cannot exist independently of it.

Now, it may be asked what kind of Spirit—absolute or finite—is implied in experience? To this question the answer should be double-edged: The Spirit implied is both individual (or finite) and absolute. The same Self or Spirit appears to be both. But it is not suggested thereby that this appearance in different forms involves a history; that the Spirit translates itself from the finite into the infinite appearance by a chronological transformation. I believe, on the contrary, that the Infinite Spirit shows itself as finite because it is seen against a background.

What then is the nature of the Infinite? It is spiritual. It is of the nature of consciousness, not of the nature of matter. Matter is but one aspect of the universe; it does not cover the whole ground. Matter is totally unable to account for the phenomenon of

[1] *Idealistic Construction of Experience.*

[2] *Appearance and Reality*, p. 159.

consciousness. On the contrary, the outside world is intelligible only in terms of consciousness. Mechanism and vitalism fail because they try to explain the nature of the universe in terms of matter, not in terms of spirit. The transition that we find,—for example, in the Chāndogya and the Taittirīya Upanishads,—from the cosmological to the physiological, and from the physiological to the psychological, signifies this great fact. Matter requires something to explain it; it is not self-subsistent. It depends on something else. Hence it is not equal to the task of accounting for the universe.

Again, the Infinite is not a formal Absolute. It is not empty. If it is called in-finite it does not mean that it does not include the finite. It has a positive content,—no less than the universe in all its aspects. The Infinite has been termed the Full (Purṇa). Do what you please with it—whether you add or subtract —it remains ever full. It comprehends everything in a single embrace. It comprehends not only the actual but the possible, not only the past and the present but the future also. It is not a 'flat monotony of emptiness,' but a unity throbbing with life and variety.

> The Absolute is no blank unity: it is not merely the aspect of unity. If it were, it would not be all reality, in its true and ultimate form. It is the differentiated unity, unified differentiation.[1]

The Infinite is the substrate of the universe.[2] Without it the universe cannot stand. It not only is its support but is its innermost principle. Everything in the universe has its share in the life of the Real.

[1] McTaggart, *Studies in the Hegelian Cosmology*, p. 68.

[2] *Akhiladhāra* in *Vedantasāra*. *A-khil-ātman* = the Universal Spirit (*lit.* without a gap in it), Brahma.

A thing is real because the Infinite inheres in it. Bradley observes: "We can find no province of the world so low but the Absolute inhabits it."[1] From it everything derives its own claim to reality. The Infinite is all, yet none of the things as such. It is neither an individual thing nor a quality nor a universal, yet it is not other than these. It is all these but none individually. Without it to constitute the soul and centre in things they would be mere will of the wisps; they would all instantly crumble.

The positive nature of the Infinite Spirit may be sketched briefly. It is understood to be Sachchidānanda —Being, Consciousness, Bliss. Dean Inge says: "He (God) is Being, Wisdom and Life."[2] In it our intellect, emotion and volition find the complete fulfilment of their nature. That the Infinite is Being,—*i.e.* the Real conserving the reality of everything,—we have tried to show above. But Being, if it is not intelligent,—*i.e.* spiritual,—is but a mass of matter. It would have no power of its own. It would require another principle to explain it, and be no longer the sole reality. The Infinite is also Consciousness or Spirit (Chaitanya). But a description of the Infinite as Being and Consciousness might imply a subject-object distinction. As if to avoid this possible misconception, we find it characterized also as the unity of these two—*i.e.* as Love, Joy, in Western terms. This Love or Ānanda corresponds to the Hegelian synthesis or the Absolutist world-harmony.[3]

[1] *Appearance and Reality*, p. 487.

[2] *Philosophy of Plotinus*, 1. 146.

[3] McTaggart speaks of reality as Love. But I fear such Love as he posits is at best a social one. In fact it is only another name for the unity that knits one soul to another in his 'college of souls'; it does not rise to spiritual heights.

This Joy is the source of creation. It is the vital principle, the 'white radiance of Eternity,' glowing at the heart of everything, and it wells up into figure and form. Everything realizes the flower of its nature because of this Ānanda. It is in it that the Finite and the Infinite come together. When we find our intrinsic nature and ourselves to be united in that Joy, we have at once crossed the border-land of the Finite, and find ourselves in the region of the Infinite. It is untroubled Bliss. This is the meaning expressed by the epithet *shānta :* The Infinite is *calm.* It is 'harmony,' in the Absolutist phraseology. It is within the experience of everyone how that when joy lights our heart, there is supreme peace, the balm of the Spirit. At such times we are the Infinite itself; all relations and distinctions are for the moment forgotten. Ānanda, a harmonious blending of knowledge, feeling and willing, opens to us the door of the Infinite.

The Infinite is Joy. It is the 'perfection of consciousness.' In it does everything 'live, move, and have its being.' The whole choir of heaven and furniture of earth are a sign and seal of this Ānanda. "It is the one living truth which makes all realities true."[1] It is the essence of our intellect.

We may now turn to the relation that obtains between the Absolute and its finite expressions. Personal Idealism postulates the moral autonomy of the selves; they are independent beings in all respects save for their origin. The selves are believed to be derived from the Supreme Self, or God, as this system names it. They are 'fulgurations.' Religion defines the relation in its own way, the definition varying in

[1] Tagore, *Sādhanā*, p. 17.

proportion to the subjectivity or objectivity of the religious attitude.

But Absolutism, at least as Bradley expounds it, treats of the finite expressions of the Infinite as appearances riddled with self-contradiction; they fall into hopeless discredit. As for the Absolute, it is confessed to be inscrutable, so that we cannot determine its relation to its finite expressions in any clear-cut manner. The Finite is sometimes described as the centre of consciousness *for* the Absolute. But such a description contains implications of dualism of a mild sort, though the Absolutists would certainly repudiate any such implication. But it is hard to get over the belief that it *is* there, in spite of all that they say to the contrary.

The truth of the matter is otherwise. Dualism is inevitable because the fact of relation requires two terms. But, strictly speaking, there is no question of relation at all here. We do not conceive the Absolute Spirit and the finite spirit as occupying two different positions, and brought together by a relation. We have thus to deny that there are two terms. *It is One Being appearing different.* To take the two as in the end different one from the other is an error; and this error is due to our ignorance. There is nothing less true than to hold that man is sundered from God; that they belong to different orders of entities. Man is none other than the Infinite. As for the environment which seems to set bound to his activity,—this limitation is fundamentally unreal, it is in no way ultimate. The mist would clear up if we could look at the matter with spiritual eyes. The Infinite and ourselves are one in nature. The Infinite manifesting itself as the universe manifests itself also as the Self in us. The

Universal Spirit outside us is the Individual Spirit within us.[1] One undercurrent of reality flows throughout the length and breadth of the universe. Hence the Finite and the Infinite should be considered as phases of one existence and relative to a point of view. Thus the distinction is due to difference of emphasis and standpoint.

But we do not start with the infinitude of the finite being as our capital, even though we be not ultimately different from the Infinite. To start thus is impossible, I think, for two reasons. If we partake from the beginning of the essence of the Infinite, then experience would be superfluous. Our joys and sorrows, our knowledge and ignorance, and, in fact, the whole world of activity that characterizes us and elevates us, would lose all value. Distinctions, the positive achievement of the modern age, as Walter Pater puts it, would disappear. A sense of infinitude in man would in the beginning be a disqualification. It is of no use to be told that we are gods in essence, unless we 'see it with our own eyes,' unless we can support the dignity. The sense of divinity is to be won. It has got to be burnt into us before we can be fully aware of our true nature. Divinity should be a conscious acquisition, though it be our native inheritance.

Besides, we *cannot* start with a conviction of the infinitude of the finite being, because we are imperfect, and cannot possess and support it without deserving it. We must qualify ourselves to obtain it. In other words, it is essential for us to rise above our 'contingent' nature to the atmosphere of the Universal. The sense of duality and plurality must be replaced by that of the oneness of things.

[1] The space-terms used should not be taken literally.

This dualistic outlook penetrates every nook and corner of experience. In the cognitive aspect of experience there prevails a distinction, which persists so long as one remains at this level without rising higher. The same is true of the moral and emotional aspects. Whatever the type of experience, it reveals a serious imperfection when taken *per se*. The knowing self or the moral agent or the æsthetic lover (of the beautiful in general),—each is a 'moment' and not ultimate. To realize this truth and to adopt in consequence a comprehensive outlook is to realize one's Selfhood.

That is to say: *When we adopt this attitude, there dawns on us the feeling that we are, beneath all surface-differences, the Infinite which animates the universe, and that we are thus knit up with the things therein with an unbreakable bond of identity.*

This is to realize the glory of creation. It means that we are born into our *true individuality*.

B. C. S. SHARMA.

A FRESH 'FALL' FICTION.

THE EDITOR.

PREFATORY.

I AM here using the term 'fiction' in the first of the two senses in which Vaihinger elucidates the meaning of the concept in the specially-written addition to the English version of his famous, radically critical treatise *Die Philosophie des Als Ob.* In general, aprioristic philosophy and dogmatic theology are vitiated by highly speculative suppositions. The 'granted that,' the presumption that this or that is true,—in brief, the 'as if'-ness method, is symptomatic of human imaginalism. Nevertheless, just as is his outer 'artificial,' so is his inner 'fictional' activity the proper work of man; he is fashioned thereto, as I already tried to show in an article, entitled 'The Natural and the Artificial,' in the January number of this year. A fiction is pure when it stands no chance of being verified in our present state of existence; it acquires the value of a working hypothesis when there is a possibility of its verification.[1]

Last year there were published the 1924 Bampton Lectures, by Norman Powell Williams, D.D., Fellow and Chaplain of Exeter College, Oxford.[2] Their title is: *The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin: A Historical and Critical Study* (Longmans, pp. 571). The historical and critical part of these eight Lectures, within their limitations,—for they keep entirely within the Jewish and Christian pales,—is admirable and courageous. It will make

[1] Touching the matter under debate, those who have not read Vaihinger, might like to glance at the following quotation: "In this world we find on the one hand a very great number of relations of fitness, on the other hand much that is not fitting. We have to take this as we find it, for there is little that we can alter. It is a satisfying fiction for many to regard the world as if a more perfect Higher Spirit had created or at least regulated it. But this implies the supplementary fiction of regarding a world of this sort as if the order created by this Higher Spirit had been destroyed by some hostile force" (Eng. Tr. p. xlvii.).

[2] Now Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in that University.

the Fundamentalist shiver and shake, and splutter and rage; while its truthfulness and outspokenness will delight and encourage the Modernist. Dr. Williams is an excellent scholar, with some knowledge of science, especially of psychology, and he is very desirous that theology and modern knowledge should be brought into friendly relations,—indeed into co-operation.

It is not, however, with that part of Dr. Williams's labours, which may be described as the clearing of the ground, that I propose to deal, but with what is claimed to be the constructive side of his endeavour,—his attempt to re-interpret the fictions known as 'original sin' and the 'fall,'—which the author sets forth in his last two Lectures. It may seem ungracious that, after admitting we find so much to praise in the fine work done in the preceding six expositions, we should presume to dissent, and dissent fundamentally, from what seems to us no better than an apology, and a futile apology, for a traditional radical error of thinking, fidelity to which involves the lecturer in manifest self-contradictions. He would save somewhat of the traditional fiction of the 'fall' by attempting to extend and sublimate the notion; but *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose!*

The Fiction to be Considered.

We thus come to Dr. Williams's suggestion of, as I will charitably phrase it, a probable direction in which to look for a possible solution, or at least easement, of the mystery. On pp. 523-24 he writes:

To explain evil in Nature, no less than in man, we are compelled to assume a Fall—a revolt against the will of the Creator, a declension from the beauty and glory which God stamped upon his work from the beginning. And, to account for the vast and intimate diffusion of evil, selfishness and hate, we must place the ultimate Fall, which the argument contained in the first part of this lecture compels us to regard as an event in Time, at a point before the differentiation of life into its present multiplicity of forms and the emergence of separate species. We must summon to our aid the great conception first elaborated by the Stoics under the title of the 'Logos Spermatikos' or 'seminal reason,' and more recently formulated, in the light of modern biological

conceptions, by M. Bergson, under the name of the *élan vital*, the Life-Force which is the immediate ground of our own being as of that of all the multitudinous creatures of the universe. If we can assume that there was a pre-cosmic vitiation of the whole Life-Force, when it was still one and simple, at a point of time prior to its bifurcation and ramification into a manifold of distinct individuals or entelechies, we shall be in possession of a conception which should explain, as far as explanation is possible, the continuity and homogeneity of evil throughout all ranks of organized life, from the bacillus up to Man. This remote, mysterious event, and not the comparatively recent failure of primitive man to escape from already existing evil, would then be the true and ultimate 'Fall.' Such a view of the primeval catastrophe and its effects is vaster, more solemn and more awe-inspiring than that which regards the Fall merely as the affair of our species, and it proportionately increases the scope, the amplitude, and the magnificence of redemption.

Thereafter, the proponent tries to defend his thesis—or main fiction—in detail. True, he has succeeded in taking the theme out of the paltry setting in which it has hitherto been envisaged on traditional lines; but have we yet, even so, got a standpoint from which to view the matter in any tolerable perspective? I do not think we have; for the whole of the above programme is riddled with pure fictions.

A Bampton Lecturer is expected to save as much as he can of the traditional structure of Christian dogmatics; even to-day he must keep within its frame-work, however he refines or sublimates the materials of the building. Dr. Williams, therefore, excuses his attempt to make the defect as fundamental and ultimate as possible, on the ground that it will incidentally enhance the vastitude, magnificence and sublimity of the redemptional activity of the Founder of the Faith. The ministry of Jesus the Nazarene is thus to be the activity, not only of the

world-saviour, in the narrower sense of saviour of our humanity on this globe, but also the saviour of the whole universe. To maintain this latter fiction, he has no hesitation in hypothetically infecting his imagined universe through and through with the immeasurable malice of a pre-cosmic 'evil disposition' (or 'imagination'), an infinite primordial *neṣar ha-ra'*, as it were, to use Rabbinical language.

Some Points of General Criticism.

Now where I think Dr. Williams makes the whole problem still more incomprehensible than need be, is in his insistence, not only on the dogma of a personal God and a personal Saviour, but on the quite novel fiction of a personal Life-Force, or Anima Mundi, when he writes (p. 525):

> The necessities of safeguarding the Biblical conception of God, no less than the intellectual obligation to avoid an infinite regress, compel us to place the origin of the perversion of the Life-Force in some point of spontaneity, some uncaused cause, lying within its own being; and the moment that we have done this, the moment that we have attributed to it an uncaused causality, we have made it personal.

This seems to me, by the very expressions used, in the first place to be naïvely apologetic, and in the second to involve confusion, seeing that the 'uncaused cause' notion, the 'causeless cause' concept, is already a technical term in Indian speculation reserved to the majesty of the Supreme (Parabrahman) alone. But this is by no means the worst of it. For if we were to accept Dr. Williams' suggestion, we should incontinently have back on our hands all the trouble of a personal Satan,—an Ahriman in crudest form; for in the Gāthās, which give the most authentic presenta-

tion of Zarathushtra's thought, Angra Mainyus is the Evil Mind, the Lie *par excellence*,—a concept devoid of personality. Moreover, if our lecturer desires to be fair, he will now have to take back most of the uncomplimentary things he has hitherto said about what he calls Iranian dualism, which he considers as one of the two chief enemies against which Jewish and Christian theology has had to fight. Though as indubitable fact, so far as I can understand history, Christianity, apocalyptic and eschatological, has taken over this same Iranian notion of an Ahrimanian activity in time, that maintains itself for a certain period, but is eventually suppressed by the victorious power of Truth,—*i.e.*, mythologically, by the triumph of Ormuz, Ahura Mazda, the Wise Lord. Here we confront the notions of 'this world' and the 'world to come,' and, more catholically, of succeeding ages or æons. The extreme, eternal, absolute duality absurdity is a fiction of Mānī alone; it is not Iranian, or rather general, dualism,—which is a relative concept in some shape or form in all religions.

The Goodness of God and the Personal Creator Notion.

Our Lecturer avers that the Christian doctrine (though as matter of fact Christianity has no monopoly in the notion) of the infinite goodness and infinite power of God must be safeguarded at all hazards. Let the ideal underlying these phrases be maintained by all means; but it is very difficult to see how this can be done, so long as the dogma of personality being the supreme characteristic of deity is retained, and all the more so when it is bound up with the creation-concept.

For, in last resort, the creator-*motif* is born of

the primitive notion of magical invocation by the word; and this is not a doctrine that modern thought is likely to be content with, sublimate it as we may. Moreover, if God 'created,'—no matter how this absolute activity is conceived of,—the creation, and if the creature, as Christian dogmatics avers, is eternally inferior to the creator,—then this created defect in the creature is due to God alone. But not only so: if the defect is everlasting, then the ghost of Manichæan absolute duality has still to be laid.

When we thus find ourselves getting into, not only logical muddles, but distressing antinomies of this kind, surely the wisest thing is frankly to admit that our premisses must be faulty or false; our fiction will not work. It is the fault of the chooser, God is blameless,—to echo the oracular phrase in Plato's great myth, the Vision of Ēr.

Wider Aspects of Cosmogony.

Let us now pause for a moment to consider what we are faced with 'cosmically' in these days of the ever-increasing triumphs of physical science. The phenomena of the physical universe, both macroscopical and microscopical, with which we have to deal, are so vast,—magnificently and infinitesimally vast,—that the wildest dreams of prescientific speculation, whether set forth mythologically or oracularly, are beggared down to the dimensions of the most paltry parochialism. Let anyone read the recent lecture on 'The Higher Aspects of Cosmogony,' by Sir J. H. Jeans, the Secretary of the Royal Society,[1] and then ask himself,

[1] The Trueman Wood Lecture delivered before the Royal Society of Arts, on Wednesday, Mar. 7 (in Supplement to *Nature*, Mar. 24 of this year).

in face of the recital of such stupendous and overwhelming facts, whether the facile dogmatism of the theological past has not all the appearance of falling little short of palpable absurdity,—or 'out-of-tune-ness,' in the original meaning of the vocable. Here we have a very distinguished man of science, an astronomer and mathematical physicist, and as such a realist in respect of his subject-matter, telling us what has been found in the star-bespangled vastitudes of space: immense nebulæ of extent commensurate with or surpassing our own unthinkably great Milky Way universe; distances that have to be calculated in millions or even billions of light years. Can a mind so schooled in the actual facts be expected to pin its faith to the poetry of myth-ridden Genesis? It would be suicide, scientifically, for it to do so. The spectacle revealed to its gaze is so awe-ful, imposing an awe all the more deeply felt because it is factual, actual, given not only to sight, but with instrumental accuracy and mathematical certitude,—that the mind totters, and despairs of the ability of its intellect to cope with immensities beyond the highest power of the imagination to picture, though encouraged by the support of relativistic principles. And so we find that the 'nerve' of our astronomer's work-a-day realism begins to weaken. The strain of the spectacle is too great to bear. Nevertheless he has faith that this will not always be so; he has confidence in this young growing humanity of ours, which relatively to the normal life-span of a single one of its units,—that is to say, in its own proper scale or frame of reference,—is but as a child of three days old. The theologian may well note the paragraph that concludes Sir James' amazing exposition. It runs as follows:

In any case, our three-days-old infant cannot be very confident of any interpretation it puts on a universe which it only discovered a minute or two ago. We have said that it has seventy years of life before it, but in truth its expectation of life would seem to be nearer to 70,000 years. It may be puzzled, distressed, and often irritated at the apparent meaninglessness and incomprehensibility of the world to which it has suddenly waked up. But it is still very young; it might travel half the world over before finding another baby as young and inexperienced as itself. It has before it time enough and to spare in which it may understand everything. Sooner or later the pieces of the puzzle must begin to fit together, although it may reasonably be doubted whether the whole picture can ever be comprehensible to one small, and apparently quite insignificant, part of the picture. And ever the old question obtrudes itself as to whether the infant has any means of knowing that it is not dreaming all the time. The picture it sees may be merely a creation of its own mind, in which nothing really exists except itself; the universe which we study with such care may be a dream, and we brain-cells in the mind of the dreamer.

The Great Awakening and the Saving Grace of the Relativity Notion.

Thus our empirical realist ends with a friendly gesture to idealism. But, if we understand his intention rightly, he avoids the bog of naïve solipsism by pointing to a path of ascent in consciousness to the one Solus and Ipse (let us say rather the One and Only). Though it is somewhat infelicitous to speak of our being 'brain-cells in the mind' of the dreamer, we may well be mindlets in the Divine Mind, and thus capable of waking to an even greater sense of reality, and so to a comprehension of our special world-welter of phenomena in a universe of relativity. With every step in wakefulness the former phenomenal relative reality becomes as a dream. There is, thus, first the 'Great Awakening,' as it has been called, out of this

earth-dream, and thereafter, it may be not unreasonably presumed, many Greater Awakenings.

With all this in mind, can we dare to have the hardihood to think that, in this immense starry vastitude, all the stupendous astral bodies are behaving wrongly,—nay, that the soul of them is already from the start infected by revolt against the Divine Majesty? *Credat Judæus Apella!* The Great Going is a good going. Let any human-brained microbe try to devise a better plan, and he will speedily find how the logic and experience of his critical fellow-mindlets even, will have the pleasure of making hay of his fiction; while the eternal reason of things, let us hope, looks on smilingly.

We shall, I believe, be saved in the future from much useless speculation in this regard by the healthy discipline of the relativity-principle. The urge towards speculative absolutism in the thinking of almost all theologians and of many philosophers is for the most part an undisciplined *nisus*. Moreover, the belief that personality is the saving concept to rescue us from all our abstract woes, borders on absurdity, especially when it has ultimately to be summed up in the self-contradictory phrase 'infinite personality,' which in any sense of the adjective does not save us from a *regressus in infinitum*, as our Lecturer supposes.

The Bogey of 'Unmoral Monism.'

The second of Dr. Williams' two *bêtes noires*,—the other being absolute dualism,—is what he calls 'unmoral monism,' which he declares to be the dominant characteristic of Oriental religions over against what he terms the 'ethical monotheism' of Judaism and Christianity.

This is unkindly, not to say intolerant, in the first place; in the second, it is exceedingly self-righteous, as though these two religions possessed a monopoly of virtue; and in the third it is not true to historical fact.

Take, for instance, a case from Indian religio-philosophy, where 'monism' is deemed by almost all Western critics to be the root-concept or master-idea. We will omit the 'unmoral' epithet, for, as matter of fact, such systems are highly solicitous of moral values, seeing that they base themselves on the doctrine of *karma*, or law of the inevitable consequences of the deed.

The technical adjective in Brahmanic scholasticism by which this so-called 'monistic' doctrine is distinguished is *a-dvaita*,—that is 'non-dual.' And for the mind of the subtle Indian thinker 'non-dual' is not the same as 'monistic'; it is less positive or definite. It serves, historically, to distinguish the system from another typical theory, called *dvaita*, which asserts the principle of duality, —that is, the ultimate difference whether of spirit and matter, or of God and the universe, or of the Supreme and the individual soul, there being, however, here no question of any opposition of a Satanic order. The *advaita* theory then maintains that God transcends not only all duality but also all monism; for though it teaches that the spirit in man is essentially one with the spirit in the universe, it declares that the nature of this identity cannot possibly be described. To explain Brahman on monistic lines is as impossible as to explain Supreme Reality on a dualistic basis. "It cannot be said" is the far-famed 'great saying' of the Vedānta.

(Nor need the Christian theologian boggle so much over this transcendence; for the Upanishad doctrine includes the complementary notion of immanence also: the self in man is the self in the universe, as we have seen. Nor need the Christian speak of this as 'pantheism' in a pejorative sense; for does not Paul hold up the ideal of God's being finally all in all (I. Cor. xv. 28) ?)

But there is still another variety of speculation of this order in Brahmanic scholasticism known as the *vishiṣṭ-ādvaita*,—that is the qualified or modified *advaita*, which asserts the real identity of what is apparently distinct. And so we have with these three modes of thinking a sort of Hegelian triad.

This last negation of negation, or qualified non-dualism, is

to be seen especially in the chief concept of the great Vaiṣhṇava religion, which is the popular faith of multitudes, and not confined to the inner circles of the scholastic *élite*. As a matter of fact, the Viṣhṇu-cult is in much very similar to Christianity. It has the incarnation doctrine, and it is essentially a religion of love and devotion.

Its main principle is what is termed inconceivable or unthinkable *bhedābheda* (*bheda-abheda*), which declares that the relation of the worshipper to God is that of 'distinction-without-distinction'; and this on the ground that for love to subsist there must be distinction, and yet in some incomprehensible fashion love can blend in supreme union with the beloved.

What, again, of the two great essentially moral-religious disciplines of the East—Buddhism and Confucianism? The highest concept of the former is Dharma,—the Law. For Buddhism a supreme or absolute personal God is unthinkable; the Law overarches all personal gods of every grade. In Confucianism also the leading notion is the Moral Law[1]; it, too, has no use for a supreme personal God. And so also with the high mystical Naturism of Kungfutze's older contemporary Lao-tze, known *par excellence* as Taoism, with its grand concept of the universal Way of Going as impersonal Supreme Activity.

This is sufficient to give the historical contradiction to our Bampton Lecturer's contemptuous expression 'immoral monism.'

All the above theories are excellent speculations, but all still necessarily man-conceived. They escape, however, the reproach of imagining God as personal, and of reverting to the old bad habit of making God in man's image. I venture to think that, in the new age which is dawning, the philosophic mind, at least, will recognize all theological absolute dogmas as at best relative, and refrain from labelling one pet scheme as moral over against the rest as a-moral; least of all will

[1] See the instructive article, 'The Essentials of Confucian Wisdom,' by Chang Hsin-Hai, Ph.D., Vice-President of Kwang Hua University, Shanghai, in the *Hibbert Journal* for April of this year.

it be guilty of the self-righteousness of those who argue that, if unmoral in principle, therefore necessarily immoral in the lives of the followers. Christianity, on the whole, *comparatis comparandis*, has historically as many 'sins' to 'repent' of as have the other great faiths,—if indeed 'sin' is a more fundamental or helpful category of thought than ignorance.

Nor do I think that what is claimed to be 'ethical monotheism,' with its concept of God as 'infinite personality,'—infinite in power, wisdom and goodness,—can be saved from internal contradiction by the brilliant suggestion of Dr. J. E. Turner in his last work, entitled *The Nature of Deity* (Allen & Unwin, 1927), where he would equate 'infinite' with 'perfect.' 'Personality,' which has all its meaning in the very mixed and imperfect nature which we are trying to understand in ourselves, still remains a very human label; for if we follow Dr. Turner's suggestion, and pay God the compliment of thinking 'him' finished, complete, full-grown, 'he' remains still one of ourselves.

Stoic Logos and Bergson's Life Urge.

But to return to the wandering sheep, or rather goat, of our Bamptonian speculator,—his perverted world-soul fiction. To validate it, he would summon to his aid the great Stoic conception of the *logos spermatikos*, or cosmic 'seminal reason,' which he thinks has cropped up again, in modern formulation, with Bergson's *élan vital*. But the Stoic root-notion of *logos* (as Prof. Edwyn Bevan, in his last work on *Later Greek Religion* (Dent, 1927), has suggested) is 'plan,' 'scheme,' cosmic order, ruling, guiding principle, —dynamic through and through,—rather than simply reason. Bergson, on the contrary, repudiates all teleological efficiency in his *poussée*. For Bergson, finalism, in any shape or form, is a *bête noire*. For

him every event of every kind is unpredictable; there is absolute contingency at every moment. Apparently, even the deity lives a life of perpetual surprises. My old and respected teacher, at whose feet I sat in 1888, before he published the first of his great works, has been dubbed a modern Heracleitus; but he is certainly not a modern Stoic. His ideal is unlimited freedom, liberty; and we await with impatience his chiselling of the coping-stone of his philosophical structure,—when, mayhap, he will be found to be a modern Pelagius, though let us hope, not a naïve absolute libertinarian.

A Gnostic 'Fall' Fiction.

Again, as to Dr. Williams's novel 'fall'-notion, we are surprised that he has paid no attention to Gnostic speculations, even within the Christian reference-frame. He dismisses all Gnostic thinkers without exception, indiscriminately and contemptuously, in a couple of ill-informed pages (182-84), and seems in spirit to throw back to the century-old position of his predecessor in the Bampton Lectureship, Dean Burton, who, in 1829, discoursed in good old traditional fashion on the subject, under the title *An Enquiry into the Heresies of the Apostolic Age.*

Now the Gnosis is of great antiquity; it can be traced back in its main features to some 3,500 years B.C.;[1] it was of many lands and schools, and

[1] See my article 'Sumer: The Earliest-known Source-land of the General Gnosis,' in the April number of this year. If Dr. Williams had devoted one of his Lectures to the Fall-notion outside the Jewish-Christian area, it would have been of advantage. He would have found then that a Fall-*motif* is imagined as obtaining even among the gods in the earliest antiquity of Gnostic speculation yet known to us. The material for such a survey, with the complementary saviour-idea, may be best seen by turning to the instructive pages of Prof. Dr. Alfred Jeremias's quite recent, important volume *Die ausserbiblische Erlöser-erwartung* (Leipzig, 1927).

within the latter individual teachers exercized the greatest freedom.

It is, then, to-day no longer edifying to keep on hammering disgustedly at Gnostic 'dualism,' as though it were its chief characteristic, and as though Christianity had not also a dualism; and especially for one to do so who would thrust the prongs of such a stupendous root-dualism into the heart of creation, as our author attempts to do. I venture to think he would have refrained from this *tour de force* of absurdity, had he turned to the 'monistic' system of a Valentinus, and studied with sympathy the great 'tragic myth' of the so-called Fall of Wisdom, and considered therein the sublime reasons imagined by Gnostic genius to explain the fictioned primal disturbance or aboriginal 'turmoil,' that is said to have arisen in the pre-supposed bliss and harmony of the divine order, the æonian *plerōma* or perfection,—whence arose the *raison d'être* of the whole present world-process.

The law of divine being, as distinct from the supreme mystery of absolute godhead, is mythologically conceived as manifested in a community or communion of two-in-one-ness-es in concord and harmony. In mytho-theological fashion Wisdom, the highest gnostic concept uswards, is said to have left the side of her æonian co-partner, and to have ascended to the height of the Fulness of Being in contemplation of the Supreme Ineffable Majesty. In divine love she yearned to be one with the One and Only One, the That transcending all transcendence. She would create as the Supreme creates of itself without partner,—even the co-assessorship of the O.T. Wisdom. And so she conceived of the Inconceivable and brought forth the fruit of her yearning contemplation. But instead of this product being a perfect æon, it was an inchoate cosmic substance, though of a higher order than she had the power of herself to fashion and mould and enform,—formless because of her separation from her hitherto self-completing, or complementary, lawful, æonian complement.

And so, in the symbolic language of myth, Sophia fell,—fell from a prior relative perfection into the state of a new imperfection of a higher order relative to the Supreme. She fell in her offspring and so, as it were, into a self-begotten formless substance, which thus necessitated the co-operation of the whole divine æonic race or hierarchy in the subsequent world-process, first of 'enformation as to substance' and then of 'enformation as to gnosis,' or 'consciousness,' whereby the new cosmic babe or embryo should be at last made into a perfect æon of a new order. It was the longing, loving contemplation of Wisdom, her beholding of glory beyond her comprehension, that occasioned the cosmological and soteriological activities in the new æon or age or cycle of things. It might, if preferred, be called her divine ambition.

This is a fair myth, and can be sublimated indefinitely according to the wisdom and interpretative ability of the sympathetic exegete. Indeed, it was already set forth in other ways by contemporary Gnostic thinkers, and by none more admirably, or in more metaphysically mythic fashion, than by the genius of Basileides in that arresting,—one might even say amazing,—document summarized and copied by the hostile pen of Hippolytus.

According then to this manner of speculation, or this order of fictionizing, the 'ultimate Fall,' as Dr. Williams phrases it,—the aboriginal 'sin'-notion—was due to the love-urge of Wisdom. If fault there was, it was the fault of love. We yearn to rise, we long after the ideal; but the spiritual law seems to be that in order to reify our desire, in order to realize that ideal, in order truly to ascend, we must first descend.

Perchance in the new age that is dawning, there will be reformulations of the immemorial Gnosis. *Quien sabe?* Meantime, it may be not unuseful to unearth the dim lineaments of the best of its ancient strivings towards the Light, and give them

a sympathetic, sublimating reconsideration after all the long centuries of their repression by a hostile, anathematizing, ecclesiastical censorship.

Morals and Ethics.

The man-stage in which we are to-day here on this small planet, seems to constitute a critical moment in a process of cyclic return which affords man-soul the opportunity of striving towards a progressively higher self-consciousness. The spiritual value of that deepening, widening and heightening of awareness we may not unreasonably believe to depend on an essentially moralizing process,—and moral in a highly vivid and vital sense. In this regard, I would suggest that it might be helpful to distinguish between 'morals' and 'ethics.' The latter might conveniently be referred and reserved to a consideration of the customs, conventions, taboos, regulations and laws of society, which are fundamentally based on the 'herd'-instinct. This herd- or mass-instinct, together with the 'ego-,' and 'sex'-instincts (the self-preservative and self-productive functions) are said to constitute the most typical, innate modes of the life-urge in its crudest manifestations in man. But there is an inner, higher law operative in man, which is superior to the outer necessity of his having to regulate his conduct in obedience to the conventions of the social environment in which he finds himself,—if at least he would avoid the constant anxiety of trying to evade the police.

There is no novelty in all this. For instance, the Neo-platonic scheme of the virtues, it will be remembered, had three grades: (1) the political, which enabled a man to become a good citizen; (2) the cathartic, which aimed at purifying the soul, and

making it fit to attain to (3) the paradeigmatic or exemplary stage, which may be said to constitute the possession of the spontaneous powers or activities of the truly noëtic or spiritual life.

The qualification 'moral' might then, I suggest, well be reserved to characterize virtues of the latter two grades, while 'ethical' might be kept for designating the *bourgeois* stage. It is not good philology, it is true, for *mos* and *ēthos* both mean originally 'custom'; but the distinction might, if adopted, be convenient; for the classification, I believe, is psychologically sound.

However this may be, if I were a professor of moral philosophy and a theologian to boot, I should hesitate on historical grounds, if on no other, to claim any of the virtues as being peculiar to or specially reserved for Christianity. Nor would I aver that it is only Christians who can have a poignant sense of sin (if indeed that is a virtue), or more generally a feeling of inner uncleanness, and so a hungering and thirsting after purity, a yearning for righteousness and perfection. Comparative hamartiology (fearsome vocable!) teaches otherwise.

Concerning Theodicy.

Lastly, as to a theodicy, or defence of Divine justice,—as far as I know, no apology of this kind that has yet been attempted, has proved really satisfactory. Such apology, in the present state of our knowledge, must in last resort rest on an act of spiritual faith, transcending the power of our intellect to explain in the present state of our consciousness relative to phenomenal existence. In this latter frame of reference we are confronted with the constant spectacle of terrible events, both in the world and in our own lives, that have all the appearance of being anything but just. The only possible relief, as far as I can see,

consists in realizing that we are conscious of but a small area of a cross-section of reality in that spatial, temporal and causal mode that conditions the functioning of our imperfect minds. Our faith, then, is that, could we see more and otherwise, we should progressively come to know, spiritually, that the law of the going of things is a law of justice; and if just, then righteous; and if righteous, then good. But even as it is, we can already in reason understand, that it is not inconsonant with justice to believe that: without fall there could be no comprehension of rise; without descent, of ascent; without pain, of pleasure; without suffering, of bliss; without evil, as we judge evil, no consciousness of good, as we conceive of good.

This root-contrariety is given as law or basis in the very going of things; so that it is not absurd to say: the wise man is he who can find not only good in evil but also evil in what the many judge as good.

And if it is true that in this relativistic state of existence our innate modes of perception, and of thinking, impose time-and-space-limitations on what we are pleased to call the universe, equally so does it compel us immediately to view things in the mode of causality. As Whitehead argues in his last book,—*Symbolism: Its Meaning and Effect* (Camb. Univ. Press),—that immediate perception of the 'conformation' of present with past, which he calls 'causal efficacy,' is part and parcel of the very givenness of our life-experience, of every act of awareness.

Yet in all this there is for man, even here and now, a relative power of choice, which we popularly call 'free' will. There is ever a better and a worse presented to us. But whichever way we choose, the Moral Law sees to it that we abide by the result of the choosing,—that we carry the inner modification along with us together with our whole subjectivity.

Nor is this 'intuition' (*theōria*) simply arbitrary speculation; the facts of psychology approve it. Moreover, there is a consenting moral conviction, or spiritual certitude, deep down in the 'heart' of the best of humans, that, somehow or other in respect to the whole man, however we choose, the choice is the choice of the chooser; the Law—God—is blameless. Illumined Faith, moreover, will have it that, again in all this, Supernal Love has decreed that man's spirit shall be ultimately free of the universe,—but only provided that our choosing does not seek to benefit ourselves at the expense of others; for true Love loves all. Otherwise injustice would perpetually prevail over justice, and the universe be rotten to the very core.

G. R. S. MEAD.

(Read at a Meeting of The London Society for the Study of Religion, on June 5 of this year.)

'HYPOSTASIS' IN PLOTINUS.

Miss K. M. EMERY, M.A., Certificated Student of Girton College, Cambridge.

SINCE 1921 my friend the late Canon Glazebrook and I had intermittently and independently been reading Plotinus, and occasionally exchanging observations on the subject. We were both particularly anxious to find out what influence, if any, Plotinus had exercised on the theories and terminology of the Christian theologians in respect of the Trinity and the use of the term '*hypostasis*' in connection therewith. The Canon had hoped some day to write a short treatise on the use of the term; and I endeavoured to help him by making a detailed study of the use of the noun and its cognate verbal forms in Plotinus. This was finished in September three years ago; and I sent him a complete list of references to all passages in the Enneads in which these words occur, with my notes thereon. Many engagements and other literary work prevented Canon Glazebrook from examining these till December; but on Dec. 17, 1925, he wrote:

During the last few days I have been free to work at Plotinus, so I have gone carefully through the MS. which you sent me. It is most valuable as material, and I am really grateful. One thing that comes out clearly is that with Plotinus 'hypostasis' has not become a technical term for the constituents of the godhead. Nine-tenths of the places in which it occurs, have nothing to do with it. The technical use must belong to his Christian followers of the next century. Your notes on the use of *logos* are also

valuable. In a few places I am almost inclined to translate it by 'law,' in the sense of 'natural law' (*e.g.* in En. II. 3).

On March 17, 1926, he wrote: "Anxiety and the many little interruptions caused by my wife's illness have prevented me from touching Plotinus. But I have managed to finish my little book for the 'M.C. Library.'"

On May 1, 1926, Canon Glazebrook passed away from heart failure, a fortnight before his wife who had long been ill; so his treatise on 'Hypostasis' can never be written. But, in view of his appreciative remarks on my notes on the subject, it is possible that they may be of use to other students of the vocabulary of Greek philosophy and theology in the third century A.D. The full MS. list of references is available for anyone who cares to borrow it. The conclusions at which I arrived and some notes on the subject I here venture to offer for publication, hoping that they will receive from other scholars the careful and critical consideration which they would have received from the friend for whose use they were primarily compiled.

A few preliminary remarks are necessary.

Canon Glazebrook had warned me in 1921 that: "Plotinus' Greek is monstrously hard. In fact it is not Greek but a lingo of his own, which few people can construe." It is hard certainly; but, after a rapid preliminary re-reading of Plato's *Republic*, to refresh my memory of Classical Greek, I found that, by soaking myself in the text of Plotinus, one soon gets accustomed to his queer constructions and peculiar vocabulary, and becomes able to see what he means without trying to turn it into English. This is our Cambridge way of tackling a text, using one's own wits first to get at the meaning as far as possible, before reading a translation

(though I confess I had read Dean Inge's lectures before starting on the text). When subsequently I borrowed Mr. Stephen Mackenna's translation, I found that, though it certainly threw light on many difficult passages, yet it was harder for me to follow the thread of the argument with the new, complicated English vocabulary, which turns simple Greek expressions, in all sorts of different ways, into hyphenated compounds, than it is to understand the argument in the text. Moreover, for the special study of *hypostasis* this translation is unreliable; for the term is inserted several times, in its later technical sense, where Plotinus avoids it (*e.g.* Enn. II. 9. 1 and 6; III. 2. 16 and 4. 6).

Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, our great standby, is not very helpful in understanding Plotinus' use of the noun or the verb. Not a single reference to him is given, nor is any use similar to his very special and peculiar one quoted, even in the 8th ed. of 1901. But it is worth noting that I found no instance in Plotinus of many of the ordinary meanings given as current in classical Greek. Either his subject-matter gave no opportunity for their employment or the specialized meanings had driven the more ordinary ones out of his vocabulary. (One must remember that he was an Egyptian by birth.) It would be interesting to know if this is the case with his contemporaries, and immediate successors, Origen, Porphyry and Gregory Thaumaturgus. I looked through Origen's *de Principiis* (the Greek text) to see how his usage compares with that of Plotinus in respect of the divine *hypostases*, but failed to note any common uses. As to the special Christian use of the term for a constituent of the Trinity,—that certainly does occur in Origen;

and he could not have taken it from Plotinus, who did not make acquaintance with Ammonius Saccas till Origen had already left Alexandria for Cæsarea in 231,—a fact which entirely disposes of the idea that the philosopher Origen, mentioned in Porphyry's life of Plotinus, as present in Rome many years later, was the great Christian teacher.

Dr. Walter Scott, in the Introduction to his edition of the Hermetic writings, inclines to the idea that Ammonius was a Hermetist. But careful comparison of the Hermetic writings with the Enneads hardly bears out this view. In the Hermetists, creation is by fiat, or will, of the Supreme God, the Mind (*Noûs*), or of the Second God, the Logos, or Son, or Demiurge. In Plotinus, creation is by a process, which he designates by the verbal forms cognate with '*hypostasis*' as emanation, an overflowing of 'necessity,' not by will, of the divine essence and power, to produce something which he calls 'an *hypostasis*,' as rays stream forth from the source of light. Each '*hypostasis*,' so produced by looking upward to its source, in its turn produces by emanation another '*hypostasis*,' which is its image and lower in the scale of being. The First Source of all things is The Good or The One, the second is Nous or Mind, the third Psyche or Soul; and these three are divine. Below Soul comes the natural world of phenomena or Nature; and lowest of all is Matter, which Soul impresses with 'Form,' by the power or means of Reason (*Logos*), which in Plotinus is not an *hypostasis*. The vocabulary of the Hermetists differs radically from that of Plotinus; in them there is no trace of our term or its verb in the sense in which Plotinus uses them, if indeed they occur at all.

In the Enneads, then, the noun and verb seem to

me to be employed in a very special and technical sense, corresponding to Plotinus' peculiar theory of creation, which is always presumed by him, and must be borne in mind by his readers. My detailed study of the passages in which these words occur was undertaken to try to prove this thesis, which Canon Glazebrook was inclined to doubt when I first broached it to him; and I think the study of the facts tends to prove it. These I must now state as briefly as possible, with the scheme of development of meaning which seems to explain all the uses of these words in the Enneads, and which I, as a student of philology and language, had special pleasure in working out.

The Noun.

The term '*hypostasis*' is a verbal noun, and etymologically could be, and actually is, used by Plotinus in all the meanings parallel to the active, middle or intransitive, and even passive, uses of the corresponding verb. The preposition '*hypo*' (though philologically the equivalent of the Latin '*sub*,' and so translated by Latin theological writers) seems in Plotinus to bear simultaneously the meaning of '*ex*' (or more properly '*ek*') and implies motion 'out of,' or 'out from,' as well as position 'under' something which is 'above' ('*super*'). The Latin translation would be in full 'sub-ec-sistence,' or 'subexistent,' and might be Englished as 'a standing-out-from-under,' or a thing which 'stands-out-from-under,' or 'is-caused-to-stand under.'

In its original meaning, then, it could not properly be applied to the First Cause, which can have nothing over or before it, except in the active, or causative,

sense of 'producing,' or 'causing to exist.' But in a derivative sense, synonymous with *physis*, or 'nature of a thing,' it was applied by Plotinus even to The One, though with apologies for the inadequacy of language, and that not till Ennead VI. (8. 7, 8-10).

The various shades of meaning which occur in the Enneads, grow out of one another in a kind of logical sequence; and the parallel use of other words as synonyms in many cases renders the meaning which Plotinus attached to these forms, unmistakeable. A short table will show the development:

VERBAL FORMS.

Active:	= 'to cause to exist' (synonyms 'to beget,' 'to make').	(16 times)
Intransitive:	= 'to come into existence,' 'be born.' 'to be,' or 'exist.' 'to emanate from.'	(86 times)
Passive:	= 'to be produced by,' 'born from,' 'emitted by.'	

NOMINAL FORM.

The act of production, or making.	(8 times, possibly)
The act of coming into existence, or birth. The state of existence, or being. Real existence as distinct from phenomenal existence.	(27 times)
The thing produced, an existent being or emanation.	(14 times)
Nature or character of the thing produced.	(16 times)
A Real existent in the ideal world. The three grades of divine being: The One, Mind, Soul.	(31 times)

These very technical uses of old Greek words seem a speciality of Plotinus, and one of his main contributions to philosophic vocabulary; but it is difficult to say what influence was exerted by them on the specifically Christian employment of the term in the

succeeding centuries. That is a matter for Christian theologians to determine.

One important point to notice is: that Plotinus applies the term '*hypostasis*' to all kinds of things, whether in the sense 'nature of' or 'offspring of.' One instance is amusing. Although he definitely declares that Logos is not an *hypostasis* in the sense of 'real being,' when he is allegorizing the relationship between Zeus, Aphroditē and Erōs, as representing respectively The One, Mind and Reason (or Logos), he calls Logos the *hypostasis* of Mind; while elsewhere the *hypostasis* of Mind is always Psychē or Soul. Such a bold interpreter of myth could not equate Cupid and Psychē! Possibly his denial of *hypostasis* to Logos, in the technical sense, is due to his opposition to the Christian doctrine of the Incarnate Logos.

Plotinus' theory of creation by emanation, or *hypostasis*, is most clearly stated in Ennead V. I. 6, where he says: "Everything gives existence of necessity from its own nature to something else, which is the image of that archetype from which it came into being" (Mackenna's Trans.).

K. M. EMERY.

(The above article has been standing in type for upwards of a year, and my sincere apologies are due to Miss Emery for this delay. Readers who are interested in the use of *hypostasis* (*persona*) in Christian theology, should refer to the careful article on the subject, 'The Word "Person,"' in the July no. of *The Church Quarterly Review*, pp. 229-264, by Judge H. C. Dowall.—ED.)

BUNYAN'S CINDERELLA:

A MYSTERY PLAY.

ALICIA AMY LEITH.

SAY, if Pythagoras believ'd may be,
The soul of Ancient Wisdom lives in thee.
FRANCIS BACON, *Wisdom of the Ancients.*

THIS age is one of surprises. We have not only to modify but to alter our opinions so constantly that we are beginning to ask whether it is worth while to have any.

Certainly I confess to having had the surprise of my life when some years ago I discovered truths of the Christian religion wrapped up in a Christmas Pantomime.

As I took my seat one afternoon in the London Opera House, one of the kind children who were taking me to the show, exclaimed:

"I love Cinderella! It's a story I never grow tired of. I wonder what it was first taken from!"

I felt grateful to my small philosopher for being sympathetic about Cinderella, for I was half afraid this elder age might have outgrown her and her glass slipper. And as I looked on the charming poetical rendering of the old story I too wondered from what eternal fount of wisdom she had emerged.

The next day, happening to take up the third volume of John Bunyan's Works, published by Blackie & Sons, I read for the first time *The Holy City, or The*

New Jerusalem (published 1685 as a small book without a printer's or a publisher's name), *Solomon's Temple Spiritualised* (1688), *The House of the Forest of Lebanon* (1692) and *Divine Emblems*, short poems *For Boys and Girls* (1686).[1]

Incredible as it sounds, in these interesting and spiritual pages I found Cinderella, Cendrillon, and Aschenputtel. Moreover our Bible would seem to be, allegory-wise, the fountain-spring of the old fable we all love; at any rate in Bunyan's interpretation of it I seemed to discover the key to the Mystery. Dramatic Poetry then is still in this our day illuminating men's minds in old matters by similes,—minds still 'rude and impatient' and too often 'almost incapable of any subtilties'—and with the assistance of music, which conveys it the sweeter,—I can answer for it, has made 'its own way' in Kingsway.

After sketching in lightly the principal features of the Play, I will in every case draw out the meaning in Bunyan's own words, using no quotation marks; with the happy result, I hope, that none of my readers will ever again, as far as Pantomimes and such-like Toys are concerned, judge contemptuously of them because they are commonly left to children.

[1] From *The Times*, Dec. 18, 1926: "Auction prices this week were overshadowed by the high figure of £2,100 paid yesterday at Messrs. Hodgson's for the only copy known outside the British Museum of John Bunyan's 'A Book for Boys and Girls,' 1686, a little volume of some 44 leaves.

"In some of the early lists of Bunyan's works this title appeared, but no such book could be found, until about 1890 or a little earlier, when one came into the hands of Mr. Henry N. Stevens, of Great Russell Street, who disposed of it to the British Museum, probably for less than £100. A full description of the copy sold yesterday appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement* of November 4. It had been purchased in a bundle of books many years ago for two or three shillings by an old gentleman, and given by him to a girl worker in the Hemel Hempstead Post Office. Bidding yesterday started at £100, and at £2,100 the book was knocked down to Messrs. Maggs, with Messrs. Quaritch as the under-bidders."

Cinderella Pantomime.

Part I, Scene I. The Forest.

The curtain rises on a pleasant clump of tall cedars, and pines. A valley lies beyond; the foreground serves as the King's Highway. Down a little mountain-path between the trees Cinderella makes her entrance. Graceful, unselfconscious, beautiful, tall and slight as a willow wand, her short, ragged skirt and loose bodice of a dull yellow brown. Escaped for the moment from the clutches of her cruel Stepmother, she is wandering at liberty through the wood. She does not look about her; takes no notice of any thing or any one, not even of the Prince, who watches her in evident admiration.

Bunyan.

Zion's waste places, Zion's wilderness forest, or Lebanon. Lebanon! Lebanon one of the sweetest places in all the Land of Canaan. Can there be any thing more plain? I take this house of the forest of Lebanon to be a type of the Church in the wilderness, or as she is in her sackcloth state. With ashes for gladness, and the spirit of heaviness instead of the garment of praise, but alluring to the beholders, right delectable to behold, a comely and delicate woman. A lily among thorns, a pearl on a dunghill. The beauty though it stood in the forest was admirable, even as is the Church in the wilderness.

Mark, though she was in her state of affliction called a woman, yet she was not then either called a city or a woman adorned, but rather a woman robbed, and spoiled, rent and torn among the briars and thorns of the wilderness. All was plain, without garnish,

fitly representing the state of the Church in the wilderness, which was clothed with sackcloth, covered with ashes, wearing her mourning weeds, with tears upon her cheeks and a yoke or band about her neck. (*House of the Forest of Lebanon.*)

Now then to show you what we are to understand by this, that she is said to descend, for indeed to speak properly Jerusalem is always in the Scriptures set in the highest ground. There must be something significant in this descending. Though the Church under Antichrist be never so low, . . . out of the Church in captivity shall come a complete city. She shall be level with the great charter of Heaven. As she descends she meddleth not with any matters but her own! She comes all along by the King's Highway. (*The Holy City.*)

CINDERELLA.

At this point Cinderella comes face to face with Prince Fortune on the Highway. He has ridden down from his Palace on the hill into the forest, where he first meets her. He has changed dress with his first gentleman, and comes to her in the form of a servant. Captivated by her innocence, modesty and beauty, he speaks to her and confides in her that he has found the prettiest little Lady he has ever met in his life. Gracious and kindly he picks up the key she has lost and restores it to her. Potentially Cinderella is already the Prince's chosen Bride, poor and lowly as she is.

BUNYAN.

Thus in Lebanon . . . is found the excellency of the Church and the beauty of Christ. The Church . . . loseth not all her titles of honour; no, when

at the lowest, she is God's heaven still. Though she may not now be called a crown of glory, yet she is still God's lily amongst thorns.

Cedars! Cedars are tall and sweet, and so are the members of the Church in the wilderness. Nor could anything in the temple more aptly express itself in a typical way as to any of the things concerning New Testament matters than doth this house of the Forest of Lebanon. It speaks, can we but hear; it points to things, as it were with a finger, have we but eyes to see. The Lord shall comfort Zion. Next, here is a *promise* that he will comfort her. The effects of all which will be,—she will have joy and gladness, she will be thankful, and be melodious in her voice, in her soul to the Lord. God's ways are not as man's. "I have chosen thee," saith he, "in the furnace of affliction." Let this then encourage the saints to hope, . . . notwithstanding present tribulations. Be patient, my brethren, be long patient, even unto the coming of the Lord. (*House of the Forest of Lebanon.*)

I have a key in my bosom called Promise, that will, I am persuaded, open any lock in Doubting Castle. All at once by a new revelation, which none but the Saviour could make, Christian finds the promises. Christ had been watching over his erring disciples. He binds up the broken heart, and healeth all their wounds. As a key enters all the intricate wards of a lock, and throws back its bolts, so the precious promises of God in his Word turned by the strong hand of faith will open all the doors which unbelief and despair have shut upon us.

(*Pilgrim's Progress.*)

Who's this that cometh from the wilderness,
Like smoky pillars thus perfumed with myrrh?
Leaning upon her dearest in distress,
Led into's bosom by the Comforter?
The dragon her assaults, fills her with jars,
Yet rests she under her Beloved's shade.
For her Beloved, he's the highest of all,
The only Potentate, the King of Kings.
Well, Lady, well, God has been good to thee,
Thou of an outcast, now art made a queen.

(*A Book for Boys and Girls.*)

CINDERELLA.

Scene II. Exterior of the Coop.

An old crazy ruinous house, further defiled by splashings from the paste-brushes of two Jew Brokers disguised as paper-hangers. They make coarse and absurd business with Cinderella's cruel Stepmother Baroness de Bounce.

BUNYAN.

To trace out the business of the type and so to come to its antitype: I find that a little distance from Jerusalem there was a place Tophet, which place was counted profane, unholy or defiled. I find also that this unclean, unholy place was a figure of hell itself.

The city was pure gold. . . . Wherefore the rest of the world will be like an old crazy, ruinous house from which is departed all health and happiness . . . in which dwell nothing but cormorants, bitterns, owls, ravens, dragons, satyrs, the screech owl, the great owl, the vulture, and the like doleful birds. Babylon is become the habitation of evils, the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.

(In the margin of the Bible 'cage' is interpreted 'coop.'—A. A. L.)

CINDERELLA.

Scene III. The Baronial Kitchen.

Cinderella in dust and ashes by the side of the fire. Her carnal, vain, cruel stepmother, with her ugly, vicious daughters, could not be better described than as the 'great owl,'—the 'screech owl,'—and the 'dragon.' The satyr-like senility of the father, the inhuman voice of the one sister, and the red scaly garments and vulture's face of the other, made life intolerable to the poor child. And now the Jew Brokers, having effected an entrance, found the Prince in the way, turned him off a chair, seized the furniture, and left the wretched place bare. Into this Tophet had descended the Prince from his Palace, with invitations to the Ball, still in the dress of a servant. Bereft of her lover, who before he goes gives her fresh tokens of his affection, refused permission to accompany her family to the palace, Cinderella sees them leave for the Ball, and weeps alone in her misery.

BUNYAN.

Left empty, void, stripped both of treasure, beauty and health, its nobles packed up and gone to Jerusalem, O! what a melancholy, forlorn, and beautiless world indeed! In this tribulation all things that are good and worth anything shall at this day be found only in the city of God.

CINDERELLA.

In her worst need Cinderella calls to her God Mother for help, casting up her arms in supplication. In the wake of that gracious Lady, who appears all spangles and silver, a mystic fire springs up in the

centre of the stage with tongues of living flame. Flitting to and fro messengers bring gifts; and Cinderella passes through the magic flames to emerge a radiant figure, adorned with ball-dress and shoes of shining beauty. The scene opens at the back and discloses a lovely, moving company of white-robed cherubs with golden fillets, described on the Programme as 'fairies.' "Look at the Angels! How lovely!" was the awe-struck exclamations of the children on either side of me. A golden chariot drawn by six piebald ponies whirled happy Cinderella off to the Palace on the hill.

BUNYAN.

Yea, as for her, the day that she was born,
As loathsome out of doors they did her cast,
Naked and filthy, stinking and forlorn,
This was her pedigree from first to last.
Nor was she pitied in this estate,
None her condition did comiserate.
There was no heart that sought to do her good,
All her indignities away are blown.
Cast out she was but now she home is taken,
Naked (sometimes) but now you see she's clothed,
Now made the darling, though before forsaken,
Barefoot, but now as Prince's daughters shod.
Instead of filth she now has her perfumes,
Instead of ignomony, her chains of gold.
Her beauty's perfect, lovely to behold.

O Virgin of Israel, thou shalt again go forth in the dances of them that make merry. The fire was a type of that Spirit by which we pray. Heavenly fire is the Holy Ghost. Prayer is God's ordinance. And these tongues were a type of that holy hand of God's grace by which the several gifts of the Holy Ghost are taken and given to the Church and to her members, for her

work and profit. The Spirit is given to the Churches as return of their holy prayers.

The burning fire of the Goldsmith . . . doth . . . take away the dross and dust from among the metal. Wherefore let her be bold to say even before she comes out of the fire: "When I am tried I shall come forth as gold." Like Esther in the perfuming chamber making fit for the presence of the King, which fire when it hath done its work, then she comes into his presence in clothing all of gold. The more it is burned and melted the more it shakes off its dross and dishonour. Just thus it is with the people of God. The figure of the cherubims is that of angels to show that, as the angels are with us here and wait upon us all in the days of our pilgrimage in this world, so when we die they stand ready to come when bid, and carry us away into Abraham's bosom. The Angels are God's Harvest-men.

CINDERELLA.

Scene IV. At the Gates of the Palace.

Above is seen the Palace with rows of windows. The gates are attacked with a crow-bar by the Jew Brokers. Royal servants in white liveries refuse them admission. A number of them make their exit again behind the gates.

BUNYAN.

To show us that the doctrine of the Twelve is the doctrine that letteth in at these gates, and that also shutteth out. "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted," saith Christ; "and whosesoever sins ye retain they are retained." And hence it is that the true ministers in their right administration are called

porters, because as porters stand at gates and there open to, or shut upon those that make an attempt to enter in, so the ministers of Christ by the doctrine of the Twelve do both open to and shut the gates against the persons that will be attempting to enter in at the gates of this City. Some do try and deface the gates.

Cinderella.

Part II., Scene I. The Ballroom in the Palace.

Cinderella in exquisite simplicity and radiance delights in the music and the dancing and in the presence of her lover, the beautiful and gracious Prince. He places her beside him on a throne. Eastern kings in brilliant turbans and robes (the Jew Brokers of the earlier scenes) fall down before the throne, beat tabors and sing strange songs. Young people, girls and boys, dance country-dances, merrily. Rainbow colours play upon the scene. Baron De Bounce ogles the fairest of the girls. The vain and wicked Baroness annoys the Prince, who asserts his majestic authority. The vulture catches her foot on the stairs and falls. The ugly brood satisfy themselves that the Lady singled out by the Prince is Cinderella, and after peering closely at her bend low before her and fly out of the Palace.

At twelve o'clock Cinderella leaves the Ballroom in haste, and drops her Glass Slipper, which the Prince picks up.

Bunyan.

"To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me on my throne." This being thus, it signyfieth that this City shall have her enjoyments of life, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost by virtue of the Kingship.

He's white and ruddy and of all the chief.
His head, his locks, his eyes, his hands, his feet
Do, for completeness out-go all belief.
His cheeks like flowers are, his mouth most sweet.
What is in heaven, what is on earth, is his.
And he this Lady his joint-heir doth call,
Of all that shall be or ay present is.
Few or none may with thee compared be,
A beggar made thus high is seldom seen.
Take heed of pride, remember what thou art
By nature, though thou hast in grace a share.
Thou in thyself dost yet retain a part
Of thine own filthiness; wherefore beware.

This Holy City doth once again appear upon the stage, and hath been shown in the attire of a Queen before the face of all nations . . . both Jews and Gentiles. The Jews shall be converted to the Christian faith, and enter the city as the Kings of the East. O, the heavenly spiritual harmony that will be in the city . . . when the trumpeters and the singers shall be as one!

It is to be expected that many should be taken with the way of entrance into this beloved City, in the day that she shall be set up and appear in her heavenly beauty. O, this way it is the way which no fowl knoweth, and which the vulture's eye hath not seen. Now, madam, what sayest thou?

The Kings must come to Jerusalem, Jezebel.

There will be found for thee no gladness at all, no, not so much as one piper to play thee one jig. God will cast thee as profane out of the mountain of God. Though thou clothest thyself with crimson, though thou deckest thyself with ornaments of gold, though thou rentest thy face with painting, in vain shalt thou make thyself fair.

CINDERELLA.

Scene II. Back at the Coop.

The Messenger arrives with the Glass Slipper which Cinderella had dropped. It fits her foot, upon which the Prince appears and claims her as his bride. A servant holds up Baroness De Bounce's great, clumsy shoe to general derision.

BUNYAN.

"Behold I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his Temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight to behold, he shall come."

The dropping of a shoe ratifies a covenant. It is the Church as such that is the Lady, a Queen, the Bride, the Lamb's wife.

It is not every clown with clumping dirty shoes that is admitted into Kings' privy-chambers, and private palaces, neither doth or will God at the day of New Jerusalem suffer any to trace about this golden street but such as have golden feet and that beautified with goodly shoes. "And the street of the City was pure gold, as it were transparent glass." Which means that the walking and carriage of the saints shall be like unto the Word. For transparent glass, it is the most clear and excellent glass, and goeth as far beyond him that only walks in the letter. Then shall the light, faith, love and holiness of the gospel be walked in a transparent and transcendent way.

(*The Holy City.*)

CINDERELLA.

Scene III. The Wedding of Cinderella and the Prince.

A flight of stately stairs leads up to the golden pillars of a temple. Singers with palm-branches and many happy guests descend them. The Prince and Cinderella move among their friends. All is radiance and gladness and harmony. A glow of rainbow-colours bathes the scene. After much singing the curtain falls for the last time.

BUNYAN.

I saw . . . the Holy City, the Lamb's wife, I saw her in her spangles and in all her adorning, but verily she was most excellent. She was shining as the jaspar and as pure and clear as crystal. Then will it be said to the Church by her husband, her Saviour: "Rise up my love my fair one and come away." It must be most pleasant and desirable to the afflicted Church of Christ who hath lain in the dungeon of Antichrist. She is the City, the beloved City, the City that the Lord hath chosen. Love is a golden grace, therefore let then the churches, as the porch of the Temple was, be inlaid with love as gold. He that entereth into the House of the Lord is an ascending man. . . . These steps were the way to God, to God in his holy Temple. We have a golden door to go to God by, and golden angels to conduct us, we have golden palm-trees as tokens of our victory. O what a beautiful house the Temple was, and yet all was but a shadow, a shadow of things to come. They are said to be the redeemed that sing, a type of our singing with spiritual joy, from grace in our hearts. The way into Heaven is through the Church on earth.

Blessed is he whose lot it is to see the Holy City descending and lighting upon the place that shall be prepared for her situation and rest!

Then shall be a golden world. Amen!

(*The Holy City.*)

One concluding word relative to the writers, producers and actors of this Mystery Play. Establish thou the work of their hands upon them, yea, the work of their hands establish thou it.

NOTE.

Mr. G. R. S. Mead's valuable study of *The Sacred Dance in Christendom* throws light also on the Story of Cinderella, in which the Ball plays so important a part. To quote from the chapter on 'The Sacred Dance of Jesus': "Surely we cannot doubt that we have here the final link with the true prototype of our . . . Play" and Story? The old Story treats "of the heart's true love, and of the . . . sacred union of the perfected human life with the Divine Mind . . . the *unio mystica*."

As to the origin of Cinderella as a fairy-story: On the purely literary side, or rather intellectual, no origin, as far as I know, has been found. Andrew Lang, a high authority on fairy-lore, does not attempt to offer one. His interesting Preface to Miss Cox's 'Cinderella' simply sends us to Perrault. Perrault published his Fairy Stories, including Cinderella, in 1694, and gave as the source of them an old Nurse's tales told to his little boy. The ugly sister, according to Perrault, chooses a *red velvet dress* to wear at the Ball, *adorned with English trimming*. Can we hence claim the story to have an English origin, of Elizabethan date? Was boy Perrault's nurse an old Englishwoman? In the sixteenth century a velvet dress 'trimmed with English gold fringe' was the badge of the night bird. When the story of Cinderella was conceived, it is not impossible that in the original author's mind, an Englishman's if you will, it was a Parable or Allegory of the Christian Church redeemed, restored to perfect Union with her Prince of Peace, free from the tyranny of Anti-Christ. A Rosicrucian invention, possibly, of Elizabeth's reign, put it into form in the shape of an 'old wife's fable.' ALICIA AMY LEITH.

THE SECRET BEATRICE.

THE hearts of a generation have been touched by Henry Holiday's picture of the meeting of Dante and white-robed Beatrice by the bridge over the Arno. Many a commentator on Dante has hunted for biographical scraps, and fitted them into a pretty mosaic of Beatrice Portinari, and sadly recalled her death, all too early, on a June day in 1290. Then a consoling balance has been struck by the assurance that this same Florentine lady re-appears, clad in white, red and green, on the garden hill-top of Purgatory, and discoursing of things celestial. And now Professor Luigi Valli, of the Royal University of Rome, produces a learned volume[1] which dissolves the illusion. Years of original research, based on the works of Foscolo (1825), Gabriele Rossetti (1826, 1847) and Pascoli (1902), have developed his strong case for believing that Dante never at any time used any Italian lady's figure as the spiritual heroine of the *Divina Commedia;* nor are the Beatrice and other ladies of the *Vita Nuova* and *Rime* any nearer to objective reality. The Professor's point, of course, is that the women of Dante's poems are purely allegorical.

Valli has an easy task in tracing precedents. The Old Testament 'Wisdom' lifted her appealing voice ("She crieth at the Gates"). Sophia looked upwards, and fell, and was redeemed.[2] Augustine could tell of a Rachel who, in giving birth to Benjamin died and

[1] *Il Linguaggio Segreto di Dante, e dei 'Fedeli D'Amore'* (Casa Editrice 'Optima,' Roma, 1928, 453pp., L.40).

[2] The Professor here cites Mr. Mead's *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten.*

passed from a human wisdom to a higher divine ecstasy. In a mystic Rose, or in feminine forms, the Persian Súffs symbolized lofty spiritual states. Such personifying tendencies affected the Templars, the Cathari and the Waldenses, and found poetic shapes in a group of Catholic thinkers,—Frederick II., Pier delle Vigne, Guinizelli, Cavalcanti, Cino, Barberino, Cecco, the author of the *Roman de la Rose*, and supremely in Dante. And Valli even believes that Dante translated the *Roman* into the Italian version known as the *Fiore*. This group of Catholic thinkers, who habitually, and by agreed literary and religious convention, employed feminine forms to indicate Love, Wisdom, Intelligence, Life, Death, etc., constituted (not in any formal organization) the Disciples of Love, or *Fedeli d'Amore*. In mutual understanding, these Disciples expressed, in addresses and invocations to ladies, their aspirations after a pure religion, and their disdain for the corrupt mediæval Church. This mode, or jargon (*gergo*), was a 'sweet new style' (*dolce stil nuovo*). When, in the great Vision, Dante stands on the sixth terrace of the Purgatorial mount, and converses with Buonaggiunta, a poet of the older and cruder style, this poet challenges Dante with the question: Are you not the author of the rhyme *Ladies that have intelligence of Love?*" Dante replies, in effect, that he is indeed a writer who, in external imagery, signifies the secret inspiration of Love; and this method is the 'sweet new style' as Buonaggiunta calls it. The 'style' might vary in its individual fashions among the 'Fedeli'; but whether Guinizelli spoke of Lucia, or Cavalcanti of Giovanna, or Dante of Beatrice, they all pointed to the same noble ideals. There was, indeed, another poet,—Cecco of Ascoli, who

composed an allegory in which a nameless 'Lady' represented the heavenly and redeeming Wisdom, and who yet reproached Dante for reactionary doctrine. This unfortunate Cecco was burned alive for heresy six years after Dante's death (that is, in 1327), he having failed to conceal with adequate skill his dissent from the materialist creed of the Roman Church. Nevertheless, he was one of the 'Fedeli'; he used the secret jargon; he understood the occult 'Ladies.'

At considerable length, but never without a lively ethical and historical interest, Valli examines the ballads and sonnets enshrined in Dante's *New Life*. Innumerable men and women have tried to form for themselves a vivid portraiture of Dante and Beatrice as lovers out of the shadowy allusions and baffling echoes and whispers of these *Vita Nuova* poems. In the end they have had to fall back, rather helplessly, on the romantic oil-painting executed by D. G. Rossetti (son of Gabriele) under the title of *Dante's Dream*. The painter himself translated Dante's lines, which told how certain angels—

> Then carried me to see my lady dead.
> Even as I there was led,
> Her ladies with a veil were covering her;
> And with her was such very humbleness
> That she appeared to say: "I am at peace."

Our professor courteously, but very decisively, deports such fantasies, and finds in Beatrice an emblem of Sacred Wisdom,—the Sacred Wisdom of the Christian Cross, which, by its evangel of sacrifice and purification, dispels dark Ignorance, and prepares for the eternal life. And if we ask: "How can the Sacred Wisdom die? Why should the mystic ladies cover her with a veil?" Valli answers that, like Rachel, even Wisdom

must die, in order that life may enfold itself and absorb itself into the eternal Love. After this manner of interpretation, therefore, Valli analyzes the *Vita Nuova* from end to end, and (as he would say) lifts the poet's thought and purpose far above the theatrical scenes which alone are visible to the ordinary public,—that is, the ordinary readers of this story of 'the most courteous lady of the salutation.' He deals elaborately, in the same way, with Dante's *Rime*. All the Tuscan dames and maids vanish from the stage, and we are left with grave, beautiful and abstract visions. We thought we beheld Florence's fairest woman when we walked with Dante, and caught his murmur:

> My lady carries love within her eyes;
> All that she looks on is made pleasanter;
> Upon her path men turn to gaze at her;
> He whom she greeteth feels his heart to rise.

But we were unwittingly communing with the sanative and holy Energy that bears man upward from the mire and the night of Ignorance to the creative Light and Charity.

Valli thus leads us, not only to a view of Dante as an honoured member of the 'Fedeli d'Amore' who schemed a spiritual escape from a corrupt Church, but as a more strenuous revolutionary than them all, in his splendour of dramatic vision, and in his conception of a new European polity. This Lady of Sacred Wisdom who plans Dante's pilgrimage (that is, all the human pilgrimage) through Hell, Purgatory and Paradise, is the victorious enemy of a corrupt priesthood and a materialist harlotry of temporal wealth, and she will evolve a new Church in harmony with the first pure Gospel. She will then herself pass, and the pilgrimage will close in the glow of the Highest Love (as happens

in the final cantos of the *Paradiso*). Meanwhile, as Valli reads the Dantesque scripture, Beatrice has an ally in the Eagle. The Eagle, dazzlingly revealed in the Heaven of Jupiter, symbolizes the new noble rule, the 'Veltro,' the reformed Empire, the political power which would give Europe universal Justice. For the shining particles that framed the Aquila in Jupiter dispersed, and then re-grouped themselves in letters that made prophetic words thus: "Ensure Justice, all ye governors of the earth." When the lady Lucia, messenger of Beatrice, came down to the Inferno, she bade Virgil, who was born under the Roman Eagle, lead the soul of Dante (Humanity, indeed) from the dark forest of Ignorance and Injustice to the Wisdom of the fellowship of the White Rose, and to the Eagle-monarchy of Justice, and so towards the "Love that moves the sun and all the other stars."

I have tried to present a quite simple outline of Professor Valli's laborious, highly-finished and most competent investigation, and I have not in the least pretended to review the book on lines of criticism. I leave that necessary task to others. It is for me a deep pleasure to call the attention of English readers to a research which, in any case, emphasizes Dante's merits as a thinker and reformer, who dedicated all his genius for unsurpassed glory of symbolism to the service of the soul of the human republic.

FREDERICK J. GOULD.

THE CREATIVE ADVENTURE.

A Prophetic Dramatic.

An event has taken place in the heart of London which bids fair to defy the goodwill and ability of the ordinary critic, in that it penetrates to the most sacred precincts of the Drama, the Church, Society, the worlds of literature, poetry, music, art, industry, and last, but not least, to those of the psychology of our day.

This unique performance has been given, by people sufficiently stabilized in true values to seek no public recognition, in the form of a play called 'The Creative Adventure,' which has been witnessed three times by hundreds of people in two well-known London Churches —St. Peter's, Great Windmill Street, and St. Paul's, Covent Garden.

The title of the play provides the key to the problem presented to the reviewer. This is not an event which can be described in the past tense, neither is it a performance belonging to any particular world, place, time, sect, party, faculty or trade, though it touches them all; it is a representation of the progressive life of the spirit inherent in man and woman, and something, therefore, which brings to this dreary world an unmistakable breath of a 'cosmic' order prevalent beyond our world.

The scene of the play is the Road to Life; and while the organ thundered and pealed, evidently at the volition of some master, one endeavoured to grasp the prophetic significance of a programme entitled 'The Volume of the Vision,' wondering at the same time

what artist had planned such dynamically simple but suggestive scenery: an inn, a tree-stump, a dust-bin and, before the chancel, a curtain of transparently filmy drapery.

The proceedings open with the clear note of a trumpet call, followed by the voice of an invisible herald singing within the Sanctuary Realm 'The Canticle of the Holy Conflict,'—a poem which should give poets laureate food for reflection, and prophets an impetus to turn in their graves. This canticle and others which follow in the course of the play explain how, through the suffering of the evolutionary processes, the Spirits of Michael the Archangel and of St. Peter are being enabled to co-operate with man on the Road to Life, that he may "join forces with the Heavenly Hosts, and end negation's night."

Satan, the aggregation of negation, inaugurates the first phase on the Road in a lively altercation between himself and the Spirit of Adventure, who tells him that his days are numbered. Humanity then invades the scene—a motley crowd of many types—who truckle with Satan, gaze in his magic mirrors where they see and admire themselves, and finally barter with him their small packets of virtues in exchange for larger parcels of vice, emotion, or depravity, of which he has a barrowful. The last stage of a dead phase of involution is here clearly depicted, and the scene ends with Satan's Song, the last verse of which reveals his complete nothingness:

I have only one fear,
  That is an awful nightmare;
For should anyone *think*
I land on the brink
  Of the bottomless pit of despair.

The crowd follow him off, hypnotized by his wonderful looks and voice, quite oblivious of the presence of Fire (a little child) and of the Spirit of Adventure who have quietly watched these dubious proceedings from the side of the Road.

The second phase of this astounding drama represents the Infant Coming of Spirit by Incarnation for its education and emancipation through earthly experience. The Spirit of Adventure and Fire discover why it is that no one notices or wants them on the Road to Life; it is because humanity is afraid, afraid of itself which it does not know, and yet entirely occupied with the self it thinks itself to be. Seeing, at the far end of the church, near the font, two very small children, these two remarkable spirits proceed to fetch them, to the accompaniment of 'The Anthem of the Adventure,' on to the Road to Life: a beautiful representation, for those who have imagination, of the coming of Spirit to this world, each spirit carrying its light accompanied by heavenly music, and each welcomed by a heavenly friend, the Spirit of Adventure.

St. Peter is the next outstanding feature to arrive upon the scene. Heralded by an angel, he descends to the golden gate of Harmony, states what he knows, in prophetic language, of his own former weaknesses on earth, his hard-earned knowledge of the consciousness which is the rock upon which the Church is built, and adjures the Spirit of Adventure to gather together all those who are ready and willing to deny themselves sufficiently to forsake all and follow the great adventure of Life.

In the third phase, three feminine types of humanity—an adventuress, a self-righteous person, and a suffragette—approach the Spirit of Adventure in

turn, discuss with him existence as they see it from their personal standpoint, and each hears from him the truth concerning their own peculiar distortion of life. These are followed by three male types, more advanced in the scale of evolution,—a poet, a scientist and a carpenter,—who approach with humility, and by simple questioning draw such wisdom from the Spirit of Adventure that they all agree on the only logical conclusion possible to them: to follow him on the Road to Life.

St. Peter now descends to open the Gate to Life, and all types of humanity follow the Spirit of Adventure and Fire into the Realm of Harmony, excepting Satan, who, shrunk and shrivelling by the power that has come to Earth, arrives too late; for Peter shuts the gate before him, and Satan with a ghastly scream collapses and disintegrates.

The culmination of the play is now reached: while humanity stands within the precincts of Harmony, the heavenly herald announces St. Michael, who appears at the altar with radiant face and shining armour. Preceded by Fire carrying his sword, he descends swiftly to the magnificent words of 'The Antiphon of Michael the Archangel'; and from the Gate of Life he utters the prophecy of his coming to Earth through the war which has come to the world, through the crucifixion of its Lord, and through the "mortal crucifixion which hastens on apace"; and finally he tells of 'The sign of the Coming of the Son of Man through the Great Adventure of Life.'

This is no mystery-play, nor is it any form of religious rambling: it is life and it is truth. We do not ask who are those content to do such a thing in so self-effacing a manner,—people who have dared to act

a play without written parts, without theatrical make-up or trappings of any kind, actuated by the Spirit which moves them to transmit a unified and constructive purpose in a diversified and destructive age. It is amazing that such poetry should have been written, such music sung, and that these things should have been placed in this way before a well-versed, hoary London public in the height of the summer season; but the ordinary questions do not occur to the mind of the spectator. 'The Creative Adventure' is new to us because it is something entirely impersonal; it does not deal with persons, but with Principle; it is not out to gain anything for anyone in cash or reputation. It is throughout a sane and practical evidence of the quality of mind working in active co-operation with the great ones from other worlds to bring the life of the Spirit to a struggling humanity, and demonstrates the values of creative work in contrast to mass-productive commercialism. Amid the patent signs of that which appears, this play provides a glimpse of the higher harmonies of that which is, the Life of a 'spiritual realm,' where there is peace. The only reasonable question concerning it is that asked by almost every character in the play: "How can we join the Creative Adventure?"

BRIDGET MORDAUNT.

THE QUEST OF THE IDEAL.

A. R. Horwood, F.L.S. (Late of Leicester Museum).

There are two minds in man: the natural and the spiritual. These are due to the dual character of his being: body and spirit. The outlook of the body is wholly material; that of the spirit is spiritual. Man's mind is influenced by body and by spirit. If the spirit gains the supremacy over the body, the mind spends its activities, not in contemplation of nature as matter, but in the quest of the beautiful, the quest of the ideal. Science delves into the archives of phenomena; and only when rightly instructed or guided by philosophy or the imaginative activity, does it get behind the facts to their inner causes or meanings. Rejecting things then as phenomena pure and simple, it sees in them symbols of truth. Matter, therefore, in itself is not regarded as the truth actual or existing, but only the ideas to which it gives rise and creates, are so considered. Thus viewed, bodily existence itself is not, save in its outward form, anything but a shadow and a dream. What really exist are the ideas of the imperishable creation of those natures set in perishable form. In this quest of the ideal we learn, then, to distinguish the true, the divine, and eternal or ideal, from the ephemeral and material.

Time, space, death, circumstances, which limit the physical and the material, have no real meaning for

the ideal and the immaterial and spiritual. The quest of the ideal is, in a word, the quest of the spiritual. We recognize the abyss between the material (which is relative and conditioned) and the ideal or the absolute. We realize the meaning of the ideal, and so comprehend the absolute and the true. This brings the enquiring mind to the lintel of real or true existence, to the meaning of the Eternal. And with this comprehension of the nature of immortality, we see for the first time clearly that time and space are relative, and that, viewed in the light of revelation, they have no real existence, no actual relationship to things, but, like phenomena, are only apparent. For man is spirit, and things are material, including his own physical body linked up with his own immaterial being. And as perception of these truths becomes clearer, the spiritual in man ever attunes itself more and more to the spiritual in the quest of the ideal.

Whether we believe the ancient and wide-spread doctrine of the re-incarnation of souls or not, there is in every being, in virtue of this quest of the ideal, an ever-present longing to go on from one stage of progress to another. In the spirit we are conscious of degrees of progress, in spite of the inevitable ebb and flow of each one's nature, for by reason of the dual nature of man in the flesh, body reacts on spirit, and spirit on body. It is the unseen that is eternal; the seen, or material, is but temporary. The soul, or ego, progresses, with a more perfect revelation of the meaning of things:

> Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
> As the swift seasons roll:
> Leave thy low-vaulted past,
> Let each new temple, nobler than the last,

Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast,
Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thine outgrown shell by life's unresting sea.

O. W. HOLMES.

The desired Elysium, indeed, is to be found only after the divorce of body and spirit.

And rest at last where souls embodied dwell,
In ever-flowing meads of Asphodel.

HOMER, *Odyssey*, xxiv.

How great is the power of the spirit, residing in the soul, the ego, the personality, over the body, Madame de Stael shall tell. She writes:

The soul is a fire that darts its rays through all the senses; it is in this fire that existence consists; all the observations and all the efforts of philosophers ought to turn towards this Me, the centre and moving power of our sentiments and our ideas.

This soul helps us climb to greater heights of understanding, by illuminating our memory and overruling tradition in the light of the reason, which is transcended by the brilliance of the light thrown by its rays. George Eliot catches the sense here of what we mean in her 'Spanish Gipsy':

Two angels guide
The path of man, both aged and yet young
As angels are, ripening through endless years.
On one he leans; some call her Memory,
And some Tradition; and her voice is sweet
With deep mysterious accords. The other,
Floating, holds down a lamp which streams,
A light divine and searching on the earth,
Compelling eyes and footsteps. Memory yields,
Yet clings with loving cheek, and shines anew,
Reflecting all the rays of that bright lamp
Our Angel Reason holds. We had not walked
But for Tradition; we walk evermore
To higher paths by brightening Reason's lamp.

Human experience, the teaching of the ages, tells us that the spirit dominates matter. Matter has been shown to undergo a material evolution or progress; but spirit, though incapable of evolution, since it cannot be derived from the physical or material, is only grafted upon matter. This is true in the case of the first spiritually endowed human (Adam, Man, literally or metaphorically or allegorically), following the previous natural evolution of earlier, purely natural man devoid of spiritual capacity. Yet has spirit none the less an ameliorating effect upon the physical nature of matter, or the power of beautifying by its influence the outer man and his countenance and nature, just as the inner man in turn is upheld by the abiding of the spirit within him. Hence spirit may be said to cause modern man to evolve; and it is whilst engaged in this quest of the ideal that the transformation takes place. This tendency to despise the outer man has been ever the habit of the monk and the ascetic in all ages. The refining power of forgetfulness or contempt of the flesh has been the driving power of many a saint, —between St. Francis of Assisi and St. François de Sales, Thomas à Kempis; and their view has been put by Michael Angelo, who spoke of external beauty thus:

> It is the frail and weary weed, in which God dresses the soul, which he has called into time.

As man's nature tends more and more to idealism and the reality of the hidden, the natural beauty of earth and sky, of the human frame and all that pleases the senses, sinks into oblivion, and is forgotten; or, even if viewed with admiration, it is only to see in it the hidden in the visible, God in his works. The

interpretation of things ideally satisfies the craving of the mind or intellect as nothing else does. We are inevitably led to such conclusions as the ideal teaches us by Reason,—the teachings of philosophy and moral training,—as well as by Religion in all its many forms.

Thought constrains us to accept the earth and its creatures as phenomenal or objective. But it and they are only real when viewed in the light of God. All phenomena, things and persons, acts and intercourse of nations or of individuals, appear to us as a picture for the spirit to examine and admire, to treat as effects, in quest of the power to understand the whole and its parts.

Nature, itself an effect, the creation of the Absolute and Eternal, is by virtue of its existence spirit-formed. This spiritual activity attunes all nature to a silent worship, a recognition of the Spirit, of which it is but the visible form, embodying in itself the all-pervading Reality, which upholds and sustains it. And so Nature appeals to the Spirit in man as the most conspicuous work of God's hands.

Pondering upon Nature we thus find an answer that satisfies us as to its real purport, only on the basis of idealism, or the regarding of objects as symbols, as phenomena having meaning, and not as true substances. And we find an answer, too, to Nature's source through the exercise of our spiritual faculties, recognizing in her a like origin to that of ourselves, our body and spirit, as well as that of all outside ourselves. And in this universal cause we see combined power, love, beauty, wisdom. We see, moreover, that all things we realize exist for the divine pleasure and purpose; and that at back of all phenomena is an all-pervading Spirit, which is the source of energy, growth, life,

everything. To this power also we look constantly for greater insight, greater wisdom, greater power, quicker progress. And so we conclude: the formation of all matter is not in matter but in spirit; and the Spirit is eternal. What form matter shall or shall not take lies in the power of the Highest.

A. R. HORWOOD.

'DARWINISM IN THE MELTING POT' AGAIN.

(A REPLY TO CRITICISM.)

IN THE QUEST for July, Mr. F. C. Constable, M.A., propounds the legend that Darwin was a 'physicist' (presumably because he has customarily been described as arguing from 'facts'—'cold' facts, or 'dead' facts). Anyone who, greatly daring, and without constantly doffing his hat, presumes to differ from Darwin is promptly denounced as a 'metaphysician'—a fellow who (merely) 'reasons,' and this in ignorance of 'facts.' It is, however, also known that Darwin spent a laborious life observing plants and animals and endeavouring to discover inter-relations between species. Such a one is by common consent called a biologist, and, although Darwin was great as an observer, he did not need to be a Newton to be fitted for that task.

I think Mr. Constable had better agree with me that both Darwin and the author of 'Symbiogenesis' may be fairly described equally as biologists. I am glad to find Mr. Constable approving, at least to some extent, of Symbiogenesis. I, for my part, approve of Darwinism—so far as it goes. But it does not go far enough for me, particularly in the all-important matter of interdependence of life. Here we are on ground which is neither physical nor metaphysical, but rather sociological and, what may be called, socio-physiological.

From many practical considerations, I have come to the conclusion that it is precisely in the neglected matter of inter-dependence that Darwin's pioneer work could be, and should be, most fruitfully continued. Progress along that road, however, has been barred hitherto precisely on account of that baneful flirtation of biological science with physics by which, apparently, Mr. Constable has been taken in. Biology, having borrowed a few plumes from physics, and adorned itself with Newtonian prestige, strutted as the peer of, or kindred with, physics, disdaining the indispensable study of bio-sociality, and boasting to its shame of being 'beyond good and evil.' The results were, what they were bound to be, calamitous. A more spurious and dangerous idea than this pretentious divorce from sociology never entered the mind of any man of science. Does Mr. Constable realize the implications of his insistence that Darwin was a 'physicist'? Is it not precisely physics that has to-day landed us in metaphysics? In Darwin's day, physicists took their stand, anthropocentrically, infelicitously upon the earth. Since then, they have proceeded to place themselves upon the sun and, more recently, upon all the stars simultaneously, thus indeed visualizing a metaphysical situation. It now behoves Mr. Constable, in view of his thrusting physics on Darwin, to reconcile Darwin the 'physicist' of 1860 with Einstein the physicist-metaphysicist of 1928.

One has heard it said, however, that Darwin was influenced by a man called Malthus, a clergyman and a sociologist. From him, and other 'mere philosophers' like him, he took the idea of the struggle of all against all. If the existence of such a struggle could be 'proved,' he thought, then it could perhaps be posited (or 'confidently believed,' as the favourite phrase of this alleged physicist goes) that such a struggle purported the elimination by death of the 'unfit,' which, further, would render it plausible that 'Nature'—the 'aggregate of "laws" around us,'—'selects,' or at least quasi-selects, on the analogy of man selecting in domestication; and, seeing moreover that man produces 'modifications' (of a doubtful character) in 'selection,' what could be more likely to Darwin (and to those who 'confidently believed' with him) than that 'Mother Nature,' in her grand, unconscious 'mechanical' (but as yet totally un-understood) ways, or 'processes,' quasi-selected, and this with even more startling results in modi-

fications? Such compound arguments from analogy are usually fraught with pitfalls; and Darwin's case was no exception, although we must not forget that he was the pioneer, seeking for the causes of evolutionary change at a time when the material was far too scant. It is one of the disquieting symptoms of the present day that such kindergarten science, based as it is on a sequence of 'as-ifs' (followed by the inevitable 'must-be-s') is still taken seriously by educated men and women. Of course it is true that man deals death to those types that he does not want; and 'Nature' would apparently also at times seem to deal death to those which she does not want. In making this latter metaphorical statement the basis of a 'selection'-theory of evolution, one should, however, have an exact teaching ready, showing wherein 'fitness' and 'survival-capacity' exactly consist. Samuel Butler and Bateson rightly twitted Darwinists to define 'fitness' before making free use of the term. Darwinists, probably not wishing to usurp the functions of Providence, left the decision, as to the meaning of fitness, conveniently to 'death.' They allowed Death, or Devil, or 'Natural Selection' to take the hindmost, being quite unable to make qualitative distinctions, or to appreciate the positive factors, constituting the norm of life. (If I cut my nails I am 'sifting' and 'eliminating.' But this has about as much to do with my own evolution as 'Natural Selection' has to do with organic evolution.) Opposed to death there is birth—a co-operative act—a synthetic act—a death-escaping act, one in which the wherewithal for the drama of evolution is fundamentally and progressively provided. Similar in importance and in positive value to the synthetic act of generation is the synthesis of food and of other vital bio-chemical substances by the process of symbiosis, or systematic biological co-operation, involving the law of Symbiogenesis. It is true, as Mr. Constable says, my writings do not negative the old idea of progressive evolution. These writings, however, so far from having to do with metaphysics, as alleged, have to do with those fundamental and majestic laws of life, of which Darwin's 'law of battle' and 'struggle for existence' may be said to be the subversion. Though it be true that there are many organisms needing to be eliminated (just as obsolete theories need elimination), yet it is equally true (what Darwinists omit) that natural elimination takes place, broadly, in respect of

values, involving status, the hierarchy of organisms, and, fundamentally, the mutual accommodation of species in respect of the scheme of symbiotic co-evolution between plants and animals on our globe. Involved is thus, too, a 'moral' factor, although the fact is slurred over by Darwinism. On a little reflection it should be seen that even 'selection' involves in reality the use made of organism by organism, *i.e.* of inferior by superior organism, the inferior having, under bio-moral and bio-social compunction, to serve the superior—service being the law withal. It is evident that only a qualitative biology can deal adequately with the factors here concerned. Orthodox *soi-disant* physical biology is quite inadequate to deal with what should be its paramount concern—namely, values. It cannot fulfil the one great practical function for which humanity would most need it,—namely, the sifting of the chaff from the grain. From lack of talent, and in view of the allurement of the fictitious simplicity of the Darwinian formulæ, biological philosophy has remained stagnant and incapable of inspiring medicine or current thought.

It is in order to remedy such serious and far-reaching defects, and not to lower the prestige of Darwin, that the author of 'Symbiogenesis' has made his onslaught on the structure reared by Darwin.

H. REINHEIMER.

THE BITTERNESS OF DEATH.

HERE on the ooze of Life's wide estuary,
Its lordly girth to a mere runnel shrunk,
Crawling 'mid suffocating banks of slime,
Its tides so far retired, I hear no more
Its vain appeal to the receding waves;
Only the flotsam of my fondest hopes
Festering beside me, mid a poisonous swarm
Of flies; only the ancient argosies
I planned and built for voyages beyond
The sunlit lands of story, derelict,
Their rotting timbers stranded high and dry
Upon the shoals. The screaming cormorants
Of nameless fear brush past my helpless head,
Craning their savage necks; then poise to swoop
And tear their toll from my still beating heart,
Ere Death, the foreshore's ghostly seignior, claim
His immemorial right of seizure. From
Its dim-lit amphitheatre's cloudy tiers
The dull-eyed sky looks down indifferent;
For what is death, a single death, to it,
Since every moment tolls the passing knell
Of some poor beast? But we who think and feel,
Whose thought has delved to earth's vast glowing core,
Outstript the stars, reversed the hands of time,
And cast the horoscope of æons yet
Unborn, whose panting heart has clasped to it
In one supreme embrace of love and joy,
As might a God a universe he built,
The pageant of the world, from which we sprang,—
We, handiwork of Nature, last and best
Of her creations, what are we to her?
Alas! Mere empty mirrors that she makes
To view her beauties in, then like a wanton breaks!

CLOUDESLEY BRERETON.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

(Unsigned Reviews or Notices are by the Editor.)

THE BOOK OF THE HOLY HIEROTHEOS.

The Book which is so-called; with Extracts from the Prolegomena and Commentary of Theodosius of Antioch and from the 'Book of Excerpts' and other Works of Gregory Bar-Hebræus. Edited and Translated by F. S. Marsh, M.A., Fellow, Tutor, and Librarian of Selwyn College, and Lecturer in Divinity in the University of Cambridge, Fellow of King's College, London. London (Williams & Norgate): pp. 297+180*; 21s. net.

IN 1911 chance brought into my hands a copy of a monograph of 111pp., by A. L. Frothingham, Jr., printed by Brill of Leyden, in 1886; it was entitled *Stephen Bar Sudaili the Syrian Mystic and the Book of Hierotheos*. Finding its contents of quite exceptional interest for the study of the history of Christian mysticism, and being unable to discover that anyone previously had taken any real notice of it, I at once wrote a descriptive article, in THE QUEST (III. i., Oct. 1911), entitled 'The "Book of the Hidden Mysteries" by Hierotheos,'[1] to call attention to this valuable study of the unique Syriac MS. (B.M. Add. 7189) of such outstanding novelty and importance. A year or so later I learned from my old friend Prof. F. C. Burkitt that the MS. was being edited, and that I should find that my opinion based on Frothingham's extracts and summary would have to be modified on the appearance of this critical edition with full translation; but this has not happened. Well, the War stopped the work; for Mr. Marsh was called up. On his return to more peaceful pursuits, owing to numerous difficulties, and increased cost of production, the appearance of his book has been held up until now. This delay has, fortunately, enabled the author to amend his translation, which was standing in proof, in numerous passages (see Add. Notes and Corrections, pp. 258-272). We are exceedingly glad, at long last, to get the

[1] Reprinted in my *Quests Old and New* (London, Bell, 1913), pp. 203-225. No one took any notice of that either.

results of Mr. Marsh's long labours, and thank him most heartily for putting us in possession of a full translation and the literary and historical facts that have so far been ascertained.

The importance of the Five Discourses of the Hierothean document, in my view, may be seen from the following skeleton of facts:

The Dionysian tractates or Areopagite writings (*Divine Names, Celestial Hierarchy, Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, Mystical Theology* and (9) *Letters*) were translated into Latin from the Greek in the 9th century. They were everywhere in the West accepted as orthodox, and in course of time constituted one of the most important—perhaps even the most authoritative—elements of systematic *Theologia Mystica*. The legend of these tractates will have it that Dionysius the Areopagite was a personal hearer of Paul and the first bishop of Athens. This was unquestionably accepted by all the mediæval schoolmen and mystical doctors as the true tradition; and indeed long after the Reform there was a general yea-saying to the proposition. Criticism at last began to get to work on the subject; with the result that, at the dawn of the 20th century, the pseudepigraphic nature of the documents had already been securely established for all Protestant and even some few Roman Catholic scholars. The Greek Dionysian writings were unknown till after 500 A.D. They have further been proved to contain passages and phrases from Proclus, the head of the Platonic tradition, who died in Athens (485 A.D.); moreover the root *schema* of the tractates is Proclan.

Now, in a number of passages 'Dionysius' refers to a certain 'Hierotheos,' who, he says, next after Paul, was his greatest teacher; and whom he treats with deepest reverence as one possessed in high fulness of the divine vision and sacred gnosis. 'Dionysius' may be said, according to his own statements, to have owed well-nigh all to 'Hierotheos.' Critical research has now established firmly the general subjective equation 'Hierotheos' = Proclus. That is to say, in literary objectivity, 'Dionysius' was a still unknown, mystical writer, a man of genius, who blended the theological doctrines of Proclus with the main Christian mystical 'theories.' He wrote in Greek somewhen about 510, and apparently somewhere in Syria. (The Greek was translated into Syriac in 536 A.D.) The pseudepigraphic 'authentication' is an example of the usual camouflage and fictionalism of Jewish and Christian apocryphal literature.

And now we have before us a full English translation from

the Syriac,—the only modern version so far,—of 'The Book of Hierotheos.' ('The Hidden Mysteries of the House of God' is not the title but a reference to the contents only.) It is clear to me that in the main the scheme and contents and style of this Book are just what 'Dionysius' had in mind, when eulogizing his great teacher 'Hierotheos,' who by his (H.'s) own visions, he (D.) avers, confirmed no little of the dogmata of the inner doctrine.

The Syriac, in my opinion, is already translated from the Greek; for in many a passage I seem to read the reflected thought and the borrowed phrasing of Proclus. The document is not an original Syriac composition.

But who was the author of the Hierothean 'Book,' that is so clearly to me one of the 'sources' of the Dionysiaca? (It is, in my opinion, not based on the Dionysian tractates, but just the reverse. It is in essence simpler, profounder; just the sort of thing D. praised and reverenced.) Frothingham (positively) and Marsh (hesitatingly) think he must have been, as long ago was thought by Kyriakos, patriarch of Antioch (793-817), a certain Stephen bar-Sudhaile.

What, then, do we know of S. b.-S.? Stephen was a monk, formerly of Edessa, and later of Jerusalem; he is said to have been a heretic, an Origenist, who claimed to have his own revelations; he had once been a follower of John the Egyptian, of whom nothing is known. Stephen is said to have had many disciples at Edessa. He flourished, say, about 490-515 A.D. His special claim was that he understood the true meaning of the Scriptures; and he was everlastingly juggling with texts. From what we know of his Syriac style (a poor one) and his general ability, he could not possibly have composed the main burden of the 'Book of Hierotheos,' which bears all the marks of a great religious genius.

The habitual presumption of Christian commentators in dealing with such literature is: that the 'texts' must have bred the doctrines; for are not the texts 'holy scripture' and therefore original? But what of Philo? Did his O.T. texts breed his Platonism; or did he accommodate and 'allegorize' them to suit his otherwise acquired Platonic and Therapeut doctrines?

As I conceive it, then, the writer of the Greek 'Book of Hierotheos,' may even have known Proclus personally; and in any case he was in intimate contact with the living tradition of the great Platonic 'theologer.' He also loved and admired the mystical lore of spiritual Christianity, as set forth, for instance, by Paul,

and the illumined, but unhistorical, writer of the fourth gospel. He desired, moreover, as was the habit in the Later Platonic tradition, to make a 'symphony,' as they called it, or concord, of two or more 'philosophies,'—in this case, of the spiritual 'dogmata' of Plato and Jesus. On him followed 'Dionysius' with his developments and expansions.

Therefore, we have before us the same phenomenon of Greek or Hellenistic thought blending with Christian doctrine, as we have confusedly in Paul, and provedly in the case of Augustine and Plotinus. Judging by the approval with which this Proclan thought has been accepted, *via* the Dionysiaca, though all unconsciously, by Western mediæval Christianity (and by the endorsement of part of the Hierothean document itself in the East by Gregory bar Hebræus—Mar Gregorios Maphrian of the Convent of Mar Mattheo at Mosul, 1264-1286), the persuasion of Dean Inge, that the Platonic element in Christian Theology will in future increasingly come into its own, is not without excuse.

The Hierothean Five Discourses are arranged thus: *a* (i.) Cosmological; *b* (ii.-iv.) Guide to the Way of Ascent of Holy Minds, describing the Regions through which such have passed, and must pass, before they reach the Goal of Commingling with the Creative Perfection of the Supreme Good, and their Adventures; *c* (v.) Eschatological, the Final Beneficent Consummation of all things.

It is evident, especially as to the last section (*c*), that H. was a faithful Origenist; that, on the Christian side, the doctrines of the great Origen were a source in the 'symphony.' The term 'Mind' is a Hellenistic *terminus technicus*, equating with the term 'Spirit' of the General Church. The scheme dwells on the main movements of Mystical Theoria: Baptism, Eucharist, Resurrection, Ascension and Descent, repeated in ever-widening circles or spheres. The purified Mind is to become like unto 'Christ,' become 'Christ' wholly, and, finally—astonishing to tell—transcend the 'Christ' state.

We cannot here say more; it would mean a volume. But this is the *crux* of the whole matter and the problem for the future: What has been hitherto regarded as orthodox Christian mysticism, and gladly received through 'Dionysius,' is now proved to depend, and depend fundamentally, on a Doctrine, previously handed on by 'Hierotheos,' which, if its purport had hitherto generally been known, would have been rejected, incontinently and angrily, by 'catholic' Christendom as the rankest and most

blasphemous heresy. The true catholicism and universalism of the height and breadth and depth of the *theoria* of the Fulness of the Divine Mind, nostratized and limited by traditional Christian Theology, now emerges into the manifest, after these many centuries of repression in the unconscious of Christendom.

(The above volume, we regret to say, owing to deficit of funds, is announced as the final one of the valuable Text and Translation Society's publications, under the presidency of Prof. F. C. Burkitt. Why cannot our numerous philanthropic millionaires or their advisers possess a little insight in matters that are of real moment for the health of the soul?)

THE CAUSE OF EVIL.

Or the Values of Nature and the Values of Religion. By I. G. Bartholomew. London (Heath Cranton); pp. 186; 6s. net.

THIS volume is a reasoned statement of Mrs. Bartholomew's views on some fundamental problems of life, including that of evolution. It is replete with suggestion and felicitous intuition. Those desirous of knowing the latest currents of thought in science, religion and art, will find the book of value. The authoress favours a plastic state of mind, deprecating all 'complete schemes.' She maintains that our increased knowledge, properly regarded, provides a clue to the 'whither' and 'whence' of evolution; and that in the light of modern knowledge life begins to take on a grandiose appearance far less personal than our comfortable and complacent little views have hitherto allowed us to perceive. She emphasizes the fact that all knowledge advances by successive 'revelation,' worked upon by the process of reasoning. Science, no less than art and religion, has its basis and power or growth in revelation. To 'make' or to 'receive' revelation is as natural a function of the 'brain' as to reason. Revelation moreover is a natural 'faculty' of all life, even of all existence. "It is not therefore actually *necessary* to admit or to insist upon a 'Divine' revelation to account either for religion or for the virtues of man. Process by means of revelation is a natural process. . . . We have *recognized* not invented our ideals."

Our hope for the future, Mrs. Bartholomew holds, lies in science; yet, as she points out, all the graciousness of our lives, all our civilization, and with it the possibility of science, we owe to religious revelation. The authoress stresses the conformity of natural and religious values, maintaining that natural evolution

tends towards the saint, whom she would class not as superman but as simply human. It is one of her favourite ideas that the cause of evil lies in our concepts rather than in our instincts; lust, for example, being a concept, whilst order is an instinct. Man is overweighted by his sense of 'personalities.' One cannot but think in this connection of Goethe's lines, put in the mouth of Mephistopheles:

> "A somewhat better life he'd lead, poor wight,
> But for thy gift, a gleam of heavenly light;
> Reason he calls it, and doth use it so,
> That e'en than brutes more brutish he doth grow."

Mrs. Bartholomew virtually agrees with Pope that life, though it presents (superficially) a 'mighty maze,' is yet not 'without a plan.' We learn that matter itself is order; and that order is natural, and disorder unnatural. Order, moreover, has the quality of goodness. The creatures show various qualities of goodness. "Good it is which is the mystery. Good is as mysterious as the very force of life, but plainly and clearly a natural value."

What then of evil? "Is there mystery here? Evil is disorder. In nature disorder is unnatural and pertains only to transition. It seems, then, that we as men may not as yet have found our order." Our authoress even adumbrates that some abuse of power may be the source of evil, as when she says that man is intoxicated with his power of dominance. She perceives in this connection that domination depends upon organization, and that, hence, it is somewhere near the "power of organization that we must look for the really unique quality of mankind." There is considerable force in this contention, although its full significance remains to be seen, pending the achievement of the practical union between sociology and biology for which science is still waiting.

Mrs. Bartholomew finds it deplorable that we have thrown away all those teachings wherein Nature and religion are truly at one. The same disapproval has hitherto been expressed by those who believe in 'Evolution by Symbiosis'—allowing for appropriate bio-chemistry, appropriate integration, and, implying, on the socio-physiological side, that Nature—appearances to the contrary notwithstanding—abhors 'in-feeding' (carnivorous, or parasitic, *i.e.* non-reciprocal, feeding of like on like), the norm of Nature being constituted, on the contrary, by 'cross-feeding' (non-carnivorous, reciprocal, feeding on the spare-products of

another, partnering, kingdom) in conformity with the ethico-religious principle of 'give and take.'

Such as these are certain to be struck by an inconsistency in Mrs. Bartholomew's book. For whilst, on the one hand, she insists that we have not yet given Nature credit enough for the virtues she has, yet, on the other hand, she tells us that "the great law of Nature is to eat and to be eaten"—an incongruity which, though it be the parrot-cry of conventional writers, who have not given sufficient attention to the matter of nutrition, is contrary to the facts and actually constitutes a libel on Nature. The alleged 'law' reduces us to the view that Nature is a shambles, which is scarcely helpful toward the establishment of conformity between science and religion.

Similar scepticism must apply to our authoress's doctrine, borrowed too uncritically from the reigning bigwigs of biology, that "there is nothing wrong about the instincts of any creature." Alas, it is to be feared that there may be a world of wrong in instincts, inasmuch as they may in effect run counter to the main scheme of evolving life, to the scheme of symbiotic co-evolution between plant and animal, for instance, which imposes restraints upon all creatures from economic and social necessity. How, for instance, could the authoress hope to exculpate the loss of parental instincts, attended by general criminality of character, in the cuckoo—a gluttonous, sensuous and parasitic creature, who, fortunately, in his (or rather her) depravity has not many equals among birds? References to Plotinus will not avail us there. Has not the bane of biology and of medicine hitherto been the vain idea that they are 'beyond good and evil'? If Mrs. Bartholomew, who otherwise shows immaculate reluctance to have any truck with evil, had insisted, instead of almost sanctioning it, on this great flaw, she would have rendered a greater service than she actually has done.

One has ventured upon some little criticism and suggestion with the less timidity, seeing that what Fechner called the 'day-view' (rather than the 'night-view') of Nature is otherwise felicitously implicit in our authoress's book, as when she urges the kinship and the interdependence of life, or when she states that those who are not with Nature are against her, or when she urges upon science to forge 'a powerful weapon' to assist religion in her indispensable fight against evil. The latter will not be achieved until biology has her own bio-sociality, her own niche for good and evil, her proper place for Nemesis (who lets no

injustice go unchastized in the universe). It is only too true that, as Mrs. Bartholomew insists, we must allow our knowledge to work together with our ideals. To her, too, it has been revealed that Nature is '*Menschen im Herzen.*'

H. REINHEIMER.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

By S. Radhakrishnan. London (Allen & Unwin); Vol. II., pp. 797; 25s. net.

INDIAN Philosophy has been expounded to the Western world by a chain of European and American scholars in a competent but, obviously, not a final manner; and it is pleasing to observe that in recent years contemporary Indian writers should join the respectable throng of expositors. More flattering, perhaps, to us is the fact that these Indian writers are good enough to present their work in a Western manner or, what is a better way of expressing our thought, in an international manner. In this company Professor Radhakrishnan is not the first—nor will he be the last—to illuminate the wisdom of his race by expository criticism. And he and his work are thrice welcome.

Hoping, of course, that our readers will peruse the book for themselves, this notice will not attempt a long description of it. Enough if we can whet the appetite of those who relish strong food.

The 'contents' advertises the familiar 'Six Brahmanical Systems,' but appears to provide ten or more bodies of thought and literary expression. And the author makes himself responsible for an order which he calls 'logical' in preference to one he would call 'chronological.'

If this decision be due to the fact that there are insufficient data to provide a reliable and final chronology, it is fair to ask the author what advantage he offers us by the abandonment of the historical method. After all, even though a chronological basis for his study may not be generally accepted, his logical basis is bound to be arbitrary. What, indeed, if it should be wrong? And after all, a logical treatment, so-called, presupposes a chronological development. In deciding that one philosophy calls for and produces another by a sort of logical necessity, the author admits a time-process. Why not then make the best of the muddle, and place the philosophies in a frame-work of history? In this way a true inherent and not an arbitrary logical relation might have

appeared in the course of the discussion. The method he has adopted has the demerit of being (in his own words) sound in logic though not sound in chronology.

We seem to be presented with a picture of philosophical Brahmins of undated antiquity seated in the shade of a forest *āshrama*. In the manner of a Platonic dialogue Gautama opens the debate with 'a science of sciences' which gives us the Logical Realism of the Nyāya. Follows Kanāda with the Atomistic Pluralism of the Vaiśeṣika; and then great Kapila holds forth on the Sāṁkhya system of evolutionary Dualism, which rouses Patañjali to produce his Yoga Aphorisms. Jaimini demands a hearing for the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā, and finally Bādarāyaṇa, rising to his feet like Sokrates, corrects, refutes, incorporates, unifies and transcends all his predecessors with the splendid Vedānta Sūtras, finding a disciple in the author of this book.

Thus the Six Systems, the aristocratic survivors, resting on the Vedas, and repeating *Astika* in chorus, appear before us as monopolists who have made a corner in Indian philosophy and driven all competitors from the field. But how fantastic and false is the picture, although entrancing!

It is as well to remember that Vedic religion was the basic soil out of which philosophy grew, and that the most important of the earlier philosophical conceptions are found in the Upanishads. Like a forest giant the Vedānta idea rears its head. In doing so it must inevitably have called into existence those who would not, or could not, soar to such heights. A great claim creates great doubts, and these tend to crystallize into various forms, some conceding one conception, others two or three. As soon, then, as the Upanishad Vedānta formulated its doctrine of one sole reality and the identity of all seeming separates, it was bound to leave many behind who found it to contradict the evidence of their sense and reason. Early Vedānta indeed was a great dogmatism. Among the earliest to fall away were those who became the Saṁkhyans. The Upanishad had supplied a triangular conception with Brahman at the head, upon whom were dependent *Purusha* the Soul and *Prakṛiti*, Nature. The one is known to self-consciousness and the other to sense-perception. The knowledge of Brahman was indeed so difficult and so rare that those who were left behind, found it enough to investigate and 'enumerate' the categories of Nature. Hence the Saṁkhyan School sought to penetrate into the nature of the world by analysis, largely traditional of course. Nature was observed to have *guṇas* or moods—two extreme, and

a middle number: *Tamas*, *Rajas* and *Sattva*. Man shared in these moods, but not statically: he could pass from the inert to the active, from the passionate to the serene. Yet the old Upanishad idea of the essential purity of the soul was not abandoned. *Purusha* seemed to be enwrapped in Nature and subject to her changes and her sufferings. Hence to make discrimination of the unhappy mixture was the intellectual aim of the system which promised release (*moksha*) if success were attained.

Now this is a real *darśana*, a vision, an explanation of the World, and surely after the Upanishad Vedānta should have the second place. Yet our author, following tradition, which he dare not offend, starts off with Nyāya, Logic, and again by custom calls it a *darśana*. It is of course no more than an instrument, and as such deserves respect, but it is not a philosophy.

The Vaiśeṣika system deserves the name more truly, because it attempts to explain in a very interesting way the construction of the universe on the atomic basis. The Yoga is certainly not a philosophy; its value consists in its being an ethical and a psychic practice designed to gain certain desirable experiences. It says no word about the world or its meaning, its structure or destiny. Indeed, curiously, the Yoga seems to ignore the world, its history and its destiny as much as any Christian Scientist might do.

Of the two remaining systems, the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā, or 'Early Investigation' of the Vedas, may be called a philosophy of religious observance—and the claim is valid. But beside the Uttara Mīmāṁsā, or 'Ultimate Investigation,' it shrivels into nothing.

Here then rightly appears Bādarāyaṇa to formulate afresh the old Upanishad ideas first expounded by Yāgnavalkya. It is a true *darśana*. And after many centuries Shankara represents the Vedānta vision. Our present conclusion, perhaps offensive to Indians and scholarly tradition, is that there are among the six systems only two which may claim to be philosophies. Of the others, one is an instrument, another a scientific aspect, another an ethical praxis and another a 'science of the sacraments'! And we have the support of Madhava, who counted and described sixteen *darśanas*. It would not be difficult to count sixty in the Indian philosophical jungle!

The above paragraphs express our reactions to the Professor's great book. We find him very talkative and disposed to interject his own words into the record of his master's voice. Would it

not have been better to retire to the forests and to the ancient days, and from that vantage point talk across the centuries to us? Indian philosophy is difficult enough to grasp, but it is better studied in isolation without the booming voice of Mr. Bertrand Russell sounding in the corridor. Aristotle and Augustine, Bergson and Berkeley, Darwin and Descartes, Schiller and Schweitzer annoy us, with their interferences and their willingness to throw light—even though it be darkness—on the subject of the book. May we beg Professor Radhakrishnan next time to come by himself?

W. LOFTUS HARE.

THE UNIQUE STATUS OF MAN.

By Herbert Wildon Carr, Hon. D.Litt. (Durham), Hon. LL.D. (Southern California). London (Macmillan); pp. 216; 7s. 6d. net.

THESE six Lectures by our old friend Dr. Wildon Carr, who is now professing philosophy at the University of Southern California, are the last of a new biennial Lectureship, established by the University, and known as The New Era Foundation. Dr. Carr's predecessors are all Bishops—four of them!—the purpose of the Lectures being to emphasize the contribution of education to the attainment of Christian character. On reading this preamble we metaphorically scratched our head, and exclaimed, "Can Saul also be among the Prophets!," and wondered what our 'Aristotelian' was up to in so exclusively an episcopal galley. When, however, we read that the original title of the Lectures was 'The Freewill Problem in the Light of Modern Scientific Developments,' we breathed a sigh of relief, and knew that we should be let off the theology of the matter lightly. And so it proves. Lecture I. on 'The Theological Form of the Freewill Problem' is a sop to Cerberus, and a contrivance for getting the subject into some kind of a Christian frame-work. The less said about this the better; Dr. Carr is not here on his native heath. Thereafter he gets into his stride, and gives us in the rest of the volume a most valuable survey of the history of the metaphysical problem and its development, from the rise of Modern Philosophy to our own day, with an illuminating exposition of the bearing of scientific theory on the concept of freewill, ending with a chapter entitled 'The Positive Conception of Freedom implied in Living Activity.' In this last we have

Carr at his best. Every thinker knows that the Freewill concept, though fundamental, is the most evasive of all human problems; therefore any light thrown on the darkness is welcome, and our Lecturer has a distinct glimmer to contribute, as may be seen from the following quotations:

"The point I wish to emphasize is that life can and does use positive freedom as a means to an end, and that it is to this mysterious fact we should turn for enlightenment on the problem of freewill" (p. 188).

"By positive freedom I mean that the action of the individual is self-centred, that the individual is not coerced but responds" (p. 190). This is the idea also of that distinguished scientist Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose.

Our Lecturer sums up his argument in this respect thus tersely: "Living activity manifests itself in real actions which are always individual; individual actions are distinguished from mechanical movements by their freedom; free actions are self-determined responses to external situations and not externally determined. The principle of individuality which governs living activity is the contrary of the principle of reciprocity which governs all material movement" (p. 191).

We next come to what is radical in Carr's notion of freewill, and it links up with his previous philosophizing on Bergson's notion of creative evolution. "The theory of creative evolution," our Lecturer writes, "depends on a metaphysical principle which appears contrary to common sense and which is opposed to the principle generally accepted in physical science, but which is fundamental in every philosophical idealism. It is the principle that activity is more original than inertia, that change is more fundamental than the thing which changes, that movement can generate immobility but immobility cannot give rise to movement. The principle is justified on the ground that there is no way of conceiving how activity could be generated out of inertia, whereas given activity inertia is produced by simple interruption" (p. 195).

It therefore, follows, logically and analogically enough we agree, as our philosopher well phrases it, that:

"There is only one way to philosophize, and that is to explain the world by the reality which we actually experience in ourselves. When we start in this way we are led I think inevitably to the conclusion that, contrary to what we at first imagine, spontaneity is prior to necessity. Freedom, freewill, we possess originally of right, and the determinism on which efficiency depends is

brought about by the limitation of that freedom. Necessity rules absolutely in the material world, but the material world is not a self-subsistent reality, it is an abstract aspect of the living world. In the living world the principle of individuality is universal, and the principle of individuality is essentially the principle of freedom in the meaning of self-determination. Let individual activity be completely governed by necessity and its individuality is destroyed. And yet without necessity the activity would be without efficiency. Even individual action therefore to be effective must take the form of necessity. We may say therefore that freedom must generate its negation, necessity. This is what brings about the double aspect of the real world. Finality and purpose can only be interpreted in terms of free activity, efficiency and means or instrumentality only in terms of necessity" (pp. 196,197).

This is all very well said. So, if we find Professor Wildon Carr in a boat with four bishops, the only place for him, as far as we can see, is as cox, though we have not, unfortunately, at present been able to watch the oarsmanship of their lordships.

Précis de Métapsychique.

I. Subconscient et Métapsychisme. Par Dr. P. Thomas Bret. Paris (Ballière); pp. 182; 20frs.

This is the first volume of a systematic work dealing with the phenomena of psychical research. Vols. II. and III. are announced to treat of *Parapsychique* and *Métagnosie et Métergie* respectively. Vol. I. is devoted to: Vocabulary and Classification; Differentiation between the Subconscious and the Métapsychisme (*i.e.* the supranormal element in man and animals); Mediumship, Human and Animal; The Second Objective Environment,—the Météther, —in which the Métapsychisme exists. The claim of the author is that the work proceeds on the most rigid scientific lines and maintains the frigid, unemotional attitude of the biologist. Now, to be truly scientific is to be free from all prejudices. This, however, can hardly be said to be the case on at any rate the theoretical side of the present Précis. For the whole proceeds on the assumption that the 'spirit hypothesis' must *in all cases* be utterly barred out, if the requirements of 'science' are to be met. But surely that is precisely one of the chief points of the enquiry; and to treat it as already in this respect a *chose jugée*

is not only unscientific but the sign of a strong prejudice-complex. Perhaps the most striking feature of the exposition is the attempt to create a new nomenclature, bristling with neologisms, which are frequently fearsome, and often very doubtful improvements on more familiar terms. The whole is bespangled with the prefix *méta*, and we should certainly applaud if some wag dismissed the whole matter as an orgy of 'méta-ism.' Perhaps the analytic scientific method of description cannot get along without a precise vocabulary of its own of ever increasingly minute distinctions. Dr. Bret is certain this must be so, when he writes: "As long as metapsychics is without a well-made terminology, it will never be a science." And so he sets to work to remedy the defect. But the danger is that verbal symbols, professing to be descriptive, are only too frequently taken by the unwary as explanatory. And in any case, not only the layman, but also even those of us who have studied the subject, it may be, before the maker of this 'Vocabulaire Métapsychique' was born, are now threatened with being presented with pages bristling with horrific new breeds of vocables, which are not infrequently what Mrs. Malaprop would have called 'derangements of epitaphs.' Let us take one or two examples, and start right away with the second and third terms of the list.

"ALLOGNOSIE (from *gnosis; allos*, other).—Supranormal knowledge of the physical, mental and metapsychical phases of another (*allos*) individuality.—The corresponding term is *autognosy*."

But why not *heterognosy* instead of *allognosy*, while we are about it,—parallel with auto-suggestion and hetero-suggestion? That would not do, however; for the new broom would fain sweep away 'suggestion' and replace it by 'métagestion,' and therewith trot out the curiosities 'auto-métagestion' and 'hetero-métagestion.'

"ANAGNOSIE (from *anagnosis*, reading).—The supranormal reading of texts inaccessible to the senses [? physical sight]. There is *para-anagnosy*, reading of a text by contact; *peri-anagnosy*, reading of a text in the neighbourhood; lastly *tele-anagnosy*, reading of a text at a great distance.—*Pro-anagnosy* is the knowledge of a text not yet written or printed."

Here we are surprised that Dr. Bret has left his beloved 'méta' out in the cold. Why not *méta-anagnosie?* We could then revel in 'para-meta,' 'peri-meta' and 'tele-meta,' as we do in other connections.

We turn over a page, and it becomes more and more delicious and 'curiouser.' We have all heard of 'dowsers'; but until Dr. Bret started his new vocable-factory, we did not know that they were really 'hylognostics by rod-meta-automatism.' 'Bilocation,' again, we had heard of; but we did not know that we were listening to the speech of the uninstructed vulgar, and that in the polite circles of the meta-learned it was referred to as 'autotelediplosy.' 'Diplosy,' our new glossarian informs us, is gotten, as the Americans say, from "*dis*, two; *plōsis*, derived from *pelô*, to be." Well, we happen to be only an ordinary and not a 'meta' Hellenist; and so we imagined: that *dis* = twice; that the simple form *plōsis* is not found in Greek, though Aristotle uses *di-plōsis* for the compounding of words; that *plōsis* has nothing to do with *pelô*, but is connected with *ha-ploos* (*sim-plex*), 'single,' and *di-ploos* (*du-plex*) 'double.'

But we cannot continue with selections from what is, philologically speaking, only too frequently a collection of 'terminological inexactitudes.' We sincerely hope that most of them will not be adopted; and that at least such monstrosities as 'metideogeny,' 'gegonotognosy,' 'metarsism' (for 'levitation'), 'pragmametagraphy' (*sic*—for 'pragmato-'), 'metallactobare' (for 'weight-change'), etc., may remain still-born. Our old familiar friend 'poltergeist' has orders to quit, to make room for 'thorybe'; why not try the Anglicized Sanskrit of the late lamented Anstey of *Punch* and welcome to our bosoms Babus Sucha Row and Kickupa Row!

We are left no space, unfortunately, to refer to many points that require discussion in the main body of the text. The advance made is that the phenomena are fully accepted, and genuinely so. The descriptions of them, and the attempts at explanation, however, are within the limitation stated above. The classification suggested is comprehensive and, when the neo-nomenclature is deserted, affords a good survey. But throughout it is a case of the 'new-broom,' and there is much putting of the old hands in their places. Finally, there are very numerous misprints; and when we come on the heading 'The Best Method for Obtaining Mediumship in Yoga,' we are disappointed to find only a single page devoted to the subject. It is very superficial; the two or three authorities quoted are negligible, and their names misspelled; but above all, why should *Yoga* be feminine in French, when it is masculine in Sanskrit?

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE GODS OF THE EGYPTIANS.

And the Light they Throw on Freemasonry. By Dr. Thomas Milton Stewart, P.M., 33°, U.S.A. London (The Baskerville Press); pp. 126; 10s. 6d. net.

PERSONALLY, I cannot see that the Gods of the Egyptians, symbolically or otherwise treated, throw any light at all on Craft Masonry. It is, however, a well-worked theme. Freemasonry is modally initiatory; the Egyptians had mysteries and initiations; therefore . . . ! Link: *the* pyramid,—certainly a pile of masonry! Dr. Stewart of Cincinnati,—introduced to those studies by our old friend the late Dr. J. D. Buck, of that city, who was immersed in Neotheosophy, Rosicrucianism, etc.,—makes use of Budge's two volumes, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, and seeks to give interpretations of their symbolic figures. But this is by no means all the ground he covers. He is charmed, as others of us years ago have been, with Marsham Adams' *Book of the Master* and *House of the Hidden Places*, in which the late scholar and Fellow of New College, Oxford, sought to savour somewhat of the romance of Egyptian mystery-lore contained in sounding phrases. Adams was a good student of Egyptian texts, but—*horribile dicta!*—he gave no references. Dr. Stewart avows that he has now been able to trace Adams' quotations,—mostly to Bunsen. We are glad to hear it. Our author also makes use of our old contributor M. W. Blackden's *Ritual of the Mystery of the Judgment of the Soul*, in which he claimed to have discovered the ritual of one of the Degrees in one of the chapters of the so-called *Book of the Dead*. Dr. Stewart also quotes frequently from my *Thrice-Greatest Hermes*. The special sort of symbolism which interests our author is that which he declares to be its most ancient meaning, namely: "A symbol represents a stage in the evolution of one individual which can be reproduced in the life-experience of another, despite the lapse of time." This he repeats four or five times and seems to think it is a novel idea. But the psychological view of symbolism, in its application to individual life and experience, has for long been its main interest to many. It may be said, in general, that this study, though, as it must be, highly speculative, is not so 'cranky' as numerous books we have read on the subject. Nevertheless, Dr. Stewart has a wider capacity for credulity than ourselves. He can, for instance, easily believe that the Great Pyramid, if we rely on astronomical calcula-

tions,—when it would appear that the ascending passage would point to Alcyone in the Pleiades and the descending one to Alpha Draconis, and the North Star, in 2170 B.C.,—might well go back a whole sidereal year, and so give us an additional 25,000 years and more for its construction! *Credat Judæus Apella!* If any of these robust believers in imaginative archæology can point to a single—even cyclopean—structure remaining on this planet that shows signs of such a hoary age, we may begin to revise our estimate. As it is, we would sooner believe, with Blake, that Adam was a Druid! Historically the date of Khufu is known precisely enough. The 'passages' moreover in rotation naturally point now to one constellation now to another; but when they do, what *does* that signify? The axes of all sacred buildings,—naves, and, eke, cupolas and spires,—and of many secular buildings as well, do ditto. *Pyramidalitis* is just now a very fashionable complaint.

Your Infinite Possibilities.

By Margaret Underhill. London (Rider); pp. 191; 5s. net.

We have here a selection of expositions of doctrine purporting to come from the late Prof. William James of Harvard. They have been received, either in the form of automatic script or impressionally, by Miss Margaret Underhill, an American lady, formerly a teacher of music, and now resident in London for the last four years or so. Miss Underhill has never read any work by James, and her knowledge of psychology is such only as may be picked up from Spiritualistic and New Thought literature. The matter presented to us is, however, not confined solely to her own mediumship. We have also what has been obtained through the mediumship on the other side of those charming little ladies 'Feda' (eight sittings) and 'Pollyanna' (on a number of occasions). All three are sure they have been working for 'the Professor' and in close contact with him; and knowing them well I am convinced of their straightforwardness and honesty. That clears a lot of the preliminary ground; but the far more difficult problem is to decide how far the James we know, who was one of the most brilliant writers on psychology on record, has succeeded in expressing himself. The book does not profess to be more than a popular exposition, written as simply as may be. There is great anxiety to help, to present an optimistic outlook, to assure us that the uncertainties of the James that was, have given place in many

an instance to the certainties of the James that is. What we do not approve, however, is the dogmatic form of the communications, so unlike the James we knew. The general impression conveyed is that W. J. is talking down to us; he is in a superior state and position; he speaks of '*Your* Infinite Possibilities,' not including himself in the ruck. Why not more modestly '*Our*'? Knowing the great difficulties of such 'relaying' in psychical communication, we cannot help feeling that the very respectful attitude of the intermediaries to 'the Professor' has reacted on the messages, and has given a setting to them that the other-side James would have striven to avoid, if he had been conscious how they were coming out on our side. The book will doubtless please many who like 'being told,' but will leave those who know the works of William James, wondering what has happened to his once so brilliant equipment—intellectual, if you will—in spite of the assertion that he now thinks very little of it in this respect.

The Epic of Gilgamish.

A New Translation from a Collation of the Cuneiform Tablets in the British Museum rendered into English Hexameters. By R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. London (Luzac); pp. 60, 4°; 10s. 6d. net.

Those who have read my recent article on 'Sumer: The Earliest-known Source-land of the General Gnosis' (April, 1928) cannot fail to be delighted to have in their hands this most recent translation of the Tablets containing the very ancient Gilgamish epic—in mingled Sumerian, Babylonian and Assyrian tradition. The rendering is well done; but, as it aims at as great literal exactitude as is possible, the hexameters have necessarily to be somewhat rough. Dr. Campbell Thompson, whose scholarship in these very difficult fields of philology is highly praiseworthy, introduces his version with a succinct and up-to-date preface, but does not attempt a commentary, which would be now a very vast undertaking in the comparative field of religion. In spite of the industry and ingenuity of our scholarly specialists in piecing together the extant material, a number of passages are unfortunately still unknown, owing to breaks in the tablets. But with the wealth of new material that is turning up, season by season, at Ur and Kish and other vast and well-nigh virgin sites, there is every expectation, not only of filling up all the *lacunæ* in the

Gilgamish saga, but of discovering whole libraries that will entirely revolutionize our knowledge of the history of Sumero-Babylonian culture and its derivatives. I would recommend any serious student of origins who does not know this ancient, widespread story of one of the earliest semi-mythical, post-diluvian Kings of Erech (*c.* 5,000 B.C.), to read it with the greatest attention; it is just as interesting as anything he will find in the far-later Hebraically derived myths of Genesis.

Dr. Campbell Thompson's translation might form the basis of a gorgeous poem by a painter of word-pictures of our own day. Personally, we dislike to find in so many places 'aye' for 'ay'; but this is made up for by the large, bold print and generous general format of the volume.

WAS JESUS INFLUENCED BY BUDDHISM?

A Comparative Study of the Lives and Thoughts of Gautama and Jesus. By Dwight Goddard. Thetford, Vermont, U.S.A.; pp. 249.

THIS is not a new question. Parallels have been adduced or suggested between passages in the Gospels and in the Suttas, between incidents in the life-stories and legends, between the monastic rule of the Essenes and the Sangha. Mr. Dwight Goddard, who has acquired his knowledge of Buddhism, not only from books, but from native teachers in China and especially in Japan, presses these resemblances, and is inclined to answer the question in the affirmative. We have considered the problem for many years, and are persuaded that Jesus himself knew nothing of Buddhism. It may be that the semi- and full monasticism of the Essenes and Therapeuts was indirectly influenced by the wide-spread Buddhist custom; for it is difficult to account for monasticism on purely Western lines in spite of the inscriptions of the ascetics of the second century B.C. in the Serapeum of Memphis,—those Katokhoi, who devoted themselves as slaves to the god, shut themselves up in cells, and wore chains to indicate their spiritual servitude. But if Jesus knew of the Essenes, as is highly probable, or was for a time even a member of an Essene-like community, as is possible, he in highest probability knew nothing of Buddhism or its doctrines. The parallels whether of doctrines or of life-incidents are more probably to be accounted for as similarities arising in like spiritual environments than on

the theory of external geographical and historical diffusion. Mr. Goddard's book is evidently a labour of love and shows high appreciation of the lives, strivings and teachings of the founders of the two great faiths under notice; and his generosity is manifested by the announcement that "the book will be sent as a gift to anyone who asks for it." It is unpriced. It is well set and bound, but has a number of annoying misprints.

PAUL AMONG THE JEWS.

A Tragedy. By Franz Werfel. Authorized Translation from the German by Paul P. Levertoff. London (Mowbray); pp. 150; 4s. net.

PERSONALLY, I have become very tired of the recent spate of novels and plays purporting to give us pen-pictures of the 'Lives' of Jesus and other primitive Christian heroes, sketched by the imagination of otherwise distinguished novelists and playwrights. They are, without exception, either packed full of 'howlers,' or slavishly follow the N.T. documents with fundamentalist gusto. It is, therefore, a pleasant surprise to read Franz Werfel's tragedy, in my friend Paul Levertoff's competent rendering. A pleasant surprise—for the author, who is a Jew, has got the proper atmosphere, and his 'history' is in keeping with contemporary facts, as far at least as competent research and critical industry can approximate to them. Paul and the others might very well have said what is put in their mouths, and done what is fictioned for them. I can, therefore, recommend this tragedy as instructively of interest. Two performances of it have been given by the Stage Society; but the critics, though doubtless competent on the technical side of their trade, have been, from the scholar's standpoint, remarkably myopic, and one of the most prominent of them silly. There are some infelicities in the form of the version. For instance, the vocative should be 'O' not 'Oh'; and why on earth pronouns referring to Jesus, when put in the mouth of a Roman centurion who has only just heard of him as a stirrer up of sedition, should be printed with capitals, is beyond my comprehension. As to Werfel's original—did Romans ever refer to the God of the Jews as Jahveh (p. 69)? Further, did the contemporaries of Jesus ever speak of Jesus of Nazareth (*passim*)? Jesus the Nazarene means something very different.

Sefer Ha-Tamar of Abu Aflah of Syracuse.

Translated by Dr. G. Scholem, of the University, Jerusalem. Hannover (Orient Buchhandlung); large 8vo, 59 pp.; M. 5.

This interesting work is a German translation of a Hebrew version of a lost Arabic original, the title of which is 'The Book of the Palm,' a treatise on 'occult arts' as we understand the term to-day. Dr. Scholem has previously edited the Hebrew text, and he has come to the conclusion that Abu Aflah must have lived during the 11th century, a time when the 'occultism' and 'magic' of the Arabs were in high repute, although their general introduction to the European public, often through the medium of Hebrew translations, took place about a century later.

The subject is the practical method of producing an 'oracle-machine,' and this takes the form of a bird, which, indeed, has been born of the palm. The author presupposes, on the part of the reader, a thorough Astrological education, and it is from this point of view, perhaps, that his 'pneumatics' (thus Dr. Scholem translates) can be symbolically understood. Students of Alchemy may even find a resemblance here to certain symbols used by the seekers of the Philosopher's Stone.

G. H.

Letters of Pontius Pilate.

Written during his Governorship of Judæa to his Friend Seneca at Rome. Edited by W. P. Crozier, formerly Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford. London (Cape); pp. 160; 5s. net.

This fiction is well conceived and carried out with competence The Letters are by no means improbable, and give a very good idea of the attitude of a Roman Senator and Provincial administrator to the turbulent and religiously fanatical 'natives' he had to manage and look after. It will enable those who have had only one side presented to them, or rather those who have been brought up in the habit of believing there could not possibly have been any other side, to rub their eyes and wake up from their fundamentalist slumber. Given what we knew or believed historically till quite recently in critical circles, Mr. Crozier, who is a good classical scholar, has done his work well, and made sensible use of the 'received text' of Josephus, humanistically judging that Pilate was not so bad as he is painted in that text. Now

that Eisler's brilliant achievement of analyzing this bowdlerized and censored text of the works of Flavius Josephus, and so getting behind it to the original Josephus and his disgraceful literary record, is seeing the light, we shall in future be in position gradually to get to grips with the really historical Pilate, and among other things appreciate the humour of the legend of later Christian centuries which developed Pilate into a saint and wrote up his 'Martyrdom.' See 'The Lament of the Virgin' and 'The Martyrdom of Pilate' in the *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, vol. 12, no. 2 (July, 1928), pp. 411-580 (A. Mignana and Rendel Harris).

A General Survey of Psychical Phenomena.

By Helen C. Lambert. Foreword by Stanley de Brath. Illustrated. New York (The Knickerbocker Press); pp. 165; $2.50.

THIS is a very useful introduction to put in the hands of serious and thoughtful laymen or enquirers. Mrs. Helen C. Lambert enjoyed the friendship of the late Dr. J. H. Hyslop, who succeeded Hodgson in the Secretaryship of the American Society for Psychical Research and for many years did yeoman service in nursing the infant science in the U.S.A. Though Mrs. Lambert is herself convinced of the legitimacy of the 'spirit hypothesis' as more adequately explanatory of numerous cases than any rival theory, she argues her points frankly and is never dogmatic. A part of the content of her survey has already appeared in the *Proceedings* of the A.S.P.R., and the whole volume bears the mark of wide and select reading, and is enriched with the careful records of first-hand experience and research, submitted to critical treatment. Among the latter cases may be specially mentioned the various phases of exceptional phenomena produced through the mediumship of Mr. Will Hannegam, which produced quite a riot in the press, *more Americano*, and gave much annoyance to Mr. and Mrs. Lambert, and the psychical cures of Dr. Titus Bull in numerous cases of 'obsessional' disorder. The most interesting point in this regard is that Dr. Bull thinks that Dr. Wickland's somewhat at times brusque treatment, which is now so well known to students, may produce inner psychic lesions, and advocates a more gradual process of expulsion or dislodgment. The whole exposition is ably carried out, and we congratulate Mrs. Lambert on the successful issue of a very difficult task.

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THE QUEST

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THE QUEST

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THE QUEST

THE ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION.

Prof. HERMAN LOMMEL, Ph.D., The University, Frankfort a/M.

(A Paper read at the XVIIth International Congress of Orientalists, Oxford, 1928.)

THE God of Zarathustra is Ahura Mazda, the Wise Lord. The language of the Avesta has indeed no word for God, and in general we must be cautious in using the words and concepts of our ideal world in reference to the old Zarathustrianism. But there is no doubt, and never has been, that the majestic personality of Ahura Mazda, the Creator, the Overlord and Judge, who is the centre of Zoroastrian religious thought and feeling and to whom it aspires, is really God.

Everything in this great religion refers to him and he controls everything; and yet there is little to say about him in the way of description or narration. We could describe his fatherly friendship for Zarathustra and the manly and dignified confidence of Zarathustra in him. But we would gain nothing by trying to tell of his various attributes. We can understand him rightly only in connection with the whole Zoroastrian religious philosophy, according to which he is the

origin of all that is good, and the entire course of the universe is his thought. We must grasp the whole religious system which is called the Mazdayasnian teaching as to the Wise Lord.

The relation of God to his Spirit, Spenta Mainyu, or the Intelligent Spirit, is also difficult to define. He is the Spirit of God as if he were one aspect of God's character. At the same time the Intelligent Spirit has a personality of his own, differentiated from God himself. And yet God is often, even in older times, addressed as if he were identical with the Intelligent Spirit: "O Wise Lord, thou Intelligent Spirit, true creator of the corporeal world."

The opponent of the Intelligent Spirit is the Evil Spirit, Anra Mainyu, called later Ahriman. As a result of the identification of Ahura Mazda with Spenta Mainyu, Ohrmuzd and Ahriman were at a later period contrasted with each other. This contrast is however not original, nor is it usual in all texts. It is as if God himself were too sublime to have an opponent of equal rank, and as if one stood too much in awe of him to imagine an enemy opposed to him. God himself is therefore greater than his Intelligent Spirit; but this does not mean that the connection between Ohrmuzd and Ahriman vitiates the purity of the original doctrine. For however high the Wise Lord stands, he is by no means exalted above the conflict between Good and Evil, and does not as a being of abstract absoluteness harmonize within himself these incompatible elements. Such a thought appears only later in Zervanism, which leaves Zoroastrianism unchanged and merely adds a theoretical conjecture, according to which Zervan exists in thought and is not a God. His existence is theoretical and without

religious importance. If Spenta Mainyu and Anra Mainyu are called Twins by Zarathustra himself, that does not mean that they sprang from a higher being, as in Zervanism, but that they are of the same age, existent from the beginning, and are of equal rank in power and might. They are not created beings as all other creatures are; but the following creatures are created by the one or the other of them.

The most important thing to be said about these primitive deities is that they have both made a choice. The Intelligent Spirit has chosen to do what is Good. The Evil Spirit has given his preference to Evil actions. This word 'choice,' so important in the teachings of Zarathustra, expresses definitely that this decision was entirely free and determined only by the individual will. From the free will of the two primitive spirits comes the conflict between Good and Evil. That is the foundation of ethical dualism.

Each of these two spirits creates a world. These worlds correspond exactly; each good energy or being has its exact counterpart on the other side. This shows that the two spirits are equally powerful and that the contrast between them is complete. The good world has an ascendency over the evil only in that it has Ahura Mazda as its leader, who is greater than the Intelligent Spirit and includes him. And further, at the end of all time, we see the superiority of the good world manifest itself, for it conquers the powers of evil; whereas during the whole period of time the two worlds counterbalance each other.

On the side of Good stand the spiritual powers created by the Intelligent Spirit (or the Wise Lord). They are at the same time personalities, and are called Good Thinking, Truth, Dominion, Humility, Health,

Not-dying. Truth results from Good Thinking. Good Thinking and Truth bring about Good Dominion. But Good Dominion is united with Humility (or Willing Submission). Health, for which we could also say Welfare, is not a corporeal condition, as life or vitality, but a heavenly power which creates these conditions in a bodily existence. Not-dying is in the same way the divine energy which keeps off death. It is not really immortality, but the idea of living on, as sometimes in the face of danger we pray that we may be delivered from it.

To these good spirits stand opposed the powers of evil: Bad Thinking, Lie, Wrong Dominion, Arrogance, Ill-health, Dying.

In addition to these closed groups we find on the good side Obedience and Retribution. Originally, Disobedience on the evil side was the counterpart of Obedience; and there is another dæmon on that side called Wrath. Retribution, which as a recompense for good actions is also Blessing, has no counterpart on the evil side. And originally there was on the good side—as it seems—no opposite to bloodthirsty Wrath. At a later period Disobedience was more or less forgotten, and Obedience and Wrath were opposed to each other—a parallelism which has no inner contrast. In these last spiritual personalities then we cannot identify the systematic balance which is generally maintained.

Aside from the dualism of Good and Evil there is another almost as important: the dualism of Spirit and Body. In order to understand this, we must abandon entirely the idea that the Body is of less importance or dignity than the Spirit; or that the Body as such stands in closer connection with Evil

than with Good. The division of Spirit and Body divides at the same time the whole world into two halves, but so that the good half and the evil half are equally divided into two parts. The boundary line between Spirit and Body crosses that between Good and Evil; so that the world is divided into four parts, and we distinguish a good spiritual world and a good bodily world, in contrast to which we have the evil spiritual world and the evil bodily world.

The good and evil parts of the spiritual world I have already mentioned. In the corporeal or earthly parts of the world, individual beings or substances are used as representative of a special department. For instance, the cow is the representative of the domestic animals and of all good and useful beasts, the wolf of beasts-of-prey and the snake of all noxious animals.

To the good corporeal world belong the good man, the cow, fire, metal, earth, water, plants. The evil corporeal world consists of bad men, the wolf, snake, impurity (rust), the counterpart of earth (which I have not yet succeeded in defining), drought, sterility.

The contrasting parallelism which exists in the spiritual world (for instance, between Good and Bad Thinking, between Truth and Lie) rules the bodily world as well. There we have the counterparts: good and bad man, cow and wolf, fire and snake, metal and impurity (rust). I have not space here to explain how couples such as fire and snake, which to our way of thinking are not counterparts, nevertheless correspond to each other.

Between the good and bad world we have then a parallelism of contrasts. But between the spiritual and corporeal world there is an analogous connection, so that each spiritual being is especially associated

with a part of the corporeal world. The respective spiritual being is in this way the liege-lord of a department of the bodily world. He is the spiritual centre of the corporeal object and that which gives to the earthly appearance its meaning and its place in the world-system.

So, on the good side, the Intelligent Spirit and the good man belong together; Good Thinking and the cow, Truth and fire, Dominion and metal, Humility and earth, Welfare and water, Not-dying and plants do likewise. And, on the bad side, the Evil Spirit corresponds to the bad man, Bad Thinking to the wolf, Lie to the snake, Bad Dominion to impurity (rust), Arrogance to the counterpart of earth (not yet found), Calamity and Sterility to drought and dying.

From this division of the world into four parts there develop further diametrical contrasts. I need not repeat again all the elements of the world-system; two examples are enough. Fire, as the earthly analogy of Truth, is the diametrical opponent of Lie, and the snake, as the evil parallel of fire in the bodily world, is the diametrical opponent of Truth; in the same way the cow is contrasted with Bad Thinking and the wolf with Good Thinking.

All tangible things have then a connection with spiritual existence, and all earthly action receives its especial import from this connection; it re-acts upon the spiritual world. He who brings dry wood to the fire, strengthens the Truth. He who kills snakes and vermin, decreases the Lie. Zarathustra says: "When I bring a reverential gift for thy Fire my thought is of the Truth."

Everything good in this world is to be regarded

with awe, just because it is good and because it stands in connection with the good forces of the spiritual world. In a similar way a Christian may not wantonly waste bread, because it is the gift of God, and is especially mentioned in the Lord's Prayer as the essential representative of all earthly blessings which God has given to mankind. So in this religion the smallest part of the good corporeal world must be treated reverently. Not only fire itself, as the earthly analogy of Truth, is honoured, but also the dry wood which keeps up the fire; not only the cow itself, but also a bowl of milk; not only the vegetable kingdom as a whole, but also corn, flour and bread. All these things are mentioned with the formula: "We venerate this." The beings which are venerated are called 'yazata's,' *i.e.* venerable, worthy of reverence. And because the texts differentiate between spiritual and earthly yazata's, we see that not only the lofty spirits such as Good Thinking, Truth, etc., are venerable, but also such entities as cow, earth and metal. We cannot translate the word 'yazata' by 'god' or 'angel' or 'good spirit,' for every part of the good world is worthy of reverence, preëminently the spiritual, but the corporeal as well. Veneration is not worship and this immeasurably extended piety is not polytheism. God, *i.e.* Ahura Mazda, is the highest object of worship, the supreme yazata. The other powers, forces and things which are venerated are not on that account gods. In the same way spiritual and corporeal daeva's are differentiated. We can of course use the translation 'devil' here, but must distinctly understand that Bad Thinking, Lie, etc., are spiritual devils; and that wolf, snake, vermin, etc., are corporeal devils. The texts state expressly that vicious, depraved men are corporeal

devils in this life, and that they become spiritual devils in the life after death.

The dualism of spirit and body does not signify then an essential difference of value, but the appraisement depends entirely upon the association with the good or bad world. The difference between the spiritual and the corporeal is a difference in the form of its existence. Although the spiritual is determinative, yet the corporeal is the realization of the spiritual, which acquires sufficient expression and attains to activity only by means of the corporeal.

The spiritual is created before the corporeal, and the 'first existence' is a period in which are only spiritual beings. Fire, metal, earth and water did not yet exist in their reality, but only in their spiritual ideal-form, as Truth, Dominion, Humility, Welfare. Another act of creation then produced the earthly realities. Since only these can perform actions and influence the outside world, the creation of the bodily world is not the transition from a perfect condition to a less perfect one, but another step (beyond the creation of the spiritual world) toward the realization of the divine thought for the universe. However, the conflict between the two worlds of good and evil and the blending of good and evil can now begin, since the corporeal beings can exert power with reference to each other and can be affected by each other. To give a concrete example, the spiritual power of Good Thinking is entirely unassailable and cannot be attacked by Bad Thinking, just as Good Thinking itself cannot attack the existence of Bad Thinking, but the wolf, the earthly actuality of Bad Thinking, can harm the cow, the earthly representative of Good Thinking.

The 'second existence' then, the corporeal, is on

the one hand an advance on the first existence, because therein the Good—and of course the Evil as well—become effectively active; on the other hand, the second existence brings with it all the evils, the sufferings and the terrors of an unrelenting conflict between two equally powerful opponents. But the courageous man dares a battle even against an enemy as strong as himself, because only by means of the battle can the victory be won. Boldly he assents to this battle, with the same ardour with which he accepts the earthly sensuous world, with ethical resoluteness and intense spirituality.

After this second existence, in which the two corporeal worlds struggle with each other and the spiritual world is exalted above them, comes the last phase, which is the conquest and annihilation of all evil, and the coalescence of the good corporeal world with the good spiritual world. But that we will discuss later.

Man stands in the midst of this world and is a part of it. But although the wolf, the snake, etc., are essentially always evil, and the cow, fire, etc., are always good, man has a unique position at the head of the bodily world either on the good side or the evil side. For man is free.

He has five constituent parts: a body which decays at death; life, which stops with death; form which exists after death; understanding and senses; and a soul. The soul goes into the world beyond and is accompanied by the understanding and senses and by the form. This last is something immaterial, and we need only think of the popular conception of ghosts in order to understand how the form is conceived of as lasting after death and as attached to the soul.

According to our way of thinking, only the body is material and we can consider life as the sum of physiological functions. This modern differentiation between material and immaterial has however nothing to do with the Zoroastrian distinction between spirit and body. All five component parts of man mentioned above belong to his earthly existence. They are immanent in the living earthly man.

But man has also a transcendental nature which belongs to the spiritual existence alone. That is the 'daena,' the spiritual individuality or the spiritual ideal-nature of man. This was created in the first existence, at the creation of the spirits. And in this first existence for each future earthly person his spiritual individuality was already there. As purely super-natural beings these spiritual first-principles of man cannot perform actions or be touched by outside influence. In this sense they are free. Their only action is a purely intellectual one, namely the choice between Good and Evil. In that first existence all the spiritual individualities of all future earthly persons have already made the choice,—whether they wish to belong to the world of Truth or the world of Lie.

Just as the corporeal world in general is connected with the spiritual world, and individual parts of the corporeal world with individual spirits (for instance the earth with Humility and the snake with Lie), so humanity as a whole is connected with the two primordial spirits. That part of humanity following the Truth is connected with the Intelligent Spirit, and that part which has chosen the Lie with the Evil Spirit. And in the same way each single human personality is connected with its spiritual ideal-nature. And just as the two primordial spirits have initiated the

difference between Good and Evil by means of their choice and independent decision, so the spiritual first-principles of man, which are subordinate to the two primal spirits, choose freely and independently between Good and Evil. In this respect the spiritual nature of man has an advantage over the sublime created spirits. For not only the earthly beings, cow, fire, metal, etc., but even the sublime spirits, Good Thinking, Truth, Dominion, Humility, etc., are created good in principle and conception; wolf, snake, etc., Bad Thinking, Lie, etc., are naturally bad. Man alone of all created beings has the power of choice, and the decision of his will is the counterpart of the original choice of the two primordial spirits.

This free choice at the beginning, even before the existence of an earthly world, and long before the appearance of the individual human personalities in the world, reminds us somewhat of the theory of predestination. It is however entirely different, in that a divine will does not here influence the choice made. It is an entirely free self-determination.

The inability of the spiritual beings to act at all is, to be sure, an imperfection in the spiritual world, and seems strange when we consider that the spirits are conceived of as personalities. But we see here, too, the positive side of this philosophy. For it is exactly this inability which establishes the complete freedom of the spirit. The daena, the spiritual ideal-nature of man, recognizes God, of course, and the Intelligent and Evil Spirit, Good and Evil Thinking, Truth and Lie, etc.; but these have no influence at all upon his will. And here we have the essential point of the Zarathustrian teaching, that the choice is free and uninfluenced, the responsibility for the choice is

absolute and the will decides from a purely spiritual standpoint.

Another difficulty arises here. Zarathustra wishes to influence mankind; but if he believed such influence to be impossible, then his activity as a prophet would be entirely useless. He does indeed challenge his audience to make their decision, exactly as if they still had the opportunity of choice even in this life. We can scarcely remove this contradiction, although we may perhaps mitigate it by the consideration that only persons of a noble nature can be guided in the good way. There may be persons whose transcendental spiritual nature has chosen rightly, who perhaps do not recognize the Truth clearly in their life on earth, and the prophet's teaching may awaken in their human understanding the cognizance of the Truth and strengthen them in well-doing. But Zarathustra's strong will and his great zeal for making converts were apparently not contented with winning only such noble souls. He seems indeed to have rejected certain persons and to have given them up entirely; but in general his impulse evidently led him further than the theoretical principles of his teaching would strictly allow.

The freedom of man goes so far that even the transition from that first purely spiritual existence into a human existence cannot happen without the consent of the spiritual ideal-natures of the persons. A later text tells us that Ahura Mazda confers with them about it, and asks whether they would not rather remain constantly under his protection and undisturbed by all evil. But they agree to take upon themselves all the suffering of the earthly existence, in order to help as warriors for the good in bringing about the

perfect righteousness of the future world. Here we have an echo from that courageous martial spirit which inspired the earlier race.

There is then everywhere in life an opportunity for active piety. For each and every thing that comes within our perception is a part either of the good or the bad portion of the world. The pious man, pious in thoughts, words and deeds, will do good. From Good Thinking he will attain to Truth. By means of Good Thinking and Truth he will exercise good Dominion, be it as a ruler of a country or only of his own house. As a result of Good Thinking he will care solicitously for his domestic animals, and he will maintain his fire with Truth. With good Dominion he will foster cleanliness and health and will keep his metal utensils, his tools and weapons, spotless and free from rust. In Humility he will till the earth. In the vegetable growths and in the rain and the dew he is given a share in Welfare and Not-dying. By means of irrigation he will advance Welfare and Not-dying. Every earthly action of his is of importance to the spiritual world; and when he destroys beasts of prey, snakes or vermin, he does so because he is surrounded by earthly representatives of spiritual devils. There cannot be a single situation in life in which his action is not of cosmic importance. Everything which surrounds him, everything which happens to him, has a profound meaning in the whole system of an idealistic philosophy which at the same time tries to take reality into account.

The practice of good thought and speech and action serves the well-being of the world. The aim of man, his purpose in life, is to improve the world, to advance and purify it, to bring it to its final

perfection and to help the Good to gain its victory over the Evil.

The goal is the salvation of the world. His co-operation in this great work means his own individual salvation as well. When he dies and life leaves his body, his soul, accompanied by reason and form, goes into the world beyond. It must cross the bridge which leads from this world to the other. The soul of the good man crosses it without difficulty and enters into the joys awaiting him, into the house of Ahura Mazda. The soul of the ungodly plunges down from this bridge into the gloomy abode of the Evil Spirit.

The life after death is a spiritual existence, as it was from the beginning. But when the soul enters into this existence, it seems to be united with the spiritual primal-being, the daena. At the beginning only the spiritual primal-being of man was present in the spiritual existence, and it has remained there during his earthly existence.

In a state of absolute perfection and uncontaminated by earthly limitations, free from the influence of the opposing powers of evil, the lofty spiritual beings are there beside the Wise Lord himself. And the soul which enters into this blessed state communicates directly with God, with Good Thinking, Truth, Humility, etc. Dominion exists there in an absolute sense, and this existence is therefore the kingdom of God. The spirit Dominion is now to be understood in this sense. The beings living there are nourished no longer by drink and food, which (as water and plants) are the earthly representatives of Welfare and Not-dying. These spirits are themselves their nourishment.

We may conclude that the damnation of sinful

souls stands in the same connection with the existence in the evil spiritual world as the felicity of the good with the good spiritual world.

This felicity and damnation do not last forever, but only from the time of death and the crossing of the bridge until the great event which is called 'the last things.'

The last things consist in several acts. The dead are awakened again to life. The souls living in blessedness or in damnation receive again a body, so that they are just as those men who are still alive when these events take place.

A flood of molten metal is poured over the whole corporeal world. But this stream of fluid metal does not by any means destroy the world. On the contrary it burns away the bad parts and the corporeal good parts remain unburnt. All mankind must pass through this final testing. But the good experience no torture; if they are absolutely good, it is a pleasurable bath for them. The godless suffer pain; but they are not destroyed, they are purified. When they have gone through it they become equal to the good.

Later times have added many details, which interest us only in that they show that the administration of perfect justice was of paramount importance. The greater sin must be punished by the greater pain in this purgative stream. We can easily imagine too that the different durations of the previous tortures in hell or the complete absence of such (in case the person was still alive when the end of the world came) were equalized by different degrees of suffering in the stream of fiery metal.

Then comes a final battle between the entire armies of Good and Evil. Good Thinking will fight then against

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Bad Thinking, Truth against Lie, Dominion against Bad Dominion, etc. The good powers will be victorious, the bad will be conquered, killed and annihilated.

An account of these ideas must make use of later sources. According to them there is no doubt that at last even Ahriman is destroyed. His realm is burned out by the stream of glowing metal and so purified that even this territory is added to the kingdom of the perfect world of Ohrmuzd. The whole evil half of the world is destroyed and abolished. The dualism of Good and Evil is at an end. But the perfection now attained does not consist in this alone. At the same time the dualism of Spirit and Body is also annulled.

The reëstablishment of the corporeal existence for the souls of the dead is not only a matter of justice, giving them an equal position with the living; nor is the possibility of a real and sensuous punishment the important idea. The essential thing is that true perfection cannot be conceived of without a corporeal form on the one hand and on the other hand without a spirit.

This condition, which is called a wonder, consists in the harmonious union of the good spiritual existence and the good corporeal existence. In modern phraseology: the ideal and the real meet; in Zarathustrian phraseology: Truth becomes embodied. The world-thought of the Wise Lord is fulfilled and has attained its purpose.

This is described with various phrases. "That existence will be a wonder, not ageing, not dying, not corrupting, not putrefying, ever living, ever thriving." Aside from this 'ever' there is no attempt to describe infinity. The imagination is content with having reached this perfection as the goal. The last existence

is not described as a condition without end, any more than the beginning is depicted as having infinite duration. It is sufficient with the description of the last great events to have brought the world to its appointed end.

That a *judicium universale* follows the *judicium particulare* is necessary in order really to settle the reckoning. A second judgment with another period of punishment after the first individual judgment on the bridge would be unreasonable. It would also contradict the strong optimism of this religion if the Evil should live on in any form (even as punishment for the sinner) and be eternal.

I believe, therefore, that the later sources, in spite of their fantastic details, have remained true to the fundamental idea. On account of the superficiality in these later texts we cannot assume that the coteries from which they came, were capable of elevating the teaching of the prophet in this important point or supporting it more consistently than the original conception.

We are of course astonished, considering the equality of the two primordial spirits, that the Evil Spirit is not only conquered and his creation destroyed —he himself therefore being powerless and inactive— but that he is completely annihilated. We find for this annihilation no corroboration in the older texts. On the contrary, in Zarathustra's Gathas we can interpret some lines to mean that he recognized an eternal punishment of evil men. We can believe that the inexorable decisiveness of a mind as severe as it is noble might be capable of such a doctrine.

But since his own words tell us clearly of a two-fold judgment, which would be senseless if the punishment

were to endure after the final judgment, I doubt whether he really taught that the punishment lasted after the second judgment. By an accurate interpretation of the texts I am still engaged in trying to solve this question, which is so important for the comprehension of Zarathustra and his system of thought.

H. LOMMEL.

(Translated from the German by B. LOMMEL.)

A PRAYER.

O God, destroy all machines that crawl and that fly,
All concrete factories, all pointed palaces that pierce the air,
Even the little bits of mutilated sky
They bruise and tear!

In a common little house built like an island,
In a not-too-smoothly polished life-coffin, let me spend
My days, Lord God, serving you, and breathe
The years of my life to their end.

Oh, throw a human garment over my shoulders!
See how beautifully you robed our forefathers long ago!
In my clownish clothes and dead-furniture houses,
I am ashamed, O God, to stand before you so.

MOYSHEH OYVED.

CHUANG TZŬ: CHINA'S ARCH-HERETIC.[1]

Mrs. C. E. Couling.

The two great cults of the Chinese known to us as Confucianism and Taoism have their roots embedded in an immemorial past. The earliest history, fairly reliable in its main features from 2000 B.C. or so, reveals to us that the primeval ancestors of the race had before that time for centuries, if not millenniums, pondered deeply on the perennial problems of man's origin and destiny, the mystery of Being, the meaning of the Universe. Some of that ancient thought has filtered through even to us, often anonymous or linked with names which sound uncouth even in Chinese ears. The equipment of those prehistoric thinkers must have been humble indeed, compared with ours. They knew of course nothing of Science, and comparatively little of Nature; the traditions of their own race were meagre in the extreme, and they had no knowledge of the investigations of other peoples into the riddles of life. But the data at their command they studied intensively, and the customs and ceremonies which they initiated were very elaborate, as the ancient literature shows.

Naturally, there was a certain amount of development in the course of time; but we do not find any

[1] *Chuang Tsŭ, Mystic, Moralist and Social Reformer.* Translated from the Chinese by Herbert A. Giles, LL.D. (Aber.). Second Edition, revised, 1926.

great change in Chinese thought for many hundreds of years. Then about the 6th century B.C. there came a period of great mental unrest and eager enquiry into religious, ethical and philosophical questions.[1] One result was that a certain set of ideas separated itself from the rest to form the beginnings of Confucianism; another set became the starting-point of Taoism; and other schools also arose, which, ages since, have vanished into limbo. It was during this period of intellectual turmoil, which lasted several centuries, that the three great Taoist Fathers appeared: Lao Tzŭ, an elder contemporary of Confucius; Lieh Tzŭ,[2] a hundred years or so later; and lastly Chuang Tzŭ,[3] the most brilliant of the three and the subject of this article.

Chuang Tzŭ was one of the most daring thinkers of the human race; yet his very name is almost unknown in the Western world, from which he is barred by the three-fold gates of antiquity, nationality and heterodoxy. The last, in especial; for even those foreigners who have paid great attention to Chinese lore, have tended to concentrate on the orthodox Confucian literature. Like such Western mystics as Carlyle, Emerson and Ruskin, Chuang Tzŭ is famous among the *literati* of his own land for the exquisite charm of his prose; while among the common people he has the reputation which King Solomon bears in Arab

[1] Coinciding, as has often been remarked, with similar awakenings in Greece and in India.

[2] Professor H. A. Giles, who has translated Chuang Tzŭ so magnificently for us, does not believe that Lieh Tzŭ ever existed, and regards the book attributed to him as 'a forgery of the Taoists of the Han Dynasty.' The opinion of so eminent a sinologue is to be regarded with all respect; but others—not to mention the great majority of Chinese scholars—do not agree with him in this case.

[3] *Chuang* was his family name and *Chou* his personal name. *Tzŭ* is equivalent, roughly, to Teacher, or Master; so *Chuang Tzŭ* is the Master or Philosopher Chuang, the surname coming first in Chinese.

legend, and Aristotle and Virgil acquired in the Middle Ages; that is, he is the Master Magician, whose appearance in any story permits of the greatest marvels taking place.

To reach this man, we have to go back more than two thousand years, for he was born B.C. 330.

We must think away, not only the American continent, but Old England too; for at his birth, three hundred years have yet to pass before Julius Caesar, seeing the white cliffs of Dover glittering in the morning sun, will sail across from Gaul and bring Britain into the light of history.

Rome is in the early days of the Republic, and still busy subduing Italy. Carthage the mighty sits on the sea-board of Tunis and queens it over the Western Mediterranean, knowing nothing of the fate that lies in store for her within two hundred years.

As for Greece, her palmiest days are over, and the peerless Plato, gathered to his fathers at four-score, has lain in his grave nearly twenty years. Alexander the Great has already set his strong young heel on the liberties of Greece, has conquered Asia Minor and Egypt, and is busy in Syria.

The Hebrews have been back from Babylon some two hundred years, and at this very time all Jerusalem is shaking in its shoes, for the great Macedonian is at the gates. As it turns out, Alexander will spare the city because of a certain dream, and after sacrificing to Jehovah in that Second Temple, will go on to ruin Darius and conquer Persia at Gautamela.

But in the China of that day, these great events in the Mediterranean world were as unknown as the doings of the Martians are to us. Yet at this very time, there was born in the northern part of the Mid-China province now known as Anhui, a little almond-eyed, black-haired boy, who was to have a great affinity of soul with some of the noblest thinkers of that same Western world; who has been compared with Parmenides and Heracleitus and, for the sake of

his lofty idealism, with the lovely-minded Plato himself. This was Chuang Chou or Chuang Tzŭ.

To understand him and his teaching, we need to know something of his environment. His country, as now, was in a sad state. The Empire was, very roughly speaking, China north of the Yangtze River; and the reigning house was that of Chou, longest of human dynasties. It was already 792 years old when the new Chuang baby came, and it was actually within 75 years of its fall and very weak and useless. This last lap of the Chou dynasty is known as the Period of the Seven Fighting or Martial States.

More or less in the middle of the Empire was the Imperial domain, together with a number of comparatively small states. These were all of pure Chinese blood, and were the hub of orthodox China, the especial protectors of the ancient literature, laws and rites. These formed the true 'Middle Kingdom';[1] but all around were other and powerful states which had been granted by the Chou house to various liegemen at various times on condition of their protecting the Empire from outside danger. As a matter of fact, barbarians of many kinds continually pressed wherever the sea did not protect the Empire; just as they pressed southward in Europe before the fall of Rome, and again after the death of Charlemagne. One of the Seven Martial States, Tsin, had early been set to guard the mouth of the Yellow River, but about 70 years before Chuang Tzŭ's birth it had suffered disruption; three of its strongest families had risen against the reigning Duke and divided up his territory among them; and

[1] This, China's most common name for herself even to-day, was not adopted, as is popularly supposed, to proclaim herself the centre of the nations of the world, but has been inherited from the ancient feudal geography above-mentioned.

it was in one of these (called Liang) that Chuang Tzŭ first saw the light.

The Empire, altogether, was in a parlous state. The Sovereign was a nonentity, as useless as a Merovingian *roi fainéant*, and probably much less secure; while on the other hand all the rulers of the Seven Martial States had now adopted the title of 'King,' which was all that the 'Son of Heaven' himself had. Public morality was at the lowest ebb; there was constant fighting between all the states, little and big; rapine, murder and anarchy filled the land.

As the Chuang child grew to manhood, he learnt all these things about his country, and many more. Of course, he heard of that partition of Tsin to which his own state of Liang owed its existence; he was told by the old folk how the good old customs were being spoiled and the ancient ritual neglected; he learnt how the semi-Tartar Ts'in[1] in the West, most ambitious and cruel of all the Seven, was aiming to conquer the whole Empire, and had already begun on his own state of Liang, it being conveniently near and temptingly weak; how 30 years before he was born, Ts'in had fought with them and cut off 60,000 Liang heads; how about the time of his birth Ts'in had, in one great battle, cut off 80,000 more; and how many more would certainly fall before long, as they duly did.[2]

No wonder that the lad heard on every hand that China was going to the dogs. Men said that two hundred years before, in the time of Confucius and

[1] Not to be confounded with the disrupted *Tsin*; the two names are as distinct as the English words *chin* and *gin*, which give an approximation to the Chinese sounds.

[2] These are not fancy figures; the sober and careful historian Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien says: "In Ts'in's conquest of China, from first to last a million of its opponents' corpses bit the dust."

Lao Tzŭ, things had been bad enough, but there had still been some hope then that the Imperial power might be bolstered up and plain men might know whom to obey, whereas now men waited to see what the end would be.

The strongest of the fighting states were those in the west and north-west, which had the largest admixture of barbarian blood and custom, those which neglected the ancient ritual and despised the ancient sages. No wonder that the teachings of those sages were discredited, and new teachers eagerly listened to. Even Confucius was under a cloud, and but for Mencius possibly might never have won the place which he has now had so long. If we have called Chuang Tzŭ heterodox, he was hardly so regarded in his lifetime, for the bulk of the people were more or less heretics together.

In fact, the country was full of self-appointed physicians of the body politic. Confucius had either set, or popularized, the example of teachers going from court to court, airing their views and offering their advice. *He* indeed had ardently desired to strengthen the Empire *as a whole;* but most of his imitators were concerned only how (for a consideration) to advance the interests of the particular state visited, and turned their coats as often as convenient.

It is impossible even to mention the remedies proposed by all these men for the woes of the age,—they were legion; but two stand out prominently and are worth a brief word, if only for the sake of their effect on our philosopher. These were the Legalists and the so-called Ritualists.

The Legalists were all for re-inforcing the earlier laws of the Chou dynasty, which had recognized 3,000 punishable offences,

500 being awarded the death penalty, and 500 mutilation of various degrees.[1] As a matter of fact, the number of mutilated people one meets in Chuang Tzŭ's own pages is appalling.

Then there were the Ritualists, who thought the Empire would be saved if the two great books of Ritual, the *Chou Li* and *I Li*, were carried out in their entirety, as Confucius, we know, actually carried them out. They supposed that there is one best way of doing everything; and that the ancient rites prescribed that best way; and that if all under heaven did that thing that way, the community could not fail to be harmonious and contented.[2]

Under this system, which could never have been carried out in its entirety, the least free of all the slaves of ceremonial was just the luckless Son of Heaven himself. Every hour of the Emperor's day, every article of his dress and posture of his body, almost every word of his mouth on every possible occasion, was regulated for him. But even the common man in his private life was under ritual control. Thousands of little rules had been made, and minute instructions given about everything. The rules were humane enough; but one feels as though it would hardly have been permitted to a loyal, law-abiding person to sneeze at the wrong time, or to wash his face except when the rest of the Empire was so doing. All the injunctions of the Pentateuch, *plus* the traditions of the elders, must have been far less strenuous than the old ceremonial of China; yet St. Peter in Jerusalem spoke of them as "a yoke which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear."

We have dwelt at some length on the outstanding features of the environment into which the little Chuang Chou was born, partly to compensate, if it may

[1] As recently as 1800 the English law recognized 223 capital offences; if men cut down young trees, or stole property of the value of 5*s*., or, if stolen from the person, of 1*s*.; or wrote a threatening letter to extort money, or shot at rabbits, or put a man in fear on the king's highway, and so on, and so on, they were promptly hanged as incorrigible; mere lads were among the number and public opinion approved it. Wherefore we need not wonder too much at the Chinese Legalists of 300 B.C.

[2] Biot says, in his Introduction to his translation (into French) of the *Chou Li* ('Ritual of Chou'): "The chief aim of all these minute regulations was the founding of an immutable government on the physical and moral immutability of individuals, by depriving them as much as possible of all spontaneous action in public and private life."

be, for the lack of detail available for his life. He was a Taoist; and it would have been quite contrary to proper Taoist teaching and practice for either Chuang Tzŭ or his followers to write an account of his career: your genuine Taoist shrinks from the world and shuns advertisement. Of his youth and upbringing we know nothing. Of his after-life all we know amounts to this: He was for a time a petty official at Ch'i Yuan in the present Shantung, but soon gave up his post. He was twice invited by the ruler of the great Martial State of Ch'u to be Premier, but declined, and retired to the hill of Nan Hua, also in Shantung, for the rest of his days. We read of a wife who pre-deceased him, and whose death he took with the calmness appropriate to a philosopher who taught that Life and Death are but links in an endless chain; and legend has bestowed on him a second, and even a third,—probably mythical ladies both. He did not die famous. We have not been told the year of his death; and his grave, if he had one, is unknown, as a good Taoist would wish it to be.

Born among such unrest, such strife of teachers and such clash of swords, how did he react to it all? He looked around him long and carefully, and then said: "Surely every man walketh in a vain show; surely they are disquieted in vain." It was to Taoist teaching that he turned, and turning, found his soul; not that the term 'Taoist' was used then or for centuries afterwards, though, in fact, every party claimed that they were followers of *Tao*.

This great word, ancient long before Chuang Tzŭ's time, defies definition and eludes translation, though it has been variously rendered as God, the Infinite, the Logos, and so forth. But any and all of these terms

are inadequate to give us the idea the Chinese have in their minds when they speak of *Tao*, owing to an important difference between our ordinary thinking and theirs.

What this is, may be indicated by a quotation from Chuang Tzŭ himself. "A man," he says, "looks upon God as his father, and loves him in like manner. Shall he then not love that which is higher than God?"

When we of the West are asked to conceive of something higher than God most of us are confused. For in our ordinary thinking we regard Self, and God, and the Universe as separate; and in some sense they must be so. Yet that cannot be the last word, since the mind cannot rest save in a Final Unity. In the ultimate synthesis, God and the Universe and ourselves must somehow be One, though to all eternity we may never be able to comprehend how.[1] And that ONE is TAO. God as Creator, and the outside world and the spirits of men, are all recognized in Taoist thought as embraced by the mysterious ineffable ONE. Perhaps 'the Absolute' is our nearest equivalent for it. To us the Absolute may seem the coldest and most bloodless of abstractions, but not to the East, which has never drawn a line between the natural and the supernatural, and never lost the sense of the Divine Immanence.

What then were the teachings concerning TAO, which Chuang Tzŭ inherited from the past?

As a Christian, if pushed, will give *John* iii. 16[2] as formulating his religion in a nutshell, so Chuang Tzŭ's teachers might have said something like this:

[1] See Edmond Holmes' article 'Two or One?' in *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1926.

[2] For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

"The Infinite ONE from which the finite Many come, is called 'Tao' by us, for want of a better name. To study Its nature as revealed by Its works and to copy Its ways, is the key to human life, and the way to holiness and blessedness; for the two are one."

"The ways of Tao are four: It is *unseen;* It is *unheard;* It is *humble;* It *does all things without effort.* Go and do likewise, and ye shall find rest unto your souls."[1]

This, in brief, is the creed of the Higher Taoism and was by our sage most steadfastly believed. It was expounded and expanded by him in his one book, which was written in his retirement at Nan Hua Hill, and hence was given by an Emperor of the T'ang Dynasty the title of the 'Divine Classic of Nan Hua.'

The writer of this book was a learned man, as may be seen on every page. He knew thoroughly the history of his country and the glories of the ancient days. He mentions again and again the Five Emperors of old, Fu Hsi, the reputed father of Chinese civilization; Shên Nung, the Divine Husbandman; Huang Ti, the 'Yellow Emperor' and the especial model of Chuang Tzŭ's own great teacher Lao Tzŭ; and Yao and Shun, whose so-called 'empire' had practically coincided with his own state of Liang. The great Yü, founder of the Hsia dynasty, Ch'êng T'ang, founder of the Shang, and Wu Wang, the founder of the reigning house of Chou, all adorn his pages, together with many other ancient worthies, some of whom he has rescued from utter oblivion.

That he was a learned man is evident too, from the fact that he was an official at all, and still more because he was eligible for the premiership of Ch'u, which, as has been said, he was offered twice; and his exquisite literary style shows him to have been a past master of writing as understood in his day.

There are differences of opinion as to the authenticity of several parts of his work, but a moderate view

[1] For a fuller account see the writer's article, 'The Oldest Thought and the Newest,' in the *Hibbert Journal*, Jan. 1924.

is that of the 33 chapters all but the last four are genuine. In them we have dialogue and anecdote, parable, paradox and epigram, sandwiched with abstruse and occasionally cryptic matter. Humour and sarcasm are not lacking; and over all, and through all, we feel there is a good-tempered, half-careless forbearance with the follies of mankind, with a profound conviction that men are born for immortality, though most of them despise their birthright.

He writes prose, but in the region of poetry. He was in philosophy an idealist, and Idealism is the poetry of philosophy; he was in religion a mystic, and Mysticism is the poetry of religion. So to try to construct a scheme of thought from his pages is a thankless task. It is worse than vivisecting *In Memoriam* to codify Tennyson's creed or trying to reconstruct Israel's history from the Psalms.

Yet in Chuang Tzŭ's development of Taoist teaching it is not hard to see what the three main theses are:

i. *The Relativity of all Things.* He is never weary of saying that ordinary judgments are worthless, and the knowledge of the senses unreliable. Hence his assertion of the Identity of Contraries, for which he is compared with the great Pre-Socratics. "Upward and downward," he says, "are the same"; and so are light and darkness, repletion and want, subject and object, life and death. Even good and evil are relative terms only applicable to the finite and mutable Many; for absolute truth we must get back to the One, the Tao, in which the contraries meet and harmonize. The true satisfaction of intellect and of heart, he insists, is in the Divine alone. In one sense Chuang Tzŭ got further than either Heracleitus or Plato; for

he teaches the possibility of reunion with the Divine, not to annihilate self, but to perfect it. This thought is not found in the West till Philo.

Chuang Tzŭ certainly carried his doctrine of the Identity of Contraries too far, for he sometimes *seems*, at least, to deny the existence of any real difference in men's motives. Some, he says, pursue justice and mercy, and are called good men; others pursue reputation and riches, and are called bad men; but they all seek after some object with greediness, and so far, are all bad. And again, the doubt of human thoughts, feelings and judgments which his doctrines involve, even led him, he says, sometimes to doubt his own existence. A famous passage says: "Once upon a time, I, Chuang Chou, dreamt I was a butterfly, fluttering hither and thither, to all intents and purposes a butterfly. . . . Suddenly I awaked, and there I lay, myself again. Now I do not know whether I was then a man dreaming I was a butterfly, or whether I am now a butterfly dreaming I am a man."

ii. *The Importance of Non-Exertion.* Chuang Tzŭ most heartily endorsed and indeed developed that famous doctrine known as 'Wu Wei' (*lit. not-acting*).

We have seen that it is one of the four great properties of Tao to act as though not acting, to do all it does without effort or strain. Translating that into terms of human life, the Taoists,—and no one more than Chuang Tzŭ,—will have it that to make no effort is the best of efforts. Holding these views, we can understand his attitude to those Legalists and Ritualists whom we have already mentioned. He was certain that people could not be made good by Act of Parliament, nor kept from going wrong by the observance of endless rules and ceremonies in private

and public life. He felt sure that all these busy, fussing, well-meaning people were doing no good, even if they did not make matters worse.[1]

He certainly teaches that government itself is a sign of degeneration, whereas even Plato had been content with saying that government would never be perfect until kings were philosophers and philosophers, kings.[2] In this matter, we of the West cannot but think the Greek was nearer the truth than the Chinese. Nevertheless Chuang Tzŭ was quite sincere, for he practised what he preached. As we have seen, he retired to Nan Hua, and twice refused high office, convinced that if Heaven did not mend the Empire, men never could by their puny efforts.

iii. *The Errors of Confucianism.* He himself was an idealist, heart and soul; he was of those who say: "We will grope for ever rather than give up our search for the Great Unknown, from which we came and to which we belong." How then could he endure those others who cry: "Let the elusive, infinite ONE alone! Let us make the best of the sphere of the Many where we find ourselves, where there is room for so much that is noble, beautiful, and true." And of such were, are and always have been, the genuine Confucianists. They deride Taoist ideas as vague and visionary: but the Taoists retort that *they* are shallow and worldly, which is worse. This is Chuang Tzŭ's first quarrel with them.

[1] So too, Emerson, that New England Taoist: "This is a world where every benefactor becomes so easily a malefactor by continuation of his activity into places where it is not due,—where almost all men are too social and interfering."

[2] We venture to think that our esteemed contributor has gone wrong here. There are emperors and ministers who were Taoists. Chuang Tzŭ does not teach that the sage should shirk office. On the contrary, his inner calm would bring it about that his outer activities in office would be according to the real going of things.—ED.

The second is that they were not only the chief supporters of that Ritualism which he abhorred so much, but also of that government he thought so mischievous. And indeed the Rites, which Confucius regarded as China's only hope, did pre-suppose a government of a very thorough-going kind: government in the home by the father, in the village by the elders, in the various *yamêns* by the many officials, tier above tier, till the princes, overtopped by the Son of Heaven, completed the complex whole. In short, the unworldly Chuang Tzŭ could not endure what seemed to him the smug worldliness of the Confucian cult, satisfied in the finite and outward, and shallow enough to think people could be kept straight by countless rules and ceremonies.

He is, in fact, China's Arch-heretic, and we practical people of the West can easily understand that the orthodox have just as much cause to be displeased with him as he with them. To begin with, his doctrine of Relativity is an offence to them. They feel,—as *we* do,—that men, and especially rulers, have to act as if some things were infinitely more important than others. And as to his insistence on Non-Exertion, they feel,—as *we* should,—that however true it may be that the way of Tao is to act without effort, such masterly inactivity is not for men. The 'practical man,' Chinese or otherwise, seeing the world around him in the state it is, will not accept Passivity as the remedy. The more public-minded you are, he thinks, the more you have to plan with the sweat of your brow and execute with the girding up of your loins; *he* dare not trust solely to Omnipotence!

But besides misliking the wrong-headedness of Chuang Tzŭ's doctrine, the Orthodox naturally resented

the way in which he derides *them*. The rites they set such store by he proclaims are a weariness to him, and government, even good government, an abomination. And this in a land where countless good and noble men have yearned for office, and sought it as their one chance of honour and usefulness between two eternities of sleep!

But wrong doctrines and derision of those who hold the right ones, might have been pardoned Chuang Tzŭ, if he would only have left Confucius alone. Alas! the Sage of Lu is the chief object of his mockery and satire.

He treats Confucius with shocking disrespect, places him in ridiculous situations, puts into his mouth Taoist doctrines, quite the opposite of his own, and generally treats him as a cat does a mouse. And it is this personal treatment of the greatest of all the Chinese, that more than all else constitutes Chuang Tzŭ the notorious heretic that he is.

From this point of view, anyone may well ask why his book has been preserved, and read, and even treasured, as it undeniably is. As we have said, he is a famous stylist. It is an old saying "Style is salt," and in no country is it truer than in China, where it is the true god of literature. So the unrivalled beauty of Chuang Tzŭ's writing and the entertainment he affords, might in any case have kept his book alive in spite of its heresies. But there is another and a nobler reason: "Deep calleth unto deep." The question has been asked: "How far has it ever been possible for a Chinese official *in office* to carry out Taoist principles?" One's own conviction is that it was not possible at all. But all Chinese scholars are not officials, and all officials are not always officials,

and the strength of Chuang Tzŭ and the Higher Taoism (which is by no means dead, even to-day) lies among the religiously-minded of retired officials and of non-official scholars. One thinks one can see the making of some such Taoists.

Suppose a successful official in the hey-day of his career reads Chuang Tzŭ, it is just for the style and imagery, with a shudder at the gibing and sometimes even insulting anti-Confucian skits. What would you? Chuang Tzŭ was a clever heretic who prostituted his genius in an evil cause.

But now let this same official be overtaken by some cataclysm of circumstance, such as may fall on any man at any time in such a world as this, and especially in China. Suppose an epidemic sweeps away all he holds dearest and he himself scarcely escapes with his life, and wishes he had died too. Or suppose that, envious of his favour with the Emperor or among those he governs, some powerful enemy falsely accuses him at Court, and the upshot is that an innocent and even meritorious man is banished to Chinese Turkestan. If such a calamity falls on a man of tender heart, and without a belief in a personal God or personal immortality to sustain him, he goes down into the depths, and his Confucianism may fail him just when he most needs help. In China's long history there have been many, many such cases. Now when a Western man gets to that pass, he will probably open the Bible and cling like a drowning man to its promises, even if doubted or derided before. But the literary Chinese will be likely to turn to Chuang Tzŭ. He will condone the vilification of Confucius, who has failed *him*, too; and find strength and peace of mind, in looking at Life, Death

and that vast Forever from Chuang Tzŭ's point of view. Sometimes there are small communities of men (as at Laoshan, in Shantung) more or less like this, who nourish themselves on the doctrines of Tao as taught by Lao Tzŭ, and his chiefest follower, Chuang Tzŭ; and they have nothing but the name in common with the debased Taoism we see in possession of the temples, whose inmates maintain themselves by charlatanry of every kind, fortune-telling, charm-writing and the like.

"When Chuang Tzŭ was about to die," we read, "his disciples expressed a wish to give him a splendid funeral. But the Master said: 'With Heaven and Earth for my coffin and shell; with the sun, moon, and stars for my burial regalia; and with all creation to escort me to the grave,—are not my funeral paraphernalia ready to hand?'" This man of old responded as few of the sons of men respond, to the great truths he knew. He himself once said: "It is in God that the sage seeks his refuge, and so he is free from harm." Can we doubt that the death he dreaded so little, brought him nearer to what he desired so much,—likeness to the Eternal?

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Shanghai.

THE RENDING OF THE VEIL PASSAGE IN THE SLAVIC JOSEPHUS.

ROBERT EISLER, Ph.D.

(THE reader is referred to the editorial preface to Dr. Eisler's article, in the last number, on 'The Present Position of the Slavic Josephus' for information concerning his elaborately-documented two volumes in German, which are now appearing in parts. At the end of his last paper our old friend and valued contributor expressed a hope to be able to supply our readers with a detailed description of the origin and tendency of the Slavic version. He has supplied this to the editor and with a vengeance, —so abundantly indeed that it would fill half of his article-space. Vital for the scholar as are the genesis of the translation and the description of the MSS. and the tracing of their fortunes, such research is difficult for the general reader to follow. I shall therefore select out of material that will eventually make three chapters in the forthcoming shortened English edition, all that immediately concerns Dr. Eisler's account of what he calls 'The Sceptical Interpolation on the Resurrection of Jesus,' and even here must regretfully omit a whole chapter dealing with 'The Judaizing Sect in Russia,' a very able and most interesting historical study which supplies the background to our colleague's exposition of the most puzzling of all the eight now famous passages.—ED.)

IN the development of my researches I have been led to a correct understanding of the tendency of the whole Slavic translation by a more thorough study of a passage, recognizable at first glance as a Christian interpolation, and therefore originally passed over by me in silence. I refer to the seventh of the 'additions' in Berendts' first publication,—the story of the rent veil of the temple.

For the convenience of the reader the passage is repeated:

THIS CURTAIN WAS BEFORE THIS GENERATION ENTIRE, BECAUSE THE PEOPLE WERE PIOUS; BUT NOW IT WAS GRIEVOUS TO SEE, FOR IT WAS SUDDENLY RENT FROM THE TOP TO THE BOTTOM, WHEN THEY THROUGH BRIBERY DELIVERED TO DEATH THE BENEFACTOR AND HIM WHO FROM HIS ACTIONS WAS NO MAN.

And of many other fearful signs might one tell, which happened then. And it was said that he, after being killed and after being laid in the grave was not found. Some indeed profess that he had risen, others that he was stolen away by his friends. But for my part I know not which speak more correctly. For one that is dead cannot rise of himself, though he may do so with the help of the prayer of another righteous man, unless he be an angel or another of the heavenly powers, or unless God himself appears as a man and accomplishes what he will and walks with men and falls and lies down and rises again, as pleases his will. But others said that it was impossible to steal him away, because they set watchmen around his tomb, 30 Romans and 1,000 Jews.

SUCH (IS THE STORY TOLD) OF THAT CURTAIN.[1]

[1] It is easy to prove that the paragraph in small capitals is a forgery. Josephus could not possibly have said that the veil over the entrance to the Holy of Holies was torn in his day, and had been so ever since the crucifixion of Jesus, because this curtain was renewed every year. A second in reserve was hung behind it, in case the first had to be removed in the course of the year owing to some levitical impurity, such as touching it by accident. This was a necessary precaution against the unthinkable danger of the interior of the Holy of Holies being revealed to profane eyes. Supposing the story of the rent veil *were* true, and the curtain *had* been rent by miracle or accident in the year of the Crucifixion, the damaged texture would have been removed immediately on the very day when it was torn. We know, moreover, exactly how the legend of the torn veil of the sanctuary arose. The last of these curtains was carried away to Rome by Titus with the rest of his spoils from the sanctuary of Jerusalem, and kept in the treasure-room of the Imperial Palace, where it could be seen by interested sight-seers. Now this last curtain of the Temple had been rent, and was seen in this state by various Jewish visitors, and little wonder, since it must have been torn from the door of the sanctuary by the rough hands of the Roman soldiery, or even recovered by them from the ruins of the burnt Temple. Jewish legend attributed the rending of it to the impatience of Titus to enter the sanctuary and desecrate it. The emperor was said to have cut his way through it with his sword. As if this prince, who had such a keen sense for the money-value and treasure in general, would have been in such a hurry to spoil a most valuable piece of loot!

There are also (objections) against this explanation of its rending.

By indentation and variation of type I indicate that here we have what is doubtless an 'interpolation within an interpolation.' This is evident from the position of the concluding statement "There are also (objections) against this explanation of its rending," etc., which must originally have stood immediately after the sentence actually referring to the curtain and not after the narrative of the "many other fearful signs." Accordingly everything between is an interpolation by a *second* hand, probably *the latest of all interpolations in the whole work.*

The interpolation of the *first* hand concerning the curtain already presupposes the main passage of the three about Jesus *in the form in which it stands to-day*, as altered by Christian omissions and Christian interpolations. If, for instance, the curtain-passage, for no obvious reason, avoids the name Jesus, it does so intentionally, because the proper name, through fear of the ecclesiastical censor, is wanting also in the main Jesus-passage. Similarly the paraphrases 'the Benefactor' and 'the man who from his actions (*i.e.* his divine works) was no man' are clear references to the significant words, which are shown to be Christian marginal notes: "(Pilate) saw . . . he was a benefactor, not a malefactor," and, higher up, "his works, however, were godlike. . . Therefore it is not possible for me to call him a man." Lastly, the phrase "when they *through bribery* delivered (him) to death" refers back to what is undoubtedly a Christian insertion in the section on the Roman judicial proceedings against Jesus.

The passage concerning the rent in the veil of

the temple comes therefore either from the identical hand that is responsible for the Christian omissions and interpolations in the section about Jesus and Pilate, or from some later reader or copyist.

On the contrary, the interpolation of the *second* hand, which from what has been said must be even of later date, has a tendency totally distinct from that of all other Christian insertions so far discussed, including the interpolation about the curtain. Whereas these without exception emanate from believing, indeed orthodox Christians, here unquestionably there speaks a doubter. M. Goguel, it is true, maintains that "*nous ne voyons pas comment à propos de ce texte on peut parler de scepticisme sur la resurrection.*" But I fail to see how the sceptical character of a man who says of believers that they "*pretend* that he had risen" can possibly be disputed. The glossator, in fact, proceeds expressly to emphasize his complete scepticism. "I know not," he says, "which speak more correctly, those who pretend that he had risen, or the others who pretend that he was stolen away by his friends." If the assertion that Jesus is risen appears to him merely as some *malâ fide* fictitious 'pretension,' then the expression "I know not which speak more correctly" is more than sceptical: it is ironical and means "I know not which speak less falsely." An unbiassed reader can surely be in no uncertainty as to the sense of these words. One who speaks clearly doubts both statements, the testimony to the resurrection no less than the allegation of opponents reported by the Christian Matthew (xxvii. 64, xxviii. 13, 15) that the body was carried away. The third possibility that he admits is clearly expressed at the beginning of the interpolation. That the body

of Jesus was not found in the grave he by no means regards as the one certain and historically established point, from which he proceeds to the comparative balancing of all possibilities, but as a mere rumour. "*It was said* that after his death and deposition in the grave he was not found"; "and of many other fearful signs which happened then might one *tell*." It is therefore for him quite questionable whether even these 'tales,' these 'sayings,' are true.

As regards the resurrection, he with subtle dialectic bases his doubt on reasoned grounds and challenges certain quite definite doctrines. In the first place, and this point has hitherto been entirely overlooked, he controverts *Marcion*: "For a dead man cannot rise of himself." Orthodox Christians had in fact never asserted so much of Jesus, but had taught with Paul (1 Cor. vi. 14) that God himself through his miraculous power raised him from the dead. Marcion, however, to suit his view of the relation between God the Father and God the Son, which approximated to modalism, so altered and abridged the text in Galatians[1] as to extract from it the statement that Jesus raised *himself* from the dead. Similarly in Rom. vi. 9 he replaced the passive 'being raised' by the active 'rose,' while inversely in 2 Cor. iv. 10 for 'the dying of Jesus' he substituted the astounding 'dying of God.' It is this conception of Marcion which the unknown glossator roundly rejects.

On the other hand, and this is very remarkable, he readily admits that a (righteous) dead man can be raised 'with the help of the prayer of another righteous

[1] Gal. i. 1. ". . . through Jesus Christ (and God the Father) who raised him from the dead." Marcion struck out the bracketed words and instead of 'him' read 'himself.'

man.' Origen in his time had made the objection to Celsus that a Jew who believed in the Bible must recognize as possible what is told 'in the third and fourth books of Reigns' concerning the resurrections wrought through the prayer of the prophets Elijah and Elisha. Thus far the sceptical glossator of Josephus actually went. He is therefore no 'Epicurean,' but *goes just so far as the Old Testament evidence extends*, i.e. *takes up precisely the Jewish standpoint.* The writer's intention would, however, be entirely missed if one declined to see that, while admitting this possibility as such, he attributes no historical importance to it in the case of Jesus. Why he does not, is not stated in his terse gloss, because the reason, moreover, is obvious. No Christian authority ever taught that Jesus was raised from the dead through the prayer of James the Just or of any of his disciples; this hypothesis, therefore, alike for Christians and for their critics, never came into consideration.

The next possible case of a 'resurrection' which he considers is one where 'an angel or another of the heavenly powers' is concerned. That which 'a dead man' cannot do, might very well be achieved by an angel, archangel, seraph, cherub, etc., only seemingly dead. That such is the explanation of the marvellous phenomenon is in fact the doctrine of certain early Gnostics and also of the *Paulicians of Asia Minor*, whose errors are combated in a polemical work of an otherwise unknown Hegumenos (*i.e.* Abbot) Peter, and later by Photius Patriarch of Constantinople and others. Upon them the Bogomils[1] are dependent.

[1] Bogomil, the Slavonic equivalent of Theophilos, founder of a Gnostic sect in the 10th century in Bulgaria.

According to these docetic and Marcionite heretics, who may be assigned certainly to the 7th and 8th centuries and possibly to the 6th, Jesus was no man, but an *angel* sent down by the Good God for the enlightenment of mankind, under an obligation to let himself—seemingly—be born of a woman, maltreated by sinners, put to death by crucifixion and buried, after which he might rise again and return to heaven.

But this possibility too is only mentioned because it has already been contradicted in the earlier passage about Christ, on which this whole interpolation is so plainly dependent, where it is expressly stated that Jesus 'in respect of his ordinary nature cannot be called an angel.' There remains therefore for the sceptic but one final possibility, that "God himself has appeared as a man and falls and lies down and rises again, as pleases his will." This final possibility, as Schürer first rightly recognized, is the christology of the so-called Monarchianists, Patripassianists or Theopaschitæ: it is the view of people such as Noetus, Epigonus, Cleomenes, Marcellus, Photeinus, Praxeas, Sabellius and many others. But neither Schürer nor Couchoud has seen that the sceptical glossator, far from being a Patripassianist or Modalist himself, rejects these views *a limine*, precisely as he rejects those previously mentioned. Here Frey's statement is undoubtedly right, "the idea that God himself has suffered that fate, appears to the writer so inconceivable that he thinks he has but to mention it in order to rule out any application of this possibility to the case of Jesus." Were the sceptic not rejecting this possibility just as decisively and bluntly as all that had gone before, there would have been no need for him to proceed to dispose of the last hypothesis, also rejected,

of the stealing of the body. Yet he goes straight on: "But others say that it was not possible to steal him away." He must therefore have already tacitly reached the conclusion: Since God himself cannot have been treated or suffered thus, 'the Benefactor' also cannot have been God himself. Was then the body stolen? But others say that it cannot have been stolen, because thousands of Jews and Romans watched the tomb. So the question cannot be decided at all and the end is that nothing is known in the matter, as from the very beginning we find nothing but 'they say,' 'others say,' 'one might tell,'—in short mere rumour and report.

The position is therefore quite peculiar. The writer, from the highly remarkable conjunction of Marcionite and Sabellian doctrines here controverted, can hardly be older than the end of the fourth century, and from the mention of Paulician error hardly older than the sixth, while, if he is drawing upon literary tradition, he may be of any still later date. This learned glossator not only possesses an exact knowledge of the christologies of different heretics, but elaborately follows traditions contained in canonical and apocryphal Gospels which can be quite definitely fixed. In the original interpolation on the curtain of the temple one may still be uncertain whether Mark xv. 38 or Matt. xxvii. 51 served as the model, because both narratives present the words 'torn from top to bottom' of the Slavic. But the dependence of the second interpolator on the narrative in Matthew is patent. Only in Matt. xxvii. is v. 51 (describing the rending of the curtain) followed by "many other fearful signs which happened then," *viz.* "the earth did quake, the rocks were rent, the tombs were opened," etc. Only

in Matthew (xxvii. 64, xxviii. 13-15) is the discovery of the empty tomb followed by the assertion of opponents that the body had been stolen, along with the legend of the watching of the tomb designed to refute the charge. The actual statements of this section are therefore simply taken over in order from the Gospel of Matthew, while the words "30 (*v.l.* 1000) Romans and 1000 Jews," appended to the clause "set watchmen around his tomb," come from the apocryphal Acts of Pilate or the Gospel of Pilate. The glossator thus betrays the most accurate knowledge of the orthodox and heretical views on the resurrection, but rejects them all, partly as impossible, partly as uncertain, resting only on 'hearsay' from beginning to end, and adheres to his own Jewish Old Testament standpoint.

An interpolation such as this is certainly not to be explained as an extremely clever forgery, putting nothing into the mouth of Josephus which a Jew could not have written. The supposed forger of the secondary interpolation, on this hypothesis so extremely careful, and yet in every line betraying his knowledge of Christian sources—a forger whose like is not to be found throughout the rest of the work—would have pursued for its own sake a love of fabulous invention of a mere romancer. For as a Christian *testimonium veritatis* a section is obviously valueless which leaves 'as its final impression only doubt and uncertainty' (Frey), which accounts for the resurrection as a fiction, indeed reckons the discovery of the empty tomb not as a fact but as hearsay, and even leaves open the possibility of the stealing of the body (since the watching of the tomb is only vouched for by an 'others said'), and which finally appears to deny not only the equality of Jesus with God the Father, but even the

divinity of 'the Benefactor.' With what object could a *Christian* interpolate this agnostic-sceptical passage into one which in its original form could be put to good use from the Christian standpoint, purporting to come from Josephus and recognizable on the face of it as a confirmation, far more weighty than a forgery, of the miracle of the rent curtain?

Frey is here quite right in excluding the assumption of a Christian forgery, whether highly artificial or wholly inappropriate. He has also correctly seen that the author's standpoint is purely Jewish. The latter regards as possible whatever is consonant with the Old Testament miracles of Elijah and Elisha in raising the dead; he is therefore no 'Epicurean' sceptic. But the idea of an incarnation, of a suffering and dying God, is for him quite impossible; he even avoids the expression 'if God die' as blasphemous and speaks only of a 'lying down' of God. He does not believe in the resurrection of Jesus, which he pronounces 'imaginary' or 'pretended'; the very story of the empty tomb remains for him doubtful.

Here then speaks one who found Josephus already interpolated by a Christian hand, one who knew the Gospel of Matthew, the Gospel of Peter and the Christian Acts of Pilate, but yet maintained an entirely Jewish standpoint. Where and when can such a person have written his ideas in the margin of an MS. of Josephus that had been or was found in Christian possession?

To this question, in my opinion, only one answer is possible: The secondary gloss—which is wanting in Dr. Gaster's Roumanian (17th cent.) translation of the Russian Josephus—has been added either by the author of the Old Russian version or by one of his

earliest readers. This proves that the translation of Josephus into the Slav idiom was the work of an adherent of the 'Judaizing heresy,' which played such a prominent part in a critical period of the Russian Church, or was written for the members of this sect. This answer will at the same time afford a surprisingly simple explanation of that remarkably strong interest in Jewish history which is indispensably required to account for the existence alike of a Slavic translation of Josephus and of the 'Chronographer' of 1262.

[Here comes the chapter on 'The Judaizing Heresy in Russia.']

Bearing in mind the outcome of this chapter, we can have no further doubt concerning the surroundings in which the old Russian version of Josephus, along with the old Russian history of the Jews composed in Lithuania in the time of King Mindowe and including Josephus, came into existence. The complete correspondence, in their attitude towards the resurrection of Jesus, between the sceptical glossator of the Christian interpolation on the rent veil of the temple on the one hand and the Judaists attacked by Josef of Volokolam on the other, is obvious. Equally perfect is the agreement, in language no less than in idea, between the conception, attributed to the Novgorod and Moscow heretics, of Jesus (and of the future Messiah) as a 'prophet like Moses,' as a son of God 'not according to his being but *according to his works*,' and the similar statement in the section on Jesus in the Slavic Josephus.

It will not be wrong to describe the Old Russian 'Capture of Jerusalem' and the 'Chronographer of 1262' simply as *the propagandist writings of the Judaizing heretics*. The incredible success of this

unitarian sect[1] is only intelligible if, in confirmation of their denial of the divinity and messiahship of Jesus, they were in possession of evidence which to many of their contemporaries seemed irrefutably clear. Such evidence, however, so far as we can judge from our present historical knowledge, they *could have found nowhere else but in the account of Jesus given in the more or less unabbreviated Josephus.* Absurd works which the Jews themselves possessed, like the *Toldoth Jeshu*, could never have made a similar impression on their readers and, in fact, were never translated into any Christian vernacular for propaganda purposes. Quite otherwise was it with the Slavic Josephus, which with its Christian interpolations, mitigating and concealing the author's bitter hostility to Christianity, and with its fulness of detail, partly supplementing, partly correcting the Gospel narratives, cannot have failed to create confidence in Christian readers. One who accepts this account of John the Baptist, Jesus and the primitive Apostles, *with its Christian interpolations*, as the truth, can reach no other view of Jesus than the unitarian-judaistic doctrine of the heretics who still survive in Russia under the name Sabbotniki or Sabbatizers.

Just as the opponents of the Judaists had Nicolas of Lyra translated into Russian as a counter-blast to the Jewish heresy, so must the Jews on their side have translated Josephus into Slavic for the sake of their religious propaganda. That this took place precisely in Lithuania and precisely at the time when Catholic and Orthodox Greek Church were competing for the

[1] Which, in my view, prepared the ground for the success of the Italian reformer Socin in Poland, and thus for Socinianism and subsequent British Unitarianism.

soul of the heathen king Mindowe (1250-60), is now intelligible. As the case of the heretic monk Adrian shows, there were crypto-Jews even among the white clergy of the Orthodox Church. In provinces like Lithuania, where Christianity was not yet the dominant religion, they may have been in closer contact than elsewhere with their unbaptized brethren, and have nursed daring hopes of bringing back Christianity to Judaism on a unitarian basis, or at least of convincing the Lithuanian grand dukes of the advantages of the Mosaic religion, by the same means of public religious discussion as had once served to convert Bulan, Khagan of the Khazars, to Judaism.

ROBERT EISLER.

SPIRITUAL WORSHIP.

THE EDITOR.

THE programme of THE QUEST avows that the chief purpose of its undertaking is the search for spiritual values in the main modes of cultural activity that adorn human life.

If any better term than 'spiritual' can be found to qualify these goods, these possessions of permanent worth, these virtues and excellencies, it would, I take it, be willingly adopted. For words, it has been said, are "the money of the fool but the counters of the wise man,"—counters that may by agreement be made to stand for vastly higher values than the current coinage denotes.

Neologisms are unlovely and quite inappropriate where deep meanings and high values are concerned. "Change not the ancient names" is a very old oracle; and it is not out of date to-day, when the best modern thought is strenuously seeking to deepen its appreciation of the highest notions bequeathed to it, and the quest for significance, meaning, value, is being pursued zealously by those who are set forth to explore every avenue in this grand adventure.

Now to the master notion of notions, the reality of realities, the English tongue gives the simple and homely, yet supremely meaningful, name of God. All other names of high significance are invoked in the service of the worship or evaluation or appraisement of

this master notion. This service of love and praise is the highest form of worship in which the human mind can participate.

Loosely and in common speech we characterize every form of institutional religious service as 'divine worship.' But discrimination there must be, for much that is called 'divine worship' is mechanical and perfunctory. There are many degrees of quality in worshipping, and the higher grades rise far above any of the forms of institutionalism. It is among these that we must seek to discover the essential characteristics of what has been so well distinguished as truly 'spiritual worship.'

This most deeply worshipful attitude is the most potent means of mediating to us the ability to recognize the inworking of that divine virtue which sweetens our whole lives and refines all our activities. It is above all things else a whole-hearted attitude; we must devote the whole of us without reserve to its cultivation—body, soul and mind, as we say. And mind not least; for whatever the inadequacy of one's intellectual equipment may be to validate and explicate this basic act of faith, the exercise of reason in making such an endeavour protects us from the dangers of blind faith and fanaticism. I should like to characterize all such deeply inspired and wisely attempted endeavouring—I have learned to do so from the spiritual Worshippers or Therapeuts of the tradition known by the title of Thrice-greatest Hermes—as the offering of our 'reasonable oblations' on the altar of self-sacrifice in the inmost shrine of our being.

No man can 'see' God; we can at best 'feel after' the supreme mystery. Therefore every attempt at definition of the absolute object of worship must

necessarily fall short; all human speech here fails. And so there is aroused in us a sense of truth too deep for words when we hear the utterance: "O Thou who art to be worshipped by silence alone!"—as one of the sublime praise-givings of this same Trismegistic religion phrases it. Equally so, we feel that reason's feet are planted firmly on the ground of understanding when a sage of the ancient Way or Tao of China declares: "He who knows does not speak,"—in all ways confirming the sense of the great saying enshrined in the prime gospel of India's wisdom: "It cannot be said."

No lover of wisdom for a moment supposes that such paradoxical utterances, expressed by minds caught up in an ecstasy of spiritual insight, can fall within the scope of our general understanding. This sublimation, this refinement of reason, has been reached only by those who have strained the tension of their whole being to the utmost of their power. Few can do this; it is the fine flower of human endeavour. Therefore I like to think of so high an achievement as an earnest, a prefigurement, of what we less gifted mortals may somewhen, somewhere, somehow, attain to.

It has been described as a prize, a cup of spiritual blessing, set up for all men to win. This is a beautiful figure and was used by that fine spiritual effort which blossomed forth contemporaneously with the beginnings and early development of the Christian faith, yet apart from it, and to which we have already twice referred. The doctrine of these Pœmandrists, or followers of the Spirit, the Shepherd of Men, averred: "All men have Reason, but few Mind," or alternatively "Mind not yet." And by 'Mind' they signified precisely what the Christians meant by 'Spirit'; indeed they explicitly used the two terms as synonymous one of another. Spirit was the prize to be won. And by that I do not think they meant that Spirit was something totally

other and alien from rational souls. It was implicit in all, but explicit only in the few. That is, it had so far come to conscious recognition only in the few. To be born in Spirit, as they termed it, was to become conscious of an order of reality that was beyond the power of imagining by those who as yet were unillumined, unbaptized, as they said, in Spirit. This baptism was the proper end of man, the crown of manhood, the perfecting of him, the making him full-grown, the goal of all his questing, so that at last he could stand in uprightness, with feet firmly planted in the Way of the Good, to travel forward therein on innumerous pathways of beneficence. It is an endlessly blessed prospect. It does not mean that man becomes God; but it does mean that he thereafter advances self-consciously in the Divine Spirit. He is inspired continuously, fitted ever more and more for wider benevolent activities and undertakings.

I have here used notions and expressions drawn from what I consider to have been the finest of the Hellenistic religions. But in the nature of the case this inner cult could enjoy no popular expansion. Christianity was far richer in elements suited to make a popular appeal, and so won its way to the status of one of the great world-faiths. Nevertheless the two religions are essentially inspired by the same Spirit.

After many centuries of neglect, to-day it is precisely the notion of Spirit, Holy Spirit, that is being brought forward more and more by the best Christian thinkers as the most meaningful of all divine attributions that can be explicated for the needs of modern minds. 'Father' and 'Son,' as applied to the Divine, are symbolical expressions, the meanings of which have now become highly sublimated; nevertheless they ever retain traces of their human origin, so that it is exceedingly difficult to prevent them giving rise to inadequate conceptions. This is not the case when we envisage God as Spirit and speak of Divine or Holy Spirit. With this name on our lips we can appeal to the understanding followers of all the great faiths.

Here they can all join with us in a common worship of the Supreme Ideal, and lay aside for the time all differences and distinctions, especially those of personal names and titles, which so hatefully separate those who are otherwise men of good-will.

The authority and authenticity of a scripture are very difficult for us to determine in these critical days. There is ever the human factor to take into account,—the enthusiasm of the writer, his formal expressions, the influence of his environment, his traditions. All this has to be distinguished from what we can feel fully satisfied to assign to genuine spiritual inspiration. Great sayings, however, so stand out of their contexts that they invariably dwarf the latter to relative mediocrity, sometimes even to complete insignificance for our own times.

As peculiarly suited to the subject in hand, let us now take a passage from one of the Christian scriptures, perhaps the finest of them all. The great saying it contains might be taken out of its context; but this would rob the latter of its special significance for its writer. For him it all seems to hang together naturally and consistently. For us, however, to-day the setting presents difficulties. But whatever these may be, they do not essentially affect the truth of the great utterance; for it could be led up to by many another introduction, and the lesson illustrated by many a resemblant case drawn from the history of human experience.

In the storied conversation of his divine hero with the Samaritan woman at Jacob's Well—which assumes on the part of the reader a prior acquaintance with the Jewish Bible—the enthusiastic Jesus-lover who wrote the Fourth Gospel, puts the following discourse into the mouth of the mystic Christ whom he elsewhere exalts to identity with God (Jn. iv. 21-23).

Believe me, mistress, the day is coming when ye (Israelites) will worship the Father neither on this mountain (Garazim) nor at Jerusalem (in the temple on Mt. Moriah). Ye (both Samaritans and Jews) worship what ye know not; we worship what we know —as to (the contention among you concerning) salvation coming out of the Jews (or Samaritans).[1] Nay, the hour is coming—it even now is—when the true worshippers will worship the Father in spirit and truth; for indeed the Father is seeking for such to worship him. God is spirit, and they who worship him needs must worship in spirit and truth.

Let us omit any consideration of the local setting and of the special historical instance, which would still keenly arouse the attention of 'John's' contemporaries (especially when the incident was thrown back to the days of Jesus), as having no immediate spiritual interest for our times; and let us come to the general import of the lesson the recital is intended to convey.

The teaching holds good for open-minded hearers of every religion. It avers that belief in the indispensableness of any outer form of religious worship, in the binding necessity of any cult-ceremony, is imposed by man on himself and not God-given. Contentions as to the relative superiority of such secondary concerns in worship are not worth fighting over. Localization in worship, and especially the vain attempt to localize the Divine in any cult-object, is no concern of the true worshipper.[2] Such bonds, such limitations of time and

[1] The received text is usually translated, literally, "*that* salvation is of the Jews." This would make 'John' invoke the authority of him whom he believed to be very God to decide the quarrel emphatically in favour of the Jews; though elsewhere 'John' is very hostile to the Jews and, when he wrote, Christianity had completely become a Gentile religion. The general sense of the passage clearly requires an expression of censure on both parties. Moreover, when this Gospel was written, somewhere about 100 A.D., Jerusalem had long been in ruins, and, we may add, to-day not more than 150 Samaritans survive.

[2] This was taught to Christians over eighteen centuries ago; and yet even to-day the Established Church in this country is rent in twain on precisely such a question.

place, it must be repeated, are imposed by men on themselves; they are not divinely decreed. They can, therefore, be joyfully removed, once men realize the boundless liberty offered the true worshippers by divine benevolence. And thus it comes about that the whole notion of worship is sublimated and taken up into the free air of that inwardness of spirit in which a universal, truly catholic, religion can come to life.

Godly worship, truly 'divine service,' must needs be "in spirit and truth." There alone are actuality and reality to be found; for "God is spirit."[1] Such a lofty state of devotion is beyond our rational reach; we cannot command it, cannot will it to be ours. We can only yearn to draw nigh to it. And yet, mysterious and mystical though it all may well seem to be, our deepest conscience is set a-thrill with the hope-giving intuition that in truth, in the whole of this struggling towards the light, it is the urge of spirit seeking spirit. As one of the finest mystical paradoxes expresses it: "Thou couldst not have sought me, hadst thou not already found me." With this whole-hearted seeking, this unremitting devotion to the supreme quest, there awakens in us a sense of purposefulness that makes living really worth while. A deeper phase of consciousness, a sense of conscience we had never experienced

[1] Though doubtless already well-known to all who are likely to read these pages, it may not be altogether impertinent to underline this rendering. How the Greek could ever have suggested any other sense is astonishing. Nevertheless it has done so; and the woeful mistranslation "God is a spirit" has misled and mistaught many generations brought up on the Authorized Version. And even to day, when the Revised Version has removed this blemish from the text, millions, hypnotized by the cadences of the music, still listen enraptured to the singing of the otherwise beautiful anthem "God is a spirit." The emotion aroused allows the unworthy meaning of the sentiment to escape notice. Attention to the literal significance of the words, at such moments of æsthetic enjoyment, would spoil the emotional effect. With the minimum of reflective effort, however, all can understand that God cannot possibly be one of a class. So to construe the Greek contradicts the whole contention of this great utterance, and robs its beauty of phrasing of its balanced harmony,—'spirit'—'in spirit.'

before, assures us that in this we are genuinely striving towards the perfecting of our being, towards its spiritualization, to that which continuously harmonizes its essence and refines its substance, making us worthy eventually to enter into our divine inheritance with ability fully to realize its transcendent excellence.

In the scale of creatures known to us on our small planet, man's normal power of consciousness is exercised in the grade we speak of as rational life. Below us are the animals and plants, and environing or conditioning the activities of all these lives is the so-called inanimate creation. Man is ever increasing his knowledge of these realms of nature outside him and of their ways of behaviour as they affect him within his individual consciousness. In developing his powers of knowing in the peculiar mode of self-consciousness which is his alone, he wins to a progressive appreciation of the values and virtues inherent in the grandiose display of the ordered ways in which Nature behaves.

We inherit from the age-long experience of our forebears; and in our modern days of ever more busy search and enquiry the manifestation of natural phenomena which we speak of as material, is conceived of in terms far subtler than those in which our forefathers were wont to regard it. Instead of the motionless 'stuff,' so inert that some thinkers conceived of it as in its essence equivalent to the sheer privation of activity and quality of every kind, we have come to know that matter is dynamic through and through, marvellous in its forcefulness and energy. There are thinkers to-day even who are unable to conceive of so incalculably energetic a concentration as an electron is held to be, without associating with it a somewhat of life and mind; it is already for them an organism.

And if this be a conjecture that does no violence to reason, what must be the more admirable virtues of such dynamically organized structures as we find manifested in plants, and the still more amazing modes of expression of life and mind in what we call the animal kingdom?

While as for ourselves, what is the marvellous excellence of that rational function of mind which makes us aware of our being self-conscious beings, and which disposes of intellectual activities

and abilities incomparably more valuable than any of the powers the irrational animal enjoys?

The light of reason has been praised and sung of by many a mind as though it were the most precious endowment of our nature; they would have it that there is nothing more excellent in us. And yet in spite of its high excellence, many others have declared that there is something higher, which tells the heart's depths of man's being that this illuminating power is but the reflection of the Light beyond. This reflected and reflecting light has been poetically termed, in the title of an Indian philosophical work, 'The Moon of Intellect.' Beyond it is that profounder reality which a prophet of ancient Israel has sung of as 'The Sun of Righteousness.'

With these men of insight I am heartily at one. Beyond the scope of intellectual enlightenment, beyond the competence of the rational functions of the mind, there is a power that inerrantly works for righteousness, a power which, if we are obedient to its behests, can synthesize, consummate, make whole, perfect, harmonize all our activities, abilities and aspirations. Our proper attitude to it is that of worship; it is the Adorable. This supreme excellence is Spirit; for us in our imperfection it is ever the Beyond, the more excellent, the worshipful.

To use the term of a favourite mode of modern thinking, spirit may be said not yet to have 'emerged' in general human consciousness. But already conditions favourable for its emergence are being developed in many minds, in many a human soul. We feel after it, aspire to it, pray that we may be worthy to become truly self-conscious, to be knowing with a certainty of knowledge that transcends all other modes of human

endeavouring. This final moment in emergent human development, the consummation of what has been termed creative evolution, as far as man is concerned, has been called, as we have already seen, the coming to birth of our essential manhood, the being born from above. At present it foreshows itself chiefly as the norm of all right exercise of deed, word and thought.

And 'Spirit' can rightly name it, for it has the high authority of being so named by the profoundest thinkers of the past. Apart from the indications already given, we may cite the consecrated usage of the term in the highest thought of ancient India. 'Ātman' is precisely the equivalent of 'Spirit,' and derives from a similar verbal heredity. It stands over against every mode of Nature, transcendent in itself, yet immanent through its inworking on the whole of becoming. In the ceaseless passage of events and the unwearying process of transformation in world and man, we are spectators of the cosmic drama of perpetual change. The three root-modes of Nature without us and within, which we call mental, vital and material, for ever interplay with one another. This is one of the fundamental conceptions of ancient Indian thinking. There is not a moment of becoming, not an event in our lives, when and where they are not all three at work in ever-changing proportions. Without and within, bodily and mentally, objectively and subjectively, substantially and essentially, they are working in every grade and condition of Nature, no matter how subtle the manifestation on the one hand or refined the experience on the other may be. But in all this ceaseless passage of Nature through us and of ourselves through Nature, in this vast process of the ever-changing, there must be that in us which is

'other' than it, which in itself remains the 'same,' ever identical with itself. Were it not so, we could never be conscious of change at all. There is then a ground of constancy in the depth of our being founded on that ever self-same reality or principle which can be determined by no other than itself; and this we speak of as Spirit.

In this regard the most significant attribute we can assign to it, within the measures of human experience, is that which causes consciousness to be. We are conscious of being patient of many modes of being conscious when we self-consciously reflect; but the Self for ever escapes us. For it is said to be very consciousness itself, absolute knowledge, where subject and object are identical, Spirit in the full majesty of its transcendent reality.

Not what sees with the eye, but that whereby seeing is seen; not what thinks with the mind, but that whereby thinking is thought: That know thou to be Spirit in truth,—not that which men worship below.

By such phrases did the Upanishads, more than two thousand years ago, strive to give some indication of the way of approach to the divine knowledge, as they termed it, and for the approacher this constitutes what we have been calling spiritual worship.

But you will say all this is too difficult for the majority. It is, it ever has been, it will continue for long to be so. But can the critic say it is impossible for him here and now to respond to the call, and cease to take refuge in excuses for the majority? He will rejoin, perhaps: "But somehow or other this world-renouncing way does not seem to be really wise. It seems to call on us to withdraw entirely from all outer things and interests, and still every activity. Surely

the proper end of man is not to become an absolute introvert or introspectionist!"

Assuredly not; at any rate as I conceive of the matter. Spiritual worship is, for me, the effort to become aware of the inworking of Spirit in all things. It is the cultivation of a habit of attention directed not only to the within but also to the without; so that we may come to recognize the presence of Spirit virtually in every activity and experience we live through. It is a habit of watchfulness, of being on our guard,—as in the inescapable presence of the Witness, that all-seeing and all-knowing Self we are in our truest and most essential nature,—against ascribing to our present imperfection what every really attentive mind can clearly perceive is being wrought by a power utterly beyond him. Therefore spiritual worship is by no means to be confined to times of withdrawal into states of inner consciousness; it can be practised at any moment. No matter what we are doing or experiencing, if we really attend to it, we find ourselves in the presence of this spiritual mystery ceaselessly inworking without and within us. So that it has been well said in Alchemistic paradox: The most precious thing of all is the commonest. It is everywhere, yet few know it.

What has been called by Western mystics the practice of the Presence of God, is based on the conviction of the truth of this great fact of facts, that we can never be out of the Presence; for, as a poet of ancient Hellas has phrased it, in spirit "we live and move and have our being."

It is indeed very difficult, amid the ceaseless cares, and worries and sufferings of our earthly pilgrimage, to keep such a tremendous fact in mind as is the

inescapable presence of this all-embracing reality. But what helps, and helps greatly, is to assure ourselves in moments of reflection that without the inworking of Spirit in us we could do nothing, and without its continual presence we are nothing. And the more continually we can remind ourselves of this, and learn to be worshipfully aware of Spirit in the commonest activities and events of our lives, the more our best endeavours will bring blessing not only to ourselves but also to our fellow beings; for we are all one of another.

G. R. S. MEAD.

CEREMONIAL AND SACRIFICE.

FREDERICK CARTER.

A LONG continuity in the antique practice which related countries and cities with ruling constellation symbols in the heavens—persisting even to the latest days in astrology—is suggested in the description of Babylon's building by the gods in the Babylonian Epic of Creation. It was established by them in the pattern of the constellations Cetus and Aries. Thence, perhaps, came the Apocalyptic figure of the wanton city seated upon the monster in the waters. Another portion of this myth corresponded with the figure Rahab, the she-dragon smitten apart by the strong sword-arm of the Lord.

Dr. Stephen Langdon—a translator of this Babylonian Epic—describes it as being fundamentally a ritual arrangement of an earlier Sumerian myth, having, he declares, an origin substantially older than 2000 B.C. In this myth the mother-goddess, Tiamat, is subdued and divided by the weapons of Marduk, who forms heaven and earth out of her parts. Her consort, Kingu, is also slain and his blood is used in the making of mankind. In another phase of the Sumerian mythology this consort is named Tammuz, and he is the saviour—the sacrificed divinity.

In fine, there are two distinct views of the creation of mankind amongst the Babylonians; and so, also, is it in the myths of origins among many other peoples.

The Epic of Creation, under discussion, tells how the gods decide to fashion a creature whose purpose

in existence is to be their worship. For this was man made, to this end only,—an extremely sacerdotal point of view, which gives to the priest, as officiant in the rite, the dominating position of mediator, who, ceremonially, repeats the act divinely instituted at the beginning for the maintenance of the world-order.

Then, on the other part, there is the soteriological belief in Tammuz—or some other beloved of the queen-goddess, as Attis, Adonis or Osiris—a saviour slain and returning to life. Indeed, ritual appears to have been elaborated about these two principles, both of which have immense antiquity, and seems to have developed its myths and its theories from an original ceremonial imitation of the divine act of creation.

In the former view, then, the universe was formed with a human-kind peculiarly instituted for the worship of the gods. Regularly is the world reborn by the continuing action of the divine powers, whether of the day or of the year. This activity is of the nature of ritual. Omission to carry on, or to join with, this august ceremonial precipitates irregularities in the order of the world more or less destructive in their nature. Worship was a repetition of the rite of creation, and must not fail under ruinous penalty; and so it had the serious intensity of a continual renewal of life,—a re-creation of the world, a manifestation of divine salvation.

But the other opinion, as we find it developed in later belief, held that man had fallen into exile from his starry kindred in the heavens, or he had sinned and so become separate from the blessed company of the divine world. It is to be remarked, moreover, that the world of divine beings may be above or beneath the earth's flat or curved surface, just as the heavens have

their aspect of dark or light, of night or day. This sidereal idea considered man as being linked both to heaven (or sky) and to earth, a notion of extraordinary force and persistency.

In the religion of ancient Egypt the rites of the sacrificed man-god Osiris permeated the sacerdotal systems of the other divinities; and in Mesopotamia the Tammuz-cult appears to have perpetuated itself and grown despite the more authoritarian cults whose rite provided the substratum of ceremonial. For the ultimate form of the ritual was the order of creation; ceremonial, in truth, finally depended from the profoundly significant belief expressed by St. Augustine, that the very preservation of the world means a continuous creation.

On the one hand then we have a divine, Apollinian, far-off power, creative yet equally destructive, producing the world of mankind to glorify and worship the company of the gods,—an order wholly separate from humanity. On the other side, is the Dionysian soteriology with the god as man dead, yet undefeated by the world's wrong. From the destroyer's assault he is born anew; with fresh and greater power he is reborn the child of God as father. And so in some cognate myths he is first slain by his mother Nature, yet thereafter he becomes her lord, her master, transforming her even to be his bride.

An ancient symbolical definition of this anomalous contrast may lie in the Delphic temple, where in Apollo's shrine was the grave of Dionysos; for as Plutarch explained (*On the E at Delphi*) Apollo's division and his rending apart was recounted in the tale of Dionysos. Thus would it seem that the cult of the entombed one—the underworld god—resurged

from a profound human need, whether here as Dionysos or again as some other lord of souls, and always the deep personal passion for communion is manifested.

Necessarily, a centralization of power in regal or sacerdotal hands implies a formal repression by regulated institutions, ultimately based upon the ideal of material force; and such a rational, definite outlook has discovered its gods afar-enthroned, Olympian. Yet dominion at the summit of an order and hierarchy which grows and continues to elaborate, finally becomes a down-pressing, separative force. Above are directors and thinkers, beneath an expressionless servant-folk.

Duly, in time, the reaction strives upwards from so dumb an underworld, issuing forth dark, irrational, with the giant power of the common blood-pulse of the earth-born. The earth-giants, the brood of the mother, are ever in conflict with the too serene gods. Such an ambrosial order is poised above the deep abyss whence, time and again, issue the clumsy, serpent-footed offspring of the nether world—cunning workmen with hands of skill to whom Hera's child Hephaistos joined himself when cast forth from Olympos. He, too, was a craftsman, sometimes also dowered with Pan's hoofs and horns, when, limping amid subterranean fires, he appears as the devil.

We read in history how the affable Greek genius exploited the darkling wisdom of the neighbour peoples, speaking of them as barbarians; and their gods on Olympos revealed the calm of rational belief. Yet there came into the midst of this reasoned aristocratic life of theirs the strange Dionysian madness. And in Euripides' *Bacchae* the wise Teiresias saw how that the mania of the frenzied company was the revelation of a hidden and passionate knowledge

resurgent from the dark within. Again and again in history has such a truth of instinct surged up from the unseen world against the strong places builded by the powerful lords of things tangible and real. The mystical outbirth from the fire-smitten mother-earth Semele becomes the strong son of God; he is the child of earthquake and thunderstroke, lord of the mystery of eternal renewal.

But in the old philosophical symbolism of astrology this divine renewal of the world was not ignored. Each of its zodiacal images marked an era or æon. Ages were defined by the sun's progress; day by day, year by year, it moved along its path; and so the place of Babylon in Aries, the sun's spring sign, in due course held no more the equinoctial point of renewal. As a consequence of the precession-movement Aries lost its priority; the renovating sun had changed its figure. The sun's equinoctial glory had gone out from Babylon.

The antique star-lore of the Chaldeans had established the great city's place in the skies, and so doing had set the hour that its glory should go from it. The priest-made science of astrology had defined the relation of the wheeling, fatal heaven above with the national and social order beneath. It was the mirror of destiny.

And even among more primitive folk the conformity of their world below with the order of the heavens was elaborated in symbolical correspondences. In Israel the tribes, according to Jacob's blessing (*Gen.* xlix.), were each equated with a sign of the Zodiac, and so, moreover, were the twelve jewels in the breastplate both tribal and sidereal in purport. Such were the symbols in the Old Testament; and so in the New. The Apocalypse describes these twelve precious stones, emblematical of the tribes, as foundations to a mystical

city descending from the skies and symbolizing the New Age,—a holy city of salvation, four square,—the New Jerusalem replacing the old and evil and fallen Babylon.

Now, according to an earlier writer, Herodotus, Babylon was built in the shape of a square; and he gave its measure, although it was not, indeed, so large as the New Jerusalem of John the Divine. But the twelve foundations of the new queen-city may, in part, have their significance to distinguish the new from the old; for the lower city, Babylon, had seven as her typical number, a matter we know from various sources.

An order of curious significance was given to these twelve jewels in the new city of God. The first of the foundations was jasper; then follows the list of the succeeding eleven. "And the building of the wall of it was jasper"; and again, "her light was like a jasper stone, clear as crystal." Thus it appeared in heaven among the stars as a golden city, with a jasper wall shining about it, adorned with gates for the twelve tribes, and standing on the circle of the twelve precious stones of the Zodiac.

Following the ancient equation given by Eben Ezra, which corresponds with the Apocalypse order, jasper is the stone of the sign Pisces.[1] And as the sign of the vernal equinox which succeeds Aries is Pisces, it is, naturally, the symbol of the city superseding Babylon. If Babylon were of Aries and the hebdomad her number, the New Jerusalem should have Pisces as sign and the ogdoad as figure. Amongst the Jews, too, Pisces (the Fishes) is the sign traditionally connected with the Messianic advent.

[1] Cp. R. H. Charles, *Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, 1920, ii. 164-170, who gives a careful analysis of the matter.

In this interplay of symbol, so much affected by the ancients,[1] a figurative terminology is employed for that transformation in the life of the world that follows the star-changes. And duly interrelated to the great order of the Macrocosm was the life of the Microcosm, Man, as one of a universal scheme of correspondences, setting upon each typical object in the world its signature, the mark of its order and place.

The hour appointed—the time of change from one age to the next—brings the Son of Man, and produces, as by his very act of sacrifice, the immense interaction between his psychical life and the greater life of the world-soul. An event upon the earth, amidst the world of men, has its repercussion in the greater world of the cosmos. So the new creation comes into being; and, as is predicated in the dogma of the Holy Sacrifice, so each age, so each year, and so each day,—eternal renewal.

It may well be that Christianity has superseded the rival cults of its early days for the simple reason that in its exposition, by symbol and by dogma combined, it effected a presentation of both the cosmic and the human aspect of a divine renewal of life. Its mythos was built with a more assured perfection than those of its rivals or forerunners. Indeed, there seems always to have been a difficulty in reconciling these two differing apprehensions of the fundamental purport of religion, a sense of variance between its personal and its corporate implication.

Therein seems to be suggested the strange paradox, that in dogma the priest elaborates the mystical tragedy

[1] It persisted even into the Middle Ages when the stone jasper became Peter's—the first foundation of the Church—the fisherman's jewel (cp. de Gourmont, *Le Latin Mystique*).

of the Redeemer, enfolding in its terms as in the ceremonies of ritual, in formal images as in broidered robes, the story of him who challenged the old law, with its deathly complex of outworn observances and its belief grown feeble by long age,—of him that was slain by the ancient, pious and wise and learned priests, because it is meet that one man should die for the people.

Thus, once and again, comes to be woven about the history of the sacrificial death a web of rite and ceremony, which yet retains in its symbols the order of that creation wherein man was made as servant and slave for the high far-off godkind. Perhaps even yet again will it be challenged by the Son of Man—of man made in the image of God the Father,—and yet again will the solemn sacrifice be offered to the Father of the Son.

For if, indeed, man has the blood of the divine world in his veins, then most clearly may he show his true origin and kind by a death freely and fearlessly accepted; for, in so far as he is divine, has death no enduring power upon him. Moreover man's divine passion is that of death; for, by old tradition, that which is life to the gods is death to man.

FREDERICK CARTER.

IN HONOUR OF CONFUCIUS.

CHEN HUAN-CHANG, Ph.D., President of the Confucian University and of the Confucian Association, Peking.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE CELEBRATION IN LONDON, OF THE 2479TH ANNIVERSARY OF CONFUCIUS' BIRTH, OCTOBER 10, 1928.

IT gives me great pleasure to see you all assembled here to do honour to the greatest teacher and master of China and one of the greatest teachers of the world—Confucius, on this his birthday. It was 2479 years ago that this illustrious son of China was born and began to spread his lustre through the Eastern world. And now when international relations are becoming closer, the West also is learning to know him better.

Seventeen years ago the National Confucian Association of China was formed, and, just a year later, the first National Convention in honour of Confucius' birthday was held in his birthplace, in the Shantung Province. Since then such a national convention has been held every year.

Now, with your valuable co-operation, an international world convention is being held for the first time; and it is very significant that this world convention is meeting in the greatest city of the West. It marks the great progress made both in the dissemination of the knowledge of what Confucius taught and in the friendly relationship between China and the West.

Nothing is more gratifying to Chinese sentiment than to see a representative gathering of the West such as this to do honour to Confucius. For China not only reveres Confucius as a holy man and a great sage, but even pays worship to him. In each district of every province of China there is, and must be, a temple of Confucius and in each temple there are two special arches. One of them is inscribed with four Chinese words, meaning: "The virtues of Confucius are equal to Heaven and Earth"; and the other bears another inscription, also of four words, meaning: "The principles of Confucius surpass all others, ancient and modern." Moreover, the ceremonies of worshipping Confucius and those of worshipping God are more or less identical. In this connection I may be allowed to quote the following eulogy of Confucius uttered by his grandson and given in the Book called the *Doctrine of the Mean.*

"It is only he, possessed of all the sagely qualities that can exist under heaven, who shows himself quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, fit to exercise rule, magnanimous, generous, benign, and mild, fit to exercise forbearance, full of initiative, energetic, firm and enduring, fit to maintain a firm hold, self-adjusted, grave, never swerving from the Mean and correct, fit to command reverence, accomplished, distinctive, concentrative and searching, fit to exercise discrimination.

"All-embracing is he and vast, deep and active as a fountain, sending forth in their due season his virtues.

"All-embracing is he, like heaven. Deep and active is he as a fountain, like an abyss. He is seen,

and the people all reverence him; he speaks, and the people all believe him; he acts, and the people all are pleased with him.

"Therefore his fame overspreads the civilized world and extends to all barbarous tribes. Wherever ships and carriages reach, wherever the strength of man penetrates, wherever the heavens overshadow and the earth sustains, wherever the sun and moon shine, wherever frost and dews fall, all who have blood and breath unfeignedly honour and love him. Hence it is said: 'He is the equal of Heaven.'"

The relation between Heaven (God) and Confucius was very intimate. The *Analects* say: "Heaven is going to use the Master as a bell with its wooden tongue." Such a bell was used in ancient times to call the people together to make public proclamations. And the figure of the bell here, therefore, means that Heaven was using Confucius to proclaim the truth and the right. Confucius always trusted in God wholeheartedly and felt that God alone knew him fully. One day he cried: "Alas! there is no one that knows me." Tzu-kung, his disciple, asked: "What do you mean by thus saying that no one knows you?" The Master replied: "I do not murmur against Heaven. I do not grumble against men. My studies lie low, and my penetration rises high. But there is Heaven—that knows me!" When Kung-po Liao slandered Tzu-Lu, a disciple of Confucius, Tzu-fu Ching-po informed Confucius, and said: "Our master is certainly being led astray by Kung-po Liao, but I have still power enough left to cut Liao off, and expose his corpse in the market-place or in the court." Confucius said: "If my principles are to advance, it is by Heavenly order. If they are to fall to the ground, it is by

Heavenly order. What can Kung-po Liao do where such ordering is concerned?"

Whenever Confucius was in any trouble, his heart turned to God. During his travels abroad, at the age of fifty-eight, he was imprisoned by the people of the city of Kuang for five days. His pupils were fearful, but their master said: "After the death of Wen Wang, was not the cause of truth lodged here in me? If God had wished to let this cause of truth perish, then I, his successor, who later must die, should not have been placed in such a relation to that cause. But so long as God does not let the cause of truth perish, what can the people of Kuang do to me?"

Again, at sixty, when with his pupils he was performing religious ceremonies under the shade of a large tree, Huan Tui, the minister of war of the state of Sung, who wished to kill him, gave orders that the tree should be cut down. His pupils thereupon warned him to escape at once. But he said: "God has produced the virtue that is in me. What can Huan Tui do to me?" It is clear that he felt that God had committed to him the establishment of the righteous path and that he bore a charmed life until his work was done.

Not only did Confucius thus stand in the closest and most intimate relation to God, in whom his heart forever reposed in loving and unswerving trustfulness, but the future life of man after death was for Confucius equally real and as vivid as life in the physical world. We read in the *Analects* that "he sacrificed to the dead as to those who were present."

To the all-seeing vision of Confucius the world was not a dead material existence, but throbbing with life and full of living spiritual beings. The angelic

hosts were not only not indifferent to human welfare, but acted as the unfailing guides and friends of man. Said he: "How abundantly do spiritual beings display the powers that belong to them! We look for them but do not see them, we listen for them but do not hear them; yet they enter into all things and there is nothing without them. They cause all people in the world to fast and purify themselves, and array themselves in their richest dresses, in order to attend at their sacrifices. Then, like overflowing water, they seem to be over the head, and on the right and left of their worshippers. The Canon of Poetry says: 'The approaches of the spirits you cannot surmise; how much more difficult is it to treat them with indifference?' Such is the manifestness of what is minute. Such is the impossibility of suppressing Truth."

Thus the ordinance of Confucius includes all the elements which constitute a true and ennobling religion. The special outer feature, however, of the religion of Confucius consists in the two-fold ceremonies of sacrifices to God, and sacrifices to the ancestors who, though departed, are yet living.

Said Confucius: "Serve the dead as you serve the living. Serve the departed as you serve those who are with us: this is the highest achievement of true filial piety.

"The performance of sacrifices to Heaven and Earth is meant for the service of God. The performance of ceremonies in the ancestral temple is meant for the worship of ancestors. He who understands the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth and the meaning of the several sacrifices to ancestors, will find the government of a state as easy as to look into his palm."

This two-fold worship of God and ancestors is, it may be repeated, the most distinctive characteristic of the religion of Confucius. It has established the fatherhood of a father in the family and the fatherhood of God in the universe. It has made the family the starting point for universal love and universal peace, and has established filial piety as the root of all benevolent actions.

This is what Confucius has done for China in so far as religion is concerned. But Confucius is more than a religious teacher solely. There are other very important aspects of his life, such as his development of the political, social and ethical sciences, which we cannot even touch upon here.

He has left this world of sense-perception now more than 24 hundred years. But for us he still lives and will live for ever; he is as real to-day as though he were present bodily in our midst. This is not only because he is still a living soul, a spirit that is a reality, but because his fame is enduring. For, according to Confucius, the spirit endures not alone by its invisible form, but also by the fame it has built up for itself during life on earth. The idea of the continuing spirit or soul is common to all religions; but Confucius has laid chief stress on good name being the essential part of immortality. Said he: "The superior man recoils from the thought that his name may not be praised after his death." Man must establish his character in order to establish his name. This good name is much more important even than life. One should sacrifice his life, if necessary, to guard the honour of his name. This teaching has produced many a man of virtue in Chinese history.

It is a national custom in China that, when

a person celebrates the birthday of his parents or teacher, he invites all his friends to attend the ceremonies, and they pay his parents or teacher due respect. How much greater is Confucius in comparison with the parent or teacher of any one of us Chinese! It is, therefore, most gratifying to us—Chinese—that you have gathered here to-day, to show due respect to the father of the Chinese nation. It is also an international usage that, on the occasion of the birthday-celebration of a ruler or on a national day, the representatives of other nations than the one concerned all join in a common celebration. How much more gratifying, then, is it to see the representatives of so many nations gathered together to join in the celebration of the birthday of one who was also a great religious teacher! For, by thus joining hands together on such an occasion to do honour to the religious teachers of the world, there may gradually grow up that universal brotherhood and spiritual unity among differing faiths for which we are all striving.

C. HUAN-CHANG.

PSYCHICAL PHENOMENA IN MODERN JAPAN.

Prof. Wasaburo ASANO, President of the Japanese Society for Psychic Science.

SPIRITUALISM, as Shintoism, has, as all know, been a dominating force for centuries in the old Japan. It began to lose its hold upon the popular mind only with the national change created by the Meiji Restoration, when Western civilization flooded the country. The material progress made in Europe and America was a veritable revelation to the undeveloped mind of the old Japanese people. Awakened from long lethargy, they rushed headlong to take in the new material civilization, giving up everything old regardless of its value. And so all things pertaining to spirits were unfortunately laid aside for the time. The marvellous development made in Japan, during the half-century since the Restoration, in every field of scientific knowledge and in the various phases of social organization, is unique when compared with the history of any other nation. Indeed, the fundamental change brought about in Japan during this period would perhaps have required a hundred years to come about in other countries.

Through these frantic efforts, Japan, as far as material civilization is concerned, now ranks with the great powers of the world; but from the Spiritualist

point of view it has come to wear the aspect of a barren land. Spiritualism, which is still exposed to severe criticism or treated with disdain even in Europe and America, finds much greater difficulties in Japan, where the Government is absolutely heedless of the subject, and no interest whatever is taken in it by either religionists or scientific men.

The people, however, cannot for long be left in such an unnatural condition. Nevertheless while they have in general paid no attention to the existence of spirits, the latter have been working to influence them, —at least presumably so, from the fact that during these fifty years, many powerful mediums have appeared and have kept numbers well puzzled over various psychic phenomena they have produced. Let me take a typical one of these and speak very briefly about her life.

She was called Tosie Osanami. The psychic ability Miss Osanami possessed was not the result of training; it was born in her. Physically she was well developed and healthy; she was beautiful as well. Her diet consisted of only a small quantity of water taken daily and occasionally a very small amount of raw fruit. Everything she took had to be raw and natural; even a cup of warm water, when heated artificially, was vomited as soon as it passed her throat and caused her acute suffering for several days. She was said even to vomit blood in such a case. The queerest thing about her was that she never evacuated.

The recognition of Miss Osanami as a powerful medium was established in her family and among friends in 1892. From that time for about fifteen years until 1907, when she died at the age of forty-five, she was noted as such by the people around her. She possessed very strong and varied mediumistic faculties,

as may be seen by the following recital of her abnormal phenomena.

1. Prophetic Gifts: Miss Osanami could give in a condition that gave no sign of her having fallen into trance, a ready and clear answer to any question put to her on things occurring in the future. Her prophecy on the Chino-Japanese War in 1893, the previous year to the war, was a fact well known to a group of people of that time.

2. Airy Music: When she was in trance, exquisite music was very often heard in the air far above her head, in which the sounds of a flute, a sort of flageolet, and harp and also of a bell harmoniously mingled. The phenomenon was believed to be the sign of the approach of 'gods'; and they say that many times the gaolers were surprised by this, while she was detained at Turugaoka Gaol under the suspicion of fraud.

3. Apports: She also showed her marvellous power by producing books, charms, medicines and various other objects for those who asked for them. I would illustrate as the most astonishing feature of such phenomena her producing liquid medicine within stoppered empty glass bottles.

Her patients would come to ask for medicine, bringing their own bottles. These were put together on a table placed in front of her family shrine. She would then kneel down before it and offer prayer according to the Shinto rites for about ten minutes. When the prayer was ended, they would see their empty bottles filled up all at once with liquid of different colours. The colour of the medicine differed according to the nature of the illness,—red, blue, yellow, orange, etc. Sometimes the bottles collected at a time were as many as forty; and it made

a beautiful sight when all the liquid contents shone in a splendid variety of rainbow hues.

Such phenomena occurring every day made her the topic of current gossips in Turugaoka City of Akita Prefecture, where she was twice put in prison as an impostor. But the phenomena took place around her even during her imprisonment, and she was finally acquitted on the ground of insufficient evidence. In the spring of 1900, she removed to Osaka, where she stayed at her brother's. Here an account of her abnormal faculties was published in the *Osaka Asahi*, and she once more had to undergo the interference of the police. Accused of being a swindler, she was tried in the District Court of Kobe. In the Court of Justice, however, before the judge and other judicial officers, she succeeded in producing as usual some brown liquid medicine within an empty bottle, tightly sealed. This of course made everybody present speechless with astonishment, and she was consequently acquitted on the spot. She passed over in November, 1907, and her remains were buried in her native province, a small shrine now standing over them to commemorate her non-earthly spirit.

This record clearly shows that behind the materialistic and worldly garment of new Japan, there still remained lurking the spiritual element of old Japan, so well illustrated in the abundant abnormal phenomena occurring in Japan from ancient times throughout the country, on account of which the people were proud of the empire, calling it 'the land of gods.' It seems therefore that the indifferent attitude of the Japanese people towards Spiritualism for the past half century, is due to the reaction from the blind belief of old days, and attributable to the radical change that

required all the attention of the people to be directed for a time to the material side of things.

Whatever the reason, and whatever the past history of Japan may have been, it is evident that Spiritualism in present Japan has no solid foundation, and in the systematic study of psychic phenomena it is regrettably far behind England, France, America and the West in general.

Nevertheless something has been attempted. The first organized body of enquirers in new Japan appeared at Tokyo about thirty years ago under the name 'Shinshokai.' The founders of the society were Mr. K. Matumura and Dr. S. Miyake and other well-known scholars and religionists of that time. They published an organ of the society, but it could last no more than a few years. Prof. T. Fukurai of the Tokyo Imperial University alone continued his solitary study of the subject.

Prof. Fukurai was first interested in the study of hypnotism, but gradually turned his keen attention to psychic phenomena. He made an extensive study of clairvoyance with such mediums as Mrs. Nagao, Miss Mifune, Mrs. Takahashi, Mr. Mita, who were all well known for their remarkable psychic faculties. These mediums were put to very severe tests, and many precise records were made by Prof. Fukurai to prove their genuineness as clairvoyants. But the ignorant and prejudiced public at that date could not believe in these psychic phenomena. Prof. Fukurai had consequently to endure the most unsympathetic attitude of his colleagues in the university and severe criticisms in newspapers and magazines, and was finally forced to leave his chair in 1911.[1] This unhappy event caused

[1] The same fate befell Prof. Asano who was Professor of Naval Science in the Tokyo University.—Ed.

also the miserable death of the two mediums Mrs. Nagao and Miss Mifune, and checked the growth of psychical research in new Japan until 1923, when a powerful new society was organized in Tokyo to pursue the study of psychic phenomena. This organization is the Society for Psychic Science, over which I have the honour to preside.

Only a short time, therefore, has been spent in Japan on systematic Spiritualistic study, and we can say little as yet; but, as far as I can see at present, there appears to be a great difference between the mediums of the West and of the East with regard to their ability and strength. While those of the West are willing to be put to test and show various astounding results in laboratories, those of the Orient use their power only for moral or practical purposes. It is needless to say that scientific tests are most important; but at the same time students should not try to force every medium into their own mould of requirements. I will now mention a few powerful mediums of which it might interest you to know.

Mr. S. Uchida is a resident of Okazaki City. His psychic ability I have myself been testing for these two years. He possesses three kinds of faculties at present. The first is the phenomenon of apports. Small pieces of metal or stone appear in his hand during his short trance. The second is the phenomenon of creating audible sounds in the air simply by moving his hand. When in the trance state he flicks his hand, there is produced in the air the sound of an electric discharge. The third is trance-speaking. Uchida is an illiterate man and cannot even write his own name properly; but in spite of his ignorance he often gives lectures in trance on Buddhist scriptures he cannot

normally read, even quoting long passages difficult to remember.

Mrs. G. Nakanishi is also a trance medium whose gift is serviceable especially for practical purposes. She is able to remain in trance for several hours at a stretch, during which she diagnoses her patients. She can detect even internal diseases within a few minutes. She can also easily 'travel' to a distant place to make investigations and even trace fugitives.

Prof. R. Nakao is now filling a chair in the Osaka Technical College. He is an excellent clairvoyant, and has been so for a number of years. He published a book on his experiences last year, called *Tosi to sono Jiturei* ('Clairvoyance and Cases'). He illustrates in it typical instances of his clairvoyant phenomena, selected from over 5,000 cases.

Mr. M. Arafuka is a noted business-man of Osaka; he is also a man of learning. About four years ago he found himself possessed of the faculty of trance-speaking and also of automatic writing. His family and friends thereupon became doubtful of his sanity, and he himself could not be confident of the reliability of the phenomena for a considerable length of time. I came to know him in December last year, and, after repeated tests, found him an excellent psychic. Whosoever his 'control' may be, I confess I am quite astonished at his profound knowledge of ancient Japanese history and the origin of Shintoism. I believe I am not exaggerating the fact if I say that, through the explanations of this 'control' the *Kojiki*, the oldest Japanese scripture, reveals profounder meanings than ever before. My deeper study of Mr. Arafuka's phenomena is yet to come, but there is no room for doubt already that he

is one of the most promising mediums Japan has at present.

These mediums are not professional. They are all ardent students of psychic phenomena, who are willing to render what service they can for the welfare of others. There are in Japan besides these psychics, numerous professional mediums, who, like those in the West, are showing their psychic faculties in healing, fortune-telling, etc. Their powers are varied in type, but can be roughly classified as Buddhistic incantations and prayers, Shinto charms, trance-speech, *kiai* (spell-binding), *tinkon* (a Shinto practice of meditation), hypnotic treatment, etc. Such psychics are now beginning to be very numerous in Tokyo City alone. Some of them possess quite strong power and are reliable, often showing good results in dealing with diseases incurable by modern medical treatment. Very few of them however have undergone scientific investigation. Our Society for Psychic Study is now trying to make experiments in testing a number of these psychics and making statistics, and I think it will be possible for us to submit a precise report on them in a few years' time.

Apart from this class there are disciples of mysticism of various kinds and students of occult sciences. Most of them lead the solitary life of hermits and shun society.

I can mention only a few of them.

Mr. Saikinan, born in Chosen (Corea), was formerly a Government official. He resigned his post more than ten years ago to devote his whole life to spiritual pursuits. From childhood he had been an earnest student of occult doctrines and of Chinese mysticism. Once free of his professional duties, he retired to

Kongozan, a high mountain in Chosen, and gave up eating flesh, and subsisted daily on only seven small pieces of pine-bark biscuit. He had lived full ten years in this way by June of last year, and then proceeded to try to live simply on air. He climbed alone Hakutozan, an uninhabited high mountain situated between Chosen and Manchuria, where he succeeded in observing his fast for one hundred days. From that time, he has never taken anything but water. He no longer dwells in the mountain, but is travelling on foot through Chosen. He is in perfect health and, though now in his fifty-ninth year, does not appear at all tired even after thirty to forty miles walk a day. He believes he will be able to live on earth for several hundred years. That remains to be seen.

Mr. S. T. is known to me as a personal friend. He is a graduate of an American college and now a member of Kobe Municipal Council. He has also been interested in the study of occult science and has been in contact with certain Sennin's now for several years. A Sennin is an extraordinary phenomenon found only in Eastern countries, such as India, China and Japan. These beings are believed to have attained a peculiar sort of semi-physical longevity lasting for centuries by means of prolonged and severe spiritual training and discipline. They do not show themselves except to those whom they select as their disciples. Mr. T. says that he meets from time to time eight Sennin's in a secret place on a certain mountain, where he stays with them occasionally for a few days and is instructed and trained under their guidance. As to their appearance, he says that these eight men look like the people of ancient times in their old-fashioned

robes; but when they walk their easy and swift gait suggests that they feel no weight of body. They show no difficulty in climbing steep peaks or passing over precipitous cliffs. Here is another great puzzle to be solved.

Mr. H. Togawa is an illiterate man of over sixty years living in the county of Isé. When he was nine years old, he became the disciple of a Tengu, a mysterious being in the invisible, who is considered to be spiritually inferior to a Sennin. From time to time this Tengu comes for him and takes him out of his body to travel to different places. He says he can pass over several hundred miles in a very short time when he is with this non-human guide. He is often given by this strange being various common objects,—books, scrolls or offerings to shrines, such as rice-cakes, dried fish, fruits, sweetmeats, etc. To Mr. Togawa the Tengu appears simply as an old man of noble appearance; but no one else is able to see the form of his visitor.

But I must now conclude with a fervent hope that students of psychical phenomena in East and West will begin to co-operate in researches that cannot fail to throw light on the extraordinary powers latent in our common human nature.

W. Asano.

(A speech read to the International Spiritualist Congress, London, in September, 1928.)

CONCERNING 'A FRESH FALL FICTION.'

IT was quite time that Prof. N. P. Williams's Bampton Lectures on 'The Fall' were dealt with by competent authority, for which reason the writer of these notes strongly welcomes the Editor's paper on the subject published in the last issue of THE QUEST.

The Lecturer had taken up an Absolutist and Intellectualist attitude, from which standpoint no Fall doctrine can be supported; so when the Editor, with his pitiless logic, meets him on that ground, he has no difficulty in dispersing the whole of the intellectual fog, which Dr. Williams has been at such pains to produce. But neither of them succeeds in disproving the relative value of the Fall theory as given by Hegel and Plotinus, in which the Fall is the break away of the selfish individualized intellect from the great Communal Life of humanity.

More in detail, the paper attacks Dr. Williams at some 7 points, at not one of which does the present writer feel concerned to defend the Bampton Lecturer. To set forth these points *seriatim.*

(1) The Editor, very naturally, refuses to believe in a pre-cosmic vitiation of the Life Force. (2) He deprecates arguments founded on the supposed goodness of God and (3) on the idea of a Personal Creator. (4) He deprecates the Lecturer's contrast of 'unmoral monism' with the supposed 'ethical monotheism' of Judaism and Christianity, and (5) the equation of 'infinite' with 'perfect' (after Dr. J. E. Turner); (6) also his identification of *logos spermatikos* with Bergson's *élan vital.* (7) Finally the Editor uses

against Dr. Williams his superior knowledge of the Gnostic 'Fall' literature.

The present writer would have proceeded to criticize the Lecturer's psychology, and his intellectualist attitude owing to which a Fall, due to acquisition of knowledge, is inexplicable to him. In fact the essential nature of 'The Fall' quite necessarily eludes him.

To consider the Editor's paper in yet further detail:

Near the bottom of p. 31 a quotation from Vaihinger indicates the need for a 'Fall fiction' to balance the fiction of a Perfect Creation.

At the bottom of p. 35 it is pointed out that the Lecturer holds that the infinite goodness and infinite power of God must be safeguarded. But, in his version of the Fall story, he makes no attempt to safeguard the integrity of 'the Life-Force.' He cuts the ground from under his own feet, for he slights the '*ruach*' or 'spirit' of Yahweh, and so, then, Yahweh himself.

At bottom of p. 36 we find editorial references to enormous physical time values. But these will weigh little with us if we accept radium dates for human time values, giving 15,000,000 years for man, distinctively man, upon earth. We humans can at least look Father Time in the face. And we as vital and moral, not to say spiritual, are on a higher plane than the physical, however ancient. On this head Prof. G. Santayana, in *Scepticism and Animal Faith*, is very illuminating. Physically 15,000,000 years may be '3 days'; vitally, 'No.'

Near bottom of p. 41 'immoral monism' is probably a slip for 'unmoral monism' as we find it two pages earlier.

Bottom of p. 42. Yes 'finalism' was not accept-

able to Bergson; but see S. Butler in *Luck or Cunning*, and W. McDougall on *Purposive Action*.

The Gnostic Fall teaching given on pp. 44-45 is highly illuminating, and might easily be brought into line with that of Hegel, etc., by noting how *Wisdom left the side of her æonian partner*. Hegel would have accepted that.

No doubt the Psychology of pp. 46-47 suits the Editor's purpose. But in the Fall connection, where Hebrew psychology is of the first importance, Jung's simple dichotomy is more helpful; Nutritive and Reproductive, Self-regarding and Race-regarding, Ego-complexes and the Race-Life, the Reproductive Libido, or the Phylum Urge, which is the present writer's own term for it.

Finally, on p. 48 is given the Editor's picture of God transcending 'The Fall' and 'Evil.' To make God too big is at least as bad as to make him too little. The Ormuzd of the Persians, always doing battle with Ahriman, is a more useful picture for us mortals.

But we have no quarrel whatever with the end of the paper where the Editor speaks of our "relative power of choice" and of freedom "provided that our choosing does not seek to benefit ourselves at the expense of others; for true Love loves all." There is a picture of 'The Fall,' and of the moral exaltation too, from which it took place.

The Editor has succeeded in bringing Prof. N. P. Williams's arguments to their legitimate conclusion, namely, chaos; but his great triumph consists in the fact that he has also adumbrated the actual Fall in its hideous and selfish intellectualism.

To outline the writer's own position there is no space in this short review. (Rev.) J. R. DONALD.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

(Unsigned Reviews or Notices are by the Editor.)

SIBYLS AND SEERS

A Survey of some Ancient Theories of Revelation and Inspiration. By Edwyn Bevan. London (Allen & Unwin); pp. 182; 7s. 6d. net.

IT is always a pleasure and profit to read Prof. Edwyn Bevan, who is so competent a Hellenist. The six chapters of his last work were originally delivered as lectures at Oxford, on the Speaker's Foundation for Biblical Studies, in 1927. For the most part the survey is concerned with the psychical phenomena of Paganism, Jewish and Christian references being comparatively slight, and the subject is not extended to the Orient. Prof. Bevan keeps an eye on present-day psychical research and extra-normal psychology, but is evidently out of sympathy with mediumism and modern intercommunication between the 'two worlds.' His knowledge, however, of the classical sources is thorough and accurate, and our own reading confirms his, when he writes (p. 93): "We never, so far as I know, hear of anything like a *séance*—a corporate effort of a group of people, sitting in a circle and holding hands, to generate some kind of power which would induce or enable the spirit of a dead person to communicate." In antiquity it is always a magician, or necromancer, or theurgist who gets to work. Of course 'circle-sitting' is by no means the only way in modern times; but the 'magician' business is to-day practised only by the retrograde. Another marked difference between the practice of antiquity and that of our own day is the following (p. 95): "The descriptions of heaven and hell in antiquity profess to be drawn, not from accounts given by denizens of the other world visiting this one, but . . . by denizens of this world who had made visits to that and returned—Orpheus, Pythagoras, Er the Pamphylian, Enoch, St. Peter, St. Paul." The distinction

is not clean-cut, for we have to-day numbers of cases of those who profess to have gone, there ' and reported back ; but for the most part descriptions of states of the hither hereafter are received from those who profess to be experiencing them there. The great difference between the old days and the new times is that antiquity apparently made no attempt to check and compare, had no notion of the possibility of rational aud reasonable co-operation between humans here and humans there, wrapped round all an aura of mystery and taboo, supra-humanized or subter-humanized galore, regarded on the one hand as divine and the other as devilish much that was probably quite neutral and secular as we are beginning to find it.

Many other points might be dwelt upon, but we may specially mention our author's remarks on what is generally referred to as the *daimon* of Socrates. The correct form is of course *daimonion* and is described by Plato as " that which prevented " Socrates " when he was about to do anything not rightly." Prof. Bevan writes concerning supranormal conditions and inner monitions (pp. 104, 105) : " The *daimonion* of Socrates is the most outstanding instance—*daimonion* being in this connection not the diminutive of *daimon*, used afterwards by Jews and Christians as meaning an ' evil spirit,' but the neuter of *daimonios*, a ' divine something.' One would hardly gather from the documents that this *daimonion ti* [shall we say ' spiritual somewhat ' ?] in the case of Socrates was an actual audition ; rather that it was a sudden strongly felt inhibition, which Socrates interpreted as given him from without. It would be perhaps in the Greek world the thing most like the experience of Christians when they have suddenly felt : It is God's will I should do this or not do this." But the above quotation from Plato, which our author does not cite, seems to suggest that the *daimonion ti* was never a positive prompting, but always an inner inhibition. It may have been no divine warning straight from heaven, no immediate revelation of the will of God, as the pious love to describe such monitions, but the deeper ' common sense ' and experience of the philosopher standing back of his ratiocinating activity and correcting it. Surely most of us are frequently conscious of this inner feeling of dissatisfaction with judgments springing up in our minds,—the feeling that whatever the correct judgment may be, it cannot be any one of those which have presented themselves—without ascribing this higher intuitional negation to a direct interposition of providence.

The Physiology of the Continuity of Life.

By D. Noël Paton, M.D., B.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S. London (Macmillan); pp. 226; 12s. net.

THE author of this work has achieved a rare thing, the real scientific attitude. "*Jurare in verbis nullius magistri*" is the motto he himself selects, and it stamps the character of his attitude throughout the whole book. To quote his own words: "In approaching the study of the Continuity of Life I have tried to keep an open mind and to present evidence and not dogma, and I do not hesitate to ask my readers to make the necessary intellectual effort for judging the value of the evidence." That is to say, he is not only concerned to teach the facts with the authority of the man of science, but is even more concerned in stating the problem which the facts present. The original motive of science is identical with the primal religious experience,—namely, that of wonder and awe at the mystery of life. Such an attitude must always condemn the intellectual or spiritual arrogance which substitutes dogma for the quest.

The matter of the book deals equally with the realm of biology and of physiology; and its particular merit consists in the fact that these two standpoints, which specialization has kept apart, are fruitfully wedded in the treatment of the facts under discussion.

The volume must be regarded as a text-book, since it presupposes a certain amount of familiarity with biological and physiological concepts. Without the requisite technical grounding, much of the argument would be lost. But, nonetheless, the study can be recommended to any reader who is not content with generalized views about the problems of life, heredity and sex. It is definitely not a book which will commend itself to a vague mind, because throughout the author devotes himself to the discussion of facts, before which the vague mind recoils. The most interesting and controversial discussion of the treatise deals with the problem of heredity and the determination of sex. In this discussion the author criticizes the chromosome theory of heredity with great clarity and distinction. "There is good evidence," he says, "to show that factors other than the chromosomes act in determining the line of development. . . . . Configuration and arrangement of chromosomes may be an expression of a definite line of chemical change, the chromosomes

may be 'the outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace.'"

With regard to this problem the author finds himself in accord with Fick of Berlin, whose conclusions he quotes,—namely: (1) "The theory of maintenance of the individuality of the chromosomes is a hypothesis which cannot stand against critical consideration. . . . The transmission-substance is the individual plasma." By this Fick understands not a combination of different organic substances flung together by chance, but a quite definite chemico-physical system. (2) "In the germ-cell a characteristic is not represented by an independent particle, but the characteristic originates first of all as the terminal member of a series of reactions of a chemico-physical nature, this series of reactions being necessitated by the plasma of the sex cells. . . . Sex chromosomes are not determinative of sex, but at most are a peculiarity of sex." . . . (3) Finally, "heritability of acquired characteristics is to be accepted. Changes in the germ-plasm may arise gradually thereby, but do not become operative till past a certain threshold (corresponding to the gradual building up of a chemical substance)."

These conclusions show a very significant and fundamental change in the orientation of biological research, and this new orientation is not confined to biology alone. When a biologist, like Haldane or Noël Paton, is no longer willing to take the individual organism out of the continuous stream of life and its natural environment into the insulated framework of the laboratory, then he begins to exchange the myopia of the specialist for the vision of the seer. The individual organism is now not an isolated fact, but a link in a vital chain which reaches down to the fundamental problems of existence.

As Haldane has stated, an organism is a necessary function of its environment, and its environment a function of the organism. Therefore, if you arbitrarily sever this function for laboratory reasons, you are not observing the organism but only its structure. Similarly, to select the chromosomes, or any other special characteristic of the cell, for the purpose of explaining the individuality of the organism, involves the necessary exclusion of certain other constituents of the cell, which means that the totality of the organism is ignored; and the totality of the organism includes all its relations,—namely, its outer and inner environment and its individual place in the vital series. It is these further implications which have given the new orientation

to biology; and it is precisely the same considerations in the realm of psychology which distinguishes the dynamic or humanistic psychology of to-day from the academic psychology of the preceding epoch.

Dr. Noël Paton, who, alas, is with us no more, discusses the relationship and interaction of the germ-cells with the somal cells, and gives by far the best summary of the human sex-system and its physiology that the present writer has come across. This comparative study of the biological and physiological significance of sex-differentiation by an authoritative writer was much needed; and the subject-matter and the author's name are its own warrant.

H. G. BAYNES.

LES SOURCES DU LYRISME DANS LA POÉSIE D'ÉMILE VERHAEREN.

Enid Starkie, M.A. Oxon., Docteur de L'Université de Paris. E. de Boccard, 1, rue de Médicis, Paris; pp. 389.

THE students of Somerville College are fortunate in their newly-appointed Lecturer, Dr. Enid Starkie, who has written this book on so elusive a theme in excellent French, with great understanding, and all the while with an English flavour, not very easy to analyse or describe, yet impossible to miss. Elusive her subject is; and in fact the title is perhaps too specialized for her treatment. She deals with much which cannot be strictly said to belong to 'the sources of lyrism' only. It is well that she strays beyond her chosen limits, for Verhaeren is still less known than his significance to the poetical movements of the last forty-five years entitles him to be.

In her general Introduction, Miss Starkie insists on the racially pictorial tendency of 'young Belgium' during Verhaeren's youth, which led them all towards the French Parnassians, and specially, so she urges, to Gautier; but surely Leconte de Lisle might be added? Even as early as *Les Moines*, Verhaeren was slipping into Symbolisme, well on its way by 1885. Miss Starkie quotes *Le Soir religieux*, where his sense of suffering strikes an alien note into the Parnassian harmonies:

"Un silence souffrant pénètre au cœur des choses,
. . . . .
"Un cri, grêle et navré, qui pleure une agonie,
Sort d'un taillis de saule où nichent des oiseaux."

Here, and so soon, as she says: "Le sentiment du mystère et du monde de l'inconscient commence apparaître." She does not mention that startling poem, afterwards bound up with *Les Flamandes* and *Les Moines* in *Les Bords de la Route*, the poem which combines so ingeniously the Parnassian method with the Symboliste attitude,—*La Nuit*.

"Le ciel prodigieux domine, embrasé d'astres,
—Voûte d'ébène et d'or où fourmillent des yeux—
Et s'érigent, d'un jet, vers ce plafond de feux,
Les hêtres et les pins, pareils à des pilastres.

. . . . .

"Et, telle, avec ses coins et ses salles funèbres,
Toute entière bâtie en mystère, en terreur,
La nuit paraît le noir palais d'un empereur
Accoudé quelque part, au loin, dans les ténèbres."

Two years later, Verhaeren could apostrophize 'mon âme du soir'; the forest oaks, for him, were wrung with the universal pain,

"Et leur sève se plaint plus tristement, que si
Le dernier cri du monde avait traversé l'ombre,"

and he could write those five desolate and most desolating stanzas on *Le Moulin*.

It may be because its subject is the very core of the problem, that most lovers of Verhaeren will surely agree that the first chapter on 'La Souffrance' dealing with the tragic section of his work,—*Les Soirs*, *Les Débâcles*, *Les Flambeaux Noirs*, transcends the rest in insight and interest. She deftly touches on Symbolisme, its *raison d'être*, its music, its methods; she fathers much of its dolour, Verhaeren's with the rest, rightly on Baudelaire: "Avec l'influence de Baudelaire une époque d'effroi et d'horreur entra dans la littérature de langue française." But, like previous critics, she finds no way of accounting for Baudelaire himself. It is a fine chapter, and it is in the nature of things, not in her handling of them, that the rest afterwards seems a trifle flat. Verhaeren is not for everyone, nor is this opening chapter on him. Miss Starkie realizes that human creatures differ so utterly, that not all can safely venture into the deepest, most troubled waters. She also knows, and Verhaeren is an imperishable proof of it, that those who can, always at a tremendous price, go alone down into the depths and rise out of them again, will all the rest of their life

go more strongly on through this shadowed world towards the ultimate light.

Having escaped from this furnace of pain and doubt, the book flows onward in less tragic ways. It illustrates Miss Starkie's general good sense, that she extols the loveliness of Verhaeren's verse, while announcing loudly the futility of his social science: "Son rôle n'était point de trouver une formule économiste, son rôle était plus élevé, il était de donner une vie éternelle à l'émotion et aux sensations d'un instant, de vivre, un court moment peut-être, de la vie multiple du monde."

It might be well if others, besides Miss Starkie, could perceive the wisdom of the shoemaker who sticks to his last. By some curious fortune Verhaeren could believe in his *rôle* of social prophet without ruining his poetry. There is no chapter in this book devoid of good things. That on 'Le Pays natal' is, perhaps, especially winning, with its nostalgic undercurrent, appealing in some degree to us all, escaping in that sigh in one of his later poems:

"O ces heures, que ne peuvent-elles renaître?"

She is frankly rather shocked by his violence, during that part of the Great War which he saw, before the fatal train,—trains having always haunted his mind with undefined terrors,—closed his share in it. She offers an ingenious excuse: "La haine et la rage de l'œuvre de Verhaeren qui étonnaient tant ceux qui connaissaient son grand cœur, ne sont en somme que la dernière limite de l'amour et de la haine, où les deux extrêmes se touchent. Seuls ceux qui sont capables de haïr profondément savent aimer. Le Christ seul a su aimer sans haïr." She offers, indeed, the other side of Browning's explanation:

"Dante who loved well because he hated."

But there is a simpler one. Miss Starkie is too young to remember the 1870 War, or to realize the feelings of those, still some of them alive, who shared the sorrows of the French then. But Verhaeren was fifteen when it began, a very sensitive age. Moreover, some able critics ascribe no small part of the Symboliste frame of mind to the painfulness of those years succeeding the Peace of 1871. Can she not grasp how much less easy it was for Verhaeren, or any one else in his position, to restrain feeling on a second provocation, as they at any rate thought it? She indeed is not wholly consistent, since she closes her chapter on the War with a more contradictory sentence than usual even; for it must

be said that often she has a way, after expressing herself in one direction with great emphasis, of confusing her issue with a rather weak or compromising half-withdrawal, as if she were vaguely afraid of ending too conclusively.

A very few printers' errors have escaped her vigilance. When a new edition is called for, she would, by furnishing an Index, add convenience to this book, so full of men and matters of moment.

GERALDINE HODGSON.

SOME RECENT BOOKS ON PSYCHICAL MATTERS.

(1) MIRACLES IN MODERN LIFE.

By the Revd. John Lamond, D.D. London (Simpkin, Marshall); pp. 122; 3s. 6d. net.

(2) THE RIDDLE OF SPIRITUALISM.

By C. Clephan Palmer. London (Rider); pp. 146; 4s. 6d. net.

(3) FROM WORLDS UNSEEN.

By 'M. A.,' Ball. Coll., Oxon. With Foreword by Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S. London (Rider); pp. 78; 2s. net.

(4) THE HOUSE OF WONDER.

A Romance of Psychic Healing. By E. M. S. With Preface by Dr. E. H. Worth. London (Rider); pp. 118; 3s. 6d. net.

(5) BLAIR'S LETTERS.

Communicated by James Blair Williams to his Mother. London (Old Royalty Book Publishers); pp. 128; 3s. 6d. net.

THE output of books dealing with matters of interest to those engaged in the study of psychical phenomena increases so rapidly that it is impossible to notice even briefly many that find their way to the review shelves of THE QUEST. And of course these are but a fraction of the actual production. What strikes one most in surveying the above selection of five items is that, though the theme is the same, it is illustrated so variously, and though the illustrations fall into typical classes, within these classes the cases have nevertheless a marked individuality of their own.

The only writer who leaves the theoretical verdict open is (2) Mr. C. Clephan Palmer, a journalist, commissioned by the

Daily News to investigate the subject, of which he had had, apparently, no previous experience. He has sat with a number of well-known mediums and met the leading personalities connected with the movement in this country. His report is impartial. Though fraud occurs, and is exposed chiefly by the Spiritualists themselves, in most cases genuine phenomena can be studied; but the theoretic explanation of them Mr. Palmer hesitates to adopt in favour of the spirit-hypothesis. He leaves us, however, with the impression that he is by no means satisfied that the sceptical 'animistic' attitude is the more reasonable.

(1) Dr. Lamond has crossed the rubicon. He has had long experience and has already written two books on the subject, at the end of a long life of ministerial work. He does not hesitate to stress the value of psychical studies and their importance for a better understanding of religious experience. Among other items of interest in connection with photographic psychical 'extras,' he reproduces and discusses Lady Palmer's recent remarkable photograph taken in the crypt of *La Basilique*, Domremy, built 'to commemorate the victories of Joan of Arc,' about whom he has himself written an enthusiastic volume. On this plate are to be seen the figures of two priests whose robes are said to belong to the Joan period.

(3) The anonymous author of this account is a Balliol man, with a Medical and Arts degree. The contents are selections from automatic scripts obtained by himself in some 100 sittings. The information comes from deceased relatives of the writer, all of them well educated, chiefly from his father, who had given much time to the study of natural science. The messages are sensible enough, but not out of the common in this reference.

(4) Miss 'E. M. S.' has already made us familiar in two books (published by Watkins) with the extraordinary healing work done by 'Dr. Beale,' a one-time medical practitioner in the flesh, through 'Miss Rose,' an excellent sensitive. So successful were the cures effected, that some devoted friends and patients of this forceful personality on the other side, with great courage established a special Nursing Home, at Hulham House, near Exmouth), where for a number of years and with much devotion a staff of workers consisting of the lady medium, a trained sister and a nurse, under the immediate direction and supervision of 'Dr. Beale,' through 'Miss Rose,' have carried out a system of blended physical and psychical therapeutics. The great handicap has been that, without the friendly co-operation of a doctor in the flesh, no prescrip-

tions could be sent to a chemist to be made up; so that 'Dr. Beale' has had to content himself, after clairvoyant diagnosis, with treatment consisting mainly of massage, baths of all kinds, medicines (chiefly herbal), and diet. The tale of the fortunes of this psychical venture and adventure is well worth reading, and no one who has been immediately brought into contact with it, has the slightest doubt that 'Dr. Beale' is very much alive, a strenuous worker and a strict disciplinarian.

(5) This is a simple and straightforward account of how a mother got into communication with a beloved son, through various mediums, one of them an automatic writer. A feature of this case is a number of cross references through several of these sensitives. The contents of the letters are of no special importance; they may be classed with hundreds of similar cases, and are useful chiefly as an example of impressions of opinions about affairs 'here' as seen from the standpoint of normal experience 'there.'

Life beyond Death with Evidence.

By the Rev. Charles Drayton Thomas. With Introduction by Viscountess Grey of Fallodon. London (W. Collins): pp. 296; 21s. net.

This is a decidedly good presentation of the case for survival on experimental lines. The Rev. C. Drayton Thomas is already very favourably known to students of psychical research for several painstaking, methodical treatises on 'book-tests,' 'newspaper tests,' 'cross-correspondences' and 'the rationale of trance-communications.' He has had the great advantage of twelve years of very frequent sittings with one of the most reliable trance-mediums of the present day—Mrs. Osborne Leonard, who blends so sympathetically with that charming little medium on the other side known far and wide as 'Feda.' Mr. Drayton Thomas's long experience, in which he has amassed a wealth of evidential testimony of the most varied kind, rules out for him any hesitation in affirming that survival is now a scientifically demonstrable fact. Not only are his chief informants 'relayed' to him *via* Feda, but they frequently use Mrs. Leonard's psycho-physical organism and communicate directly. The two who are his chief stand-bys are his own dearest kith and kin—his father, who was a well-known Wesleyan minister, and his sister who was still on

earth when he began his researches and keenly interested in them. They are both, as may be clearly inferred from all that is reported of them, of unimpeachable honesty, high-minded and very solicitous of giving verifiable 'facts' and of avoiding all exaggeration. It must be admitted that the amount of evidence Mr. Thomas's father in particular has supplied of knowledge of facts of family history, entirely outside the earliest memories of the son, is quite out of the common. The confirmation of the facts has required prolonged and laborious search and shows the author to be a most valuable recruit in this difficult field of supra-normal investigation. Moreover, in setting forth and analyzing his voluminous material, Mr. Drayton Thomas is at pains to avoid all rhetoric, and refrains from forcing his own views on the reader. Whatever emotion may have been aroused in this intimate atmosphere of communion between father and son and sister and brother—so closely uniting that the one 'here' avers he has come to know those 'there' far better than he ever knew them on earth—it has not prevented our author from maintaining an independent and judicial attitude on matters and views which he —like the rest of us in the flesh—has no means directly of testing.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the volume is the fact of its being penned by a minister of the Gospel. It is, of course, not the first book of the kind published under such auspices, but such books are still a rare occurrence. Mr. Drayton Thomas has the courage—and it is still a mark of great courage in a parson—to aver unhesitatingly that what he has found is a good finding. Far from lessening his devotion to the calling to which he has devoted his life, he finds it strengthened and confirmed by all that his father and sister have told him of the conditions of their after-death life and of the ever-widening fields of service opening up before them. Within the province of this faith they experience an increasing joy in an enlightened form of tolerant Christianity. In this new life of greater freedom they find nothing to prevent them pursuing with ardour psychical research on their side, and so co-operating very efficiently with their kinsman here in the same beneficent task of bridge-making. They are indeed all three very credible and creditable 'researchers.'

We have, therefore, in the carefully planned selections, arranged under headings, from the very full records of these fruitful sittings, a volume that brings credit to what we can only regard as the joint authors, and which may be heartily recommended as a valuable contribution to a subject of ever-increasing

importance, which intimately concerns every intelligent man and woman in these as yet pioneering days in the search for what, we firmly believe, is destined ultimately to become a genuine science of the soul.

MAGIC AND THE MYSTERIES.

By Thomas Browne ('M. N. O.'). Calcutta (The Statesman Press); pp. 146; price not given.

THE general themes of this thoughtful study are: (1) that the present-day phenomena of psychical research and abnormal psychology enable us to view the history and practice of magic in a far different perspective from that obtaining as a rule in academical circles; (2) that the 'mysteries' of antiquity contained in their higher forms a genuine gnosis. 'Thomas Browne's' appreciation of such of the material as he reviews, is not quite the same as our own, and naturally enough, dealing as it does with subjects which have been, throughout the ages, veiled in artificial secrecy, and guarded with the most strenuous taboos at hazard of life. The author is an enthusiastic *fautor temporum actorum*. Antiquity in general—for he is a too lavish generalizer—in his view, knew far more of such subjects than our own 'degenerate' times up to date: our forebears, he will have it, knew in particular high powers of hypnotism and suggestion, and deliberately cultivated vision and other-world contacts. Here I think a more sober estimate will be nearer the truth in the historical period; as for the pre-historic, we know next to nothing. 'Thomas Browne' defends with vigour the old-time theory and practice of artificial secrecy and 'esotericism'; he considers it was a necessary and a wise procedure. We freely admit that, historically, it is found to have been the well-nigh general method—with such striking exceptions, however, as the way of the Buddha, quite positively, and that of Jesus, less plainly,—according to the records. Fortunately, at the end our author sees that the Old Dispensation must now give way to the New, and the obscurantism of secrecy fade away before the light of open general knowledge. Thus, on p. 119, he writes, and we heartily approve his words, at least in their general spirit:

"Religion and Science, Intuition and Intellect, secrecy and publicity—the two great phases of human history are expressed in these antitheses. Through many thousand centuries [I doubt

seriously that any age we can call 'cultural' went back so far on this planet] knowledge was restricted to the few, by whom the foundations of society were laid and the arts of life invented, until the time came when their slowly advancing pupils could be entrusted with the privilege of self-direction. Inaugurated long before the dawn of historical record, the experiment is still in its early stages. The privilege has been disastrously abused, nor could it have been otherwise [is not this a contradiction?]; for like the Captain of his salvation man can win perfection only by suffering. He [man] has put forth his hand and eaten of the Tree of Knowledge, but ages have yet to pass before he is worthy to eat also of the Tree of Life."

Quite so; but if it all must have been so in the nature of the great going of things, why use Semitic theological fictional terms in describing the operation?

In the author's somewhat exiguous 'bibliography' we miss all reference to German and French works; and in the titles of books quoted in the notes we should have been grateful for the addition of the dates and places of publication.

MAN AND HIS BECOMING ACCORDING TO THE VEDĀNTA.

By René Guénon. Authorized Translation by Charles Whitby, B.A., M.D. Cantab., Author of 'The Wisdom of Plotinus,' etc. London (Rider); pp. 267; 10s. 6d. net.

WE have not seen the French of M. René Guénon's *L'Homme selon la Vêdânta* (*sic*—but V. is masculine in Sanscrit). Dr. Whitby, however, with his knowledge of Neo-platonic phraseology, should be, and reads as if he were, a very competent translator. Our author will have it that the Vedānta is neither religion nor philosophy, but pure metaphysics. This may be so, if we confine ourselves, as M. Guénon does, to the point of view of Shankara's Great Commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtras*. Here we move in the strictly intellectual air of metaphysics, and are far removed from the enthusiastic spirit of the Upanishads into the thin atmosphere of that later scholasticism which reached its apex some 900 years A.D. Personally, we prefer the vitality of the original treatises to the systematizing of their greater utterances into the logical formalism of India's greatest summistic thinker. But within his frame of reference M. Guénon has done his work well. He is no amateur, but thoroughly at home in his subject matter; he is, indeed, an enthusiastic interpreter of Shankara to the West

and a staunch upholder of his views as constituting the veritable orthodoxy or right teaching as to what the Vedānta is in its highest sublimation. This presentation of subtle metaphysical thinking deserves attentive study by minds schooled in the philosophical disciplines of the West; it is, however, far beyond the scope of the general reader. But M. Guénon is not only an exponent of Shankarism, he is also a severe critic of any and every other system. On Western Orientalists he is especially severe; and as for 'Theosophism,' as he calls it, he is at no pains to disguise his contempt. In the notes we find frequent references to a similarity to Vedāntic ideas which may be discovered by interpreting certain symbolical and allegorical statements in various scriptures. There are also hints that the author could go more deeply into the matter on the basis of a certain esotericism. What this may be we have no means of ascertaining; but it would appear that the traditions and manipulations, by certain modern organizations in the West, of Rosicrucianism are all garbled and untrustworthy. M. Guénon will have it that the genuine adherents of this mysterious Brotherhood withdrew into Asia shortly after the Thirty Years' War. In our view, it would have improved M. Guénon's otherwise capable work if he had omitted the controversial parts, and also all those hints at "I could if I would." The metaphysics of the Vedānta can very well stand apart from all this; there is no question here of artificial secrecy or of mystical presentation. The appeal throughout is to reason, even when it enunciates propositions of the most transcendental order, which in the nature of things must be aprioristic.

CONTEMPLATIONS.

Being Studies in Christian Mysticism. By Walter Leslie Wilmshurst. Revised and enlarged Edition. London (Watkins); pp. 318; 10s. net.

THE original edition of Mr. Wilmshurst's Studies was published in 1914, and was then reviewed in THE QUEST. They are now enlarged to twice the number, some 16 in all. With the exception of the last two, they have been reprinted from the pages of *The Seeker*, a small quarterly, founded and conducted by our old friend the Rev. George W. Allen, a great lover of Jacob Böhme. On his passing hence in 1913, the editorship was taken over by Mr. Wilmshurst, until in 1919 the War wiped out this interesting

periodical for lovers of Christian Mysticism. A number of the newly reprinted Studies deal with what the author calls 'The Present Passover,' the period of the War and its aftermath. His reflections during the time of the great struggle rise into a serene air and may be read with sympathetic interest. Mr. Wilmshurst writes well and with a profound sense of the healing virtues of the many streams of refreshment flowing from the ever-living source of mystic life. He is, however, in our view, too prone to venture on symbolic and allegoric interpretations, and on occasion spoils a page with that wild sound-juggling in proper names, which has nothing to recommend it, and which he could have well omitted, for it never strengthens his argument. The two new Studies consist of a very pleasant discourse on St. Winefride's healing well, at Holywell in Flintshire, and 'The Scientific Apprehension of the Superphysical World.' This latter ends with the optimistic conviction for the future that "Politics, morals, sociology, will eventually become transformed and the purpose of evolution, the 'far-off divine event,' gradually be accomplished by the harmonizing of the seen and unseen portions of the universe." Personally we should be content with the harmonizing of the seen and unseen of this planet, to begin with. The volume, like so many of Mr. Watkins' publications, is well turned out by Neill's of Edinburgh.

Studien zum Antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland.

Von R. Reitzenstein und H. H. Schaeder. Leipzig (B. G. Teubner); pp. 355; M. 20.

The main purport of these two treatises is to bring out the importance of the Iranian element in Hellenistic syncretism. Prof. Reitzenstein on purely Hellenic ground, before the Hellenistic period, discovers already traces of an Iranian influence even in Plato—a thesis that in general has been hazarded before, but not so strikingly—and in wider reference deals most interestingly with a famous Orphic fragment. In chap. iv. R. returns to his now famous studies on the Poimandres and the Gnostic Naassene Document, and shows a close association between their Anthropos doctrine and the Iranian God 'Man' concept, thus considerably clarifying his former position. Dr. Schaeder is a pupil of Prof. Reitzenstein; he has equipped himself to deal with Iranian and cognate Oriental texts at first hand in order to give

philological precision to a number of very important problems which our high authority on the Hellenistic mystery-religions and Gnostic research has opened up. From Dr. Schaeder's pen we have (pp. 203-355) very important contributions, dealing with, *e.g.*, 'The Primal Man in Avestan and Middle Persian Tradition,' 'The Manichæan Primal Man Doctrine,' and 'The Term "Man" in the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel.' In these he vigorously supports Prof. Reitzenstein's main views and contentions, and shows himself to be a new comer to be seriously reckoned with in a field of research that is attracting more and more attention, as its importance for the comparative study of religion and the survey of Christian Origins and Backgrounds becomes clearer. Dr. Schaeder also recognizes the value of turning the light of recent busy enquiry on to the rich material of the Mandæan literature, which has now been made accessible by Lidzbarski's translations, on the syncretistic problems with which, in support of Prof. Reitzenstein, he has to deal, and this is an additional feature of great interest. Specialists have found, and will doubtless continue to find, much to dispute over in the many new phases of enquiry opened up by Prof. Reitzenstein, especially when they touch on matters deeply affecting Christian beginnings; but when the dust of battle clears away, it will in highest probability be found that some positions have been won by this sturdy pioneer, which the scholarship of the future will consolidate and hold against every onslaught of Traditionalism.

INDISCHE STRÖMUNGEN IN DER ISLAMISCHEN MYSTIK.

By Prof. Max Horten. (No. 13 of 'Materialen zur Kunde des Buddhismus.') Heidelberg (Carl Winter); pp. x. + 141; M. 10.

WE have here the second and more important contribution of Professor Horten to the fascinating subject of Indian influence in Islamic mysticism. The work is a lexicon of the most important terms in that mysticism, similar to the one already published by Professor Massignon. Horton's, however, differs from Massignons' work in that the former endeavours to interpret mystical terms more or less from the Indian point of view—to be precise, from the 'Brahmanic' and 'Vedāntic' standpoint, admitting also a strong Yoga influence on the mysticism of the Muslims.

It is only fair to mention that Prof. Horten has recently been most severely criticized as being an inaccurate interpreter

in the philological sense, and as also having a 'scholastic' mind. This criticism, in our opinion, is unjust; for it is the so-called 'scholastic' basis of Horten's philosophical outlook that enables him to grasp very often the essence of a phrase, and its true meaning in the mystical and philosophical sense of the time during which it was written. Islamic mysticism cannot be interpreted by philology alone, nor can any other mysticism, as students of it will readily agree, and our philosophical thought since Descartes is quite different from that of the Muslims. It is unscientific to read modern progressive views which are essentially European, into the mentality of a totally different civilization. Massignon's interpretations, again, are often rather more orthodox in the Muslim sense, whereas Horten assumes a more unorthodox outlook, which is in all probability correct, as the strict orthodox formalism, which pervaded even the later Dervish orders, is the result of later centuries of stagnation.

Scholars have long been at variance as to the nature and extent of Indian influence on Islamic mysticism; and the controversy seemed to have been settled, now that much new material has come to light with reference to the indigenous growth of the mysticism of Muslim civilization. We refer here, for instance, to the great Syrian mystics. However, in such a composite civilization as that of Islam, it is probable that Horten's thesis of the great influence of the mystic thinkers of India among the Muslims can be more than justified. We are apt to think too much in European terms, as our civilization is much more one-sided, especially to-day, whereas the Muslim achieved such a brilliant civilization, not because of his originality, which was never conspicuous in our sense, but because of his genius for accepting foreign ideas, and allowing these ideas an uninterrupted growth. GERARD HEYM.

THE GOSPEL FOR ASIA.

A Study of the Three Masterpieces: Gita, Lotus and Fourth Gospel. By Kenneth Saunders, Litt.D. (Cambridge), Author of 'Epochs of Buddhist History,' etc. London (S.P.C.K.); pp. 245; 10s. 6d. net.

THE author of this interesting study is already responsible for several useful books on Indian phases of religion, and is one of those enlightened writers who are creating a new and healthier atmosphere for Missionary endeavours in the East. He treats

with much sympathy the two outstanding reconciliating scriptures of Hinduism and Buddhism—the 'Gita' and the 'Lotus of the Good Law.' In the spirit of both of these Dr. Kenneth Saunders finds much that can be approximated to the spirit of the Fourth Gospel; and in the latter he finds *the* scripture *par excellence* that stands the best chance of recommending Christianity to the most thoughtful and pious minds of Asia. His analyses and expositions of all three scriptures are painstaking and commendable—remembering always that the preference is given to the Christian point of view, as is only natural to one who is writing in the Missionary interest. The advance—and it is a great one—is that no discourteous word is uttered in dealing with the two masterpieces of non-Christian faith. Our author finds in them much he can cordially admire, and confesses that the Divine Flatus is to be manifestly recognized in the spirit of Love and Compassion which suffuses them. What we should like to see is a similarly sincere and cordial treatment of these three great themes by an enlightened Hindu and Buddhist respectively. The deeper down we can get into the heart of the whole matter, the more we shall find that the really spiritual forces of the great faiths of the world are not really antagonistic but complementary. Unless we are woefully mistaken, no one of these forms will ever absorb the other. If one such were to do so, there would be stagnation, and not that natural growth in spirituality which we hope a better mutual understanding of their inner distinctions will one day bring about.

Problems which Perplex.

(Mainly Psychic) explained by Question and Answer. By G. Vale Owen. London (Hutchinson); pp. 157; 4s. 6d.

These questions are a selection from some of the most usual with which the Rev. G. Vale Owen, the well-known writer and speaker on Spiritualistic subjects, has been bombarded in his busy labours. Most of them have reference to religious doctrines and biblical texts. These latter, when of the 'miraculous' order, he tries to bring within the realm of natural law, by reference to present-day known psychical phenomena. The former he endeavours to grapple with on broad and liberal lines; he is never dogmatic. A number of answers on such difficult topics could of course call for new questionings; but we have space to refer to one only,—namely, to the term 'personal' as applied to God. Mr. Vale Owen writes: "In replying it is necessary to define the term 'person.'

As classically used it does not mean an individual. It is derived from the Latin and originally meant a character in a play; also the mask worn by the man who acted the part. If we understand the Three Persons of the Trinity in this way then perhaps there will appear to be not a very large distinction between the teaching of the Buddha and the writers of the New Testament." But the original Greek technical term is *hypostasis*, and certainly did not mean 'mask' or anything approaching it. It was the Latin Father Tertullian who first translated this highly metaphysical term by the concrete Latin *persona*. Tertullian was a lawyer, and *persona* meant in Roman Law a 'legal entity.' Hence subsequent oceans of theological tears. When our author adds that: "It might be stated in some such words as these: there is One God, who manifests in various characters,"—this 'aspect' theory makes him guilty of Sabellianism. But presumably the charge of this particular brand of heresy will not distress him, any more than it distresses ourselves.

THE BRONTËS AND THEIR STARS.

By Maud Margesson, Author of 'Astrology in Epigram.' Illustrated with Astrological Charts. London (Rider); pp. 280; 12s. 6d. net.

THIS careful and elaborate study of certain individual horoscopes will appeal specially to those interested in the relation of astrology to the personal life. It represents much earnest work on the subject, and gives interesting and at times surprising results by a comparison of the life and character of a human being with the map of the heavens at the time of his birth. Horoscopes of four members of the Brontë family are given, as well as of some of their friends, in which not only outward incidents but emotional events—the arising of a feeling, the manifestation of a particular characteristic—are referred to the planetary positions, their correspondence with these being in many instances remarkable. An interesting fact is the mental similarity observable in the horoscopes of the four Brontë children, in reference to which is quoted the following remark from the *Times* Literary Supplement of March 18, 1924: "The Brontës are an example for us, our chief example, of that rare and fascinating phenomenon, the group genius, . . . a marvellous congeries of works produced by a common impulse in a common atmosphere." The book will be read with interest by students of the horoscope of character.

S. E. HALL.

The Mystery of Ourselves.

'Man Know Thyself.' By Staveley Bulford. London (Fowler); pp. 108; 4s. 6d.

In this small volume Mr. Staveley Bulford, who has much experience in light-treatment methods, sets forth one of the many permutation-and-combination attempts of blending ancient and modern notions to elucidate this ancient riddle of man's nature. He refers repeatedly to the 'Sevenfold Secret' of man's creation, which is a precision in numbering that has ceased to charm us personally; and he is especially interested in the 'aura,' whose lowest ranges of radiation he is endeavouring to demonstrate by physical tests. Mr. Bulford ends with the advice to all and sundry, stressed mostly in capitals, which we omit: "Wait not for time or change or common thought to bring you the truth. Seek with a pure and open mind, and truth, which, in reality, is seeking you, will find you"—a programme which is quite consonant with the spirit of questing.

Life of St. John of the Cross.

By the Sisters of Notre Dame. London (Thomas Baker); pp. xii. +200; 6s. net.

A good life of St. John of the Cross, as Father Benedict Zimmerman rightly says in his Introduction to this work, has been a desideratum for many years. But this Life is not addressed to the student of theology, nor to the general reader, but to "young ladies who have received their education in the establishment of the Congregation of Notre Dame." Even so, surely in the 20th century 'young ladies' in such establishments might be given a somewhat more critical study of a very great master of the spiritual life than this pious work. From the very first pages, as a babe and child Juan de Yepes appears as a child of benediction, miraculously preserved from both bodily and spiritual dangers. The book continues in this strain so that it is difficult to connect its hero with the austere spirit that modern students have learnt to know in the *Dark Night of the Soul*. Edifying, perhaps, this treatment may be, but even 'young ladies' have a sense of humour and a critical faculty. Misprints occur on pp. 25, 108, and elsewhere. There is no index.

Albert A. Cock.

THE SCALE OF PERFECTION.

By Walter Hilton. London (Burns, Oates & Washbourne, The Orchard Books, No. 13); pp. lvi.+404; 5s. net.

THIS admirable edition of the *Scala Perfectionis* is modernized from the first printed edition of Wynkyn de Worde (1494) and has a very careful introduction from the French of Dom M. Noetinger, who points out Hilton's influence upon Father Augustine Baker in the 17th century and upon Father Dalgairns in the 19th century. Wynkyn de Worde's charming prefatory lines to Margaret Tudor are also printed in this volume, together with a glossary. The book is one of the most valuable in the 'Orchard' series, and should have a wide circulation. It brings out very vividly the vigorous defence which the orthodox masters of the spiritual life in the 14th century were able to put up against the Wycliffian criticism. In this edition it is possible to determine more exactly how far Miss Underhill in her Introduction to the *Scale of Perfection* is right in her estimate of Hilton's indebtedness to the *Cloud of Unknowing*.

ALBERT A. COCK.

PRAYER AND POETRY.

By Henri Bremond. Translated by Algar Thorold. London (Burns, Oates & Washbourne); pp. vii.+200; 7s. 6d. net.

THE Abbé Bremond's important essay on *Prière et Poésie* is here presented in a very attractive translation by Mr. Algar Thorold. The book is a development of a lecture given by Bremond at a meeting of the five Academies. The most important chapters are those at the end, on catharsis, the poet and the mystic. It is not a little surprising that Francis Thompson, who has not been neglected by French students of English poetry, is not in this work referred to, while the Abbé might have found a singularly pertinent illustration of his general thesis in the work of Mrs. Meynell. But, if we mistake not, Bremond's work will prove to be the herald of a new chapter on æsthetic analysis, literary criticism and spiritual synthesis. He quotes Maritain to the effect that all beauty tends of itself to unite us to God. Francis Thompson had more graphically expressed it: "To see through the Lamp Beauty the Light, God." We welcome and are deeply grateful to both the author and his translator.

ALBERT A. COCK.

The English Mystics.

By Dom David Knowles. London (Burns, Oates & Washbourne); pp. ix.+210; 6s. net.

Dom Knowles' book falls into two parts: one on mysticism in general, the other a series of studies of characteristic English mystics including Walter Hilton, Augustine Baker, Juliana of Norwich and the author of the 'Cloud of Unknowing.' It is regrettable that Dom Knowles has limited his introductory essay on the nature of mysticism to less than forty pages. Certain of his paragraphs indicate an ability to deal critically and analytically with modern expositions of mysticism scarcely inferior to, and in some ways more lucidly than, that of the learned French Jesuit Maréchal. But Part II. is distinctly valuable in its unusually clear descriptions of the English mystics and for its balanced and well-informed criticism. In some valuable appendices Dom Knowles ventures upon some criticism of both Dean Inge and Miss Underhill. He thinks the latter has developed leanings towards Theosophy and that the Dean of Saint Paul's has unduly ignored the Pelagian and Jansenist controversies on grace. Both Part I. of this book and Appendix B. deserve expansion.

Albert A. Cock.

The Secret Paths of Divine Love.

By Father Constantine Barbanson. Edited by Dom McCann. London (Burns, Oates & Washbourne); pp. xix.+244; 5s. net.

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Albert A. Cock.

Some Spiritual Guides of the 17th Century.

By Abbé Huvelin. Translated, with an Introduction by Father Joseph Leonard, C.M. London (Burns, Oates & Washbourne); pp. lxxvii.+195; 6s. net.

The rapidly increasing number of students of von Hügel and of the Life of Charles de Foucauld will cordially welcome this excellent collection of some of the finest discourses of the great French *curé* whose influence upon both von Hügel and de Foucauld was so profound. In a future edition perhaps Fr. Leonard will rearrange the addresses to correspond with their exact chronological sequence. The addresses themselves vividly reveal the Abbé Huvelin's charm: they are simple, clear, courageous and full of an infectious enthusiasm. They reveal the singular richness of 17th century France in spiritual guides, and throw not a little light upon that revival of mystical experience which in England gave us George Herbert, Crashaw, Traherne and George Fox. Would that we had an Abbé Huvelin in England to mediate between Catholic and Quaker spirituality. The book is one to read and re-read,—a veritable treasure.

Albert A. Cock.

PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT.

We have regretfully to inform our readers that, as far as can be foreseen, we shall be compelled to cease publication on the completion of the present volume (July number). The loss on every issue is exceedingly heavy; subscriptions and sales do not cover half the outgoings. The only possibility of continuance lies in the hope that this announcement may meet the eye of some benevolent patron or fairy god-mother who does or can sufficiently appreciate the good work The Quest has been doing for the last twenty years, under great financial difficulties, to help keep it in being for at least another volume. We shall be grateful to our friends and readers if they will kindly make our need known beyond the reach of this notice.

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Prof. G. H. Langley, M.A., Vice-Chancellor, University of Dacca.

I.

By spiritual experience I mean that experience which is possessed when the whole mind or person is in communion with the Universal Reality or, as I would prefer to call it, God. By preferring the term God I do not wish to suggest a Reality which is altogether apart from the Universe. The object of spiritual experience for man must be the power and purpose which man finds in the Universe as a whole. I use the term God because for me it has more intimate associations, and because I am convinced that the ultimate power in the Universe to which I can relate myself is at least personal. Now the object of spiritual experience is the most complete and perfect of all objects, and He cannot be fully known by the intellect alone. Man possesses other powers which must be employed if he is to know God. His emotions must be brought into harmony with God and his will surrendered to Him. Further, the powers of man do not function

separately when he concentrates on the apprehension of God. At such times the conscious powers of thought, feeling and will, together with all those powers in the sub-conscious regions of man's mind which connect therewith, relate themselves as a simple unity to the spiritual object.[1] The relation is akin to that which exists between persons who are most intimate. In this relation all the person's powers are employed, although frequently they are not consciously employed, and knowledge of the object is acquired which transcends the knowledge attained by the understanding alone. In these respects the deeper knowledge of God which comes through spiritual experience, resembles our knowledge of persons, although such experience is entirely non-sensuous. In spiritual experience God is apprehended: (a) as a universal spiritual power which transcends, but is immanent within and operates through, the person apprehending; and (b) as an existence which gives meaning, value and purpose to life; and this knowledge is not accessible to the man who approaches God only with the understanding.

This may be further explained by reference to one who possessed a markedly full and complete spiritual experience. Jesus of Nazareth was wonderfully gifted with the powers which chiefly characterize the human mind. He possessed a powerful intellect, a deeply sensitive nature and a strength of purpose which has never been excelled. Jesus has left no written records, but it is not possible to doubt the greatness of his mind. He inherited the ancient teaching and beliefs of his people, the Hebrews, and with unerring insight discriminated therein all that was vitally and universally significant. Separating this from what was false, and from those narrowing features which were due to local and temporal conditions, he made it available for all

[1] See my article on 'Cognition in Religious Experience,'—THE QUEST, April, 1925.

men and for all time. Further, no one has ever been more sensitive to human suffering, or to the hopes and fears of simple men and women; nor has any one possessed a will more resolute. With fixedness of purpose he went towards his goal, allowing neither the counsel of friends nor the threats of enemies to deflect him from his course. Now there appear to be times when Jesus withdrew from his everyday occupations, and concentrated the powers of his very complete and gifted nature on communion with God his Father. At such times all the powers of his mind were employed, although not possibly as they were in the occupations of everyday. The ancient Greeks distinguished contemplation from the more practical activity of the mind. In the latter the mind uses its powers to master the situations with which it is confronted, and to make such changes in these situations as enable it to fulfil its purposes. But in contemplation the mind employs its powers for the apprehension of the eternal Reality. Contemplation was considered by the Greeks to be the highest function of the human mind. In this condition the mind is active, but with an activity which is directed intensely to knowing and not to doing. So it is with the mind when it communes with God. It is active in the highest degree, but its activity is concentrated on receptiveness. In the presence of God the will is used in the act of self-surrender, and the intellect in apprehending the nature and purpose of God. The result of these periods of communion for Jesus was an assurance concerning the purpose and meaning of life which is never attained in any other way. Jesus knew why he was sent into the world, and he knew also how and for what men ought to live. He was convinced that his teaching was true, because it was not his own but his Father's. He was convinced also of the presence within him of a divine power which he believed would eventually overcome the forces of evil in the world. His ordinary activities were suffused with the consciousness of God, which gave meaning, purpose and power to them all.

There are two further points referring to the nature of spiritual experience that should be noted. First, experience of God presupposes and is interpenetrated by all other experience. In spiritual experience

a deeper apprehension of the Universal Reality is attained than is present in any other form of experience, but the greater experience can never contradict the lesser; on the other hand it is interfused by the latter. If, for example, we study the spiritual experiences of the prophets of Israel, we find that these arise out of reflection upon such national events as the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, the Exodus, the settlement in Canaan, the founding of the Kingship, relations with foreign powers such as the Assyrians, and the exile into Babylon; together with reflection upon the moral and social condition of the people. Such a prophet as the writer of the first part of the book of Isaiah found God as he pondered on the menace of the Assyrians and the social ills that beset his nation. These were the problems with which he was daily confronted and concerned, and the prophet's knowledge of them interpenetrated and in a measure determined the nature of his apprehension of God. So also it is in the world to-day. The statesman who is day by day engaged in the affairs of nations, the social reformer whose fire is kindled by the moral and economic condition of his fellow countrymen, the artist who delights in the expressions of beauty, the scientist whose serious and continued study is the physical world; all carry with them their varied experiences when they bring their whole being into the presence of God and these experiences must interpenetrate and aid their apprehension of God. The knowledge of God does not contradict, but must culminate and perfect human knowledge.

Secondly, the knowledge of God which is given in spiritual experience cannot be disproved by arguments put forward by the human understanding. It has

been maintained that God is only apprehended as a power making for righteousness, and as a Reality giving meaning and value to life, when the whole person is sensitive to Him. In the mystic communion God reveals of Himself to the faithful enquirer that which the unaided human understanding can never find. In this sense it may be said that the apprehension is by faith and not by knowledge, and for this reason it follows that the understanding which is inadequate to discover God is also inadequate to disprove Him when found. One who does not possess spiritual experience lacks the *data* upon which any valid argument must be built. In making this assertion I do not mean to imply that the knowledge given in the spiritual experience of any man is unassailable. I maintain, however, that such experiences must be modified and perfected by more complete apprehensions of a like nature. From this, however, it does not follow that spiritual experience is not affected by human knowledge. As we have already suggested, man's spiritual experience is necessarily interpenetrated by his rational interpretation of his experience of the world. For this reason it often happens that certain forms of religious belief must be abandoned, because they are incompatible with the rational interpretation of experience. Nevertheless, wherever there is a real and deep spiritual experience, it cannot be set aside because of a supposed incompatibility with an experience which is of necessity less fundamental and less inclusive. Since such spiritual experience is real and is, for its possessor, the most important of all realities, it must be included among the *data* upon which the individual's reason reflects, and must largely determine his view of the Universe as a whole.

There are three vital characteristics of all true spiritual experience, namely: (1) objectivity, (2) unselfishness[1] and (3) universality. First, the spiritual power is always apprehended as an other than self which is *given* to the self and operates through the self. Such a power is just as truly *given* as the sense-qualities of a physical object are given in an act of perception, although not in the same way. There are those who would deny this. They may admit that spiritual experience is subjectively true and important for those who possess it, but not that it implies the existence of an object of worship which is universally valid. Or again they may maintain that the characteristic of spiritual experience is the identity of the subject experiencing with the object experienced. The Indian Vedāntist, for instance, claims that in perfected spiritual experience the *Atman* is known to be identical with *Brahman*. We, on the other hand, have described spiritual experience as communion. Such identity as is attained is an identity of purpose and of interest between lovers in whom there is complete understanding and perfect sympathy: an understanding and sympathy which is due to the presence within the subject experiencing of the universal object experienced. Complete identity we do not believe to be possible without destroying the reality of the individual's spiritual experience. In addition, we are convinced that such identity is not compatible with the relation between religious and moral experience, which is dependent upon the possession of freedom by the individual, but it is not possible to argue this point here. Further, there is a characteristic of all true spiritual experience which supports this view. Those

[1] The term is here used as implying the absence of all self-centredness.

who possess it, although endowed with great power, are signally humble; and the secret of their humility is that they recognize that the power which is available for them is from God. Secondly, the experience must be marked by unselfishness. It is only possible when the claims of the individual will are surrendered, and man has learned to say: "Not my will, but Thine." As St. Catherine of Siena reminds us, the possession of such experience teaches never to say "I will" or "I will not"; and never to say "Mine" or "Our."[1] Baron von Hügel, writing of such experience as he found it in St. Catherine, says that it is characterized by breadth and fulness, *self-oblivion* and dignity, *claimlessness* and spiritual power.[2] Thirdly, the object apprehended is necessarily universal. This follows from the fact that in the act of apprehending the claims of the individual self are annulled and the mind laid open to receive the experience of God.

I am aware of the difficulty of maintaining this point of view. Analysis of different types of spiritual experience, even when the latter are experiences of men who are sincerely seeking the Divine, reveals that the objects of these experiences are very variously conceived. There are striking differences, for instance, between the deified powers of Nature, such as *Vayu*, *Sūrya*, *Pṛithivi*, etc., of Vedic India; the infinite and impersonal spiritual reality, the *Ātman* or *Brahman*, that was sought by Indian Ṛishis of later times; Jehovah, the 'Lord of the hosts' of the peoples of Israel; and the God revealed in Christianity. It must be borne in mind, however, that God, the object of

[1] See *The Mystical Element of Religion*, by Baron von Hügel, I. 138.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 141.

spiritual experience, is the most perfect of all objects, and that a complete apprehension of Him is only possible for one whose powers of spiritual apprehension are perfected. The objects revealed in different types of spiritual experience may therefore be very partial, although true, manifestations of God.

Further, it is possible to assert the claims of the self as a spiritual experience. History presents innumerable examples of this. During the Great War the German Emperor claimed that his policy of uniting Poland with Germany was supported by a spiritual vision.

> I have dreamed a prodigious dream (he writes). I saw the Holy Virgin, who commanded me to save her holy habitation, which was threatened with great danger. She gazed at me with her eyes and I have accomplished her will. . . . Poles, know that those who will be on my side will be largely rewarded. Those who set themselves against me will perish. God and the Holy Virgin are with me. She herself has raised the sword to aid Poland.[1]

Many other instances of the way in which men and nations have claimed the authority of their God for the brutal assertion of their own will could be quoted. But examples of spurious spiritual experience seem to me only to confirm the principle upon which I wish to insist. They testify to the universality of true spiritual experience. The reason why in such cases the individual represents his own wish as springing from a spiritual experience, is that he hopes that by this means it may be associated in the minds of others with the unselfishness and universality which characterize true spiritual experience.

[1] *Russia and the Great War*, by Gregor Alexinsky, p. 159.

II.

I now turn to the consideration of what is described in the title as the function of spiritual experience. Ordinary human experience seems to be characterized by a quality which is the contrary of that which is vital to spiritual experience. I will term this quality *claimfulness*. By 'claimfulness' I mean the assertion of the aims of the individual self, which feature of human experience is the opposite of the acceptance by the individual self as its own, of the will of God. As we look out on the world to-day we find individuals, nations, and other groups of individuals, separated from one another in respect of feeling, ideals and aims, and often such individuals and groups appear to be in irreconcilable opposition. All such opposition ultimately arises from the feature which I have described as claimfulness.

Claimfulness becomes manifest both in the individual and in groups of individuals. In the individual it is the result of complexes of primary impulses which become reinforced or modified, and develop into finite personality, under all kinds of influences received from his environment. Since the influences affecting individuals are so very diverse, it follows that individuals also are diverse and naturally possess varied, and at times conflicting, claims. For a similar reason also conflicting claims arise within groups of individuals. Such groups vary in size, and they vary also according to the principle upon which they are formed. They comprise families, races, and nations; the members of societies and institutions, and the adherents of the different religious faiths. From time to time between any such groups, and especially between groups

belonging to the same category, conflict may be found, and it seems to me that the principle operating which leads to conflict is in every case the same. I do not wish to discuss here whether or no there is such a reality as a group-self, or whether any group is comprised solely of an aggregate of individuals. The fact remains that the ideals and aspirations of each group tend in a certain direction, and that they frequently come into conflict with the ideals and aspirations of other similar groups. International relations since the period immediately preceding the War have presented us, and still continue to present us, with many very striking examples of such conflicts. Here in India we have been recently acutely reminded of their possibility by the tense relations existing between the two great communities—Hindus and Muhammadans. The reason for the prevalence of claimfulness is that the individuals forming any one group possess certain common traditions, come under certain influences and live under other conditions that are common. There thus emerge interests, aspirations and ideals that are possessed in general by members of any one group; and these are apt to differ from the common interests, aspirations and ideals of other groups. Hence the frequent conflicts arising from differences, some of which often seem to be well-nigh irreconcilable.

The question thus arises, how are the conflicts caused by the claimfulness of individuals and of groups of individuals to be overcome? The answer seems clear. They can be overcome only in so far as the individual and groups of individuals surrender the claims which emerge from their limitations, and are prepared to accept as their own the ideals and ends

that have their home in Universal Reality. In other words, the solution of these conflicts rests ultimately with those who possess true spiritual experience. If, as we have maintained, in spiritual experience man apprehends God as a universal spiritual power which transcends but is present within him, it is evident that in such experience a force is available, which must aid in overcoming not only the conflicts created by the claimfulness of individuals, but also those larger conflicts that are the result of the claimfulness of nations and of other groups of individuals. Much of the failure to solve international problems is due to the fact, that frequently the solution is sought by the balancing of contrary claims with a view to effecting some sort of compromise. No permanent solution can be attained in this way. Such can only be found when a point of view is reached which transcends conflicting claims; and this is only possible for him who apprehends ultimate spiritual values and permits these to carry on their disinterested operations through him. Problems of this nature will be permanently solved only when the majority of persons forming national groups arrive at this kind of experience. Plato was not far from the truth when he urged the need for the philosopher king. He alone can rightly rule, and he alone is able to lead his subjects to the attitude of mind from which abiding solutions can be found.

The objection may be raised that all this is futile speculation, and consequently of no value to those confronted with the issues of life. In answer thereto I wish only to point to two ways in which the operation of this principle is partially, although very effectively, exemplified. It must be admitted that, wherever there is the appreciation of enduring values, such as truth

or beauty, a force exists which draws men together and enables them to overcome their differences. The sincere seeker after truth is bound to kindred spirits of all nations and all times. He humbly recognizes his indebtedness to all who are able to aid him in finding the truth, and ceases to be aware of differences, such as communal or personal differences, that might otherwise divide him from them. A like comradeship exists between those who love beauty in all its forms. Their enthusiastic devotion to common ideals creates a sacred fellowship, which has the power to overcome and transcend differences that, under other conditions, might be acutely felt. Now spiritual experience is the most complete of all such experiences; and it follows that, whenever and wherever it is present, it must be the most powerful of unifying forces.

Another objector may argue that religion is frequently a source of claimfulness. The recent communal riots in Calcutta and at other centres in India are demonstrations of this view. I admit that this is so; and for this reason included among the groups between which there might be conflicting claims, those created by adherence to various forms of religious belief. But in this connection it is important to distinguish between religious conviction and spiritual experience. The former may be largely the result of those limiting conditions which give rise to conflicts of claimfulness. Inherited practices and beliefs, or it may even be superstitions, differentiate one religious community from another, and may promote antagonism. The custom of sacrificing cows and goats at the festival of the Bakri-Idh and that of playing music in Hindu religious processions are instances of such inherited communal practices which have become causes of

communal tension. In so far as this is the case, however, religious conviction is not spiritual experience. It is an assertion of communal claims and not the apprehension of enduring spiritual values. Spiritual experience, and indeed true religion, is this and this alone; and it is only to experience of this kind that we can look for solutions of the problems of life.

III.

Finally, we pass to the consideration of the criterion of the value of spiritual experience. The foregoing considerations make it possible to formulate a criterion, by means of which the degree of perfection of any type of spiritual experience can be tested. As we have seen, this must by its very nature demand the unifying and harmonizing of life in all its relations. This demand is akin to that made by human reason for a coherent explanation of the universe. We are all aware of the fact that any contradiction in an attempted explanation of the world presents a problem to the mind, and of how the mind rejects such explanation as unsatisfactory, until the contradiction is resolved and coherence attained. The persistent demand arising out of spiritual experience is of a similar kind, but it is for a much more thorough-going unity. Since the demand springs up within man when he is exercising all his powers, it can never be satisfied with purely rational coherence; but will persist until conflicts of feeling and of will are also overcome. When considering the lives of those who daily live in communion with God, it seems that this demand first appears as a demand for an inner peace, which is found only when the mind is brought into accord with the will of God or with the Universal

Reality. But this desire for inner peace does not completely express the nature of the demand. So long as the God-conscious man lives in a world in which conflicts such as we have described exist, he will inevitably make the persistent demand that these conflicts be overcome; and as far as in him lies he will utilize the spiritual power that is at his disposal to this end. Any institution like the League of Nations is a visible expression of this aspect of the demand.

Those who are acquainted with the different religions of the world, must be struck with the great variety and oftentimes by the diversity of the religious experience which they present. Further, it is apparent that in spite of these differences the representatives of each religion are apt to claim, that their particular type of religious experience is at least as valuable as any other. It obviously, therefore, seems to be necessary to have some criterion whereby the unprejudiced investigator can judge the value of the various forms of spiritual experience. I submit that the criterion here explained is the only one by means of which such an estimate can be made. Spiritual experience is true and of value only in so far as it enables us effectively to overcome the contradictions of life.

The criterion may be applied not only to the type of spiritual experience but also to the spiritual experience of any person, and it is necessary to discriminate between the application of the criterion to the type and to the individual. It is quite possible, for instance, that when the criterion is applied to the various religions, any one type of religious experience must be judged higher than another, since it has proved to be a more effective spiritual force in the world. From this, however, it does not follow that

the spiritual experience of any one representative of the higher type is of necessity of greater value than the spiritual experience of any other who represents a lower type. It often happens that the reverse is the case; and those of us who take pride in being members of the higher type are often forced to admit that we find persons with a deeper, richer and more powerful spiritual experience outside the pale.

Finally, it should be noted that the acceptance of this criterion excludes from consideration what may be described as external evidence, in forming judgments concerning either the religions of the world or the great figures of spiritual history. Under external evidence I include claims for the divine authority of sacred books, supernatural appearances surrounding the birth of a saint or any other crucial epoch in a saint's life, miracles, assertions of divinity, and so on. I do not wish here to deny the possibility of miracles and the supernatural or any distinction between the divine and the human; but simply to insist that the spiritual value both of the saint and of the religion must be estimated solely by the measure of the spiritual power which God, through them, is able to impart to those who are seeking Him.

G. H. LANGLEY.

THE NEEDS OF MODERN MYSTICISM.

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PROCLUS used to say that a philosopher ought not to show any exclusiveness, but should be the hierophant of the whole world.

This also, in my view, should be said of the modern mystic, whose main characteristic must be a spirit of universality. For, independently of all mysticism, the light of the new day that is dawning over the ruins which the late War has piled up, shines on many a movement of value which associates together all the human race in life's varied manifestations. This universal note, struck in our days for the first time, must needs be found more clearly sounding in its mystics also. Though preserving the different tones which custom and tradition have stamped on their respective peoples, the mystic souls of to-day can no longer ignore the religious life which pulses through their brothers of other faiths. They are inevitably led to associate more closely with them, and only to find, under other forms, the self-same ideals for which they yearn and which they labour so assiduously to acquire.

Another requirement of modern mysticism is the elaboration of a new theoretic system, if it is to clarify its conceptions of reality and to provide a means for its philosophic adjustment. Not, however, that I consider such a systemization absolutely essential, for indeed the impulse towards the mystic quest gushes forth, for

the most part, from such deep strata of the soul as not to appear entirely accessible to a rationalistic analysis. Nevertheless, this modern requirement, by virtue of which every determinate attitude of the Spirit to knowledge and life has to be brought into relation to the rational mind, and by it represented in the clearest and most adequate formulation, is, in my opinion, both wise and justified. This arduous task of elaborating the philosophical system of mysticism in such a form as the present evolution of thought demands has—if I am not mistaken—not been hitherto happily accomplished. From among the small number of modern mystics who feel that they have attained, in some essential way, the object of their quest, it is to be hoped that those may emerge who are otherwise so philosophically prepared and so equipped in the study of comparative mysticism as to lay the foundations of a really catholic theory of mystic knowledge.

No cultured mind now-a-days can conceive of any kind of religious and mystic development save in terms of modern psychology. This latter, as it gradually evolves by virtue of methods in which philosophy (introspection), science (observation and measurement) and history all play their part, will provide ever saner means for the systematic investigation of the adventures of the mystic soul.

But in the field of religious and mystic psychology such methods must give place to very special adaptations. Yet even these are not enough. There is another which is of singular affinity to the experimental method of the natural sciences, and which we may call, with Boutroux, inner experimentation. It consists in reproducing at first hand, by means of conscientious use of mystic practices, that series of experiences with

which all mystic life is interwoven. This method, which can be applied only by an authentic mystic, with all the ethical and spiritual conditions needful, has not yet been brought—as far as I am aware—into the field of modern psychology. And yet it alone can safely complete the picture of the psychological vision of mysticism, by viewing it no longer from outside and by way of conceptual demonstration, but on the basis of first-hand experience. Only by penetrating into the holy place of the mystic's lofty experiences is it possible to grasp their true nature.

However much any established religion may form a spiritual environment which favours the starting on some special way of mystic quest, it cannot, for all that, be dogmatically laid down that mystic development is indissolubly bound to the religious life, nor that it represents a particular aspect of some specific religion.

In the profound speculations of the Upanishads and in certain Indian forms of Yoga we have examples of mystic ways that are not characteristically religious in the usual sense. Only much later in India, did mysticism take on a distinctively religious dress. Mysticism has always found means of adapting itself to the exigencies of religion, and has prospered as much in the midst of Judaism as in Christianity or Islam. It is true that Buddhism, in its primitive form, represents an extraordinarily pure type of mystic endeavour, whereas in Christianity the characteristics of prophetic religion predominate. But it is likewise true that Christian mystics have known how to raise to a degree of perfection and power, perhaps never surpassed, that devotional form of mystic development which corresponds to the Bhakti Yoga of the Hindus.

The prototype of a modern mysticism will hardly however be found in souls who follow the traditions of any established religion, no matter what innovations are made in them. It is rather souls of an independent nature that afford a clearer indication of the new times. Having succeeded, with difficulty and by dint of great effort, along the most tortuous and unforeseen paths, at recognizing their true vocation, they must avail themselves not only of the religious values in which they have been brought up, and those with which they have come into contact, but also of the most varied currents of thought and action in modern life.

The great power that art has to move the soul of man, the strange potency it possesses in arousing the deepest emotions and of raising the tone of life, is due to the way in which the artist's imagination comes into contact with that archetypal world of true beauty whence it draws its inspiration. Generally speaking, the artist sets foot within the confines of that world in the brief moments of his creativeness. But he cannot hold his ground there for long; he returns to the ordinary level of consciousness with the torment and the joy of expressing and communicating to others what he has perceived. In this consists his particular *rôle* as mediator of divine beauty.

Now the genuine mystic, in the fullness of his unfolding, acquires powers that transcend those of the greatest of artists to express. He not only has sporadic visions or intuitive flashes of the world of eternal beauty and truth, but he realises also the potentialities of a complete conscious life or ordering—of a *syntagma*, as Eucken has expressed it—in contact with that world itself, and translates its harmonies into action in his life's work. If the mystic, in the fulfilment of his task,

nearly always concentrates his energies upon activities of a moral and religious order, this does not prevent his often feeling the need of emulating the genius of the artist in the æsthetic expression of his own experiences. Mystic art, more especially in the field of music and poetry, which more amply corresponds to the higher values of the inner life, can claim a glorious past and has certainly a radiant future in front of it. We cannot conceive a strictly modern mystic to be anything else but an artist capable of expressing, by means of the art of language, at least, the drama of the sublime vicissitudes of his soul. Having no great enthusiasm for the repetition of traditional phraseology and the human love-symbolism of the middle-ages, we believe that there is much fresh beauty of expression open to one who walks in the flower-strewn fields of mystic experience.

As to the relation between mystic development and the growth of the various positive sciences, it is an undoubted fact that the process of mystic evolution differs greatly from that of ordinary scientific investigation. The latter follows a dualistic method of research, mainly by the exercise of intellectual activity; the former strives to transcend the intellectual faculties by raising itself on a higher plane of unitive and universal knowledge. But however much the mystic way may differ from that of scientific research, it is neither wise nor just for the mystic to ignore or despise the progress of science. An ignorant or superstitious pseudo-mystic, the outcrop of far-off days of obscurantism, no longer, now-a-days, claims our sympathy. He is a trespasser who thrusts himself into a loftier world, bereft of the most elementary notions of the world he would leave behind.

A bad habit, frequently met with among the would-be spiritually-minded, is that of deploring and ceaselessly deprecating the upsetting effects produced by certain nerve-racking and strenuous aspects which life is more and more assuming, owing to the progress of technical knowledge. But the true mystic should be capable of putting into practice in his life the truths he has learnt in his contact with the higher worlds; he should be at least abreast of his own days in adapting himself to them as a man of action. The modern world, with the convulsive labouring of its engines and motors, under the spur of economic necessity, is unifying for the first time in history all its currents of life. It can have no longer place, in any endeavour to work out its spiritual redemption, for a swarm of battle-shy mystics, incapable of enduring the iron tyranny of its modes of existence.

Every mystic soul, it is true, needs times for seclusion and calm that it may find its true self and brace itself anew for fresh battles. But the world of to-day does not preclude the possibility of this, and asceticism is always possible, in a new form, without any retiring to deserts or convents. Those who pursue the mystic way and who want to keep pace with human progress, and to help man in his inner awakening by word and deed and the example of a life lived in the fulness of the spirit, must never be world-shy.

Among mystics of every age and religion, manifestations of physical and psychic phenomena transcending the normal have been constantly observed. These phenomena (gifts of healing, levitation, television, premonitions, etc.) were regarded in olden days as sheer miracles. Misjudged as mere superstition, they were ignored by the materialistic science of the last

century. To-day they are beginning to interest science anew; for they are cropping up on all hands under the names of spiritualism, metapsychics, psychical research, and so on. It seems an undoubted fact, endorsed by all the schools of mysticism, that extraordinary faculties of knowledge and action are developed by those who practise ascetic training and mystic exercises. Devotion to the acquisition of these faculties and the mastery over the powers that are supposed to be obtained thereby, constitute the objective of what has been called 'practical occultism.' But the possession of these faculties is not considered by the true mystic to be the essential purpose of his quest. When they come spontaneously they are welcomed as divine gifts, are used with parsimony and entirely altruistically. But they who yearn for union with the divine in the splendour of spiritual consciousness, lift their gaze much higher. The Orientals also, who in the various forms of yoga and tantra-practice seem to have developed a complicated technique for acquiring such powers, regard them as inferior to the highest purpose to be pursued, as halting stages merely, where the mystic, who ardently aspires to free himself from all the ties of a limited consciousness, must not linger.

The history of pseudo-mysticism is not lacking in examples of ways of development unsustained by a high degree of ethical evolution, indeed, at times, marked by very grievous deviations of the moral sense. Aberrations of this nature have been justly combatted in the past by all the great religions, and should with greater reason in our days be condemned and shunned. Nothing is more dangerous for the healthy, vital integrity of the human spirit than the spurious forms of mysticism. Again, there is nothing more hurtful

for mind and heart alike than to expose them to the tremendous forces of the mystic life before the work of purification has been carried to a safe stage. The great adventures of the mystic quest should form the crowning point of the integration of personality; as these adventures tend to overstep its normal boundaries, the personality itself must have reached maturity and an exquisite moral sensibility. A sane ethical standpoint is the first essential requisite and the touchstone for every mystic way worthy of the name. I would go further. Mystic morality is not that of the good man alone; that may, perhaps, be said of it at its starting point. But along the path towards the luminous peaks of divine realization, the mystic must learn to live day by day in the atmosphere of an heroic morality, of an infinite love capable of inspiring those boundless sacrifices which characterize the greatest benefactors of humanity.

In contrast to the terrible austerities of the mediæval mystics, who ferociously loathed and tortured their bodies, regarding the flesh as the incurable source of the lowest appetites, those endowed with exquisite sensitivity in our own days take proper care of their physical organism. The body is no longer regarded as the devil's victim, but rather as the necessary vehicle and instrument for our proper activities in the world; we have come to know better the way in which it functions and have radically modified our methods of dealing with it, and come to recognize the wisdom of developing its powers to the full, so as to give it the necessary resistance and adaptability to cope with the hard work modern civilization demands of it. The striving to give the body the poise and purity of physical health, aids greatly in coming to realize it as the

earthly temple for the transmutation and employment of the highest activities of the spirit.

The desperate battle waged by the mystics of old against evil, regarded as something external and ferociously antagonistic and devilish, is no longer in our days so violent and acute. While not suffering their energies to slacken in the struggle with the lower and instinctive forms of life, modern mystics strive to accentuate the positive aspect of their altruistic and spiritual work rather than the negative one of resistance to temptation. Wild and crude types of austerity give place to more balanced and wiser forms of asceticism, and the latter, instead of being considered ends in themselves, are now regarded only as preparatory stages of training for a life of greater freedom in the light of the spirit. Illness and poverty supply opportunity enough for the exercise of courage, patience and serenity, and can be utilized for understanding the lesson they teach, learning from them detachment from the things of this world; but the seeking after them is morbid to the extreme of insanity. He who hysterically hugs his misery and his rags, and abhors, despises, destroys and fails to appreciate the beautiful things created by artistic inspiration, never wins to freedom; it is his alone who knows how to keep his mind happy and serene in whatever surroundings and conditions he may find himself under the eternally blue sky of the peace of God.

In the field of love, the soul of the mystic vibrates with ever-quickening intensity; nor must love be confined to our fellow men alone, as we learn from the Eastern ideal of boundless compassion and from such great animal-lovers as the saintly Francis of Assisi.

The sentiment of solidarity and passion of love are to be extended to all beings who live a sentient life in one grand harmonious universality.

In the field of religious practice it is to the mystics that belongs the special and all-important task of making every endeavour progressively to simplify and sublimate divine worship, and to offer a more vital and profound interpretation of the sacred rites, so that the masses may understand the spiritual nature of true adoration.

Mirrors of goodness, sweetness and tolerance, their souls open to every vision of the Infinite, the mystics, in the flame of a love which burns and yet consumes them not, afford the natural meeting-ground of the different creeds. They will be the first to overcome the barriers which for countless centuries have kept apart the rival religions; from them all will learn to tread their own paths more perfectly, and to be more tolerant in appraising the good points of those which others follow. And so the modern mystic no longer seeks liberation from sorrow by fleeing the evils of the world, but strives to draw from the inexhaustible springs of a divine consciousness the forces capable of helping the world to progress and harmony in a higher order of life.

An optimist, free from illusions, trustful but clairvoyant, armed with that boundless patience that naught can trouble, he takes his place in the ranks of men, a creative, active, tireless centre of harmony, a burning crucible for the sublimation of every form of evil and suffering into values of happiness and goodness, an ever watchful sentry and a safe guide for his fellows.

V. VEZZANI.

THE PHYSIO-PHILOSOPHY OF LORENZ OKEN.

THE CONVERSION OF SPIRIT INTO NATURE.

Capt. E. J. Langford Garstin, M.C.

In presenting summarily Lorenz Oken's view of the Evolution of Some-thing from No-thing, I am actuated by the conviction that the theories of this philosophic thinker are, I think, worthy of our attention for a number of reasons.

Oken was a German, born at the latter end of the eighteenth century, a most distinguished scientist of his day and undoubtedly a man of considerable genius.

Though he was not in possession of many of the scientific facts and theories which are now current, no few of his ideas will be found strikingly anticipatory of such modern theories, for instance, as the Electro-Magnetic Theory of Light, and Einstein's Theory of Relativity, with his conception of curved space, limited infinities and the deflection of light by a gravitational field. In some ways, even, Oken foreshadows the Electron Theory of Matter.

At the same time he is in many places reminiscent of Plato, Philo, Porphyry, Plotinus, Proclus, of the Pythagorean system of numbers and of the Qabalah; and frequently he is of particular interest to the student of Alchemy and 'Occultism' generally.

Moreover Oken's treatise on Physio-Philosophy strikes a profoundly religious note and, despite its highly scientific nature, betrays a mind that in many

ways is fundamentally orthodox and seeks to unite his theories with the Biblical Genesis.

To Lorenz Oken Science owes much, and during the first half of the last century hardly a German treatise on Anatomy, Physiology, Physics or Chemistry was not regardful of his works.

In 1805, in his book on Generation, Oken advanced the doctrine that all organic bodies originate from and consist of vesicles or cells, which, when singly detached and regarded in their original process of production, are the infusorial mass or protoplasma, from whence all larger organisms fashion themselves or are evolved.

This doctrine of his, together with the thesis touching the signification of parts,—as to how, for example, the blossom is the repetition of the vegetable axis or trunk, the cephalic bones that of the vertebræ, the feet of the branchiæ, and the maxillæ, in turn, of the feet,—were before all others comprehended and almost universally adopted.

Inorganic matters and activities, moreover, are in parallel to the anatomical formations and functions. Oken also considers that this is the case with the spiritual or psychical functions.

In this paper I propose to deal only with two sections of his Physio-Philosophy: namely, Mathēsis and Ontology, with notes on the creation of the organic and the division of the organism.

Philosophy, says Oken, is in itself a logical construction, but it may perhaps lead to a real conception of the universe or world. As this discipline consists of two parts, the one apparent, real or material, the other non-apparent, ideal or spiritual, there are of necessity two divisions of the subject: namely, Pneumato- and Physio-Philosophy.

Physio-Philosophy has to show, according to Oken, how, and in accordance with what laws, the Material originated or derived its existence from nothing; how the world developed from nothing; and by what method, by self-evolution into higher and manifold forms, the elements separated into minerals, finally became organic, and, in man, attained self-consciousness. It thus follows that as the Spiritual is antecedent to Nature, Physio-Philosophy may be called the Science of the conversion of Spirit into Nature.

Oken's system is divided into three main parts: the doctrine of the Whole, or Mathēsis; that of the Singulars, or Ontology; and that of the Whole in the Singulars, or Biology.

Now Science is a series of necessarily interdependent and consecutive propositions, which rest upon a certain fundamental proposition. And if anything be certain it can only be one in number; and thus there can be only one science.

Mathematics is certain, and is, therefore, the only true science; and its fundamental propositions must be fundamental propositions for all other sciences also.

Physio-Philosophy is, then, only a science when it is placed upon an equal footing with mathematics; and since the latter is a science of forms without substance, the former is, as it were, mathematics endowed with substance.

Now the highest idea, or fundamental principle, of mathematics is the Zero; so that mathematics may be said to arise out of nothing. But it would *be* nothing if it did not separate or subdivide into numbers and then propositions, and what is tenable regarding mathematics must be so regarding other sciences.

But as no numbers or singulars can be said to

reside in zero in a real manner, it must be that they are contained therein potentially. For example, the idea or definition of a triangle may be conceived in so general a sense as to comprehend all triangles, without even a triangle actually existing. For the idea of the triangle to be realized, it must become a definite triangle; in short it must multiply itself, become self-evolved, or remain a geometrical zero.

Briefly, the Real is equivalent to the Ideal, being but the latter become dissevered and finite, while the sum of every Finite is equivalent to the Ideal. In other words the Ideal exists under an indefinite, eternal, single form, while the Real exists under the form of multiplicity.

An infinity resides in each; in the Real an endlessness of individual forms; in the Ideal one endless form. The latter is an infinite intensity, the former an endless extensity; and just as the multiplicity of real triangles issues from the primary triangle, so the series of numbers emerge from zero, as simply an expanded intensity, the zero being extensity contracted on a point.

It is, therefore, clear that the numbers have not issued from the zero as if they had previously resided in it, but the zero has emerged out of itself, become finite, a number. The Real is the Ideal itself in a state of definition and limitation of Form.

Now the ideal zero is absolute unity or Monas; it is not a singular or one individual thing, as the number one, but indivisibility, numberlessness, containing neither one nor two, line nor circle. In brief, it is a unity without distinction, a pure identity, undefined by time or space, neither finite nor infinite, neither quiescent nor moved; it is eternal.

The eternal principle must be one only; there cannot be two eternities. So that we may say that the Eternal is the Nothing of Nature.

The first form of the expansion of the mathematical monas is + −; which is nothing else than the definition of 0. And all numbers can be expressed by + and −; so that numbers essentially do not exist, but only these two ideas, which, however, exist an infinite number of times. Thus when the Eternal is manifested it is either a positive or negative.

Nevertheless there must be something which is posited and negatived; and this is the primary idea, the zero, for + − = 0. Zero differs only from finite unity in that it is not affirmed; when affirmed it is unity, a something, a finite, a real. This is not production or evolution, but the complete identity and uniformity of the nothing with the something; it is a virgin birth.

Now the + −, or numbers, are acts or functions; and consequently zero is the Primary Act. Whence it is no *absolute* nothing, but an act without substratum, —that is, a spiritual act.

The zero is an eternal act, and numbers are its repetitions or halting points; so that with zero the Eternal originates directly. The primary act of mathematics is Zero, of philosophy the Eternal. There is, therefore, nothing real but the Eternal itself, for every real is, as it were, only a number or a position or negation of the Eternal.

The continuance of Being, then, is a ceaseless process of becoming real in that which is not; so that all individual existence is only fallacious. But though the Eternal *must* posit without cessation,—seeing that if it did not do so it would be an actual nothing,

whereas in point of fact it is an act,—nevertheless it must incessantly suppress this position, which would otherwise be only a finite act, or an act which had but one direction, that of affirmation; so that the totality of the Finite is also of eternal duration, consisting, however, only in ceaseless repetitions. Such an Eternal is to be distinguished from the Primary Eternal and is called the Infinite.

Now, as has been indicated, two processes are present in the primary act, both of which, being inseparable, are one in kind. It has the tendency to posit and also to suppress itself, so that the realization of the Eternal is a complete antagonism of itself. The Being of the Eternal, and of every singular, is therefore self-manifestation. In every essence there are two; but these are the one essence itself.

The self-manifestation of the primary act is self-consciousness. The eternal self-consciousness is God. The continued act of self-consciousness is called presentation; and God is therefore comprehended in ceaseless presentation.

Presentations are, however, single acts of self-consciousness, or real things, so that the world originates with the presentations of the Eternal. These only attain reality through expression; so that the world is, as it were, the language of God. Not the thought of God; for the thought belongs to the Spirit, and in so far as it becomes apparent is a word, and the sum of all apparent thoughts, speech. In so far as thought precedes speech, there would have been no world had God not thought. So soon as God thinks and speaks there is a real thing; so that the history of creation may, as suggested, be said to be the *language* of God.

As in mathematics, so when considering the Eternal, we find three ideas (corresponding to 0, + and —), the same essence under three forms, or three in one. These three Oken calls Monas Aoristos (Indefinable), Dyas Aoristos and Trias Aoristos, which are equivalent to the Father, the Son and the Spirit, the last having emerged conjointly from the second and first, and forming the spiritual union between them.

And because of its production through the primary trinity, every singular must display these three qualities. Being is a threefold act; and the three forms of the primary act are Rest, Motion and Extension.

Primary rest is the position of the point without any relation, or, as Oken terms it, "the oscillating resting point in the universe, around which everything collects itself, and from which everything emerges . . . the never apparent yet omnipresent . . . always withdrawing itself from our view when we . . . believe that we gaze upon it, . . . the Spiritual, which declares itself in everything, yet always remains the same."

Time is the eternal repetition of the primary act, and has thus not been created, but is a function of God,—the first point of the emergence of God into the world. Time is the numbering act, and numbers are singulars; wherefore time is the totality of singulars, and not being finite is an ideal and not a real.

Now there are no positive numbers without negative numbers, and consequently no moments of time without their suppression. All force is, therefore, not single but the position of + and —, and is called Polarity, which is the first force appearing, without which there is nothing. The law of causality is a law of polarity, and is valid only in time, which itself has

no causality. Causality is an act of generation, so that sex is rooted in the first movement of the world.

Motion is the repetition of polarity; and this is dynamic and not mechanical, is not created but has emerged from the Eternal. There is nothing which is without motion; rest is only an appearance, relative, a combination of motions.

The motion of finite things by polarity may, in a wide sense, be called Life, without which there is no Being. Life is, therefore, a moved thought of God, and there is nothing really dead in the universe, since that only is dead which has no polarity, and the removal of polarity is a reversion to zero, a retreat into the Absolute.

Now, as has been said, there are two totalities; the Eternal and the Infinite; and the more of the manifold of the universe a thing has adapted into itself, the more it becomes a secondary totality. And when it has united in itself all acts, although it is not the very Eternal, yet it is the Infinite, the highest and the last essence to which the creation could attain. Moreover, as the realization of the Eternal is a becoming self-conscious, so is the highest creature also self-conscious,—a finite God.

Man is a complex of all that surrounds him,—element, mineral, plant and animal; and in this sense he is the whole of arithmetic, compacted out of all the numbers, capable of producing numbers out of himself. As a secondary totality he is the Image of the Eternal, the Microcosm, the Monas Determinata, as God is the Monas Indeterminata. He is God become Man, God manifested.

After this apparent digression let us return to our consideration of Time and Motion, which brings us

automatically to the question of Space. And here we observe that numbers are replaced by points, and these are the zeros of geometry. Now while time is the positing of the primary act, we must remember that the primary act not only posits but is posited. As the former it is time, as the latter it is time posited universally; and time remaining stationary is space. Thus time and space are one essence and time is moved or active space.

Space has arisen out of time; and as time posits from eternity, so is space also from eternity and in eternity, depending, however, not upon duration, but upon extension.

And as time is ever and space is everywhere, they are the Eternal itself, of which the former is the active and the latter the passive form. Space has not been created, but has emerged from the Eternal, is coexistent with God.

Now the beginning of space is the point, the zero of space, which necessarily posits itself *ad infinitum*, extending itself equally in all directions, thus producing the sphere, which is nothing else than the point expanded. Thus space and the universe are spherical, and the sphere is the primary or divine form. The more nearly a thing is spherical, by so much the more it is perfect. The Inorganic is angular, the Organic is spherical.

The line is a repetition of the point; and as such it originates with time, and the two are of one kind. In the sphere the line appears as radius. This is of the utmost importance; for the essence of the line is not the continuity of its extremities equally into the infinite, but in its radiality, so that one end is central, converging, absolute, while the other is divergent, finite,

multiplicity. And here we have the antitype of a new polarity, the extremities of the line being related as 0 and + −; at the instant of its origination a line is not indefinite, but definite at both extremities.

There are, then, no mathematically straight lines in the universe; so that apart from its spherical form its very space is curved. All real lines are polar, being, as it were, rooted in God by one extremity, and by the other in finitude. Thus the primary act becomes not merely an aoristic line, but a Linea Determinata. God, in short, steps forth into time and becomes Monas Determinata as radius or centro-peripheric monas.

This centro-peripheric antagonism is the essence of the primary antagonism; and the primary line is constantly in a state of polar action called tension, always converging and diverging, at once central and peripheric, so that every line originates from, exists only by, and is nothing else than this tension.

And such a striving at one extreme to identity, and at the other to duality, manifests in the universe as Light and in the planet as Magnetism. As we shall see later, light is similar to an electric tension of the æther.

Now as there is no straight line, so is there no level surface in the universe. All surfaces are curved. But as the surface of a sphere is not, properly speaking, a continuum, but consists of the extremities of the radii, it has no 0 like a line, but is all + −, which mode of operation of the primary act is manifested as electricity, which is thus a peripheric antagonism without centre or union. And being, like magnetism, rooted in the primary creation, there is nothing which is not magnetic and electric. At the same time electricity is in eternal antagonism to magnetism, bearing to it the same relationship as surface to radius.

The idea of a surface is that of a surrounding, a circumferential limitation, and thus every surface is finite. The surface, however, is also not different from the primary act itself. Thus the universe is at once unlimited and limited, a limited infinity, limited in respect of the closure of the surface, unlimited in respect of the endless expansion of the same.

From the foregoing it is evident that the primary sphere is in motion, seeing that it has originated through motion; and further that this motion must be circular, or a motion of rotation, as the primary sphere fills everything, and cannot therefore move in any progressive manner. And the internal motion of the globe, or the becoming of the globe, is manifested in the universe as Heat, and in the planet as Chemistry.

Thus, then, in the divine geometry the form or body of Time is a line, of Space a curved surface, of Life a rotating globe.

E. J. L. GARSTIN.

(This interesting sketch of Oken's physical philosophy will be concluded in the July number.—ED.)

THE MYSTICISM OF BACH'S 'PASSION' MUSIC.

EDOUARD SCHNEIDER.

THE moment we enter a vast cathedral and gaze around, we stand abashed, not knowing what to look at first. Facing the immense nave, drawn by the mysterious aisles, trying to follow, by the dim light filtering through the windows, the crowd of invisible presences appealing to us, we become filled with a sense of our lowly human estate, we are conscious of our abandoned condition, yet in perfect harmony with the forms that live unseen around. The need of union which draws the majority of devotees towards the objects of their fervour, their thirsting after pity, the weariness of worldly life creating the desire for a perfect peace that is ever ready to succour,—all these longings suddenly spring from the depths of man's soul into that world of symbols which constitutes the soul of a cathedral.

Does not such a feeling also grip us as we listen to the first few bars of Bach's 'Passion' (Saint Matthew) Music. We are at once caught up by the human note, we feel that it is the narrow path of grief and woe which will lead us to grace.

From the very first bars what a world of pity dwells in that anguished plaint rising from the orchestra with its sorrow-laden and heavy-cadenced bass! The movement is that of a siciliana, a 12-8 measure of the most

astonishing expressive potency. The even fulness of the cadence in the bass gives the music a character that is both carnal and religious, so profound that it transports us forthwith to the spiritual plane of the drama. This orchestral prelude, enriched after fifteen bars with double chorus and chorale, and in its simplicity stripped of all patheticism, seems an expression of the world's sorrow. "Come, my daughters, share my anguish. See him! Whom? The Bridegroom see. See him! How? The Lamb is he." Tears and sighs and moans; a piognant dialogue between two orchestral groups composed of identical instruments. The stirrings of the crowd confronted with the Righteous one sacrificed; the endless futile questions which, scourged by the blows of fate, they ask themselves before the mystery of evil; yet with the imposing resignation that overshadows their lamentings,—these diverse voices interblend and cry aloud as in desperate beseeching. Here the rising bass suggests the ascension of Jesus when he drags his weary steps to Calvary, bending beneath the burden of the cross. Now and then the flutes give evidence of contemporary taste in music, though most discreetly, almost reminding us of those tiny ladders up which many a painter of the time made his characters scale the heavens. Then we have the chorale: "O Lamb of God most holy, the bitter cross enduring," the text being by Nicolaus Decius, a monk famous for his polyphonic church compositions at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

These first few pages depict the profoundest human suffering. They affect us as do the most moving religious utterances which, laden with the unavowed sorrows of countless souls, testify to human frailty as it turns in despair to God.

See him carrying the cross (exclaimed Saint Theresa) and not even allowed breathing space. He turns upon you his tender pitying eyes, all streaming with tears. He forgets his sufferings in order to give you consolation, and that solely because it is to him that you turn for solace. (And in another place:) Tender Creator, how I suffer! The excess of my sorrow and pain tears from me these groanings, forcing me to bewail an evil which can find no remedy until it please thee to end it.

Here we have the same reflection, based not on theological reasoning but on the terror felt by a heart aflame with the tortured image of the Master.

This is also what happens when we find this chorale hovering above the two choruses—organ and orchestra—balanced as it were between heaven and earth. It is the accent of grace responding to the terrestrial melancholy of the dual chorus. Like a steady quiet light, it flames forth between the extreme poles of perdition and salvation. Sharing in both, it unites the voices that call to one another; it pours over the wavering soul the sweet balm of hope and assurance.

Thus we see at once with what simplicity the form of the work expresses the mystical conception of the composer,—a form of the utmost clearness and assurance, fashioned on the lines of a fertile meditation ending in the narrow pathway of contemplation. Blending with the orchestra, the two choruses combine the torturing passion and unrest of human voices. Then, above them, is heard a third chorus, a chorale which might be likened to the 'Eternal Wisdom' conversing with 'the Servant' in the admirable 'Exemplar' of the blessed Suso. And may it not also be said of this chorale that it is the symbol of moral strength overcoming the frailties of the soul and so giving us an image of true love as

formulated by the blessed Angela da Foligno? "At the beginning of love, the soul experiences tenderness, then weakness, and afterwards strength." This chorale, superimposed on the two choruses, the Evangelist commenting on the drama, and finally the organ and claveçin[1] accompanying the words of Jesus and of each of the characters, forming from beginning to end the link and scheme of the entire work,—this, if we do no more than glance at the score, is the limit of the means of expression of this 'Passion'; these are the actors through whom it incarnates in sorrowing resignation.

Within the confines of such a form, how much more intensely speaks the soul of the masterpiece! It reminds us of a monk's cell whose stark bareness has room for nothing but the direct vision of the spirit. Voluntarily freed from every accessory, inspiration appears in all its freshness; it pours over us in a flood. For this reason, however, and because of that essence of grace which permeates the entire score, it would be difficult for most of the listeners to endure the might of its spiritual urge, were they not conscious of the human and emotional element throughout. A mighty original, blending within itself the dull light of our passional impulses with the illumination of the divine spirit,—such is the sublime reality to which the musician's will would have us bow.

[1] The rôle played by the claveçin here is essential; it could not be suppressed without robbing this masterpiece of an element of its very soul. With each page, its importance is more and more emphasized. The instrument follows and gives peculiar prominence to Bach's prosody or scansion, which is of amazing realistic vigour. It accentuates the breathing in the various phrases, when the music seems to die away in tragic silence. The very centre of the orchestra, a rigorous link between the human and the spiritual elements of the work, the part played by the claveçin should be entrusted to none but the most experienced performers. Beneath the recitative it sustains, we find only a figured bass. Consequently the artist has to invent the entire development; his improvization must prove to be matured by an exceptional and intimate familiarity with the style and the mind of Bach.

And so, if we would appraise all its varied richness, we should have to consider in detail each air, each recitative, each chorus. Such a task would be his who might write the history of music only if endowed with other virtues than the depressing patience and dull precision of so many musicographers. He would have to be both an artist and sympathetic to mysticism. However little we may know of the great teachers of mysticism, it is surprising to note how close is the harmony between their work and the music of Bach. Nor is there any need to contrast their Catholicism with the musician's Lutheranism. Even though each seems to keep within the logic of his own confession of faith, we do not find that any particularism whatsoever divides their spiritual expression. In the depths to which they plunge us, how evident is it that they draw upon one and the same spring of inspiration.

Here form and substance constitute but one indivisible reality; such is the characteristic of the mystic Word. The accents of music, like those of speech, spontaneously reflect, though far more readily than *they* do, the stirrings of the soul, and assert themselves on our sensibility so intimately that their throbbings and pantings, blending with the body of flesh, become ours also.

In the first part, listen to the chorus in which the crowd waxes indignant when Mary Magdalene pours over Christ's feet the ointment in the alabaster box, whereas it might have been sold for much and given to the poor. Violent rebellion seems to burn in every breast. This chorus,—a very short one consisting of but ten bars,—paints a picture whose striking realism only the more emphasizes, by contrast, the serene sadness of the reply of Jesus to men incapable of comprehending

the mystery of the offering. But straightway is heard —fervent expression of faith—the voice of the alto, showing forth the soul that gives itself without questioning why, and offers itself anew to atone for the lack of understanding shown by the others. We are continually meeting with these contrasts, which sum up the profound significance of a drama that blends within itself the forces of instinct, of intelligence and of love.

How is it possible within the limits of a short article to analyze this work from the mystical point of view? I shall attempt only to point out a few passages emphasizing this lofty spiritual conception.

Take the Lord's Supper. The chorale expresses pitying sorrow for Jesus. "Take ye, eat ye. This is my Body." There is a calm assurance in the musical unfolding of the well-known words. The violins alone speak, following the tradition of the old Venetian opera. Then comes the recitative: "Drink ye all of it. This is my blood of the New Testament," full of the peace of him who is even now proceeding along the path of eternity and most lovingly given up to the idea of sacrifice whereby mankind shall be saved. The words most fitting to write down opposite these pages are those of Pascal in his 'Mystery of Jesus': "Jesus prays while uncertain of his Father's will; he fears death; but once he knows this will, he goes gladly forward to meet it: *Eamus. Processit.*"

Then, after the chorus: "Receive me, my Redeemer, my Shepherd. Make me thine; from ill do thou defend me," written to the words of a chorale by Hauptvoll, after the dialogue between the Master, Peter and the Evangelist, we are suddenly brought face to face with the betrayal. Jesus beseeches his disciples to wait for

him while he prays. He groans in anguish: "My soul is exceeding sorrowful even unto death." Dejection and despair are interpreted by the diminished fifth. The violins express bitter sorrow; the claveçin, the sound of footsteps. Then come the lamentings of tenor and chorus: "O Grief!"—following the recitative which, owing to the tense atmosphere it has created, opportunely paves the way for the tenor solo. This latter *aria*, to the accompaniment of claveçin and oboe, fills us with the keenest sense of the greatness of the sacrifice, the remorse of those for whom Jesus offers himself, the terror of those standing there dejected and powerless, in presence of the holocaust of which they are the cause.

The fine chorale at the end of this first part, "The will of God be always done," seems to gather up all this grief and raise it to loftier heights of being.

The second part of the 'Passion,' more pathetic than the first, carries us along at a faster, a more precipitate pace. Here we plunge even more profoundly, if possible, into the heart of the drama. The fateful and inevitable hour is at hand. Again and again the diversity of human passion is heard in the music. Some of the chords, instinct with the cruelty of the sacrifice, melt away into despairing tears; others, misinterpreting its meaning, seem to make the cruelty even more frightful; while others again, glimpsing the greatness of the victim, bow in adoration and then rise with him into a state of grace.

First we have the dialogue between the lamenting voice and the interrogating, the compassionate and fraternal chorus. Before a word is uttered, the alto gives forth a single exclamation: "Ah!" Is not this

plaintive sigh, this sob, the inarticulate cry of the flesh, wounded unto death? The claveçin, continually supporting this voice, with its own special tonality, strong and undulating, gives expression to the abandoned character of the lament. The woman implores: "Where is my Saviour gone?" And in the tenderest accents the chorus asks: "Whither is thy beloved gone, O thou fairest among women?"—"Ah, my lamb in tiger's clutches! Ah, where is my Saviour gone?"—"For we would go with thee to seek him." The emotion of this scene is indescribable. To give some faint suggestion of it, we should have to call to mind certain primitive frescoes whose meaning has been expressed in ways that can never be forgotten: the Mary Magdalene of Giotto, who, on the walls of the Arena, in Padua, bends over the body of her beloved Master, her haggard eyes, motionless lips and dull heavy countenance set in mute fierce affliction; or the Saint Francis of Fra Angelico's Crucifixion in the chapter-house of San Marco, his tremulous hand propping a face streaming with tears and bowed with grief. Again, to find the counterpart of the poignant interrogation upon which, here as elsewhere, the singing of the chorus terminates, does not memory bring back to us the silent, pensive visage of Saint Peter the Martyr, which stands out, melancholy and grave, in many a fresco of the *Beato*, confronted with a mystery before which he is but the helpless spectator? And how can we help thinking of those eternally true avowals of Angela da Foligno:

> The more conscious we are of the infinite and the ineffable, the less can we utter; for, compared with what we would express, words are paltry things?

And again:

When dealing with things unutterable, come not nigh me, human speech; what I then articulate seems to me like some old ruin, and I am horrified, as though I had blasphemed.

Meanwhile the human grief, whereat grace labours, —though it has not yet been liberated and finds itself still engaged with the frenzied enemies of Jesus,— continues its song. Its anguish overflows in pitiful words of lament. The Son of Man is delivered up to insult and blow, to the fury of the mob. The double chorus hurls forth its blaspheming cries; and, in the violence of his expression, the musician reaches the most intense accents a lyric composition has ever known. "Now tell us, thou Christ, by whom thou art struck." And the brutality with which the people call for Barabbas, and hurl out the command: "Let him be crucified!" Swift as arrows, the words fly forth. A fugue interprets the extreme emotions of the crowd whose voice rends the air. And from within the uproar, a woman's voice, like unto the unsullied light of repentance and love, rises to Jesus, limpid as spring water before heaven's face: "If my tears be unavailing, vain my wailing. Take the very heart of me." This is rather a sigh than a song, an undefined sob returning to the breast when it would gladly be freed from such constraint. The vibrations of the violin intensify the wailing tenderness of this page, and we attain to the heights of the sublime. Here we have the plaint of tortured humanity, when the heart, through suffering, becomes wholly intellect, and, by the might of its outpouring, is identified with the object of its love. "I am closer to thy soul than itself," wrote in this connection the blessed Angela da Foligno, repeating the words of her God.

And so we reach the moment when Jesus, stripped

of his raiment, is nailed to the cross, and the whole vile horde of raillery and insult, violence and shame, is let loose. Loud cries ascend from the crowd to the Righteous one. "Did'st thou but know thy sins, thou would'st lose heart!" says the Jesus of Pascal. And Saint Teresa exclaims: "To endure such delirious frenzy you need all the love wherewith you love your creatures." Two female voices alone, amid the tumult, vainly attempt to outcry the maddened people. The one recalls the Master's good deeds, the other confesses that the Saviour dies for love of mankind. Then the chorale, to an invocation of Paul Gerhardt, crowns this duel of hate and love with a hymn of compassion over which, like the unction of soothing balm, spreads the ever-growing spirit of pardon.

The final phases of the 'Passion' move forward rapidly. Once more the chorus utters words of sacrilegious sarcasm. But the Evangelist's comments, of more intense feeling, appear in rhythmic balance, as it were, with the very throbs of the sufferings of Jesus. And in all the abandonment and isolation of his martyrdom, the Master catches a few solitary accents, thrilling with human compassion. There is the broken, quivering voice of the alto as it laments: "Ah Golgotha, unhappy Golgotha!"—the wail, indeed, of the tortured flesh and the breaking heart, though its tenderness testifies that it is near to finding the grace proclaimed by the chorale. Lastly, Jesus breathes forth the heart-rending "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani." The organ spreads a shroud of darkness around the dead God, and the swelling chorale, in terror-stifled accents, laments: "When life begins to fail me, I fear not, having thee." With unparalleled intensity, the orchestra gives us the impression of the rending veil, the quaking earth, the

opening sepulchres. One could not imagine any so-called 'programme' music depicting a like scene with greater realistic effect. And in the chorus we have the mob, panic-stricken, whispering to itself: "Truly this was the Son of God."

Henceforth divine grace enters into possession, extending over the face of nature in that quiet evening solitude which follows the death of Jesus, expressed in the bass song: "At even, hour of calm and rest." From this song, with its promise of the peace of God, ascends a radiance of scarce perceptible joy . . . the reaction after the tempest. It is full of the essence of sanctifying virtues; the very canticle of pure love, that of which Saint Bernard affirms:

> This is no mere outward thrill; it is a hymn springing from the heart, not a sound issuing from the lips. . . . It is a nuptial song expressive of the chaste embrace of soul with soul.

This bass song depicts the never-ending melancholy of the fall of day, the translucent radiance of the dawn. It melts away into pity over the sacrifice consummated, and gives forth a note indicative of the end of things, though redemptive peace gently quivers in the voice, and the note of the Annunciation is sounded.

From this moment on to the final bar, the various characters of the drama,—bass, tenor, alto, soprano,—in turn sing their sorrowing farewells over the body of the entombed Master. But what peace is now theirs! It is as though they were overwhelmed by the miracle of the Acceptance. Like some distant echo, the chorus responds: "Lord Jesus, rest in peace." We are before the tomb of the Crucified, on the summit of the hill of sorrows, with heart oppressed by Calvary's frightful suffering. But the impression of this hour is one of

celestial bliss, invisible streams lave our brows, souls crushed by excess of grief find solace in inward contemplation. Around the sacred body, symbol of their remorse, their hope and their salvation, around the immolated Lamb, as though lulling to rest their own sorrow, they breathe the tenderly divine words: "Lord Jesus, rest in peace."

We may well admire this incomparable *dénouement*, which might be called the 'procession to the sepulchre,' for here the illumination of grace increases each moment to complete itself in the radiance of the final chorus. This purifying flame grows, ascends and expands. No sooner has the last "Lord Jesus, rest in peace" died away on adoring lips than the chorus, "And now the Lord to rest is laid, his sorrows o'er, for all our sins oblation made. O consecrated Body, see with repentant tears we would bedew it," reaches the height of a sublime apotheosis. The sovereign structure of this chorus, its wide-flowing inspiration, its breadth of rhythm and extraordinary human sanity, raise it as a temple to the culminating apex of the entire work; it forms its completion, its logical conclusion. The peroration of the 'Passion' (Saint John) doubtless strikes an analogous note, but it admits of more popular inflexions, a more familiar sensitivity. There is nothing comparable to that great breadth of appeal which we find in the last chorus of the 'Passion' (Saint Matthew). In the former, it remains more manifestly terrestrial; in the latter, it has the value and import of a philosophical conclusion. We are tempted to compare it with that fervent passage in the letter which the author of the *Pensées* wrote to his sister Madame Périer after the death of their father the elder Pascal:

No longer let us regard a body as some noxious carrion—for deceptive nature imagines it thus—, but rather as the inviolable and eternal temple of the Holy Spirit, as our faith teaches us.

May I be pardoned for the apparent facility with which I have introduced these various texts and compared them with the 'Passion'? This has been quite spontaneous, so clear seemed to me the links that united them. Music has the privilege of holding in closer grasp what our great mystics deplore their inability to express through the medium of words. In any case, this 'Passion,' super-human in that it expresses with unparalleled certitude the word of pardon as related to the depths of human wretchedness, far transcends the feeble limits of a work of art. But even in the realm of art, it remains one of the few towering peaks scaled by human genius.

Every fundamentally Christian mind might comment indefinitely on its apologetic importance, and on the extraordinary mystical idea which throughout controls the many aspects of its inspiration, linking it on to the most luminous visions vouchsafed to humanity by the great race of seers and contemplatives.

EDOUARD SCHNEIDER.

Authorized Translation from the French by FRED ROTHWELL.

(A *Bachfest* is to be held at Leipzig in June; it commemorates the bicentenary of the production of the *Matthäuspassion*.—ED.)

THE CALL: COME UNTO US.

THE EDITOR.

IT is a remarkable fact that, though we have distinctive terms characterizing the 'I'-concept,—such as ego, egoity, egoism, egotism,—there are, as far as I know, no analogous terms in any language performing a similar service for the 'we'-notion.[1]

It may, then, be of service to enquire more closely into the matter; for, judging by the absence of distinctive 'we'-vocables in the vulgar tongue, it would seem that the notion of 'we'-dom,—as I would venture to christen it,—is too vague, nebulous and ghostly as yet to have definite terms applied to it.

Does the feeling of 'we'-dom, of corporate self-dom, —does fellow-feeling or fellow-interest in general always indicate a transient mood simply, suggesting no more than the presence of a soulless collectivity or aggregate, a summative, additive, temporal, contingent somewhat or event, an unindividualized mass or indeterminate flux phenomenon? Or may it, in some modes of higher and deeper experience, come to mean an enduring bond of sympathetic life, a distinctive mode of being, a spiritual state of reality, an enjoyment as real as,—

[1] There is, however, a solitary exception, though not to be found in the dictionaries. In French '*nostratisme*' (Lat. *nostras-atis* = 'native' 'of one's country') has been used, but only in the sense of 'self-glorification,' national 'swank,' descriptive of a corporate egotistical temper. Under 'nostratism,' in English, might conveniently be classed such boastful claims, for instance, as those of the British Israelites, of the Glastonbury British Joseph of Arimathæa-wattle church legends and Blake's conceit of the British origin of the human race, formulated in the slogan "Adam was a Druid." Psychic maladies of this kind might consequently be crisply referred to as 'nostratitis.'

nay even more real than,—the status of the manifold ego-existents we regard as possessed of individuality or even of that newly-invented fiction we speak of as personality? Can, in brief, 'we'-dom in its more perfect forms surpass all our notions of egoistic personalism?

These questions open up very difficult problems. Though I have no pretension to do more than call attention to them, I would nevertheless venture, as a speculative thesis, to argue that the 'we'-feeling is fundamentally in all its grades the reaction to an inner impulsion, whereby is bodied forth in infinitely varied fashion a spiritually vital principle; and that, *per contra*, this 'we'-feeling is incapable of explanation on materialistic lines as a mechanical reaction to external stimuli of any kind.

This intuition of a fundamental spiritual reality or principle of which all forms or manifestations of 'we'-dom are partial or particular indications, will, in support of this adventure, be later on illustrated by the recital of a number of high mystic pronouncements of great beauty. Even if my argumentation does not commend itself to the reader, these testimonies may perchance wean him for a moment from the all-too-general, self-satisfied conceit that the 'I'-activity, no matter in what mode, or however sublimated, can lead us to a higher or deeper order of reality than that which the 'we'-feeling foreshadows. Meantime let us go forward at a more pedestrian pace.

It is unquestionable, historically, that the most general persuasion of mankind has ever regarded the possession of self-conscious individuality, the sense of self-hood, as the mark *par excellence* of a normal human being; no sane person is without this feeling of self-identity. But what this is in itself, how it

arose and in what wise it will continue hereafter, have been, and will doubtless for long continue to be, problems on which the wisest humans down here will doubt and differ. Apart from this over-belief, however, we manifestly all act from the standpoint of a separative egoity imposed upon this higher or deeper self-hood by the necessities of embodied existence. We know ourselves in material manifestation as separate and self-referencing centres in all relations with our fellows, and *à fortiori* with all other creatures and creations. We are thus continually kept positing our own particularity or special oneness over against the manifold constituted by all the rest of existents presented or represented to our consciousness. We conduct our lives, moreover, on the conviction that it is the same with all our fellow humans as with ourselves. I do not think, however, that this conviction is had from any intellectual inference from similar behaviour. It is rather given in mutual feeling: one mode of separative life instinctively recognizes another similar mode of living.

Now self-hood and egoity, I hold, differ fundamentally from one another. Egoity can never blend with any other mode of existence; it is essentially separative, nay the most separative principle of all, more apart than the supposed units of the material order,—those atoms which at any rate have certain affinities. The concrete egotistic individualities in the human order remain foreign to one another, more external even than the hypothetical atomic units in the physical order. Men in their ego-aspects can never commingle, never blend; they are walled-in, impermeable to one another. Till these walls are completely broken down, and not only made transparent, no true

consciousness of real self-dom can be enjoyed. The falsest notion we possess, the conceit of permanent egoity, is the final lie that prevents the wider, deeper, higher powers of the true self realizing themselves, blocks the spiritual urge towards blending, uniting substantially with our fellows and all other grades of living creatures, cuts us off from vitally commingling with them.

But, short of this truly substantive, or essential, or vital union, there are many modes or forms of sympathetic contact with this 'we'-dom ideal. There are many sorts of sharing of interests and pursuits,—co-operative undertakings, institutions, and so forth, favouring the 'we'-feeling and giving rise to the consciousness of beginning to share in the larger life of what may be called the social self. Do any of the modes of social activity, however, incorporate a genuine 'spirit' or 'soul' analogous to the 'personal' self so many believe to underlie the organic structure we regard as a human individuality?

The sort of phenomena we have here to envisage, are such natural groupings as families, clans, tribes, races; such political collectivities as nations, kingdoms, empires, republics, state-institutions of all kinds, armies, corps, regiments, navies, ships and the rest; such religious, professional and social organizations as churches, fraternities, societies, associations, clubs, sodalities, guilds, universities, colleges, schools, craft- and trade-combinations, and all the rest of the multifarious permutations and combinations of temporal and temporary coherence that may be distinguished in the human mixture. What is the 'we'-principle underlying this welter of ephemeral synergetic groupments?

All these so varied particular groupings or comings-

together of humans, I venture to think, indicate the inworking of a universal principle of mutualism engendering the 'we'-feeling, whatever purpose, instinctive or deliberate, the binding-together serves. The scale of quality or value rises from the lowest down corporate selfishness to the heights of self-sacrificing solidarity. In mass-combinations men will on the one hand brutally commit villainies from which they would individually shrink in horror, and on the other are capable of doing deeds of heroism and self-forgetfulness that by themselves they could never accomplish. In all such cases their individual egoity is temporarily replaced by or absorbed into a 'we'-dom.

The question then naturally arises whether any of the higher forms of such co-operation signify, or allow us to suppose, that we are in the presence of a spirit of solidarity that endures for the individual beyond the coming-together for a time of like-minded persons for a special purpose followed by the breaking up of this relatively ephemeral structure.

In popular phrasing we speak of the 'soul' of a people, of the 'spirit' of a religion or movement, the *esprit de corps* of a regiment. But can any such terms connote a similar perduring self to the immortal being so generally assumed to constitute the inmost reality of every human individuality? Are such names, for instance, as the 'genius' of Rome, the 'fortune' of Alexandria, the 'glory' of Greece, the 'angel' of a nation, pure fictions? Or is there a substantive reality behind such notions corresponding to what has been called the 'group-soul' concept? The latter is certainly no irrational supposal when we are considering the life-modes we distinguish as animal genera and species. And that a parallel to this natural conditioning

comes over internally into the human kingdom is by no means improbable.

It may, therefore, be contended that the state of human egoity, the power of deliberate, self-conscious activity to which no animal attains, is as it were a turning-point, a critical moment in modal evolution, a self-centring, excluding, 'analytic' phase of experience, which is preliminary to, and marks the beginning of, an involutionary process, a higher development into a superior order of consciousness, with the enjoyment of a life that is fundamentally 'synthetic,' genuinely spiritual,—a transmutation of the separative 'I'-activity into the unitive life of the 'we'-communion.

Speaking very generally—for there are notable exceptions—the main tendency of Eastern theology and philosophy has been to exclude every taint of egoity in envisaging the Divine Mystery, whereas with us in the West the common vogue still is to approve distinctly anthropic forms of expression. Indeed the personalistic view of God is insisted on in and out of season; yet what is this conceit but the exaltation of our own egoism to the summit of the universe? "I am the Lord" boasts on every occasion the Yahveh of the Old Testament; "I am the Way" the Christ of the New is made to declare. Most assuredly we sorely need to improve and purify our theological vernacular in this respect; the more refined terms of a 'we'-language of friendship and love should replace the crude speech of the arrogant 'I.'

The common mark of a genuine mystical experience is that the state of rapture or ecstasy takes the experient beyond the orbit of his ego-centric gyrations; he momentarily transcends his space-time limitations. He is aware for the first time of a radical otherness in

his whole nature, enters new-born into that which has been called the Greatness in Hellenistic gnosis. Thus, for instance, in the consummation of the inner mystic rite of the Eagle-birth, commonly known as 'The Mithra-Liturgy,' the spiritual neophyte, or new-born, breaks forth in joyous utterance:

> O Lord, being born again, I pass away in being made Great; and, having been made Great, I die.
>
> Being born from out the state of birth-and-death that giveth birth to (mortal) lives, I now, set free, pass to the state transcending birth, as Thou hast stablished it, according as Thou hast ordained and made the Mystery.

Here there is as yet no consciousness of the 'we'-community. A great 'I' still stands over against a little 'I.' In this and similar types of experience there is no guaranteed safety for the future. How often is it that those who have experienced this dawning-light of the Greatness, have returned into their normal false-imaginations and, intensified by the 'opening,' become megalo-maniac! The spiritual leaven of fellowship, of friendship, of true ego-free communion, has not yet worked upon the dough of their self-seeking mixture.

Otherwise is it with those who have experienced some such genuinely spiritualizing, perfecting metamorphosis as is, for instance, depicted in the coming to the height of the 'ascent' in the 'Man-Shepherd' apocalypse of the Thrice-Greatest Hermes order. In this Hellenistic gnostic masterpiece we are told of a blessed commingling of the essential nature of the true Man, clad in the radiant robe of glory, with his fellow-powers,—powers, note well, not egos—in a state of spiritual 'we'-dom.

And then, with all the energizings of the Harmony[1] stript from him, clothed in his proper power, he cometh to that Nature which belongs unto the Eighth, and then with those-that-are hymneth the Father.

They who are there welcome his coming there with joy; and he, made like to them that sojourn there, doth further hear the Powers who are above the Nature that belongs unto the Eighth, singing their songs of praise in language of their own.

And then they, in a band, go to the Father home. Of their own selves they make surrender of themselves to Powers, and (thus) becoming Powers they are in God. This the good end for those who have gained Gnosis—to be made one with God.

It needs no lengthy exegesis to make clear this self-lucid declaration. Either you recognize the truth-telling beauty of it or you do not. It is question solely of a touch of spiritual clairvoyance, of a glimpse of veridical *theoria*, of a flash of intuition in the best sense of that much-abused term.

And now mark what has been made of this, or of what lay behind it in earlier tradition, when later adapted by the Christianizing Gnosis, in praise of the spiritual Ascension of the Christ, at the end of the Mystic Ministry, 'twelve years' after the storied ascent of the Jesus of the canonical gospels and acts. There is now forth-telling of a triple robe of glory, of cosmic and vivifying potency, not without parallel to the *trikāya* doctrine of the triple embodiment of the Buddha in Mahāyāna buddhology. It is to be found in that very unequal Gnostic miscellany known as the 'Pistis Sophia.' Here the supra-personal intimacy of the 'we'-dom is brought out in great beauty.

Lo, [therefore, we have sent thee this vesture, which no one knew from the First Commandment downwards, for the glory of

[1] The sevenfold vesturing in the ego-centering desire-embodiment.

its light was hidden in it, and the spheres and all regions from the First Commandment downwards (have not known it).

Haste thee, therefore, clothe thyself with this vesture and come unto us. For we draw nigh unto thee, to clothe thee by command of the First Mystery with thy (other) two vestures which existed for thee from the beginning with the First Mystery until the time appointed by the Ineffable is completed.

Come, therefore, to us quickly, that we may put them on thee, until thou hast fulfilled the total ministry of the perfection of the First Mystery which is appointed by the Ineffable.

Come, therefore, to us quickly, in order that we may clothe thee with them, according to the command of the First Mystery. For yet a little while, a very little while, and thou shalt come unto us and shalt leave the world.

Come, therefore, quickly, that thou mayest receive the whole glory, that is the glory of the First Mystery.

This is the Call on the Great Day 'Come unto Us' or 'Be One with Us.' It is here set forth in terms of super-human import. He who receives the call is no man, but the incarnate Logos returning in glory. Nevertheless this sublimation must be attributed to the ecstatic expression of the poet's high imagination playing round the symbols of his dogmatic Christian tradition. It echoes the immemorial Gnostic theme, singing the paradisal song of the spiritual story of man-soul, if by chance a hearer should be found to sense its harmonies amid the warring discords of this earthly Sheol-state.

In the more saga-like, romantic setting of what I have called 'The King's Son's Knightly Quest,'[1] commonly known as the Syriac Gnostic 'Hymn of the Soul,' the coming of this spiritual investment is thus finely depicted:

[1] See the July number, 1927.

And now with its kingly motions my robe was coming towards me,
Forthpouring itself as though hasting to hasten its bringers.
I also, in longing, ran towards it, embraced and drew it upon me.
Once more was I clad in my robe, and all bedecked with its glory;
My splendrous mantle moreover was once more wrapped all about me.

Envestured therewith, straightway to the palace-gate I ascended;
And there to my father's viceroy did homage for his protection.
For his charge I now had accomplished, and he had fulfilled his promise.
And so at the gate of his house-sons I mingled myself with the great ones.

It is the same immortal story, and requires no learned commentary to stress its meaning. I quote it here especially because of the last line: "I mingled myself with the great ones"—the powers of that Greatness we have learned to know above.

Of sublime phases, and stages and states in the mystery of commingling, it is idle for us who are not ascended, to make distinctions. Others who claim to have made the ascent in some measure or other, have dared greatly in this respect, and none more superbly than the scribe of the so-recently translated[1] mystical document known as 'The Book of the Holy Hierotheos' (*c.* 500 A.D.), who declares (p. 118):

For when the (purified) Mind (= Spirit) is accounted worthy of these things, it will not see by 'vision,' nor by 'form'; and it will no longer ascend and descend, and will no longer see above nor below; for, then, the shape of the world passes away, and (the Mind) is no longer limited but limits all. For it is expanded and not compact, it is hidden and not perceived; and so it becomes the object not of knowledge but of faith, which those who saw will see no more; it is henceforth exalted, in glorious and divine mystery, to become above 'sight' and 'form.'

And henceforth it abandons even the name of Christ; and

[1] By F. S. March (Williams & Norgate).

thenceforth, when it passes beyond speech and language, it is neither called nor named; since now, in mystery, it attains to those things which are not (to be) reduced to speech: for it puts away (every) distinctive designation, and is no longer called 'Son' or 'Heir,' and they[1] will no longer say: "This is my Son, my Beloved, in whom I am well-pleased"; neither, doubtless, will it (the Mind) now say: "Father, glorify thy Son, that thy Son may glorify thee"; since, now, the order of distinction in which are glorifier and glorified passes away, and so (the Mind) neither loves nor desires to be brought nearer.

As in the developed doctrine of Mahāyāna Buddhism every human being is declared to be possessed essentially, or potentially, of the Buddha-nature,—is a Buddha-to-be,—so in this high phase of Christian mysticism also every soul is proclaimed a Christ-to-be. Indeed in 'Hierotheos' the perfected Mind is said to be able even to pass beyond the Christ-state to the supreme consummation of wholly commingling in the Godhead.

But these visions of absolute perfection are quite beyond our comprehension; there is, however, a stage in the ascent of which we may have some notion. It is, for instance, possible to enter into the spirit of that magnificent *theoria* of Plotinus, when, describing the spiritual state of 'we'-dom, he writes (*En.* V. viii. 4):

They see themselves in others. For all things are transparent, and there is nothing dark or resisting, and everyone is manifest to everyone internally, and all things are made manifest; for light is manifest to light. For everyone has all things in himself, and again sees in another all things, so that all things are everywhere, and all in all, and each in all, and infinite the glory. For each of them is great, since the small also is great. And the sun there is all the stars, and, again, each and all are the sun. In each, one thing is pre-eminent above the rest, but it also shows forth all.

And if there be those who rejoice in a warmer and more image-ful utterance of like import, let them turn

[1] Mark well this sign of 'we'-dom.

to the prophetic outburst of the Gnostic seer who sang the songs of that magnificent apocalypse, whose title, unfortunately, has been lost, but the text of whose Coptic version has reached us in the unique superior MS. of the Bruce Codex in the Bodleian. (I capitalize the symbolic words.)

Their Crowns send forth Rays; the Brilliancy of their Bodies is as the life of the Space into which they are come; the Word (Logos) that comes out of their Mouth is Eternal Life, and the Light that comes forth from their Eyes is Rest for them; the Movement of their Hands is their Flight to the Space out of which they are come, and their Gazing on their own Faces is Knowledge of themselves; their Going to themselves is a repeated Return, and the Stretching out of their Hands establishes them; the Hearing of their Ears is the Perception of their Heart; and the Union of their Limbs is the Ingathering of Israel; their Holding to one another is their Fortification in the Logos.

With all those high testimonies before us, it is not presumption to contend that it would be well for us to learn to know more of the spirit of Divine Fellowship, at the door of whose Holy of Holies every garment of egoity of even the subtlest weaving must be stripped off before we can enter.

We must have vital experience of the truth and reality of 'we'-dom 'here' by continually practising 'love of man,' before we can have ears to hear the Call: Come unto Us, and so be judged worthy consciously to enter into the 'Love of God' 'there.'

G. R. S. MEAD.

THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY.

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I.

THE new faith preached by Jesus made no speculative claims. It was not, nor did it aim at being a philosophy. It was an experience—in other words, a life. For Reason, Jesus substituted Faith, and so at once attained the truth that the philosopher builds up with a world of toil. In contrast to Greek philosophy, which said that in knowledge was the supreme virtue, Jesus declared that happy was he who believed without having seen. The Greeks had believed only in ideas. Jesus taught men to believe only in a person. Truth was no longer an idea, but a man.

Nevertheless, Christianity soon found itself compelled to philosophize. That very Jesus whose doctrine was an implicit negation of philosophy, became the reason why Christianity had recourse to philosophy. To those who had never seen or heard the master, personal faith in his words did not suffice. They were without that direct contact which had left no place for philosophy with his immediate disciples. Furthermore, there was need of rational interpretation of the very person of the teacher, need to express in intellectual concepts the ineffable, mysterious impression he had made on those who had seen and heard him.

Thus Christianity inevitably felt the need to

philosophize. But it lacked the necessary agencies,—the doctrine, the idea, the school. All these Christianity found in Greek civilization, which had for many centuries possessed in the highest degree precisely that which the simple Christians lacked. The new faith and the old philosophy came into contact; and from their meeting arose what history terms theology, —that is to say, the formulation in Greek schemes of the content of the Christian faith. The first product of this new theology was Paulinism.

The term Paulinism derives its origin from an exaggerated valuation of the work and thought of St. Paul. Its use connotes belief in a current of Christianity which had its sources in him. But in reality Paul is not so much the initiator of a new tendency as the most conspicuous representative and the systematizer, not of a new current, but of a new Christianity.

This new Christianity succeeds the Judaic Christianity of the first disciples of Jesus—which, indeed, ought not to be called Christianity at all, as Jesus then was not yet consecrated as the Christ. Issuing from Judea and overflowing into the Greek domain, the new faith adapted itself to the consciousness of the Greeks, and took to itself a new content. That happened which happens when in missionary work Christianity passes from the missionary to the native. The Christianity of the black and yellow man is in dogma identical with the missionary's; in its experiential content, it is in reality diverse. And in the same way the faith in Jesus remained formally the same when it passed from Judea into Asia Minor and into Greece; but in reality it took to itself another content.

The diverse content, which marks the difference

between Judaic Christianity and Hellenic, owed its origin largely to Greek mysticism, or rather to that branch of it known under the name of Orphism.

During the three or four centuries preceding the advent of Jesus, this mystery-religion was diffused very widely in the Greek and Near Asiatic worlds. It had a theology and a mysticism of its own, quite other than the State religion. It taught that Zagreus, the son of Hera and of Zeus, had been cut in pieces by the Titans, and devoured, all save his heart, by them. This heart Athena had saved; and from it had been born the new Dionysus, as the son of Semele. From the ashes of the Titans, smitten by the thunderbolt of Zeus, had been born the race of men. Men thus bore within them the evil nature of the Titans, innate in their body, and the divine nature of Dionysus, innate in their soul. With this myth as its basis, Orphism taught that man, through initiation, died and was born again in Zagreus, thereby freeing himself from the Titanic taint and linking himself anew with the Dionysiac nature.

Thanks to the fascination its facile promises exerted over the masses, this religion spread very widely, and in proportion to the decay of the State religion, till it pervaded the regions conterminous with Palestine. Thus, when the new faith overflowed into these regions, it found there a theology and a mysticism which appeared formally to correspond with the convert's experience of Jesus. And that inexpressible experience of re-birth in Jesus, which was and is the foundation of Christianity, found in Orphism its own scheme of salvation. The Christian faith and the Greek form constituted a single whole, and from it issued Paulinism, which was not in the very least

a doctrine invented and diffused by Paul, but simply the Christianity of the Greeks, just as Gnosticism was, later on, the Christianity of the Orientals. Assuredly Paul was the systematizer and theologian of this Hellenic Christianity; and this explains the extraordinary coincidences between the Orphic Zagreus and the Pauline Christ, and no less between the Orphic and the Pauline mysticism, as this latter is seen by us in the Pauline epistles.

This is not of course to be taken to mean, that in my opinion Paulinism owes its origin solely to Orphism, and still less, that I place Orphism and Christianity on the same level. On the contrary, I believe that in the complex soul of Paul some Judaic elements had great weight—elements extraneous, however, to the question now under discussion. I further believe that neither Paul nor Paulinism can be understood from the purely historical and philosophical points of view; that an adequate idea of them cannot be formed save by pondering well that which bears the name of 'faith.' And equally certain is it that Christianity had from the very beginning—determined by the very person of the founder—a spirituality in which Orphism, a magical religion, was lacking. Between Zagreus and Christ there is the enormous difference there must be between a mythical Pagan god and him whom the Christian world calls its Redeemer. This alone would suffice clearly to mark the distinction between the two religions. But turning from religious and spiritual considerations to the valuation of the historical and mythological factors in the problem, we are led to quite another conclusion. I am here considering Orphism and Christianity not in their spiritual relations, but in their mythological and theological; in other words,

I am considering the form, not the content. And from this point of view it is useless to deny that between the two religions there must have been the most intimate relations, and that the Pauline theology must have had its roots in the Orphic theology.

II.

With Paul, then, is effected the contact and co-operation of Christian faith and Greek speculation; but this rather as spontaneous, syncretistic experience than as an act of will. The philosopher who deliberately aimed at grafting Greek philosophy upon Christian faith was Clement of Alexandria. To this great Father of the Church philosophy was no devil's instrument as it was to Tertullian, who was under the illusion that he could preserve Christianity in its primitive simplicity, and aimed at opposing to philosophy the faith of the common man. Clement, on the contrary, held that philosophizing was necessary to the believer; to him there was no difference between religion and philosophy, since what is the object of faith may be the object of knowledge. In his view it is impossible to come to the true Christianity of nobler souls save through the mediation of Greek philosophy—meaning here the Platonic. And thus Plato became the intermediary between man and Christ.

There was a profound reason why this honour was assigned to Plato. It is a matter of common knowledge that Platonic philosophy draws its main elements from Orphism. Plato had been in Magna Græcia and had come in direct contact with Orphism. It was from Orphism he drew his doctrine of the dualism between body and soul, making his own the Orphic doctrine according to which the soul is enclosed in the body as

in a prison to expiate the sin inherited from the Titans; hence, according to Orphism, the necessity of initiation, which frees the soul from its bondage and reunites it to the divine nature, bestowing also on the initiated the reward of happiness in the world to come. From Orphism Plato drew the inspiration for his doctrine of sin and redemption. Plato, by reason of this Orphic content, seemed the predestined philosopher of Christianity. This is the profound and essential cause of the unbounded energy of Christianity's impulse towards Platonism; for here the form was precisely that needed by the new faith. Judaic Christianity would never have recognized Plato as its philosopher; whereas to Greek Christianity Plato seemed the philosopher verily its own, as they, both the Christian and the philosopher, worked on the same Orphic lines. Plato, in short, became the philosopher of Christianity, not on religious grounds, but to meet intellectual and speculative needs—on grounds theological.

Thus Greek philosophy is definitely grafted upon the Christian faith. It is quite needless to point out what an important part Platonism played in Christian theology. In scholasticism it held the field almost exclusively to the 13th century, directly through Plato and Plotinus, and indirectly through Augustine. Only in the 13th century did the Aristotelian system, influential till then solely in dialectics, win the upper hand (with Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas as its leading exponents) and dominate in theology. Formally the Platonic system abandoned the field to the Aristotelian. But religiously it continued to dominate the heart, if not the intelligence. Scholasticism proper, that which the Catholics as all others hold to be the true, is undoubtedly Aristotelian. But

here what we mark is form. From the Platonico-Augustinian sources, on the other hand, issue all those elements we term emotion, sentiment, impulse towards God, mysticism, pantheism.

III.

It is, then, indisputable that Platonism conferred immense benefits on Christianity. But with it entered no less a pernicious element, one may say, well-nigh the malady, of realism.

All Greek philosophy is realistic; Greek mentality itself was realistic. By this I mean that the Greek was unable to conceive of thought and idea, as we conceive of them, as activities of the spirit. He could only conceive of them as facts or as things. The Greek did not *think*,—he *saw*. And, indeed, the word 'idea' is in Greek derived from '*idein*,' which means 'to see.' The whole *spiritual* life became for the Greeks a *natural* life—in other words, a world not of thoughts but of objects. This absolute realism is excellently seen in the Platonic doctrine of ideas. According to the philosopher, our thought arises from the fact that the soul remembers the eternal ideas it has beheld in a former state of existence before its incarnation in the body. For Plato ideas form a sensible and real world no less than the world of things. In the Platonic system the idea is something that exists; it is unchangeable and has its own life. Aristotle is right in his reproach to Plato that ideas exist in his system in a determinate place, where they *live*. This realistic conception of ideas was exaggerated by Philo and Plotinus, two philosophers who exercised a great influence on Christian theology. In Philo's system ideas are energies that, following God's will, introduced

order in the confused material world. According to Plotinus ideas are really spirits. Thus between these two worlds of sense and of ideas, equally real, there is a positive relation, upon which things depend for their existence. Things exist in so far as they participate in their relative ideas, just as when we breathe, we participate in the air around us. The soul conceives ideas owing to its remembrance of the ideas it has seen in that higher world in which it dwelt before its incarnation, just as we remember a mountain or a house we have seen somewhere in the past. For Plato, then, there are no ideas as we conceive of them, but only things. To him, all is nature, all that we think is concrete, visible and measurable. And this is the reason why, as Aristotle observes, in Plato there is no proof of the ideas. Indeed there is nothing to prove regarding what *is*—that is to say, what exists; things are not objects of proof. The philosopher must assuredly prove his theory; but the naturalist has no need to prove anything. The world is there before us and all can behold it.

This realism entered Christian theology with Platonism, and gave it its leading characteristic,—certitude. Ideas may be discussed as long as they are conceived of as *activities* of the spirit; but when they are conceived of as *things*, they become certain, just as nature is certain. I may discuss or deny an idea, but I cannot discuss or deny a tree. Plato, in fact, never entertained any doubt as to the ideas, and therefore never attempted a proof of them; the myths, moreover—that is, the products of fantasy—are to him certainties and serve as confirmation of his reasoning.

Theology, then, became realistic; more exactly, theology issued from this realistic reflection on faith.

It conceived of its own affirmations as absolutely and objectively true, and its own dogmas and myths as concrete realities. Just as Plato considered the myths as facts and real things, and had recourse to them to confirm the truth of his ideas, so Christianity considered the myths of the Old and New Testament as real facts, and saw in them, not so much the expression of the faith, as the confirmation of the faith. With Augustine, the Platonic world of the ideas became identical with the realm of God, and the divine world of Christianity became as really concrete as the world of ideas in Plato. Realism in its entirety invaded the field of religion. There was a passing from the spirit to nature; there was formed a true and special science of divine things, just as there was a science of earthly things. A geography of the world above us, corresponding to and equally certain as that of the terrestrial world, was actually framed. It is the Platonic standpoint again: two worlds, the human and the divine, not only equally true, as every believer admits, but also equally cognizable. The theologian is cognizant of the divine world with the same certainty that he is cognizant of the human. He can define God just as he can define any object. He knows that God is triune just as he knows that the sides of a triangle are three.

We must not confound this realistic certainty with the certainty of faith. Faith is certain of the real existence of God, but it is not certain that its own representation and its definition of God are certain; nay, the stronger the faith, the better it knows that it is impossible to condense religious experience into a formula. The certainty of faith is not a formal but a spiritual certainty. Theological certainty, on the contrary, is formal; it has to do, not with God—of

whom every believer is certain—but with the schemes, the dogmas, concerning God.

This infallibility is derived from the Greek conception of ideas. Greek realism wrought its baneful effects, and unconsciously diverted Christianity from true spirituality. There is, in fact, a continual confusion between theology and religion, between form and content; and to theology and to the form is applied that species of certainty which can exist only in regard to natural objects. This certainty became the curse of Christianity, for through it theology became intolerant in the most absolute sense of the word, with the intolerance that is and must be proper to the mathematician, who assuredly may love his fellow man, but can never admit that two plus two are five. Equally so, the theologian may give his life for his fellow man, but can never admit that God is not triune. And the mathematician would certainly send to the stake any one who affirmed that two and two are five, if the salvation of the soul depended on his believing that two and two are four, just as the theologian sent to the stake anyone who denied the trinity, since on the belief that in God one is equal to three, depended, according to him, the salvation of the soul.

Thus was formed a 'divine science' which, in so far as it is science, has the right to confront human science with equal prerogatives. The antithesis which people are wont improperly to regard as a conflict between science and faith, is rather an antithesis between human science and pseudo-science—in other words, between science and theology. The story in Genesis of the creation of the world is opposed to the proofs of geology, solely because this account has to the believer the value of a fact; and the believer rests on the

testimony of Genesis just as the scientist makes his appeal to geological research. To the believer there is an actual clash between two sciences, between the theories of the natural history of the world.

This pseudo-scientific realism is Greek. The Christian brings in the biblical myths in support of his faith, precisely as Plato brings in the Orphic. The pseudo-scientific pretensions of theology are not of Christian origin; they are not in the least to be traced to the teaching of Jesus. Theology is of Pagan origin and therefore renders Christianity Pagan.

By this Pagan origin is explained the essential contrast history exhibits to us between the charity commanded by the teaching of Jesus and the hardness shown by theology. He who holds that theology comes from Jesus and contains a revelation of God, will never understand this tragic contrast that has always existed between faith and theology, will never understand how beside a St. Francis there could exist a St. Dominic.

Christianity, especially after the War, must be in deed and in truth, an instrument of salvation to humanity. Hence it must free itself of all that renders it hostile, intolerant, uncompromising, incapable of loving and understanding others, incapable of welcoming and making its own the results of philosophic and scientific inquiry, incapable, in short, of advancing with humanity. It has its roots in a civilization that is not ours, and is the product of thought that is not our thought—the Greek. We may admire the beauty that is Greek, but assuredly we cannot accept Greek morality and Greek religion. Hence it is that Christianity, or—shall we say?—the Greek way of conceiving of Christianity, is in continual conflict with modern thought. The Christian faith must free itself of its

Pagan heritage, if it would indeed become the saviour of the world.

VITTORIO MACCHIORO.

(This translation from the Italian has been revised and edited by Alma Reed, who writes:

"Dr. Vittorio Macchioro was born in Trieste in 1880. Received Doctor's degree from University of Bologna in 1904. Two years later he became Director of the Museum of Pavia, and in 1909 was made Inspector of the National Museum of Naples and of the Campanian excavations. In 1915 he volunteered for war-service, and in 1917 was retired for disabilities received during that service. He was made Director of the Gallery of Modena in 1920, but in 1921 returned to his former post at Naples. In 1924 the direction of the office of art exportations was added to his other duties in Naples.

"He is Professor of the History of Religions in the University of Naples, a member of the Austrian Archæological Institute, and of the German Archæological Institute of Rome.

"Dr. Macchioro's scientific and philosophical development may be briefly outlined as follows: During the years of his university-training, he specialized in ancient history, Roman law, economics, anthropology. Immediately afterwards, he devoted himself to archæology, history of ancient art and literature. During these studies and more especially in his research into the origins and elements of Greek and Roman culture, he felt a great interest in religious problems. This interest gradually increased and culminated in his well-known researches on Orphism in 1919 and 1920. Orphic research led him to problems of history and Christianity, with special reference to the origin of Paulinism and its relation to the mystery-religions. At this period he also studied Zoroastrianism, Hebraism, Protestantism. Eventually he devoted himself to the philosophy of religion and to educational activities. Outside of his University teaching, he has been active in the Young Men's Christian Association and in the Student Christian Federation of Rome.

"In religious thought, Dr. Macchioro declares himself to be

a Christian and testifies to a sincere Christian faith, but he believes that the triumph of Christianity demands that it become free from confessionalism and theologism. The basis of his so-called Integralism is the creation of a strong Christian Unity, and a free and independent confession without destroying this unity."

The 2nd ed. (in 2 vols.) of Prof. M.'s *Zagreus, Studi sull' Orfismo* (1920) is being issued. German (Beck, Munich) and French (University of Grenoble) and English (University of Chicago) translations are to be published.)

AN 'OTHER SIDE' ESTIMATE OF MODERN PSYCHICAL PHENOMENA.

THE phenomena of Modern Spiritualism, as it is called, are no greater phenomena than the mighty works that every man is acquainted with on his right hand and on his left in what is termed Nature.

But he is so used to the rising and the setting of the sun, the shining of the stars, the bursting of the flowers, the majestic swing of the planets in their appointed orbits, the phenomenon of breathing, the transmutation of the elements through the blood into what is called life-forces,—so used to all this by a great world-heredity, that he does not call such happenings by any name whatever except Nature, and is inclined to look upon it all as something mechanical.

In Spiritualism you have natural phenomena too. But there is in them that which man is able to appreciate to-day in a way in which he has not been able to appreciate *en masse* before,—a something which appeals directly to a self-interest, answering some of the great longings that have been ages inarticulate, surging; a something answering to his personal self, as to whether he will retain a sense of identity, whether that which has been so great to him, a love or an interest, will not be torn from him when his body passes, a self-appeal as it were to that selfishness: he is intrigued, stirred.

But if you could only get people to understand that all the units in the world are in the presence of

spirit, consciousness, power, glory, wisdom, bliss, so that they could know that every thought, every breath, every action is a divine function, and it can be made a worship,—that would bring ease and light and a greater sense of well-being to the individual man, the groping, struggling, gasping man that you are endeavouring to help to-day.

We value and we appreciate all the great efforts that are being put forth, all the great powers that are rising within present-day man, enabling him to do something to pierce the darkness, to assuage grief, to give light in the great sorrow of things,—we appreciate every such effort. And this great wave which is stirring inside the will and desire of man consciously wrought out, making him to be willing to sacrifice his personal self-interests so that this great urge can sweep through him, enabling him to make sacrifices, opening his eyes to a larger field of consciousness,—we say it is well and good.

It is unfortunate that this psychic cycle which is unfolding now, as it has before many and many a time, should be called 'spiritualism.' It is not spiritual really in the true, inner, worshipful sense that spirit connotes to that spiritual aspiration which belongs to the higher flower of humanity, that sense of reverential holiness, of standing in the presence of the sublime beauty of Life.

To lay a brick wall with good mortar, honestly, earnestly, with interest undivided,—well, that act being done so is spiritual, as much as, if not more so than, being thrilled sensationally by these mediate phenomena of the psychic world, as you call them. So to do in this moment what you are doing with a sense that you are in the presence of the Great Life, the

pure, beautiful, holy righteousness of being,—so to do what you are doing is a spiritual act; if you do it well, honestly, truly, with an undivided, concentrated attention,—whatever it is, that is spiritualism.

To cut a slice from your daily bread, your loaf; to clean your boots; to add up your accounts; to write your letters; to sit as a director, as the head of a great industrial concern; to have the gift of song;—whatever you do, if it is done with the sense that you are absolutely in the midst—undyingly, unlosingly in the midst—of an infinite understanding, just and perfect intelligence; to do it as it is said to the Glory of God,—by so doing it will produce a thinning of the veils, a silencing of the storms, and give the peace, the understanding of the great revelations.

This is more efficacious really than paying attention to the facts so-called of inter-world communication or the phenomena of psychic forces.

But if this great movement—it is a great movement, not a movement that has been introduced by some greater mundane being, but one which is the natural outcome of the expressions of force in humanity—if this great movement can be directed by the thought, will and understanding of those who are vitally interested in it; if it can be moved in the direction of making the world, small or great, to realize that the truth can be seen, and the great object of it all can be served;—if this can be brought into the great realm of service; if all these facts, these phenomena, if this great new movement—new in the sense that it has taken on a new colouring—can be directed to enable all to understand that it is here and now what you do and the way you do it, that it is this doing after all which is the goal, the object of all these phenomena; if you can give

it a direction by that thought, by that vision,—then you will be servants to this force, to this power to a beneficial end.

But if it is not directed towards such end, the honour of all service in little or great things, doing honestly and justly,—then this which is an expression flying off from the great mass of forces which are expressing themselves because of the psychic movement of consciousness in veils of consciousness,—then it will be destructive, it will disfigure; it will add to illusion; it will add to war; it will add to confusion; it will add to the great belts of ignorance that are coming face to face quickly to their great Waterloo.

But whether it shall be for beneficence, or not, depends entirely on the leaders and thinkers in this movement. It depends on their directing it to that one sacred, central ideal service, in what is called the little things of life, nothing being mean, nothing ignoble, nothing being of no account, nothing being worthless, no matter what it is, if, where you are, here and now, in slum or palace, known or unknown, hidden, uncharted, not marked, without a herald; if, wherever you are, that which you do is done with a sense that you are pillars of consciousness,—this is true spiritualism. A. N. ONYMUS.

(The above was spoken through my friend Mr. W. E. FOSTER, in trance, in answer to a question, at a meeting of the Psychical Investigation Group of the Quest Society. I read it after my lecture on 'Spiritual Worship' (printed in the last number) at an Open Meeting of the Society, as of interest in marking the distinction of 'Spirituality' from 'Spiritualism,' in the popular sense of the term. I publish it now 'by request.' It is to be judged of solely by its contents, quite apart from how or whence t came.—ED.)

MESSAGES FROM THE MIGHTY DEAD.

DAVID GOW, Editor of 'Light.'

ONE of the heaviest handicaps against which Modern Spiritualism has had to contend, is the multitude of 'spirit messages' labelled with the names of some of the mighty dead but utterly unworthy of their supposed source. Only those who, like the present writer, have had a very long acquaintance with the subject and its literature, can be aware of the extent of the mischief wrought by the amount of trash which has, too often, found its way, somehow or other, into print. Happily, most of the books containing it fell dead within a short time of their appearance and the rest are dying. A good many of them made their appearance during the War, when automatic writing mediums, mostly of the sham variety, flourished abundantly and there was, in some quarters, a morbid appetite for their outpourings. In the earlier days of Spiritualism a considerable amount of the drivel became included in its literature. This spurious stuff naturally found appreciation amongst uneducated persons with no literary standards; but it also seemed to find favour with those who, while having some amount of culture, yet were victims of what might be described as a reverent credulity. 'A Spirit Message from Robert Burns,' 'Poetry by the Spirit of Shelley,' 'A Message from John Milton,' 'Messages from Plato and Socrates,'—such were the kind of titles in vogue in the popular Spiritualist literature of forty or fifty years ago. In scores of instances great names were attached to reams of dreary and doughy verbiage or verse of the feeblest

and most flatulent kind. The head of Priscian was not merely fractured; it was pulverized by this literary lunacy. 'Pure essence of Bedlam' is a strong phrase, but not too strong for some of the stuff. It was usually the outcome of acute attacks of *cacoethes scribendi* on the part of self-deluded people with a partially developed mediumship, in which the subconscious mind worked without restraint under the impulse of a boundless vanity. Amongst its other purgations the Great War has brought about a cleansing of mind and a chastening of the critical faculty. The market for such rigmarole—it was never a large one—has now practically disappeared.

It is but fair to say that researches in this kind of literature reveal the fact, that it is not by any means *all* rubbish. A little of it shews strange gleams of something transmundane, the light of some other world shewing faintly as through the chinks and crannies of a dark cellar. And now and again one comes upon a gem, something that seems really worthy of its attributed source, giving rise to the suspicion that the departed great author or poet might actually have lurked somewhere in the background. Now and again I have come upon things of this kind, usually fortifying my opinion of them by the verdict of abler judges of literary values. In one case I was sufficiently wily to obtain the opinion of a distinguished man of letters on a literary spirit-message, without disclosing its source. The critic praised it warmly, analyzing the sentences and pointing out the full, glowing and resonant words and the perfect balance of the periods. What he would have said had he known its actual source I cannot say—but I can easily guess! The disclosure would, I doubt not, have damped, if not

completely extinguished, his enthusiasm. That was a good many years ago. More recently I was impressed with the quality of an 'automatic' sonnet purporting to be the work of a man whose name stands high in letters as a classical scholar, poet and critic. I consulted some able literary friends who have no particular sympathies with Spiritualism. Their verdict was favourable. One of them, who had steeped himself in the work of the deceased author, gave it as his view that the poem could have come from no mind but that of the poet to whom it was attributed—every line bore traces of his masterly touch—but, at the same time, my friend had no intention of committing himself to any doctrine either of spirits or spirit-influence. That would be quite unscientific!

Lately I have concerned myself with the study of a book published some ten years ago, and bearing the queer title of *The Twentieth Plane*.[1] It is described as 'A Psychic Revelation,' and the author (or compiler) of the work is a Canadian medical man with evident pretensions to scholarship. At the first onset the intending reader might well be put off any serious examination of the work, for it fairly reeks with famous names. There is a host of them: Matthew Arnold,

[1] *The Twentieth Plane: A Psychic Revelation*, reported by Albert Durrant Watson, M.D., Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada and President of the Association for Psychical Research of Canada (London, Sampson Low). This is indeed a forbidding title, calculated to put the serious student entirely 'off' the book. In Spiritualism the word 'plane' has been done to death; and I once heard of a bishop who said that when he found the word 'earth plane' in a new book it went at once into the waste-paper basket. In the present instance it is explained that the name 'Twentieth Plane' is symbolical; which does not help us much, for it means applying terms of space to a non-spacial world. It may be possible to express spiritual, moral or intellectual grades in this way; but it conveys very little to the incarnate intelligence which finds it impossible to deal with such grades in any geographical or mathematical way. But for further illumination on this point we must accept the dictum of many spirit-communicators, which is (in effect): "We can't explain it. You must wait until you are on our side."

Byron, Bacon, the Brownings, the Coleridges (Samuel and Hartley), Dante, Emerson, Homer, Keats, Shelley, Sappho, Shakespeare, Tennyson, Wordsworth; and I have taken but a few renowned names out of the long list of deceased notabilities in every department of knowledge from whom messages are alleged to have been received.

Even of the few I have mentioned there is but space here for attention to one, and as a matter of self-indulgence and with editorial approval, I may take as a specimen a poetess in whom I have long felt a deep interest—Sappho. It is claimed that she was one of the spirits who communicated with the circle of inquirers at the *séances*, which were held in Toronto.

There are several references to, and communications from, the Lesbian poetess. The first allusion is in a message purporting to come from Edmund Burke, who discoursing on the subject of language explained (in reply to a question) why Sappho spoke in English:

> As the medium so the language. Thought belongs to the universal. Our thinking is as your music, the language understood by all. . . . We speak with the glance of an eye, the heaving of the bosom, the walk of courage, the head held high. I will quote now a translation from the Greek to express my thought. "Behold Aeschylus as he strides along, his head erect, a man above them all."

This is excellent sense, and should help to widen our views in regard to language as not being limited to glyphs and sounds. And, moreover, it prepared us to hear from Sappho in English, sometimes a little pedestrian.

Here are some excerpts from one of her messages:

> I will tell you first a few details of my life to show that I am the Lesbian poetess I purport to be. There is only one poem of mine of high merit I would live in, and that is the

Ode to Aphrodite. "O Aphrodite, goddess of foam and sparkling waves, full born of the instincts of men, rise to greet the natal day of genius." . ., I lived, say six centuries before Christ. I was a teacher. I was beloved of Pittacus, and his memory is the lily pure of my life.

Following comes some conversation with Sappho, who, replying to questions, stated that she jumped off a cliff to escape the attentions of Pittacus, that she was also beloved of Phaeon, and that she dwelt in the spirit-world with Homer and Alcaeus. Further examined, Sappho informed the circle that her pupil Erinna who died at the age of nineteen wrote but little verse, dying so young, but she had nevertheless produced 'immortal poems and epigrams.'

Sappho taught her pupils in the early morning, using the method of the subsequent Peripatetics; the scholars composed poems and read them to her. But she sought to make the scholars themselves into poems, and developed their abilities when she 'caught them in unpremeditated attitudes of inspiration.' She had not a large class of students, because in her day many schools flourished. Alcaeus kept one of these schools and there were many poets on the isle of Lesbos. But, said Sappho (as reported), "I was the genius of them all, with the exception of Erinna. She was the greatest of all."

It is unfortunate that this modest judgment of Sappho on herself can hardly be verified by modern scholarship. Of the work of either poetess the remains are too meagre to provide a basis of comparison. Indeed Erinna is little more than a memory and a tradition; but she is generally believed by Greek scholars to have been more skilled in hexameter than her sister-singer.

Turning to another page of the book under attention, we find Dorothy Wordsworth, who claims to have first-hand knowledge of Sappho and refers to the poetess as having 'suffered the pains of unrequited love.' She also quotes (with some little variation) the well-known lines of Sappho: "The moon has set, and the Pleiades; it is midnight, the time is going by and I sleep alone." In Dorothy Wordsworth's version the middle portion of the poem runs, "'Tis midnight and time is still," which strikes me as an improvement on the other, which is from Wharton's prose translation. Further, it is interesting to see that Dorothy holds that the poem refers to the absence of Pittacus, of whom and not Phaeon she (Sappho) was really enamoured.

I am conscious of doing little more in the foregoing than casting a casual glance at a book which, in sum, would need a great deal of scholarship and more than the average breadth of mind to appraise both as regards its merits and demerits. It would certainly also call for some knowledge of psychic messages in general. I found in it many arresting passages shewing ripe wisdom and a rare poetic insight. I refer in especial to the messages claiming to come from Keats and Shelley. But there is a good deal over which one hesitates: it is the difference (reduced to a fine shade) between pathos and bathos. The voice of the oracle seemed occasionally a little wheezy, and the deliverances, here and there, betray some disposition to freakishness. Put it down to the discolorations caused by the subconscious mind. In any case we have no established canons of criticism at present for literature of this kind—utterances from the other world delivered through the faulty mechanism of this.

We know rubbish when we see it, having been well-educated on the point by a scrutiny of some of the torrents of trash to which I alluded at the beginning. But it is necessary to discriminate closely. That the people concerned in the production of the messages in question refuse the description of Spiritualists need weigh very little with those who are not influenced by labels. And if we are to believe statements in the Preface and in other parts of the book, some of the information given was unknown to the circles of experimenters, and had to be verified by reference to authorities on the particular subjects dealt with.

One point is sufficiently clear: all the great things which genius has given to the world have come by normal channels. Shakespeare may or may not have been inspired by Euripides and, equally, Tennyson by Virgil; but they were still Shakespeare and Tennyson and not 'automatists' in the psychical research sense of the term. But this does not necessarily close out the possibility of great utterances from the famous departed getting through to us in some oblique fashion, even though they may lose in a process of transmission which must always be anomalous. There are signs that the psychic channel is running itself clear and, if the quality of communications from the unseen world proceeds *pari passu* with the growth of mundane intelligence, we may expect them in due time to command the respect of scholarship, when they take literary forms. In the meanwhile Spiritualism has still a great deal to 'live down,' although in this respect it has some companions in misfortune. I would name Theology, Sociology and Politics amongst them!

DAVID GOW.

E TENEBRIS.

Out of the darkness, out of the silence,
I cry to Thee.
Hear me, O Lord, in Thy mercy and goodness
And answer me.
Beneath me lie the abysses, above me the infinite height,
And never a star to guide my steps with its trembling light.
I strain my ears in the stillness and cannot hear Thy call;
The horror of death is around me, hemming me in like a pall.
Out of the darkness, out of the silence,
I cry to Thee.
Hear me, O Lord, in Thy mercy and goodness
And come to me.

"In the abysses and in the dark spaces
There am I found.
Lift up thine eyes and be valiant, beholding
Me all around.
Lo! the Light is within thee, burning brightly and well:
For thou, my son, art the lantern, and in the lantern I dwell.
Know that beneath the lantern there lies the darkest spot.

Thou art fixing thine eyes on thy shadow. Look up and heed it not.

All the abysses and all the dark spaces
Are filled with Me.
Forget thyself and thy shadow, and verily
Thou shalt see."

JOHN ALLEYNE.

WORSHIP.

NOT within the proud-domed church,
I worship Thee,
Nor in the synagogue,
With its rainbow-tinted windows,
Nor in the mosque,
With its heaven-pointing minarets;
For where many people congregate
I find Thee not.
Their lip-worship, their tinkling ceremonies,
Have driven Thee away.

But every day is Sabbath
That I behold Thee,
And it is holiday
When I feel Thy breath.
Lo! Thou art secretly hidden everywhere:
In the ocean and the depths of the earth,
In flower and beast and man.
And when I catch a glimpse of Thee,
I shield my eyes from Thy radiance,
And with bare feet
Tread on the ground made holy by Thy Presence!

Morning, noon and night
I worship Thee:
But without carpets, praying-shawls, rosaries,
Without choirs or splendid-robed priests.
No dome for Thy temple
But the sky;
No candles burn there
But the stars;
No choirs but the bird-songs;
No carpets there
But what the youthful Spring spreads out;
No Priest but the Sun in his robes pontifical.

In vain, in vain,
Have I sought Thee, Lord,
In the dusty temples,
In the churches and the mosques.
But at last I have found Thee, Lord,
In Thy own sky-domed Temple,
Where Thou abidest for ever!

LEON PICARDY.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

(Unsigned Reviews or Notices are by the Editor.)

PRE-EXISTENCE AND REINCARNATION.

By W. Lutosławski. London (Allen & Unwin); pp. 157; 6s. net.

WE welcome our old friend Prof. Lutosławski's contribution to the discussion of this ancient theme. For three-quarters of a century it has re-emerged in the Western world in ever-widening circles of interest, and now demands the serious attention of philosophers, theologians and scientists, and above all of students of psychical research. "Pre-existence and re-incarnation," writes our author, "taken together, constitute palingenesis." And palingenesis is defined as "the periodic return of the same spirits in human shape to earthly life." (From his survey Prof. Lutosławski excludes all consideration of the notion of the rebirth of humans into animal forms.) In our view the above definition of palingenesis should be reserved to the theory of reincarnation—metensomatosis or transcorporation—alone, repeated physical embodiments. We can believe in pre-existence and palingenesis in other states and embodiments, while rejecting the doctrine of repeated physical re-incorporations; and many do so believe. The two notions are distinct and should not be confused. The reason why some hypothesis of this kind is forced upon many serious thinkers in the West, is that traditional Christianity here confronts us with a blank dogmatic wall: God specially creates a new soul for every human body born into the world. Thus an utterly transcendent x faces us immediately here and now at every birth with a theological *non possumus*, which for the faithful bars out all further enquiry as an offence against the wisdom of the Creator. The only Patristic alleviations that have been advanced, are the Origenistic, Platonically-inspired, pre-existence—*not* re-incarnation—theory and Tertullian's traductionism, which would have it that the miraculous God-created body of the primal Adam contained potentially not only the bodies but also the souls of the whole subsequent

humanity. But Origen was condemned and Tertullian became a schismatic.

The modern mind, however, is hampered by no dogmas or taboos on this tremendous question of the whence and whither of the life of man-soul. Those who are imbued with an enlightened spirit of enquiry, are willing to consider any reasonable hypothesis and to survey the grounds on which it is advanced. We are now at long last fortunately beginning, in ways that have never previously been systematically attempted, to assure ourselves that survival is demonstrable, and therewith to have some conception of the conditions of the proximate states of the discarnate. The passage hence thither has repeatedly been described either from supernormal vision exercised by those here, or by those there who have personally experienced the transition. But the passage of the soul into a physical birth from a pre-existent state has no such confirmatory body of psychical testimony; the claims to such witness are exceedingly sparse. Indeed the two modes of exit and entrance seem to be of fundamentally different orders of procedure.

The theoretical arguments in favour of pre-existence on the one hand and of reincarnation on the other differ in this important respect. Pre-existence of the soul in non-physical states or conditions is conceivable and reasonable; but in the nature of things this is beyond the possibility of demonstration on analogy with embodied experience; for like alone can know like. But reincarnation, if a fact, should be capable of some sort of confirmation, if only in rare instances, by the recovery of deeply buried memories of earthly experiences similar to those we normally enjoy in our present life. The doctrine, therefore, theoretically, claims that it is capable of demonstration.

Prof. Lutosławski is here in no doubt whatever; indeed he claims that the reincarnation theory not only can be, but has been experimentally justified up to the hilt. He writes: "The purpose of this book is to supply such a justification by one who is not only fully aware and absolutely certain of his many past human lives, extending over thousands and millions of years, but who also intends to continue his experience, and to be reborn as many times as shall be necessary for the fulfilment of his aims." But thereafter we hear not a word of this stupendous personal experience, and have to be content with an historical survey and the opinions or claims of others. Now it is just these claims of remembering past births that constitute the acid test of the whole business; and had Prof. Lutosławski given us an account of even

one of his personal experiences, he would have at least enabled us to judge more understandingly of the grounds on which he bases his whole-souled conviction of the truth of the doctrine. The ability to recover memories of past lives (*punar-janman-anusmṛiti*) is part and parcel of Indian theory; but if we seek for any definite instances of such recollection in the ancient and mediæval literature of Hinduism or Jainism or Buddhism, the statements made leave us with the very strong impression that they are conflicted from *a* to *z*. We meet with nothing that a modern psychical researcher could regard as 'evidential.' So also is it the case in the West on the Pherecydes-Pythagoras line of tradition. It is only in our own day, say from about 1850 onwards, that we get claims set forth with any detail. What we now need is a *corpus* of the numerous modern cases claiming to be instances of such reminiscences, so that they may be analyzed and enable us the better to judge whether they can bear the weight of the transcorporate interpretation put upon them or may be explained by some other hypothesis. For instance, it is contended that not infrequently excarnate humans may have so much interest in or sympathy with an incarnate soul that there is a certain psychical interblending, and the one here may mistake the experiences of the one there for his own. There are also the 'collective unconscious' and 'ancestral memory' theories. It is all still a debatable land on the psychical research map, and calls for far more accurate survey-work than has yet been bestowed upon it.

Prof. Lutosławski, being a Christian and a Roman Catholic to boot, is at great pains to show that reincarnation is not abhorrent to Christian doctrine. But the whole weight of tradition is against him, and his apologetic is by no means convincing. Here we are surprised that a scholar who has given us so sound a piece of work as *The Logic of Plato*, seems to accept some of Walker's (*Reincarnation*, 1888) erroneous statements that some of the Church Fathers accepted reincarnation. Years ago we checked his assertions in detail and found that not one of the Fathers taught the doctrine. Pre-existence is not reincarnation, as Origen is at great pains to show; and a Justin Martyr, for instance, cannot be claimed as an adherent of transcorporation, because in a dialogue with a Platonic philosopher he puts this theory into the mouth of the latter. To-day most of us think little of the authority of Church Fathers one way or another, nor do we accept a doctrine because a Gotama or

Pythagoras taught it; our only concern is whether it is true. What does interest us historically, and properly interests us, is that Buddhism has made the doctrine absolutely fundamental, whereas Christianity has consistently repudiated it.

Whether we can accept his contentions or not, it must be admitted that Prof. Lutosławski has produced a readable and interesting volume; and he is not least interesting when dealing with his own special subject of Polish Messianism, of which he wrote the most authoritative exposition that has yet appeared, in our own pages (July, 1928). This ideal is based by him radically on reincarnation, and it provides for him the coping stone of his whole ideal edifice. His scheme of modes of living and corresponding types of world-view is interesting, and is in outline as follows :

1. A life dominated by *sensations* gives rise to a *materialistic* world-view.

2. A life where *thinking* prevails, favours an *idealistic* view.

3. The type of man in whom emotions or *feelings* seek to conciliate the opposition of idealism and materialism; the corresponding world-view is dominantly *pantheistic.*

4. On these modes there supervenes the man of *will*, striving to dominate sensations, thought and emotions; this is the beginning of the discovery of the Self, and the type of world-view is here that of *personalism* or *spiritualism.* At this level there arises another conflict between pantheism and spiritualism, comparable with that between the idealists and materialists on the lower level.

5. The reconciliation is to be found in the exercise of *intuition*, which conditions the *mystic* world-view.

But even mysticism is not enough according to Prof. Lutosławski; it leads too much to other-world views. It must be perfected with *messianism*, the object of which is to spiritualize or transmute matter; the transubstantiation of the Mass has to be universalized on earth. Therefore, as this is the consummation, all high souls devoted to this task must yearn to reincarnate to take part in this final establishing of God's Kingdom on earth.

On this note Prof. Lutosławski ends his reincarnationary symphony, though he has sorrowfully to confess that in Poland he stands almost alone in championing this Messianistic ideal. As he is unqualified in his loves, so is he in his hates. He loathes and despises modern Spiritualism. For him it is sheer necromancy, and mediumism of every kind is prostitution. "He

thus unto the ladder turns his back, scorning the base degrees by which he did ascend"—or perhaps because he could not get the confirmation he so fervently desired from it as to reincarnation.

III. Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch.

By Hugo Odeberg. Edited and translated for the first time with Introduction, Commentary and Critical Notes. London (Cambridge University Press); pp. 192+179+74+36; 42s. net.

In the Bodleian Library there is a manuscript of the beginning of the sixteenth century, written in German Hebrew cursive characters, entitled 'Book of Enoch by R. Ishmael ben Elisha, High Priest.' In this manuscript the High Priest Ishmael ascends on high, is met by a heavenly being called Metatron, who leads him through the mansions in the seven heavens. There is in existence a large number of similar descriptions, all containing long lists of angels, in the seven heavens, arranged in stations one higher than the other. The central figure here is Metatron, and the author of this book, who has published the Hebrew text and given an English translation fully annotated, makes this Metatron the centre of an elaborate introduction. It is a fine piece of scholarly work. The author has studied the whole cognate literature, and he has thrown a flood of light on the mystical speculations represented by these compilations. This one is rather late, and not of a homogeneous character. It contains some portions that are older, and others of a later date, and the date of the composition is estimated by the author to be somewhere in the third century C.E. A large number of scholars and authorities of the Talmudic period are mentioned by name, and close parallels can be found in this Rabbinic literature, to which the author constantly refers. In order to call it 'The Third Book of Enoch,' to which the author has been led by the title of the manuscript, he devotes a large part of his Introduction to prove the identity of Enoch with Metatron, and then enters into a minute disquisition on the character and attributes of Metatron, and endeavours to find parallels with the so-called I. Enoch, and even with II. Enoch. The latter, as is well known, is found only in Slavonic, and is of a comparatively more recent date. But the parallels with the First Book of Enoch are very few indeed and are not of a decisive value. There is no trace of the whole astrology, nor of the historical references, nor of the peculiar

allegories. If anything, I. Enoch has probably borrowed some chapters from such esoteric speculations as very likely were indulged in by the Essenes, and by others among the Jews who from very ancient times had given themselves up to such esoteric musings.

One cannot discuss here the origin of such mystic speculations. How far they may be due to the ancient Gnostic theories or to the Mysteries, which flourished also in Palestine from a very early date, is a matter to which a definite answer cannot yet be given: nor has anyone yet attempted to find a satisfactory solution. We can only point tentatively to the Gnostic literature, such as it has been preserved, and to later mystic speculations, among which one may indicate the Heavenly Hierarchies of Pseudo-Dionysius, and the older sources from which he had drawn his information. One point, however, is sure: that such mystic speculations were rife among the Jews long before the Destruction of the Second Temple. They were intimately connected with those about the Ineffable Name of God, the Tetragrammaton.

The result of our author's investigation culminates in the attempt at explaining the name of the heavenly being called Metatron, as being the Greek '*metathronos*.' He studies in detail all the other suggestions which have hitherto been made, in order to explain this mysterious name, and he rejects them all in favour of his own. As this is the most important part of the investigation, round which everything else turns, it is necessary to point out that this etymology is absolutely impossible. In the first place such a word does not exist in Greek, and therefore could not be taken over by the Jews. Secondly, if '*Metathron*' is an adjective, then the real Greek form should be '*Metathronios*' *vel simile*. The final ending '*-os*' would have been retained in Hebrew, just as is the case with other words, such as '*okeanos*,' etc. Thirdly, if it is not an adjective (or adjective used as substantive), then '*thronos*' must be the nominal element. In that case the adverbial '*meta*' is given adjectival force, which is against all rules of grammar. Fourthly, the word '*thronos*' or '*thron*' never occurs in the Hebrew language. It is always represented by the word '*kise*.' To this must be added that the ending '*-on*' is found added to a large number of angels in many of the ancient mystical Hebrew treatises. I mention Adiriron, and a host of these found, *e.g.*, in my edition of *The Sword of Moses*. The Jews have never indulged in free formations of Greek words, and certainly not in words of such obscure meaning. In all probability

it is due to some popular etymology, or the result of some syncretistic confusion of mystical names, borrowed from the Mysteries. One cannot help feeling that there is a tendency in all this investigation to discover a heavenly being seated, as it were, on the throne of God, or on a throne near to that of God, a kind of co-occupant of the throne of God, who, as mentioned on p. 186, might be the Jewish parallel to the Christian conception of the Son of God, as suggested by Meyer, and not directly rejected by the author. It is a pity that this attempt of identifying Enoch with Metatron, and of placing Metatron on a heavenly throne, ruler over all the angelic powers, should have led the author to pay too much serious attention to fantastic speculations and mystical lucubrations, vague and intangible, assuming every possible shape, and yet melting away at the first grip; and that he should thereby mar, as one must regretfully state, an excellent piece of scholarly work. It is otherwise a model for similar investigations, by wide reading, careful examination, and a complete grasp of the problems involved. The *Hebrew Visions of Hell and Paradise*, based on printed texts and manuscripts, published by me as far back as 1893, in the *J.R.A.S.*, has curiously enough escaped the attention of the author. The book is very well printed, and will prove of great value to all students of the literature of heavenly mansions.

M. GASTER.

ZOROASTRIAN STUDIES.

The Iranian Religion and Various Monographs. By A. V. Williams Jackson, Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University. New York (Columbia University Press); pp. xxxiii + 325; $4.

IT is a great pleasure to have this collection of Studies from the pen of our veteran scholar in the field of Avestan and allied literature. Prof. Williams Jackson is deservedly famous for the thoroughness of his work, the soberness of his judgment and the impartiality with which he sets forth the opinions of those with whom he may have most courteously to disagree. Some of the subordinate Studies before us have appeared already in scattered publication in the pages of learned periodicals, but they have all been revised and brought up to date; and it is good to have them all together. The valuable account of the Iranian Religion

published as long ago as 1903, in German, in Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, forms the bulk of the volume (pp. 218) and now appears in amended form in English dress; it is indeed largely a new contribution. There follows (pp. 219-244) an instructive survey of the very important doctrine of the Freedom of the Will in Zoroastrianism. The rest of the space is devoted to short studies on the meaning of the name 'Zarathushtra,' the Prophet's date and death, and so forth. Prof. Williams Jackson holds to the traditional Parsi date,—some 600 years B.C.; but the question of an earlier date has been ably argued and is perhaps still open. The most important problem, however, for students of comparative religion is the striking parallelism between certain leading doctrines of Iranian religion and like notions in Judaism and Christianity. The ideas of God, angels and archangels, of Devil, demons and archfiends, are very similar. The parallelism between certain purificatory rites in the Vendīdād and in the Pentateuch is striking; but if the date 600 B.C. stands firm, Jewish scholars, *if* they refuse to accept the general conclusions of the Higher Criticism, can argue priority for their own Purity Code over against that of the V. It is otherwise with Christian doctrinal parallels. Here there is no question that the very characteristic eschatological doctrines of Christianity were extant in Zoroastrianism from the start; they are found already in the Gāthās, the earliest hymns of the Avesta. No one, we suppose, will argue the direct influence of this complex of notions on infant Christianity; it was mediated through Jewish apocalyptic literature. But apart from the claim of the fulfilment of details of Jewish prophecy, in both the Canonical and extra-canonical Jewish literature of the time, in the person of Jesus, there is the whole schematology of Iranian eschatology lurking in the background. The several doctrines of the new Kingdom of God to be established in the times of the end, with a subsequent purified and restored earth, of the coming of the Saviour, of the resurrection of the dead in a physical body, of a general judgment, in which Ahriman and his host will be annihilated, is there, and fundamental throughout. The curious doctrine of the resurrection of the physical body, if it is to be claimed as an illuminating notion, is the invention, the patent of Zoroastrianism. For our own part we consider it a crude, nightmare fiction, with nothing spiritual or rational to recommend it; but the priority of the notion must be assigned to Zoroastrianism, not to any later form of Phariseeism. The pity of it all is that

it was adopted by Christianity; and not only so, but adopted in such a manner that the uniqueness of the resurrection of Jesus is made entirely to depend on it. The marvellous stir created in the early communities of Christians by the announcement that their great Prophet has risen from the dead, and had reappeared, could never have been regarded as the supreme miracle of his life, and a matter of prime importance for mankind, had they not believed it to be the first evidence in history, the unique concrete proof, then and there, of the anticipated resurrection of all men in their physical bodies at the last day. How the Iranian prophet hit on such a notion, it is impossible to say; in the length and breadth of contemporary mythology and religious imaginings it is nowhere else to be found. It is fantastically recalcitrant to every spiritual notion of immortality.

I AM.

By F. C. Constable, Author of 'Personality and Telepathy,' etc. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 105; 5s. net.

THE main effort in this thesis is clearly to distinguish the transcendental ego or self from the activities of the empirical ego, —the latter being the only one recognized by science, considered as a conscious ego coupled with experience. It is largely a study of Kant, of whom Mr. Constable is an enthusiastic admirer; he tries to clarify what in this respect Kant has left somewhat indefinite. He calls in to his aid here the works of the late James Ward, especially his last—*A Study of Kant*. Mr. Constable incidentally reviews the position of Alexander in his *Space, Time and Deity*, and contends that it deals with empiricism solely, leaving the transcendental reality of the true self severely alone. Nevertheless, since Alexander admits that we 'enjoy' ourselves as permanent in the midst of all changes, he recognizes, *de facto*, the presence of the transcendental subject throughout. For though we have no intelligible consciousness of this fundamental subject in terms of the understanding, we have a certain awareness of it in feeling; we *feel* ourselves as 'I am.' This true subject "feels its conscious ego as permanent, it *knows* that its experience is impermanent. The centrality of the consciousness of the conscious ego of science must exist for science in feeling. For without this *feeling* the subject could not use thought in knowing itself as a conscious ego coupled with experience. It is

because of this feeling of permanence that, though we *know* that as living organisms of body, brain and thought we are impermanent, we are driven, in order to carry on our normal lives, to regard ourselves and our fellows as permanent." Mr. Constable sees to it that his readers shall never misunderstand what he intends to convey and never forget what he has previously argued; the consequence is that we have never met with a dissertation that so repeats and reiterates itself. Clear then as our author is with regard to his main contentions, it is somewhat surprising that he has nothing to say about the fundamental activity of this permanent self which is stated, following Kant, to be that of imagination. Kant may be said to have dropped this suggestion almost casually, and nowhere developes the notion. We should very much have liked to have found Mr. Constable tackling this obscure problem, for it may be the *crux* of the whole matter. Our old friend, E. D. Fawcett, has made Imagination the basic notion of his contributions to modern philosophy, and it would have been useful if Mr. Constable had reviewed his labours, and shown whether they do or do not make explicit what Kant has left in entire obscurity. At the least a definition of the activity of imagination should have been attempted. As it is, we are here left guessing, though all other points are repeatedly reviewed and emphasized again and again.

Blake's 'Innocence and Experience.'

By Joseph H. Wicksteed, M.A. With 4 Illustrations in colour, 55 in black, and 20 Reproductions of MS. pages. London (Dent); pp. 301; 21s. net.

This is in every sense a charming and even lovable book. The author is in love with Blake and handles every detail with the uttermost tenderness, so that the volume gives pleasure from beginning to end. The illustrations are a delight, and paper, type and production generally cannot be too highly praised. We find here the reproduction of Blake's book as it was put forth by him, and a minute commentary on every poem. There can be no doubt that Mr. Wicksteed has caught the very spirit of Blake himself in his many moods. There is no attempt to soften down the contradictions in the poet's moods; and every attempt is made to co-ordinate his thoughts as they were evolved in his mind. The

phallic obsessions of Blake are given their inevitable place, both in commentary and in illustration; and yet the intimate purity of the poet is made apparent all the time.

The book gives such pleasure that it feels ungenerous to make objections. Yet perhaps the continual pleasure it gives puts one on one's guard. This Blake is perhaps too pure, too gentle, too sweet. One senses in Mr. Wicksteed a disposition to romance over Blake. Perhaps this dims a little the power in Blake; the fury that made him write:

> "Then I went to the heath and the wild,
> To the thistles and thorns of the waste,
> And they told me how they were beguiled,
> Driven out and compelled to be chaste,"

and the haunting desolation of:

> "I heard among the rushes dank
> Weeping, Weeping,"

are not quite explained, as Mr. Wicksteed explains them, by compassion for "the desolate souls whom the marriage convention excludes, and condemns to celibacy." Shall I be forgiven if I say that this is a little Victorian? For Mr. Wicksteed has not a Victorian mind at all and does not avoid realities; but his methods are here insufficient. Another objection one feels inclined to raise is to the reading of Blake's life and personal experience into the poems. We have had too much of this in Blakean exegesis. I can, for instance, quite well imagine Blake writing and enjoying his furious poems on 'Jealousy' and then turning to his wife with great relief and comfort at the thought that she was not of that kind. I can imagine Blake's fancy being attracted to a woman, not his wife, and his being rejected by the lady on the grounds that he was already married and she would not share him with his wife; as much bitterness would go into his poems then. In short, one can construct many theories where facts are lacking and there is only a text to be explained.

Poets are not all innocence, and their writings cannot be taken at their face value. Sometimes they write of things which never happened, sometimes they change to their advantage the telling of things that did happen. Blake may have been a profligate and his wife may have had the best of reasons to be

jealous. In poems written and engraved with her collaboration, he would naturally palliate and soften. I do not suggest that any of these alternatives are true, but would merely plead against the use of poetry as a source for biography.

But, I repeat, all this is ungenerous and merely written in caution. Mr. Wicksteed's book is both charming and scholarly. I have no doubt that in the main he is right in his conclusions, even if they are only surmises. In his precise study of the texts and illustrations, he is always suggestive and ingenious; and he is always clear—a very difficult quality to attain when dealing with Blake. From the strictly scholarly point of view, he is to be thanked for his study of the variations of the text as well as for his reproduction of it. He has done both Blake-lovers and Blake-scholars great service.

DENIS SAURAT.

ART AND LABOUR.

By G. Raffé. London (Daniel); 8s. 6d. net.

THE announcement on the paper wrapper—*i.e.* the 'jacket'—of Mr. Raffé's new book is calculated to intimidate the mere reviewer, however pleasingly it may strike the hardened reader. But for the benefit of the generality of readers—as distinguished from the kind which likes tough nuts to crack—it may be well, perhaps, to comment that "the waning influence of Liberal individualism; the Marxian concept of economic influence; the profound metaphysics of Hindu philosophy; industrial psychology, etc.," so impressively set forth by his publisher, do not obtrude unduly upon the attention in perusing this volume. It is a deeply interesting book despite the time spent in discharging vigorous blows upon 'commercialism and imperial politics.' But Mr. Raffé has that saving virtue of craftsmanship in him which offers firm standing ground in the dangerous places on which he ventures. He has something to tell from experience.

Very properly, he is alarmed by the striking divorce which exists so manifestly in our day between art and the general work of the world. He is indignant at the exploitations of both and demands a 'dedication of art and labour to the service of the whole people.' This, unfortunately, he qualifies by describing it

as to be 'renewed.' Now we have no good assurance that art was ever properly to be described as serving the community as a whole. When fine art was, practically speaking, the appanage of a Church that reasonably called itself Catholic in the Middle Ages, there was a vigorous social interest in its works, but they were directed towards the ends of a group, the clerical order. And, moreover, payment was made, and made from the profits acquired through the labours of others. And so too with the feudal glories of the craftsman.

Possessing a generous enthusiasm besides a shrewd and lively observation, it is a pity that the author confines himself to generalities. It is to the loss of his readers that with so ample practical knowledge he should refrain from particular observations. As one remembers, he published quite recently a substantial volume on modern commercial art. Yet nowhere in the present work does one find any definition of the place of present-day art in the history of mankind, nor of the true relationship between 'fine' and 'commercial' art. That the commercial exploitation of art is to be condemned appears to be implicit in his thesis. "Art is used as the lure," he says; "the virtues of wealth and position are ceaselessly extolled." So be it. But just as he could give simple and particular exemplars of works devoted to the exaltation of commercial products, one would desire equally thorough definition in his animadversions upon the 'owners of credit.'

It is not suggested in these comments, one may hope, that *Art and Labour* is without a lively definition in its own kind; but for such a difficult subject as 'beauty' and its pursuit, contradistinguished from that rush after 'profits,' it is inevitable that one should appeal to the expositor for a little more than a bare declaration of opinion. But, alternatively to his declaration that art is enchained and perishing, it may be propounded that never was art more widely employed. It is manifest in the most varied forms on every wall; it is here, there, everywhere, as our author himself has shown. But what we lack most desperately is 'style.' Yet, mayhap, Mr. Raffé will retort that bad art is not art at all. So be it; without style, which is to say a common and sustained conviction on the significance and dominant purpose in a group of principles, there is no true popular art. Therefore art is only properly alive and in being when it expresses the best and most glorious life of its day. And with that it must possess character, it must reflect character.

F. CARTER.

GOTAMA THE MAN.

By Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A. London (Luzac); pp. 302; 4s. net.

THIS is perhaps the most extraordinary book that has yet been published on the life and teachings of Gotama the Buddha. Dr. C. A. F. Rhys Davids has devoted a long life to the study of Theravāda (Pāli) Buddhism, and is deservedly regarded as one of the greatest authorities on the subject in all its phases. Her knowledge of the texts may be said to be unrivalled among Orientalists, and what she has to say is determined by an intimate acquaintance with the literary data. But what we have before us is not a formal treatise of research. It is conceived in the style of an autobiographical account of the deeds and teachings of Gotama, purporting to be based on his own memories, and a setting forth of what may be called his self-revelation. In many ways this differs from tradition, and, as we may say, self-critically differs. Reading it, we cannot think that this mode of narration is purely a literary artifice; it clearly suggests that the distinguished authoress is firmly persuaded in her own mind that she has been in contact with the mind of the Buddha and sensitive to the influence of such inspiration. In this sense the book is of distinct interest for students of matters psychical as well as for students of Buddhism. The traditionalists of the faith will doubtless resent and reject the account; in the first place off-hand because of its psychic implications, and in the second because it contraverts their orthodoxy in many ways. But for ourselves, quite apart from the how of its conception, we are very pleased to welcome any attempt to apply the method of a deeper criticism to the monkish developments that have manifestly obscured the original teaching in many respects. The diction of the book is, unfortunately, only too frequently marred by an involved alliteration that is heavy and irritating.

LETTERS FROM BARON FRIEDERICH VON HÜGEL TO A NIECE.

Edited with an Introduction by Gwendolen Greene. London (Dent); pp. 201; 7s. 6d net.

THESE letters, dated from Ap. 1918 to Sept. 1924, are of a most intimate nature. During this period the saintly scholar, whose memory is treasured and beloved by so many outside his own communion, lovingly tutored his niece in her reading and as her

spiritual director. The secular reading was largely devoted to the masterpieces of the classics in translation. What we are somewhat surprised here to remark is that in all this carefully selected educational course there is no mention of a work on the great non-Christian faiths of the world. Throughout, the Baron, in spite of his wide tolerance and sympathies and the depth of his spiritual insight, never leaves it in question that he is fundamentally a child of the Roman Catholic Church, and insists in and out of season on the indispensableness of the practice of institutional religion. Though he repeatedly asserts his aversion from any attempt to put pressure on any soul to change the form of its confession, and shows remarkable delicacy in this, nevertheless it was almost inevitable that under such circumstances his Anglican niece should be finally received into the Roman communion. The chief interest of these remarkable letters is the utter frankness of the self-revelation of the Baron's own character; to those of us who had the privilege of knowing him well, they remind us at every turn of his endearing personality and his admirable qualities. We see clearly how gladly he would have welcomed friends of other communions, who could not follow him the whole of his way, into the inmost shrine of his convictions; but here he is wistful rather than wishful they should do so unless they were utterly self-persuaded.

What is Man?

By John Henry Clarke, M.D., and Leopold Salzer, M.D. London (Watkins); pp. 112; 3s. 6d. net.

In his Introduction Dr. Clarke, the editor of *The Homœopathic World* and a lover of Blake, dwells on the ternary—Mind-Ether-Matter, and contends that Man is the Thought of God. He then reprints an address delivered by the late Dr. Salzer, at Calcutta, in February, 1889, on the subject of Modern Spiritualism, in which he appealed to the concept of the ether and the workings of unconscious cerebration (*à la* Carpenter) as it was then called, as a sufficient explanation of the phenomena. Thereafter Dr. Clarke criticizes the materialistic theories of Evolution in favour of spiritual Development, and makes much use of the doctrines of Paracelsus, quoting from the late Franz Hartmann's monograph. We do not, however, quite understand why Dr. Clarke considers Dr. Salzer's sceptical attitude so noteworthy; it has been considerably elaborated during the last 40 years, and it hardly gears in with the rest of his contentions

Orokaiva Magic.

By F. E. Williams. With a Foreword by R. R. Marrett. London (Oxford University Press); pp. 231; 12s. 6d. net.

This is a painstaking, not unsympathetic, and interesting account of a spontaneous psychical contagion which swept through the Northern Division of Papua for ten years or more. It is known to the British authorities as the Vailala Madness, and is a kind of revivalistic religious outburst of its own peculiar kind. The preferable description is the Taro cult; for the various rites, dancings, etc., are intended chiefly to ensure, through the spirits of the dead, a prosperous crop of the chief food-product, or staple diet,—the taro. The Orokaiva, it is of interest to note, believe in reincarnation, and that too including rebirth into animals. It would be of advantage to know whether this is a spontaneous native belief, or whether the Papuans get it from outside. There are certain procedures for curing the sick. The sick are held to be either magically infected or directly obsessed. The favourite form of treatment is 'magnetic'; passes are made, and the disease is drawn out of the extremities of the patient, as though it were a definite something that had to be removed and thrown away. Dreams and visions play a large share in the cult; and there are at times exhibitions or manifestations of speaking gibberish, which may be described as a primitive form of glossolaly or 'speaking with tongues.'

On the whole, this careful survey, which is the reprint of three Anthropological Reports to the Papuan Government, is a valuable collection of material, not only for the anthropologist, but also for the student of psychical research. It could be made to serve as the basis of an instructive study of native 'magic' from the point of view of what we know of modern mediumistic and allied phenomena.

Byzance et Croisades.

Pages Mediévales. Par Gustave Schlumberger. Avec 24 Planches hors Texte. Paris (Paul Geuthner); pp. 867; 60 frs.

Seven essays, printed before but now joined together, form the present delightful book. With one exception, a journey in the Abruzzi in 1914, all the rest deal with events that have happened in Byzance and the Holy Land, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. The author, who is a consummate Greek scholar, and who

has studied the history of Byzance in all its aspects, gives us here vivid pictures, written in that elegant style so characteristic of all his writings. Each essay reads like a chapter from a great epic poem. Fully conversant also with the other contemporary literature, he makes the best use of the sources available, and clothes his narrative in the most attractive form. One hears in it the echo of the Crusades, such as the essay on the Emperor Frederick II. of Hohenstaufen and the capture of Jerusalem, or the last fight of the Knights of St. John in Acre, or the description of the extraordinary voyage undertaken to Paris and London by Manuel Palaeolog, one of the last emperors of Constantinople. Romance, imagination and scholarship are all skilfully blended in this beautifully printed volume, which moreover contains twenty-one illustrations, finely executed, taken from old Greek manuscripts and other monuments. To handle such a book is an additional pleasure. The price of this handsome volume is very cheap.

M. GASTER.

PSYCHICAL SCIENCE AND RELIGIOUS BELIEF.

By J. Arthur Hill, Author of 'Psychical Investigations,' etc. London (Rider); pp. 192; 5s. net.

IT is agreed by all competent students of psychical research that the subject-matter of their investigations constitutes the raw experimental material on which religion in its widest sense rests. Mr. J. Arthur Hill is a competent student of psychical phenomena, and his researches, carefully pursued for many years, have converted him from a materialistic-rationalistic position through an agnostic attitude to a sober acceptance of the reality of the invisible world and of the actuality of inter-communication. In the present volume he sketches the outlines of a reasonable faith on the scientific basis of the critically established psychical facts. What he has to say is always well-considered and persuasively stated; it is never dogmatically asserted. He is not a profound student of the history of religion, of theology or of biblical criticism, but writes as an intelligent layman especially interested in the bearings of his subject-matter on the present unsatisfactory position of religion in the West in our days. Though he has nothing novel to say for students, Mr. Hill ably expresses what many millions have already confusedly in mind, and therefore his book will make a wider appeal than one of a more technical nature.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF BUDDHISM.

And a Buddhist Pilgrimage. By James Bissett Pratt, Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy in Williams College. London. (Macmillan); pp. xii. + 758; 15s. net.

PROF. J. B. PRATT'S psychological study of *The Religious Consciousness* has been deservedly praised as perhaps the most satisfactory hand-book on the subject which has yet appeared. His competence for treating of Buddhism is long years of study of translations and two Sabbatical years spent in visiting the Buddhist lands of the Far East. The only phases of Buddhism he omits from his survey are the Tibetan and Mongolian. Throughout, Dr. Pratt is a sound and most sympathetic *cicerone*. He loves this most widespread of the faiths of Asia, and is attentive not only to its developments and fortunes in the past, during its long 2,400 years of existence, but—and this is what gives special distinction to his work—to its present position and condition to-day. How is Buddhism lived to-day? is the question that our author tries to answer, and which he is largely successful in answering. At any rate we have nowhere else so informative and synthetic a view presented to us as in these pages. Dr. Pratt has been unwearied in pursuing his quest wherever his far-flung pilgrimage carried him, in the company of his observant wife. He has made friends everywhere, enquiring and cross-examining, and the result is a first-hand report of very great value. We are thus enabled to correct many popular errors and to win perspectives that are within reasonable proportions and founded on actualities. It is a very mixed and unequal story that is unfolded; there is much falling away, but here and there signs of movements of betterment in progress. Dr. Pratt's stout volume will be welcomed by all students of Buddhism as a valuable contribution to the history of its development, and an informative account of its present status. That Messrs. Macmillan are able to put this excellently printed large 8vo of 770 pages on the market at the very moderate price of 15s. is agreeably surprising.

THE LIFE OF SPACE.

By Maurice Maeterlinck. Translated by Bernard Miall. London (Allen & Unwin); pp. 171; 6s. net.

LIKE so many others, M. Maeterlinck is fascinated by the speculative implications wrapped up in the modern four-dimensional space-time continuum hypothesis, time being the fourth

co-ordinate. The phrase 'fourth dimension' is, we all know, bandied about in psychical circles in exact inverse proportion to its comprehensibility; it is one of the most 'mesopotamiacal' of vocables. M. Maeterlinck, like the rest of us non-mathematical laymen, raises the hat of respect to the subtleties of metageometrical theories, and is an able enough writer to skirt the subject gracefully and avoid any conspicuous howlers. He admits they are beyond him. Nevertheless his imagination, as that of a poet and thinker, is stirred by the manifold alarums and excursions from the popular fringes of four-dimensialism. He has entered with zest into the perusal of such 'scientific romances' as those of Charles Howard Hinton (1888-1904), and more recently of P. D. Ouspensky's *Tertium Organon* and of Major J. W. Dunne in his *Experiment with Time* (a name which the translator invariably misspells as 'Dunnes'). It is gratifying, however, to find that Maeterlinck, though fascinated, is not led astray; he knows that we really do not know anything about it yet. It is vastly 'intriguing.' He might have made clearer the Hinton 'flat-land' catch, on which so much of this pseudo-abstractioneering is based, and traversed more emphatically the supposal of Ouspensky's that animals have only two-dimensional perception. What knocks out most of this order of speculation is the concreteness of life. Life recognizes life; space and time are complementary modes or aspects of life. M. Maeterlinck has got this in his title; but he has not made sufficient use of it in his exposition. Still he has written an entertaining and sensible collection of essays on an ever-present mystery.

The Varieties of Religious Experience.

A Study in Human Nature. Being the Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion delivered at Edinburgh in 1901-1902. By William James. London (Longmans); pp. 529; 6s. net.

THIS is a very cheap reprint (36th impression) of William James's remarkable study, which has now become a classic. It practically inaugurated a new way in the study of the psychology of religious experience, and still remains a most valuable contribution to the subject. Critical estimates of this stimulating work, approving or disapproving, are legion, and at this late hour cannot be dwelt upon. There is probably no reader of THE QUEST who has not studied it and formed his or her own estimate of what is probably William James's masterpiece.

The Mysteries of Britain.

Or the Secret Rites and Traditions of Ancient Britain Restored. By Lewis Spence. With 8 Drawings by Wendy Wood and other Illustrations. London (Rider); pp. 256; 10s. 6d. net.

THIS, we regret to say, is, in our view, somewhat of a catch-penny title; though the theme will doubtless flatter the vanity of those who suffer severely from the nostratitis microbe. It is so gratifying to think that the very far-distant forbears of the inhabitants of these islands were a highly cultured lot possessed of a profound wisdom. There are few subjects more evasive than the 'history' of the Druids, few that have given rise to wilder speculation. Mr. Lewis Spence is an industrious researcher into ancient myths and legends, and has previously striven manfully to throw light on the legendary Atlantis complex, for instance. Here he does his best for the Druidical theme, and has gathered together a mass of vague indications, hints and views on the subject. He is well aware of the hosts of contradictory theses that have been hitherto advanced, and of the very unsatisfactory nature of the scant literary and inscribed data on which we have to rely, with no probability of its ever being added to. Nevertheless, he believes that with a more scientifically critical treatment, which he hopes his book has inaugurated, the general nature of the leading ideas of our Druid hierophants can be disentangled; not only so, but that perchance they will be found to embrace "a soul-philosophy more in actual conformity with our native psychology than any exotic system can possibly be." Mr. Spence writes as a Scot, and thrills with Gaelic enthusiasm at the prospect. We cheerfully admit that, in the course of his survey, Mr. Spence touches deftly on many a subject of romance; but these ancient Druids of his were, in our opinion, far more likely to have belonged to a primitive deposit of custom rather than to a stratum of high culture.

Paganism in Roumanian Folklore.

By Marcu Beza. With Illustrations. London (Dent); pp. ix.+162; 7s. 6d. net.

THERE was real joy in life in Paganism, whatever others may say to the contrary. The people lived in close intimacy with nature, and they treated their gods often with absolute familiarity, some-

times bordering on contempt. There was tolerance abroad, no religious persecution, and when quarrelling with one god, they tried to purchase the favours of another by liberal gifts, of which they themselves took a large share. There was no morbid introspection. Every turn of the season was an occasion of mirth, and the ingathering of crops and fruit was often of a riotous character. There was a kind of happiness in the air, and contentment. This is not a rosy picture, but one which emerges from the study of Mr. Beza's book, which, with great skill and learning and poetical insight, has been able to trace the ancient Paganism under the veneer of the very superficial Christianity indulged in by the Rumanians this side and the other side of the Danube. Nor are they the solitary treasurers of the ancient traditions. They share them to the full with the other peoples of the Balkan Peninsula. Christmas and New Year, the Paparude and Kalojan, the Hobby-Horse Dance, and the other ceremonies and pastimes, are also the favourite enjoyments of the other nations. I ought to say 'were' and not 'are,' for the so-called Western civilization, from which these nations have been saved for centuries through the Turkish wall surrounding them, another kind of Chinese Wall, is now making terrible havoc among them. Half a century has sufficed almost to sweep away the accumulation of many hundreds of years. Mr. Beza is to be thanked for having rescued some of them before they disappeared; and in addition to the essays he has placed the reader under a further obligation by twenty-three spirited illustrations inserted in the book.

M. GASTER.

EVOLUTION DISPROVED.

Or the Evolution of Man Scientifically Disproved in 50 Arguments. By Rev. William A. Williams, D.D., of 1202, Atlantic Avenue, Camden, New Jersey, U.S.A.; pp. 125; $1.

THIS book is a vindication of the Christian faith as held in Tennessee and other States of America, and at the same time a protest against the pretensions of biological science.

In Darwinian philosophy the Tennesseans see merely a recrudescence of paganism. Dr. Williams shows that Darwin used phrases of doubt, like 'we may well suppose,' eight hundred times in his two principal works, and he maintains that Darwin's whole theory is built up on guesses and suppositions, most of

which have proved fallacious. 'Natural Selection' he holds up to ridicule thus: "Do we account for humor because they perished who could not crack a joke?" He has no relish for 'fortuitous variations' and for 'chance'—mere heathen doctrines, as he says. With great acumen he marshals arguments from mathematical probability to anthropology and biology, showing that at best faith in evolution rests on slender foundations. The shrewd folks of Tennessee, judging the tree by its fruits, see little reason for substituting a philosophy so suspect as Darwinism for the ancient faith by which they have prospered exceedingly. They have witnessed that 'Evolution' breeds atheism and immorality, that it makes of 'sweet religion' a mere 'rhapsody of words.' A pragmatic philosopher might well say that, though there be much that is illusory in religious teaching, the illusions of religion are on the whole preferable to those of biology.

Here are some instances of the author's indictment of Darwinism: "Man, according to evolution, is a creature of environment. He is a victim of brute impulse. He has no conscience, no free will, he can commit no crime. Killing is not murder. It is not sin. Man cannot be responsible. Without conscience, a victim of circumstances, rushed on into crime, sin, and injustice, responsible to no God! The heart sickens at the brightest picture evolution can paint. The difficulty of showing the evolution of the body is insuperable, but the evolution of the soul, with all its mental, moral and spiritual equipment, is an absolute impossibility. Small wonder that evolutionists are unwilling to discuss the origin of the soul."

And again: "Why will they travel around the world to find a part of a skull or remnants of a skeleton when they will not cross the street to save a soul? . . . Sin is a great fact. It can not be denied. It can not be explained by evolution. It is universal. Every race, all nations, with all grades of intellect and culture, civilized or uncivilized, are cursed with sin. . . . Why is it universal? When did it originate? Did it originate in all the members of the brute-human race at one time? Did some become sinners, and others remain without sin? Sin must be developed, since brutes have no sin. Why not some of the ape-humans without sin? Does natural selection explain the universal sinfulness of man, on the ground that those who did not have this 'improvement' perished? They all died and only sinners were left, hence all survivors are sinners! Sin makes

men more fit and hence sinners only survive! Is evolution simply ridiculous, or a crime?"

So long as biologists pretend that their science is 'beyond good and evil' so long will 'Evolution' be fair target for ridicule, as also a cause of mischief and of obstruction. Dr. Williams' book bears out the present reviewer's contention that a new synthesis is required if 'Evolution' is to be saved and to become a really fruitful source of inspiration.

H. REINHEIMER.

THE VAMPIRE.

His Kith and Kin. By Montague Summers, Author of 'The History of Witchcraft,' etc. With 8 Plates. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 356; 15s. net.

THE author of this gruesome monograph has a fine taste in horrors, as his two previous volumes on the history and geography of witchcraft have shown. Mr. Summers is at pains beyond all else to differentiate the vampire proper from all spurious imitations. He will have it that the vampire is always a purely physical phenomenon: a ghoul, to all seeming dead and buried, yet capable of maintaining a blood-gorged existence in the grave and able physically to emerge therefrom to prey on its victims and to return thither. Such is the main burden of the legends, and such seems to be the testimony of divers in the past. It would be rash to deny *à priori* the possibility of carrying into effect the most loathsome perversities of human nature even though on the lines indicated,—for those at least who are beginning to come to know something of the rare and normally incredible by-ways of psychical and psycho-physical phenomena. We have to remember, however, that, though we have ample testimony to-day of the phenomena of obsession and of psychic vampirism, we have not, to my knowledge, a single instance of this 'classical' type of physical vampery, as maintained by Mr. Summers. Romances, like the late Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, popularized by play and film, are no evidence. We, therefore, are unable, without very definite modern evidence, to accept Mr. Summer's endorsement of the folk-view of the vampire, no matter how wide a distribution the tales may have. Meantime those who love or are fascinated by the macabre, will have a fat mess of horrors to sup on in Mr. Summer's industrious pages.

MESCAL.

The 'Divine' Plant and its Psychological Effects. By Heinrich Klüver, Ph.D., Columbia University. Psyche Miniatures, No. 22. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 111; 2s. 6d. net.

THIS little treatise on mescal, or peyotl, the Mexican cactus, the psychical effects of which have recently been extensively studied, confines itself almost entirely to a description of the hallucinations produced and their attempted analysis, with special attention to the physiological concomitants. It is the only monograph in English, and a convenient summary treatment of a widely-ramifying and complex subject-matter which has been dealt with at considerable length two years ago by Rouhier (*Le Peyotl*, reviewed in THE QUEST, July, 1927) in France and Beringer (*Der Meskalinrausch*) in Germany, respectively. Dr. Klüver is of opinion that mescal is an excellent instrument of research for the psychologist, and indeed shows how this applies in detail. Apart from its sense-effects, the drug is a valuable therapeutic; of all narcotics it is the safest, and is most remarkable in that it apparently does not influence the sexual sphere in any specific way. The chief interest in the recent experimentation by scientific observers which has been going on, is that men who, as a rule, have to deal with hallucinatory states at second hand, are now able to become acquainted with numerous phases of them at first hand; and they are by no means unimpressed by *La plante qui émerveille les yeux*. That is a gain.

A FURTHER AND FORTUNATE ANNOUNCEMENT.

A Preliminary Announcement at the end of the January number regretfully stated that, as far as could then be foreseen, owing to very serious financial loss we should be forced to close down on the completion of the present volume. Many very genuine condolences and keen regrets have been expressed by lovers of THE QUEST at this gloomy prospect. They will, therefore, learn with pleasure that a generous friend has made it possible for us to carry on another volume after the July issue. All of us who have the interest of THE QUEST at heart, owe its benefactor a very deep debt of gratitude.

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THE QUEST

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Edited by G. R. S. Mead.

Vol. XX. JULY, 1929. No. 4.

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THE QUEST

A MODERN VIEW OF OMAR KHAYYAM.

Colonel A. M. MANTELL.

IT may perhaps be thought that I am going to treat of a somewhat threadbare subject, seeing that Omar Khayyam has been dealt with in a considerable number of published translations and commentaries, and that a Club has been established with a view to making his work a special study. I plead as excuse that he is a subject of perennial interest. Just as a Hamlet is probably to be found in every village, so also, if we knew the hearts of all our fellow-men, it would be found that there is a mute inglorious Omar lurking under many a commonplace exterior. It is likely that there will be admirers of the great Persian poet as long as human beings interest themselves in the riddle of existence.

> But like the grass and like the rain
> Some things for ever fresh remain,
> Some poets whom no rust can touch,
> —Khayyam and Horace are of such.

Ghiyatuddin Abul Fath Omar ibn Ibrahim al Khayyami was an inhabitant of the important city of Naishapur or Nishapur in Khorassan, in the north-east

of Persia. The city was reduced to ruins centuries ago by earthquakes and by the devastations of the Mongols. Although it has to some extent been re-built, it has now only about ten thousand inhabitants. The fame of the great man still lingers in the neighbourhood. He died at an advanced age in 1123 A.D., and was buried near Naishapur. He was a contemporary of William Rufus, and during his lifetime the first Crusade took place. It is often said that he adopted his *takhallus* or poetic name 'Khayyam,' which means 'tent-maker,' because his father had followed that avocation. This however is unlikely. The good education which the father gave to the son, indicates rather that he was too comfortably circumstanced to have followed such an occupation, even if (and this is doubtful) there were professional tent-makers in Persia at that time. The family sprang from the Arab tribe of 'El Khayyami' and it is more probable that 'El Khayyam' is a sort of punning variant of this tribal name. The son became Persia's greatest mathematician, astronomer, free-thinker and epigrammatist.

Few details of Omar's life have been recorded, but it is known with fair certainty that he had as a school boy two bosom friends, Hassan ibn Sabbah and Nizam-ul-mulk, and that the three lads made a compact that, if either of them should reach an important position in life, he would do his best to help the other two. Hassan afterwards founded the terrible sect of the Assassins, and struck dismay into the Crusaders under the name of 'The Old Man of the Mountains.' It is said by some authorities that our word 'Assassin' is derived from 'Hassan,' though others derive it from the Arabic word '*hashshash*,' which means a man addicted to the use of the opiate of hemp-leaves called

'hashish' or 'bhang.' The main influence of Hassan on Omar's career was that the early association with such a miscreant helped in later years to bring Omar into disrepute.

Nizam-ul-mulk became the vizier of the Persian Sultan, and under the above compact offered to obtain for Omar some high government appointment. This offer was firmly declined; but Omar asked for and received a stipend which placed him in a position of independence, and enabled him to devote his time to mathematics and astronomy. He wrote various treatises in Arabic on mathematical subjects such as algebra, the extraction of cube roots and the definitions of Euclid. He also greatly advanced the geometrical methods of solving equations by means of intersecting conics, and it is interesting to learn that his writings on this subject did not reach Western Europe till many centuries later, by which time his methods had been independently re-invented and developed by a number of European mathematicians. This reminds one of the fact that the principles of Mendelism were discovered and forgotten, and then re-discovered at a later date.

The Sultan who had granted Omar's stipend died soon afterwards, and the next succeeding Sultan appointed him to be what we might term 'Astronomer Royal.' He was called upon to make extended astronomical observations, and to carry out (with seven other scientists) a thorough reform of the calendar, with a view to making the civil year coincide more exactly with the cycle of the seasons. The Moslem calendar then in use was far from satisfactory, in that its year had a length of twelve lunar months; and Omar produced something far better, *viz.* the Jalalæan

calendar, which is said to surpass the Julian calendar, and to approach in accuracy the Gregorian calendar which we now use in Western Europe. This Jalalæan calendar is still used by the Parsees in Persia and in India, but it was not adopted by the Moslem world. Presumably the Muhammadans preferred to retain their own calendar because the lunar month is closely connected with their religious observances, and also because their Era is reckoned from the date of the flight of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina (the Hejira), and thus is associated with the founder of their religion.

The calculation of the Jalalæal calendar was Omar's most important scientific achievement, and yet he characteristically belittles it in one of his quatrains:

> Ah, but my Computations, People say,
> Reduced the Year to better reckoning ?—Nay,
> 'Twas only striking from the Calendar
> Unborn To-morrow and dead Yesterday.

(In all cases, unless otherwise stated, I quote from Fitzgerald's translation.)

Omar travelled much in Central Asiatic countries. He studied medicine and acquired some reputation as a doctor. As a preparation for all this he had as a youth followed the usual university curriculum, which included, apart from book-learning, various sports and pastimes, among others 'Mazu,' a game practically the same as the modern golf. It does not seem to be generally appreciated that he was a golfer.

But Omar's great scientific fame has been almost eclipsed by his poetic renown. He wrote a considerable number of wonderfully sonorous Persian quatrains in the special form called '*rubai*,' in which the first, second and fourth line of each *rubai* or quatrain rhyme,

while the third line is usually rhymeless. In each line there are thirteen syllables which may, however, metrically be reduced to twelve, eleven or sometimes ten. Throughout each division of his poem, in accordance with the invariable Persian practice, all the rhyming lines of each constituent quatrain end in the same letter; those of the first division in *a*, of the second in *b*, and so on. This seems a childish arrangement, and can hardly be thought to increase the beauty of the composition, while it has no doubt seriously interfered with the logical connection of successive quatrains. There are many discrepancies in the various texts, and subsequent poets or versifiers added a very large number of *rubais* (or *rubaiyat* if we use, as is often done, the Arabic plural) which were attributed to the original poet. About one thousand two hundred in all have been collected by editors, but of all these it is improbable that more than about three hundred are genuine; and the various translators seem to have made selections for their versions without much regard to whether they were written by Omar himself or by an imitator. It is in any case impossible to distinguish these two classes of quatrains by internal evidence.

The *rubai* had been successfully introduced into Persian literature only a few decades earlier, and had been used as a vehicle for subtle thoughts on Sufic mysticism, and for the expression of radical free-thought. Omar and his unknown imitators made use of this stanza for the same purposes and for sundry others, which E. H. Whinfield roughly classifies under six headings:

(1) Complaints of fate, the world's injustice, loss of friends, etc.

Ah Love! could you and I with Him conspire
To grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire,
Would not we shatter it to bits—and then
Remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire.

(2) Satires on hypocrisy and on the impiety and ignorance of the pious.

The Revelations of Devout and Learn'd
Who rose before us and as Prophets burn'd,
Are all but Stories which, awoke from Sleep,
They told their comrades, and to Sleep return'd.

(3) Love poems.

(4) Praise of spring, gardens and flowers, as in Whinfield's translation.

To-day how sweetly breathes the temperate air,
The rains have newly laved the parched parterre;
And Bulbuls cry in notes of ecstasy,
"Thou too, O pallid rose, our wine must share."

(5) Irreligious and antinomian utterances: charging sins of creatures to the account of the Creator, scoffing at Paradise and Hell, praises of wine and pleasure.

In Paradise, they tell us, Houris dwell,
And fountains run with wine and oxymel:
If these be lawful in the world to come,
Surely 'tis right to love them here as well.

The above is from Whinfield. I may quote also the following startling stanza from Fitzgerald, which is said, however, to go even further than Omar in irreligion:

Oh, Thou, who Man of baser Earth didst make,
And ev'n with Paradise devise the Snake:
For all the Sin wherewith the Face of Man
Is blackened—Man's forgiveness give—and take.

(6) Religious utterances, as from Whinfield's translation.

> O Lord! from self-conceit deliver me,
> Sever from self, and occupy with Thee!
> This self is captive to earth's good and ill,
> Make me beside myself, and set me free.

The glaring contrasts between these various sentiments no doubt reflect varying moods. Moreover some of the quatrains were probably written in youth and some in riper years. A similar feature is to be found in the Book of Job and the Book of Ecclesiastes. Some of these contrasts must have been due to Omar's reflections on the doctrine of fatalism or predestination. In the 17th Article of Anglicanism it is pointed out that this doctrine may lead either to 'desperation' or to 'unspeakable comfort.' Among Moslems it may lead to headlong fighting in the name of Allah or to supine acquiescence in the decrees of the 'wheel of heaven.' In Omar there was a similar 'ambivalence of emotional reaction,' to use the jargon of the psychologists. Part of his life was spent in a headlong pursuit of knowledge, and part of it in preaching the gospel of quietism.

It is interesting to try to picture the character of Omar as indicated in his literary remains and by what is known of his life. In his youth he was brought up in the Moslem religion and steeped in Sufic lore. He studied the teachings of the ancient Greeks and the speculations of Moslem philosophers, such as Avicenna, and he became an eminent scientist. At that period Persia was making a name for itself in philosophy, poetry, architecture and the ceramic arts; in fact it raised the cultural level of its conquerors, the Moslems, and helped to lay the foundations of Saracenic

architecture in Egypt and in Spain. Civilization reached a high level in the Muhammadan East when it was hardly known elsewhere. Omar thus lived in a time of moral and intellectual ferment, and this ferment reached an extreme intensity in the poor man himself. On the one hand, his early training and the influence of his neighbours combined with his innate disposition to make him yearn for some sort of religious faith. He attended mosque, and he is even said to have made the pilgrimage to Mecca in order to appease the *odium theologicum* by which he was surrounded. On the other hand, the pursuit of science led him towards an aggressive and hopeless unbelief to which he felt impelled to give expression. The conflict of these two tendencies led to the unhappiness which Alphonse Daudet termed that of a '*homo duplex*.'

He is sometimes supposed to have been addicted to riotous living, but this was not the case:

> Jocund his Muse was, but his life was chaste.

On the contrary, he endeavoured to battle with his deep-seated pessimism by following the old adage of not desiring too much, and he took but little interest in the favours which the Sultan showered on him.

Omar was not a consistent adherent of any one system of thought, but he was tossed about by the various sentiments to which he devoted his attention. This brought him to such an extreme of melancholia that he brooded on self-destruction, and yet the desire for self-preservation made him feel sad at the thought of leaving this world:

> Yon rising Moon that looks for us again—
> How oft hereafter will she wax and wane,
> How oft hereafter rising look for us
> Through this same Garden—and for *one* in vain!

To use the language of modern science, he was an outstanding example of an imperfectly integrated personality.

There is a difficulty in ascertaining Omar's real views, if he can be said to have had any, as he followed the habit of what the Persians called '*kitman*,' that is, the non-revelation of anything in one's mind. The word *kitman*, it may be mentioned, comes from an Arabic root *katama* meaning 'to conceal,' and was introduced into Persia through Turkish influence. This habit of 'lying low,' as we may call it, was explicitly approved at that period, and was accentuated as a means of self-defence by the disorders and barbarities which were frequent in Persia during the eleventh century. But in spite of this *kitman* it seems clear that Omar was in turns cynic, pessimist, quietist, fatalist, epicurean, stoic, sceptic and mystic. He was accustomed to the loneliness of 'the thought that dwells apart.' He felt a delicate and gentle sorrow on the passing of all things that are great and all things that are beautiful. As with Dante and Goethe, the pursuit of knowledge was the business of his life, and to sing of it his recreation. He suffered from periodic attacks of metaphysics—the art of tracing back human ignorance to its fountain head. He took pleasure in mystifying his hearers and shocking the conservatism of the faithful, and like Horace he only addressed himself effectively to kindred spirits:

Non recito cuiquam nisi amicis.

He was not an atheist, but his attitude towards the deity was on the whole that expressed by Heine on his death-bed in the words: "*Il me pardonnera. C'est son métier.*" The general spirit of his poetry is one of

freedom and cheerfulness, tolerating everything except intolerance. His entire teaching is perhaps best summed up by Whitley Stokes' quatrain:

> This is the time for roses and repose
> Beside the stream that through the meadow flows.
> A friend or two, a rose-like lady love,
> With wine; and not to hear the Mullahs prose.

He is strangely modern, and he has become the one Eastern poet who is well known and really loved in modern Europe. All the extant references to him in all languages would make a library. The great defect in his outlook was that "his life of trouble was uncheered by hope."

The *rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam, or rather selections from them, have of late years been translated into several European languages. In connection with such work the word 'translation' is generally used, but it would be more accurate in most cases to say 'paraphrase' or 'version.' Of the various English versions the best known and the one which is considered most poetical is that of Fitzgerald. This one is so important that it seems worth while to devote special attention to it.

Edward Fitzgerald was born in easy circumstances, and was thus enabled to lead what many would call a life of idleness. He was almost a recluse, but he had a few close friends, among them Thackeray, Tennyson, Carlyle and E. B. Cowell, who afterwards became Professor Cowell the Orientalist. Fitzgerald had a strong literary bent, but he did little entirely original work. His chief hobby (apart from yachting) was that of translating foreign poets, and in this he developed a very high degree of skill. He was introduced to Persian poetry by Cowell, and studied Hafiz, Jalaluddin, Jami and more especially Omar Khayyam in the original. He steeped himself in the language and feeling of Omar, and then re-wrote the poetry in his own peculiar style.

Some critics have thought his version superior to the original. It is impossible to ascertain from his published works what views were held by Fitzgerald himself as to the mysteries of life, of which he wrote so much. He shows just as much religious enthusiasm in his rendering of *El Magico Prodigioso* from the Spanish of Calderon as he does scepticism in his renderings from the Persian. He never saw his way clearly, and he seems to have envied those who had some definite religious faith. He found that Omar Khayyam "breathed a sort of consolation," and therefore devoted more attention to him than to any other author. There was in fact in some respects a strong resemblance in character between these two men.

Fitzgerald's first edition of the *Rubaiyat* was published in 1859, and he continued to revise and re-revise it and to bring out later editions for more than twenty years. The result is an immortal paraphrase, a masterpiece of English lyric verse, the work of a poet inspired by a poet. It is a curious fact that at first it completely failed to attract the reading public. Nearly all the copies of the first edition (which had become the property of Quaritch the publisher) were placed outside a shop with other books to be sold at fourpence, or as some say at a penny, as against the published price of five shillings. (I am told that one copy recently changed hands at one hundred pounds.) These remainder copies were discovered by Dante Gabriel Rossetti and by Swinburne, and through them the poem reached a high degree of popular appreciation. Fitzgerald himself was devoid of ambition in connection with the matter, and made no effort to bring his own name before the public. He was equally careless as to money, and after his death there were found in his books many banknotes which he had used as markers. Perhaps he was paralyzed by the view that

> "We are no other than a moving row
> Of Magic Shadow-shapes that come and go
> Round with the Sun-illumined Lantern held
> In Midnight by the Master of the Show."

The charm of Fitzgerald's version is doubtless largely due to his invention of what may be called the 'Fitzgerald stanza,' which clearly suggests the metre of the *rubais*. The rhymeless third

line seems to intrude 'a persistent question and an inexplicable dissonance,' and for a moment to hold the verse in suspense. In this respect it resembles the original Persian, in which however most of the lines are longer. Each of Fitzgerald's lines contains ten syllables, and may be said to be an iambic trimeter brachycatalectic. The same stanza has been used in Edmund W. Gosse's 'On Viol and Flute,' and also (with an amplification) in Swinburne's 'Laus Veneris.' It seems curious that, except in translations from the Persian, it has not been more used.

It has often been asked how much of Fitzgerald's work is due to the translator and how much to Omar Khayyam. This question has been investigated in the most painstaking manner by E. Heron Allen, and the figures given by him indicate that about 93 per cent. of the ideas in Fitzgerald's version can be traced in Omar, and 4 per cent. in Ferid ud Din and Attar, while 3 per cent. have no Persian original. The question does not of course admit of accurate statistical treatment, but the above figures show clearly that the great majority of the ideas are to be found in the author whom Fitzgerald purported to translate. This, however, is no proof that they originated with Omar. Many of them are 'commonplaces of the lyric ode and the tragic chorus'—in fact 'the old, old story.' Both the Persian poet and the translator were influenced by the Greek classics; probably, indeed, some of the sentiments date back to the time when '*Homo Sapiens*' first evolved sufficiently to express himself in literature.

It is recorded of Omar Khayyam (though there is some doubt as to whether the record has been correctly translated) that he desired to be buried "in a spot where the North Wind may scatter roses over it." This condition is fulfilled by the tomb in the Hira Cemetery near Naishapur which is still pointed out, rightly or wrongly, as that of the great poet; and nearly eight hundred years after his death some seeds of the Damask rose were collected at that tomb and planted in Kew Gardens. One of the rose-trees so raised was piously transferred by the Omar Khayyam Club to the grave of Fitzgerald at Boulge in Suffolk.

Other translations into English have been made by a number of writers; for example, E. H. Whinfield of the Indian Civil Service (who used the Fitzgerald stanza), Henry B. Lister and O. A. Shrubsole. To give some indication of how varied such translations may be, I will quote from each of these a few lines which represent the same sentiment.

Fitzgerald's quatrain is:

A Book of Verses underneath the Bough,
A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread—and Thou
Beside me singing in the Wilderness—
Oh, Wilderness were Paradise enow!

Whinfield's is:

Give me a skin of wine, a crust of bread,
A pittance bare, a book of verse to read;
With thee, O Love, to share my lowly roof,
I would not take the Sultan's realm instead.

Lister's version run thus:

With thee I could always be happy,
and thy song would lighten my soul,
Though a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread
were all in the world we owned.

Shrubsole wrote:

A loaf and some mutton and wine,
With these in the shade of a tree
We two in the desert will dine,
No sultan's feast better can be.

It will be agreed that these versions stand on very different levels.

It would be tedious to refer in detail to other translations. I mention them in general terms, only to indicate what a number of efforts have been made to reproduce Omar's work in modern language.

Omar's frequent advocacy of the use of wine has given rise to adverse comment, but it should be borne in mind that he himself was not a drunkard or a voluptuary. Mons. Nicholas, the first writer who translated him into French, went so far as to claim that 'wine' was a term applied by the poet metaphorically to the Deity or to Divinity, adding to the translation a number of notes to that effect. But this seems very far-fetched. On the other hand, some commentators think that the *rubais* are a powerful indictment against intolerant persecution, inspired soon after the time when the Turkish conqueror, Mahmoud the Great of Ghazni, forcibly replaced the Zoroastrian creed of Persia by Muhammadanism. Under Zoroastrianism the Persians received a liberal education, not hampered by petty ordinances of creed or conduct; but in contrast with such freedom the narrow bigotry of the Muhammadans made the drinking of wine a sin against Allah, and a crime against law, and it was against such intolerance that the poet felt bound to rebel. If he had expressed his views in serious prose, they would probably have been to the effect that all the good things in this world, summarized by him under the word 'wine,' are here for our use, that they are one of the best remedies for heart-ache, and that they are to be enjoyed in moderation.

> Why, be this Juice the growth of God, who dare
> Blaspheme the twisted tendril as a Snare?
> A Blessing, we should use it, should we not?
> And if a Curse—why, then, Who set it there?

Professor Horrox told us recently in Bath that it is a good thing to analyze the enthusiasm which we feel for any literary masterpiece. It may thus be well to attempt an analysis of the enthusiasm which has

been so generally felt in regard to Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyam.

There is, to begin with, the strange fascination of the Fitzgerald stanza, and the choice language in which its inventor embodied his thoughts. He gives us a panorama of vivid and moving images: the Eternal Saki pouring out his million Bubbles, the Clay passive under the thumping of the Potter, the Ball thrown about the Field, the helpless Pawns moved hither and thither by the great Player, the sultans and heroes who are after all but passing inmates of this 'battered caravanserai.'

In the next place, it is interesting to get a glimpse of the way in which the torch of learning was handed down in the East before Western Europe emerged from the dark ages. It is, also, an intellectual pleasure to notice how concisely and pointedly an old doctrine—however false it may be—is often expressed in the poem. Take for instance that of the inefficacy of prayer:

> And that inverted Bowl they call the Sky,
> Whereunder crawling cooped we live and die,
> Lift not your hands to *It* for help—for It
> As impotently moves as you or I.

Thirdly, there is a charm in some passages to which it seems impossible to attach any definite intellectual meaning. These may touch the feelings as having a mystical meaning, and may make an appeal to those numerous people—some of them prosaic persons in everyday life—who have their mystical moods.

Fourthly, for many of those who suffer from philosophic trouble, or who feel 'the sense of tears in mortal things,' Omar 'breathes a sort of consolation' by showing them that others suffer in a similar

manner. He seems to say for our comfort, as did the banished Duke in 'As you like it' to his follower:

> Thou seest we are not all alone unhappy.

It is true that Tennyson wrote in 'In Memoriam'

> That loss is common would not make
> My own less bitter, rather more.

But the contradiction between these two passages simply indicates that we are not all built alike. It may be added that modern psycho-therapists find it definitely helpful to some of their patients to be told that many others are suffering from similar troubles.

In this connection the dithyrambic language used in some of the quatrains may to some minds be more helpful than ordinary phrases. "*Rien ne soulage comme la rhétorique.*"

Lastly, those who are not in philosophic trouble, and especially those who have faced the great mysteries of life and have reached a situation which gives them peace, may find in the reading of Omar a satisfaction similar to that described in a fine passage at the beginning of the second book of Lucretius. The Roman poet speaks of the pleasure to be derived from standing in safety on the shore and watching others struggling with the waves. This, as he carefully states, is not a mere unkindly satisfaction at seeing others in pain—*Schadenfreude*, as the Germans call it—but a symbol of the satisfaction felt by those who have reached philosophic calm. "From their fortified sanctuaries serene, built up by the teachings of the wise, they may look down from the height on others who are all astray and seeking the path of life."

When readers so situated hear the discordant voices with which Omar speaks, they may feel grateful

—perhaps devoutly grateful—that they have been able to pass

> To where beyond these voices there is peace.

These five reasons why Fitzgerald's Omar appeals to us may be called: the æsthetic reason, the intellectual reason, the mystic reason, the reason of sympathy and the reason of thankfulness. They seem to explain the enthusiasm which has given rise to such a widely extended Omar-cult. They explain also the remarkable fact that the original Persian poetry was preserved for centuries without the aid of the printing press, and in spite of the ravages of fire, sword and earthquake.

Nearly thirty years ago Mr. H. H. Asquith (as he then was), in an address delivered to the Omar Khayyam Club, spoke as follows:

> There are few greater benefactors of the species than the man who discovers a new bond of human companionship, and a fresh excuse for social intercourse.

He applied these words to the founders of that Club, and we may rightly apply them to Edward Fitzgerald, the first effective English discoverer of Omar. We may legitimately hope and believe that his version of the Rubaiyat will long help to maintain a bond between the thoughtful members of the English speaking races.

A. M. MANTELL.

CONCERNING THE CLEOPHAS SCRIPTS.

GERALDINE CUMMINS.

BEFORE I give a brief account of these automatic writings,[1] I should first like to make my own position quite clear. I am an Irishwoman and, therefore, come of a nation of fanatical enthusiasts for creeds and parties, both religious and political. Keenly conscious of this national tendency, when I took up the study of psychical research, I determined I would not espouse any dogma or party that might be connected with it. So I have no propaganda to advance. I am in this matter, as are so many others, groping after a truth that we shall probably never find in this life.

With regard to the Cleophas Scripts, therefore, I can only state the facts, so far as I am able, and leave you to decide as to whether they have been communicated to me by a discarnate being, or whether I have tapped what some call the Great Memory of Nature, or whether these writings are simply the product of my subconscious mind. Owing to my lack of knowledge I am not in a position to discuss the content of the Scripts from the historical point of view. Here I can only quote the opinion of experts.

The Scripts of Cleophas now consist of half-a-million words, and purport to be an historical account based upon chronicles of Early Christian times. They

[1] *The Scripts of Cleophas*, 2nd ed. London (Rider); 12s. 6d. net.

have been made in the presence of numerous witnesses. I have not, at any time, endeavoured to obtain such writings alone.

I may say at once that it was contrary to all my tastes and inclinations to produce narrative dealing with the religious history of the first century. My ignorance is considerable concerning that period. I know neither Greek, Hebrew nor Latin; and my reading is confined to literature of a modern character. But I was led to continue with the writing of these Scripts because their contents were a matter of considerable surprise to me, and also because they so completely differed from any conscious writings of my own.

They contain also a knowledge of the period which I personally could not trace to previous reading or study pursued by me. The greater part of them express, I think, a view of life which is of the first century, not of the twentieth. And there are views in them with which my conscious self is in entire disagreement. But only experts in New Testament exegesis can express an opinion as to their value from the historical point of view. The manuscripts have been, therefore, submitted to Professors who are, as Dr. Lamond has stated in the prefatory note to the second edition, 'recognized scholars representing the Church and the Universities.' These authorities, after a careful examination, state that the Cleophas Scripts "contain much, which, on consideration of the life and mentality of the intermediary, Miss Cummins, appears quite inexplicable on the supposition of human[1] authorship."

Besides the character of the actual contents of the Scripts, the rapidity of the writing is an important point for students of psychical research to consider.

[1] Surely this is infelicitous; they must mean 'normal.'—Ed.

The speed of the writing is at all times considerable: 2,042 words written in 1hr. 15mins., 2,600 words in 2hrs., 1,750 in 1hr. 5mins., in comparatively good English. Unless for some particular reason I am roused from the dream or semi-trance state into which I fall, never less than 1,400 or 1,500 words are written at a time. I have written automatically for as long as 2hrs. 10mins. In my case conscious composition is a very laborious procedure, and I find it impossible to accomplish it at all satisfactorily if any person is present in the room at the time. It is an interesting fact, then, that people do not affect me when I write automatically; nor do they seem to influence the matter in the Scripts if they are at a sitting.

I remember one occasion when there were seven witnesses present, some of them learned men, and a noisy thunder-storm raged outside. Before the sitting began I feared I would never be able to put myself in the special mental state necessary. But the Messenger, who purports to communicate the Script, assumed control in a few moments, and wrote for over an hour and a half at a very considerable speed without a single pause. It is a feature of this writing that there are no halts until the final full-stop. The material obtained on the occasion of the thunder-storm and the seven witnesses is almost without alteration incorporated in chapter 80, pp. 103ff., of the published volume.

Amongst those who were present at the production of these writings at different times have been: 8 members of the medical profession, 2 Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians (Ireland), a Doctor of Law, a Doctor of Philosophy, 8 Doctors of Divinity, 5 clergymen, a well-known historical scholar, the editor of a literary monthly, a journalist, a sculptor, a novelist, and representatives of English and American Societies for Psychical Research.

As I have said, I am not out to prove any cause or theory. In some ways, indeed, I should prefer to feel that these writings were my own conscious composition.

But, in the interests of psychology and psychical research, I have to admit that the production of these Scripts is quite outside the compass of my conscious creative powers. Day after day, in the presence of witnesses, I have sat for over a month in a country house, far from books, with not even a Bible near me, getting this detailed chronicle with the same abnormal rapidity; the MS. each day being taken away and not read out to me, to avoid the possibility that my subconscious mind might be considered to be building in advance upon it. Yet those who have read the first published instalment, will perceive that the narrative maintains an episodic unity. I am, I repeat, not a student of history, nor a scholar. I lead a busy life and have other absorbing work. But experts in these matters have decided that the Cleophas Scripts contain much which "appears quite inexplicable on the supposition of human authorship."

In these days many scientists and psychologists worship the subconscious mind with the same superstitious enthusiasm as the Philistines of old worshipped their 'Baal.' They attribute amazing powers to this mythical being, who lurks beneath the threshold of our consciousness, *but whom they cannot define.* These would undoubtedly argue that the Cleophas Writings were the production of my sub-liminal self. Let us for a moment, then, examine this theory.

The scholars who have studied these Scripts, have stated, that in many respects, they resemble various early apocryphal writings; that interesting parallels may be drawn between them. They refer particularly to the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles and especially to 'The Clementine Recognitions.' I have never read

a word of these Apocryphal Acts though I have heard the name previously. I never even heard of the 'Clementines' until I saw the title when the completed preface was shown me. I should like to know, therefore, why my subconscious mind should in its writings ape works that have never been conveyed to my intelligence by physical means,—that is to say, through my hearing or through my sight.

But the physiologist, if he is a follower of Professor Richet, would probably reply: "Cryptesthesia explains it all." I understand that cryptesthesia is the name of an alleged mental gift possessed by certain sensitives. This gift enables them to obtain correct information by prying into some stranger's memory, a stranger probably absolutely unknown to the sensitive. If, then, I have the power of cryptesthesia, the Cleophas Scripts may be the composition of an unknown scholar's unconscious mind—a composition my mind copied off from his unconscious memory. His conscious mind could hardly have composed the Cleophas Scripts, because I think he probably in that case would have intimated to me by this time that I had published his composition word for word. Who amongst you, or even amongst historical scholars, has so intimate, so accurate a knowledge of 'The Clementine Recognitions,' that I could pick your subconscious mind, and produce not a copy of 'The Clementines,' but a work written in exactly the same manner and style, and moreover draw from the contents of this stranger's subconsciousness at the rate of 1,700 words an hour? The supposition seems absurd.

We have then the theory of telepathy. Telepathy is another magical word much misused by a great many people, who believe it explains every psychic problem. Let us first take the simplest definition of the term. For instance, at this moment you think of a table, and instantly a table is pictured on my brain. Let telepathy be regarded as a term dealing only with the present, with neither the past nor the future. Consider it as

your conscious thought of the present moment instantly duplicated in another mind. Then, if I am the victim of telepathy, on the numerous occasions when I placed myself in the quiescent state necessary for these Cleophas Writings, there must always have been some student, closely studying Early Christian history and apocryphal works, with whose subconscious mind I was in telepathic communication. I find this hard to believe. It would make the episodic continuity of the narrative impossible. Meetings for these writings have been held in the morning, afternoon and evening. There has never been a regular fixed hour for them. Why should any student or students be at the beck and call of my subconscious mind, and obligingly arrange their hours of study to correspond with my hours for writing? No, I fancy mental broadcasting or telepathy does not cover the whole field.

There is a certain type of scientist who, when dealing with psychic problems, will accept no statement of any kind. He will not believe that a single George Washington exists. His creed is that no one can tell the truth about himself. Let us endeavour in a measure to assume the attitude of this cynical scientist. Let us assume that you do not accept my statements and those of Miss Gibbes and others as regards my life, my interests and my lack of knowledge. Let us assume that I talked in Greek and Hebrew when in my cradle, that I am a student versed in gnostic epistles, in pseudepigraphic documents, whatever they may be, in early Pagan and Christian history. Even if I were such a paragon, I still claim that this fairy tale would not wholly account for the normal production of the Cleophas Scripts.

For if I had been versed in the history of that early period I could not, in the presence of witnesses, consciously compose and write day after day, as fast as my hand can shape the letters, long detailed narratives,

making a continuous chronicle whose statements have been to a considerable degree checked by scholars. Knowledge in such a case would be a hindrance, not a help. I have been told that most historians and critics of that period disagree. If I had been acquainted with their theories, I should have been faced with the choice of a hundred different roads. I should not have known where to turn. I should never have got started on my journey at all. Save for a few archaisms in the writing and some cutting necessary because of exigencies of space, the actual text is printed in the published volume as it was written. Finally, the editors, when comparing the Scripts with apocryphal writings, state: "In tone, in general atmosphere there is much which cannot be explained simply as reproduction or dependence." I feel, therefore, that not even the cynical scientist can prove that the Scripts of Cleophas are the normal production of my brain.

There remain, therefore, the spiritistic hypothesis, the theory of a Great Memory of Nature and of a race memory to be considered as the possible source of these writings.

Now, if we assume that they are communicated by a discarnate intelligence, we are at once faced with the argument that they would have been written in either Aramaic, Greek or Latin, the languages of that period. But the Messenger claims that the narrative is communicated by means of images or thoughts; a thought is communicated through the vehicle of the words stored in the memory-centres of the writer's brain. You may regard such an explanation as unconvincing. But I think we can find evidence of this method of communication among cases of psychometry and of telepathy reported between living people.

It is noticeable, for instance, in Prof. Gilbert Murray's remarkable experiments in telepathy reported in the *S.P.R. Journal* for Dec. 1924, that when a correct impression was received, it seemed to come as a picture rather than in words, and was not reported by the percipient in the literal words thought of by the agent. Speaking of telepathic experiments, Prof. Julian Huxley said recently, that they never seemed to get photographic results,—that is to say, a literal transmission like wireless. "What is transmitted is like the picturing of a general idea," as he expressed it. "It goes through the mind and is redistilled." The method of communication in telepathy is still a complete mystery. If then there is communication between living and discarnate beings it may be of an analogous nature. The material of the Cleophas Scripts may, to use the words of Prof. Huxley, "go through the mind and be redistilled."

As to the Great Memory hypothesis,—the whole problem of memory is a very difficult one. Men like Sir Arthur Keith and Prof. Huxley write of "the apparent impossibility of separating mind and matter, body and soul." But it has been stated as a physiological fact that every particle of our body changes in seven years. Surely, therefore, if we accept this statement of the physiologists, our memories, if purely material, should also be changed? The boy of 14 would be unable to remember any event that happened to him when he was 5 years old; the young man of 21 would be incapable of recalling an event that occurred when he was 10 years old, that memory-deposit having disappeared through the physiological changes of the whole body. But we know that this is not the case, that some of our clearest memories are those of our childhood of 20 and 25 years back or more.

It would seem, therefore, that man's memory functions otherwise than physically. Its pictures are probably imprinted on some ethereal medium, and are

accessible to the thinker by an effort of whose character he is as much unconscious as he is unconscious of the functioning which regulates the action of the muscles of the heart. The events of his past life are photographed on some invisible, and perhaps imperishable, substance. By making an effort of thought he draws the memory required within the reach of some interior sense which reflects its impressions on the physical brain. If this be true of each individual's memory, it would seem to postulate a Great Memory fed by all mankind, as the sea is fed by innumerable rivers that flow into it.

There are thousands of cases of correct psychometry on record. I myself, through automatic writing, have obtained correct histories from jewellery and from stones hundreds of years old. I think, then, we may almost accept as proved that memory survives the dissolution of the body and has some kind of permanence. A reference was recently given me in automatic writing to this vast Record of Nature which is, I think, of interest.

"Memory may be likened to the sea. It is all about you, and as illusive as the waters of the ocean. When we are alive we come like children to it with our small buckets, and fill them with the salt fluid. But how little we carry away up the sands; how easily and swiftly we spill it out upon the ground! Yet, behind us, is that vast area of water, booming endlessly upon the shore. The sound of memory is now to me like the sound of the tide as when, in the olden days, I listened to it through the summer evenings."

I have dwelt at some length on this problem of memory because the Messenger, who purports to communicate the Scripts of Cleophas, claims that he, in company with seven scribes, has drawn the narrative

from many chronicles that were imaged on the Tree of Memory by men who lived in the first century. If for the moment we accept this statement, various conclusions may be drawn from it and certain criticisms answered in connection with the Cleophas Scripts.

A lady, who is a novelist and a Spiritualist, complained to me that these writings did not contain a great deal of ethical teaching, and that she would have supposed that by this time Cleophas and his scribes would have attained to a high degree of spiritual wisdom. But the contents of the Scripts furnish us with no reason for believing that these discarnate beings have not progressed spiritually since they passed from the earth. These writings are not claimed to be their present memories or their present thoughts. They are said to be the contents of chronicles written by men during their lifetime on earth at the end of the first and in the second century.[1] There is given, in short, the interpretation of an era, as seen through the eyes of men who felt and thought deeply in that period, and thus printed their impressions of it on the ether-memory.

Now, if, for the time being, we accept the Spiritualist hypothesis, and regard these Scripts as communicated by those whose physical bodies died hundreds of years ago, what was their purpose? Supposing the desire was to prove their own survival, they certainly would not convince us by communicating knowledge they had gained during the many years passed by them in the unseen. This would not be evidence of personal survival. But it would certainly be evidential and striking if they conveyed to us their

[1] This is the key-statement on which to base a literary criticism of the contents of these Scripts.—Ed.

vision of life when they lived it on earth. And this appears to be the design behind the Scripts of Cleophas, provided we accept them as a communication from unseen intelligences.

This brings me to another criticism of the Scripts. It was raised by a scholar, who said to me recently:

"What I want is the exact truth concerning the happenings in those early Christian times. I believe neither in miracles nor magic; and these pages are full of accounts of miraculous phenomena. They are not, therefore, of historical value."

This gentleman craved for history of the blue-book order written from the point of view of the 20th century. He could not see that, if the Scripts were of that type, they would be entirely unevidential from the psychical research point of view, and that critics might then justly claim them to be the product of my subconscious mind. The editors of the Cleophas Writings say:

"The remarkable part played by magic in the following pages need not be regarded as an argument against their probable authenticity. It is much more to be taken as an argument in their favour, for the natural tendency of any fabricator would have been the representation of the early years of the Church as a 'golden age,' free from any taint of superstition or chicanery."

But my friend the higher critic would probably reiterate: These writings are of no historical value from the point of view of the higher criticism. And I would answer: It depends on the way you like your history.

Do you want it to be a little blue-book of facts and dates arranged in precise chronological order? Or do you want to enter into the atmosphere of those early days? And even if the facts given are sometimes questionable, do you want to realize society

as it was viewed in those times by the fanatical man in the street? Do you want to have some conception of his superstitious horror or exaltation at marvels that would seem to us no marvels, at the alleged witchcraft that would seem to us to be picturesquely exaggerated and to have a natural explanation? If you require the latter form of history, if you wish to enter into the mental conditions of the man of that period, then it would seem that according to the editors, who also are scholars, the Cleophas Scripts fulfil those requirements. For they write that the contents of this book "might be taken as a true reflection of the state of society in which the early Church had to make its way." And later, when discussing the difficult problem of inspiration, they say they are "convinced of the importance such documents as this possess, not so much for exhibiting what Christianity was in itself when pure and undefiled, as for revealing what Christianity was taken to be by its primitive exponents."

With all due respect to my friend the higher critic, then, we have to consider the psychology of the historian as well as the history presented to us.

When studying Early Christian writings we would do well to put the test of the child-mind to them, and make our own reservations accordingly. In the contents of the Cleophas Scripts there is clearly evidence of a child-mind. They show, as the editors state, "a naïve enjoyment in thaumaturgic phenomena." And in this curious feature lies one of their principal claims to authenticity, at least in my opinion. I come of a medical clan. My father and grandfather were physicians. I have always been in the habit of viewing with a sceptical eye all reports of alleged miracles of healing. Yet this is the type of miracle most frequently described in the Cleophas Scripts. If I had tried consciously to compose a history of Early Christian times, I would certainly not have inserted in it accounts of miraculous healing. Also the style and exposition of the narrative differ very considerably from my normal

style and my method of setting out a tale. It might, of course, be argued that Cleophas is a secondary personality, and that I have inherited knowledge from pious ancestors of mine upon which this secondary personality can work. None of my ancestors were clergymen, but some of them were very much interested in the Bible. However, according to physiologists, we can inherit only tendencies, not actual knowledge or learning, from our forebears. Perhaps, mercifully, the sins of the fathers cannot descend to the children in this respect. So race-memory or hereditary influences do not, I feel, explain these writings.

Truth may be viewed from many angles and yet never be correctly perceived. The critical scientist is the high priest of this generation and calls the tune that makes the rhythm for our thoughts. To his mind man is but a collection of whirling atoms, that come together for a short period, then part company, disintegrate and come together in another form world without end. He believes that the life of man is no more than a candle flame which is finished when blown out. Yet the materialistic scientist, who is held by so many in our rationalistic age to speak as with the voice of the inspired prophets, is probably just as far from the truth in his assertions about life and its mystery as the primitive Christian, who believed the earth was flat and the skies were a pretty blue roof. We must try to realize in our quest for truth that the altar-cloth of to-day is usually the doormat of to-morrow. We must, therefore, be very cautious in our assertions as to what is true and what is false. When we are criticizing historical material, we have always to consider the outlook of the man who wields the pen. We must decide whether we are interested in the vision of one who writes of his own time and, therefore, is often blinded by the dust of battle, blinded by his own passionate feelings; or whether we prefer the writing of a cold, detached historian of a later age who is blinded neither by passion nor by the fury of battle. He is probably more accurate as regards facts; but he often fails to convey the whole vision of the period, the atmosphere, the spirit of the time about which

he writes, because he has not been in the conflict nor felt the prejudices, the wild emotions, it inspires.

In their preface the editors remark that there is, at times, to be found in the Scripts,

"a distrust of pagan learning, an undercurrent of emotionalism, the occasional emergence of a cruder and more vindictive spirit. (They go on to say) the careful reader may be left, in the end, with a definite impression of a background of superstition, misinformed zeal and ignorance which may well, the editors believe, have been precisely that in which the Apostles and their successors had to labour. The early converts, Church officials and teachers who figure in these pages certainly exhibit no excess of enlightenment in their grasp of Christianity; they are often zealous with that zeal which is not too clearly to be distinguished from fanatical bigotry."

Let us examine this statement. I have told you I have a horror of fanaticism. And those other characteristics in the writings (such as a distrust of pagan learning) mentioned by the editors would certainly not be an expression of my own modern views, but might well express the attitude of mind of one who had actively participated in the life of that period, who had been blinded by the dust of battle, wearied by the struggle for a cause. It is this very human, and at times erring, outlook that adds to the Scripts' claim to authenticity, to their being the outpouring not of my mind, but of minds far distant in space and time, the outpouring of those who had lived and felt in some of the great moments of Early Christianity.

Let me now quote from an article by a sceptical man of science, the biologist, Prof. Julian Huxley. He writes:

"I can think of our personalities being lost, blended, taken up into some general reservoir of mind and spirit . . . wandering

through the universe until either they were destroyed or came back to actuality of consciousness by making contact with something which could work as a receiving apparatus for mind."

In this statement Prof. Huxley is obviously groping after the idea of a Great Nature Memory which is wholly impersonal though it contains myriads of personalities.

It may be true that there is this reservoir of memory. And I may have presented some evidence which points to my brain having been what Prof. Huxley describes as 'a receiving apparatus,' that has recorded the memories of certain ancient chroniclers. But, even if we accept the theory of a Great Memory, I find it hard to believe that, by entering a state of meditation, I am able to tap this memory directly. A third party would seem essential, an unseen being, who would act as intermediary, interpreting the code of images in this memory, then bearing the charge, as it is called, to my mind, wherein it is redistilled and set down upon the page through the mechanism of my brain.

On the other hand, the Scripts of Cleophas may be the product of my subconscious mind. But, if this is so, it possesses a knowledge, which had not, previous to the writing, so far as I am aware, passed through my consciousness; also it possesses a capacity for abnormally rapid composition quite incompatible with my slow mentality. Furthermore, my subconscious mind is a perverse creature; for, if it has composed the Cleophas Scripts, it has written about a period in which I am not interested. I want very much to write modern novels and plays dealing with the present or the future; and it has bullied me into writing about the distant past. I admit, as I have said before, I have

been a willing tool, firstly because of the psychological interest of this experiment, and secondly because of the interest of the narrative.

A remark of R. L. Stevenson is of value in connection with this experiment. He constantly speaks of the Brownies and the work they do for him. He says, "they can tell the dreamer a story piece by piece like a serial and keep him all the time in ignorance of where they aim." That is exactly my position. And so I continue with this writing, partly because I always want to know what happens next, and I haven't the least idea beforehand. The production of the Cleophas Scripts is to me an adventure of the mind. And I am as an adventurer or explorer in an unknown land, who never knows what will be the character of the new landscape presented to his sight on the morrow.

I firmly believe that the age of external adventure is passing, and that the age of mental adventure is coming into its own at last. I do not agree with Mr. Arnold Bennett, who, when speculating about a future life, wrote: "Human ignorance of the future is more than bliss; it is an ordinance of the divine wisdom." People invariably invoke the name of the deity when they want to make a reactionary protest against the search after knowledge. No man can set bounds to the march of knowledge. And no man should say, in the Name of God, thus far shalt thou go and no farther.

We are but at the beginning of the study of ourselves. And I believe that a time is coming when, through psychical research and through adventures of the mind, the children of the future will salve lost knowledge and will lift perhaps a corner of the curtain of mystery that envelopes life.

In conclusion, I should like to make one more statement about the Scripts. A certain critic complained bitterly because the published volume contained

no account of Christ's walk to Emmaus after his resurrection. This critic seemed to question the possible authenticity of these writings, because no allusion had been made to that vitally important period in religious history,—the days that followed the crucifixion. But a detailed narrative of that time has been given in the later Scripts. The published volume contains only a fragment of these writings. The editors have now examined the chronicle so far as it has been written, and have expressed the opinion that "the interest increases as the record proceeds."

Moreover, at least 150,000 unpublished words in this long narrative have no apparent connection with events related in the New Testament and deal with alleged happenings in Rome, Alexandria, Cyprus and other places.

GERALDINE CUMMINS.

(Read before The Quest Society, Nov. 22, 1928.)

LORENZ OKEN'S CONVERSION OF SPIRIT INTO NATURE.

Capt. E. J. Langford Garstin, M.C.

In the last number I gave the first half of a summary of the Physio-philosophical speculations of that remarkable genius Lorenz Oken, who anticipated a number of our modern scientific theories.

I now continue and complete my sketch of his treatise.

In the universe it is the 0 or point that is ceaselessly posited. This is a centre; and everything finite strives to be a centre, or, if out of the centre, strives to be it. This endeavour is Gravity, which is thus motion towards a centre or rest. It is the counterpart of the regression of numbers into Zero. The sphere is only produced by centro-peripheric action. It must, therefore, manifest itself in two ways: Centrifugality and Centripetality; and the former is simply the latter retreating from the centre, because it no longer has any place there.

All points, therefore, strive towards the centre, and are compressed because they endeavour all to occupy one and the same spot. This they cannot do because they are forces which take up space and therefore exclude others. But a space which excludes another is Matter, which is, therefore, only another name for Gravity.

This applies to the whole primary globe; so that the universe is an acting Gravity or Matter. There is no activity without matter and no matter without

activity. Consequently Matter is co-existent with the presence of God, and everything is material. Immateriality is but an inventive principle, and is to matter as 0 is to numbers. Hence God only is immaterial, and thus Formless, Polarless, Timeless.

Yet Matter is really nothing but Gravity. It is not a something that God found co-existent with himself and arranged in a certain manner; but the material universe is Nature, which can be one only, and has originated out of nothing, like time and space, being evoked from nothing out of the Eternal Will.

Now the primary matter, which fills the entire universe and is tensed, moved time, formed space, or cosmic matter, is the Æther, which is the first matter of creation, out of which everything has originated. It is imponderable because it is gravity itself, the heavy 0. It is the universal substratum of Nature; and the primary sphere of Æther, not yet individualized, may be termed Chaos, which has no life, but in which reside all principles of life.

Everything emerging from the Æther and posited as finite matter, must have the form of the Æther, must be a repetition of the sphere; and each of these spheres must rotate about its own axis and about the universal axis, having thus an individual and a universal life.

Now the Æther is from eternity. As the image of the primary act, it has emerged out of itself under the form of central and peripheric effort and, as tensed Æther, in a state of centro-peripheric antagonism. It is thus divided into a central and peripheric substance; and the former is related to the latter as Sun to Planet, it being thus possible for only one sun to originate in a globe of Æther, but many planets.

Between Sun and Planet there is tension, which

is a linear action, light, a splitting or rending, the life of the Æther. Previously the Æther was an inactive nothing, simply the substratum for the future. This nothing appeared when it became centro-peripheric and sought to tear the mathematical point into radii and circumferences.

Thus the untensed Æther, the essence or rest of Æther, is darkness; so that the Chaos was darkness, out of which the world arose when light became. Light originated from darkness when the Chaos was moved. God has separated the light from the darkness. Light is Time become real, God becoming self-conscious. The universe is light and everything has been created in accordance with the laws of light.

Now light, being but a column of tensed Æther, exists only between sun and planet and between planet and planet; and the primary sphere is a dark sphere pierced through in all directions by myriads of rays of light streaming forth from suns and planets and filling out world-space in all directions.

Moveover, light tends from the sun to the planet, not simply because the light is radiality, but because the planet is a basic pole of the sun; and thus it is polarity and not only the straight line which the light obeys. Furthermore, light tends from centre to centre, because between them the tension oscillates. Consequently, light is attracted to the centre of the planet, and rays of light passing close to it are diverted from their direct course by its polarity and drawn towards the centre.

Light is not simply a motion in itself; but by polarizing every point in the æther it sets it in motion, since the end of all polar action is to set in motion the polarized masses.

Thus every point in the æther becomes polar and attracts or repels the others. This results in a motion in the innermost parts of the æther; not a motion of progression, but in the mass of the æther itself. And this must be connected with a dissolution of the tension produced by light, and therefore with expansion or extension. This action, this moved æther, is Heat; is not moved indifferent æther, however, but moved tensed æther, moved light.

Therefore, Heat and Light, though characters of one substance, are in antagonism to one another, and are related to one another as + to —. The first manifestation of God is Monas, Gravity, Æther, Darkness, Cold. The second is tensed Æther, Light. The third, or both together as + 0 — or returning into itself, is Heat. Heat and Light, taken together, are Fire, the totality of the Æther, the most perfect symbol of Divinity; for everything has originated out of Fire, and is, as it were, cooled, rigidified Fire.

As creation is an endless positing of centres, there cannot be only a single central mass, or the universe would be finite. There are, therefore, many central bodies, each surrounded by several peripheric bodies. Such wholes are solar systems, and are only the æther separated by light, each sun and planet having its individual gravity. They originate by the separation of the æther into central and peripheric, or polar masses, whereby the æther becomes condensed by the fixation of a definite pole on a definite mass of æther according to the primary centro-peripheral antagonism.[1]

[1] Note on the Formation of a Planetary System: Consequently, as we have previously stated, there can be only one central body in a solar system, while the periphery can and must divide into as many as there are moments of the operation of the light.

Now this peripheral matter can be condensed by light into no other form than that of a hollow globe, so that the planets are originally concentric

Such masses are terrestrial matter, and as the æther has three forms there can only be three kinds of fixation, which must be Elemental bodies, corresponding to Gravity, Light and Heat.

None of these can exist for themselves; but all must invariably occur together. They condense as Earth, Water and Air, which are the three particular elements, while the general element, corresponding to the æther itself, or substance, Light and Heat in combination, appears as Fire.

We have, therefore, Four Elements, one general and three particular, which are Fire, Heat, Light and Gravity, each being, in its own way, a total representation of the Æther.

According to Oken, the condensations are as follows:

The Heat Element is the Hydrogen Element or Air.
The Light „ „ „ Oxygen „ „ Water.
The Gravity „ „ „ Carbon „ „ Earth.

But as they are naught else than æther fixed by light, oxygen is always present; and, as one pole is nowhere produced, but invariably all three, the completed condensations always consist of the three

hollow globes, the number and position of which are determined by the number of points of contraction of the light, and their distances from the sun.

Such hollow globes are, of course, of much rarer matter than the present planets, and, like all ætheric globes, have a rotatory motion, rotating with the sun, and, therefore, all in one direction; but on account of the rarity of their mass, their rotation and so forth, they tend to coagulate in equatorial rings round the centre of the system.

If the further condensation into a ring, which is a planetary foetus, does not render that amount of æther solid, the ring is unable to persist; but, through the action of light, rotation and gravity it contracts into a globe, which continues to rotate round the sun and round its own axis.

This condensation is at first gaseous, and therefore the whole process just described can be repeated here, resulting in the formation of moons; or, where the mass of the planetary equatorial ring is very dense, it coheres and forms a ring.

primaries enumerated, occurring simultaneously, but in varying proportions.

The first condensation must be that corresponding to Heat, and this must be the lightest and rarest, the form most similar to æther, that in which the tendency to expansion is most manifest, the gaseous form, Air.

Terrestrial air contains: a preponderance of hydrogen, the body of heat, oxydulated as nitrogen; a fair quantity of light or oxygen; and a small quantity of gravity or carbon as carbonic acid. It is a maximum of Air, a medium of Water and a minimum of Earth. The oxygen is the active, exciting, vivifying nature, the light in the terrestrial, the +. The nitrogen is the inert, mortifying, the heat, the —. From Air, the most active of terrestrial elements, all polarizations issue; from it all subsequent elements originate by condensation, even as it condensed out of Æther.

But condensations, as we have already said, are fixations of poles; and the other elements differ from Air by having other poles fixed in them. And since these poles are fixed more internally, these elements cannot be gaseous, and must, consequently, be heavier.

If, for example, the polarity of light becomes fixed in a certain mass of æther, or the oxygen of the air preponderates, a less changing element, in which the atoms tend to cohere more strongly, originates. This element, in addition to the gaseous effort towards a periphery, has also an effort towards a centre, or to an individual globe; and there is thus a conflict between form and want of form, the effort resulting from which we call Fluidity. This element contains a preponderance of oxygen and less hydrogen; and the carbon is to be found in the slime of the sea, for sea water is primary water. In water we see manifested

the dual tendency towards form and formlessness, the tendency to form into drops and the tendency to flow out and fill its container. It seeks to produce fluidity everywhere; and this process of liquefaction is called Solution.

Water is the oxygen element, the light element, the condensed light æther; and is as little absolutely new as air. Out of it originates terrestrial life, as does cosmic life out of light. All form originates from it; for it is the general striving towards form. Without it there would be no life, no solid, no organic.

If, on the other hand, the gravity of æther condenses itself, there originates a tendency to immobility in the atoms, an effort towards a single direction, the centre. This results in cohesion or rigidity. If, therefore, the carbon element preponderates, the condensation is of Earth, a rigid, centripetal element. This consists of a preponderance of carbon, a tolerable quantity of oxygen and some hydrogen and nitrogen.

If Air may be said to represent arithmetic, Earth represents geometry; and the geometry of Earth is Crystallography.

So far we have considered general matters, but when we come to particulars we have the Kingdoms of Nature, which are the repetition of the universe on the planet.

Combinations of the elements in the planet are particulars; and as the earth element lies at the basis of all such combinations, only three forms, binary, ternary and quaternary, are possible, and hence only three Kingdoms.

Earth with water, air or fire forms the minerals and earths. Earth with water and air the plants. Earth with water, air and fire the animals.

The study of the First Kingdom is divided into Mineralogy and Geology; and all we need say about the former is that, in accordance with Oken's general principles, all things can be changed only by such principles as are antecedent to them. Consequently, the Earth element can be changed by Fire, Air and Water or it can be substantially free.

This yields us earth-minerals or earths, water-minerals or salts, air-minerals or inflammables, and fire-minerals or ores. These, of course, subdivide again on the same principle; yielding, for example, earth-salts or double salts, saline salts or neutral salts, inflammable salts or saponaceous compounds, and metallic salts or vitriols.

Geology, however, involves the study of the formation of the planet; and into this it is impossible here to enter. We must, nevertheless, dwell for a moment on the actual origination of the earths, which, according to the general thesis, can only be precipitations from the element immediately preceding them, that is from Water.

This Water was the primary water, not that with which we are at present familiar, having still basic in it the earthy principle, not dissolved in it by any great quantity of acids then prevalent—which is not merely untenable as a theory, but still leaves us guessing where the acids came from—nor by any other means dissolved in the water and then precipitated by elective affinities. With no such theories can we be content, as they involve a reversal of the order of things. Our question is, how did the earthy originate before earth was?

Oken's solution is that the same analyzing principle, light, which creates the air, which also separates the

oxygen out of it as water, separates the carbon as earth. At the beginning of the separation the water is the first to emerge, and the carbon was precipitated from the water. So that the earths arose as absolutely for themselves, by the dynamic act of light, as did air and water; but owing to the fact that the polarizing influence of light varies with the depth to which it has to penetrate, different earths were generated in the upper and lower regions.[1]

[1] Note on Crystallography and the Formation of the Planet: The earth-element is the highest fixation of æther. It is the corporeal gravity, the terrestrial monas, the heaviest and densest element, which must include the middle point of every planet, where there is thus earth and nothing else, no hollow containing central fires, nor even any metal.

But the earth has originated out of fluid, and therefore by a process of cohesion. This process is called crystallization, and is perfectly equivalent to the process of fixation of the æther.

As light at any spot in world-space creates a central point, a nucleus round which more of the mass of the æther accumulates, so does the process of crystallization evoke some particular point in the water, wherein are excited the crystallizing forces, which attract the mass that is susceptible of fixation and fashion it into a crystal.

The process of crystallization is one of polarization, which proceeds from a centre, though not the centre of the liquid, seeing that it originates by an external determination. This point of polarization is polar to the fluid and polarizes upon it, whereby also water passes into the crystal as water of crystallization.

Now this polarization of the fluid passes in every direction, so that a spherical portion of the fluid is polarized and the fixable parts are spheroidally attracted from all sides and gather round the point.

Thus the crystal would be a globe, the fixable particles lying together in distinct points like a pulp. But this is impossible, because the point of starting is differently polarized to the fluidity. For no polar process operates in continuity, but it is an infinity of poles preponderatingly positive at one extremity and negative at the other. And by this infinity of polar change, the particles range themselves behind each other and separated by an infinitely minute degree; and these parts are lines or fibres, of which every crystal therefore consists.

In a crystal the antagonism of the point of crystallization with the fluid gives a principal direction of crystallization or Polar Axis, consisting of two poles that recede from each other and determine the two ends of the crystal, which are always similar, if no mechanical obstacle be interposed.

From each of these poles issue lines of polarization, or polar radii, which determine the nucleus of the crystal. These emerge at definite angles meeting at the sides of the crystal; and between them tension arises and fibres thus become lamellæ.

As all polar activities act only in a straight line, there can be no globular crystals, but all must be angular; and the simplest form of an angular body being the tetrahedron, the fundamental nucleus must be the double tetrahedron, the disposition to which form is found in all crystals.

There is no prismatic nucleus. Columns and parallelopiped nuclei being only mutilations, as is a single tetrahedron. Octohedric nuclei are

We have now, with a sketchiness that does not do him justice, surveyed Oken's Mathesis and Ontology. Within the limits of this paper we cannot properly consider his Biology, but it would not be fair to close without a brief note on the creation of the Organic.

We have stated that the Mineral Kingdom is a simple bi-elementary process. The next stage consists in the association therewith of the element of Air.

Now to the earth- or gravity-element Oken attributes magnetism; to the air-element, electrism; to the combination of earth and water, chemism. This, when influenced by air, he terms electro-chemism or galvanism; and its basis is the organic mass, the primary mucus, which, in obedience to his general law, has for its fundamental matter the last product of the previous stage,—carbon.

And if in this carbon the solid, fluid and aërial processes are all present, so that it is identically mixed with water and air, it is mucus. The primary mucus is sea mucus. This has originated through the influence of heat and light in coöperation; the former providing the possibility of the galvanic and chemical processes,

things intermediate between the three and the six, like tetrapetalous corollæ in flowers.

Now if, as indicated, the three-sided double pyramid or hexahedron be the primary form, the ultimate form must be the six-sided column with trilateral terminal pyramids, or the rhomboidal dodecahedron, which is, therefore, the most perfect crystal.

"The solid planet earth," says Oken, "has originated also according to the laws of crystallization." It is not, however, a single large crystal, but is an accumulation of crystals; though it does not follow that it is an accidental accumulation.

The earth is only one small punctule of contraction in æther space, doubtless a single central tension, which attracted all the particles of æther and arranged them by adjusting forces operating through the whole sphere. These forces are thus at once linear and spherical, by which the laminæ of the nucleus were determined.

The earth has thus presumably originated according to the laws of the polyhedron most nearly representing the globe,—that is to say, the rhomboidal dodecahedron.

the light inspiring the body prepared by heat with antagonism, polarity, life.

This being so, the first organic forms must have generated where the sea, earth and air were in contact; so that, whether plants, animals or men, they are the children of the warm and shallow waters.

Now there are two types of organism: the tri-elementary and the quadri-elementary; the former yielding the plant, the latter the animal. This is a philosophic deduction; but there is a physiological reason.

The mucus-vesicle can either be cast upon the shore or remain in the water. In the former case it is supplied with light and oxydized by air on one side only, in the latter it rolls about and is illuminated and oxydized on all sides. The former thus obtains a single axis from above downwards; while the latter gains a multitude of axes from without inwards. The former is thus devoid, as it were, of a middle point and seeks its centre of gravity in the earth; while the latter acquires its centre of gravity in its interior. The former is fettered to earth, the latter is free; the one is a plant, the other an animal.

The plant has no free system of motion. It moves only by external or foreign stimulus; whereas the animal, having taken up the centre, the earth and the light-systems into itself, has independent motion, and moves independently of external stimulus, and from the want of stimulus. This is the essential and only conclusive distinction between animal and plant.

It will be noted that the plant, being tri-elementary, earth, water and air, corresponds to the planet only; while the animal, quadri-elementary, is a universe in miniature, a microcosm.

Of these the highest is man, of whom Oken says:

"Here all the senses enter for the first time into a state of perfect . . . proportion. . . . Feet and hands differently constructed for progression and manipulation. . . . Eyes directed forwards, with perfect eyelids and moveable in all directions.

"Man, by his upright walk obtains . . . bodily freedom; for his feet take the place of all the four feet of the animals . . . the hands become free. He is the only animal that surveys with the axes of the eyes borne parallel the most extensive horizon. . . . With freedom of body has been granted freedom of mind. Man sees the whole universe . . . and through contemplation of it contemplates himself.

"Man is the universal spirit. . . . In the human race the world has become individual . . . all the functions have attained unto unity, unto self-consciousness.

"The thorough penetration of all the animal's symbols, the comparison of the world's symbols, and thus free comparison, is Reason.

"In man consciousness is self-consciousness; understanding is reason; passion is freedom; the mechanical instinct is the artistic sense; comparison is science.

"There is only one human family, one human genus and one human species . . . because Man is the whole Animal Kingdom."

E. J. Langford Garstin.

THE FETTERS OF FATEFUL FAMILIARITY.

THE EDITOR.

WE are all fettered, and not least by familiarity; all are fatefully hampered, if not 'creatures of fate.' The usual, the familiar, seems so natural that most of us accept it, until we are violently shaken out of this or that rut of habit and prejudice. Even when we know better, we still keep falling back, recurring to the usual. In this disquisition, however, I am not thinking so much of superficial change from one phase of familiarity in our ordinary life to what becomes another, as of that which underlies our whole make-up, our ground of habit, the root-feeling of the usual, that which is so radical that most are quite unaware of its tyranny.

As leading towards a consideration of the deeper aspects of this problem, let us take, for instance, one of the most familiar features of our sensible experience, so usual that we practically pay no attention to its illusionary nature, in spite of our intellectual knowledge that it is false in fact. This earth-planet of ours, as a whole, according to the deliverance of our senses feels immovable; we never sensibly experience its motion. For all but a minute period of the life of our humanity upon it,—that is to say, the modern age,—our forebears in general were persuaded that the earth was solidly fixed in the universe, motionless,—indeed

it was mainly conceived of as constituting half of the whole—Earth over against Heaven. But though to-day all educated people, and even the crowd in general, have radically changed their world-view in this respect, we are all still fettered sensibly by this all-too-familiar feeling. Who of us has feelingly experienced, as though free from our earth-bound frame of reference, even a single one of the complex phases of movement we intellectually know our earth must be patient of? We conceive it with mathematical certitude as if it were a planetary top spinning on an orbital path round our sun as centre; while our whole solar system again in its turn is envisaged as moving along a grandiose path of its own, constituting as it were a gigantic unit of a still vaster whole or system, to conceive of whose acceleration the imagination boggles. All this we know in reason; but in spite of this we are still fettered by the sensibly familiar,—by the naïve realism of primitive body-feeling that presents the earth as motionless.

Or take another, but intimately connected instance, —one that is the most familiar of all normal familiarities. We are fundamentally used to feeling ourselves as a body; we have indeed,—unless we are of the rare choir of high mystics,—never experienced what it is to be free of body. We are bound by the fetters of this fundamental familiarity. So much does body seem part and parcel of us, that the modern average man of sense deems his body even to be himself, thinks it essential to him. He has never tried to realize what it might be like to be without a physical body; theoretic materialism indeed flatly denies that such a state of existence is possible.

Many thinkers of to-day, both realists and idealists,

regard the mind-body relation as constituting a self-complementary, inseparable duality, presenting two aspects, modes or activities of a single reality. This is in highest probability a correct view.

But almost all of them unnecessarily limit their notion of body to the physical organism. I say 'unnecessarily,' for, apart from the general persuasion of myriads of thinkers in the past, one can be permitted to-day to go further, and that too on scientific lines; for it may fairly be claimed that it has now been experimentally demonstrated that the physical is not the only embodiment of the soul or, if it be preferred, not the only co-factor with mind.

Neglecting primitive, semi-physical animistic beliefs, there has been ever since the beginnings of philosophic thinking a reasoned doctrine of a subtle body, or of an invisible embodiment, which is not simply a double of, or in point to point correspondence with, the visible,—though this also is allowed for,—but of a more fluid and dynamic nature than that of the gross physical carapace. This doctrine has been, in the East, elaborated chiefly in Indian theory and, in the West, sketched out in various other schools and movements, and highly developed in Later Platonic tradition.[1] Of its recrudescence in Renascence and later times in Europe ample evidence can also be found. And to-day in the domain of psychical research we can hardly move a step without bringing in the notion of a subtle body, or psycho-physical or psychical embodiment, not only as a working hypothesis to explain a host of extra-normal phenomena, but as a subtly sensible fact of clairvoyance.

Of course, even with the indefinite expansion thus given to the body-factor, the mind-body relation problem in its fundamentals still remains with us. But it is highly probable that, in proportion as we obtain clearer notions of progressive degrees of subtlety in psychical embodiment, we shall get definite ideas as to how the mind-factor varies with them. And consequently the meaning of 'mind' will no longer be confusedly confined to the

[1] See my *Doctrine of the Subtle Body in Western Tradition: An Outline of What the Philosophers Thought and Christians Taught on the Subject* (London, Watkins).

vague generality of modern usage, where it denotes simply all activities other than the processes of the purely physiological or of bio-chemical mechanism.

But what of that unitary somewhat, that reality, of which mind and body are the aspects or modes? Here I fall back on ancient doctrine. The high intuition, the deep insight, that contemplates the ground-reality constituting the essence of true manhood, bids us regard the mind-body duality—viewed either as other-natured *inter se* or as modes of one nature—as *instrumental* in respect of the spiritual self, which surpasses the egoism of the mind-body polarity. In this reference mind and body are *both* regarded as means, instruments, tools as it were of thought, feeling and behaviour respectively. Now this super-view or over-belief is very difficult for the majority of people to recognize; and even for those whose faith is lively in this doctrine, it is exceedingly hard to realize its truth in practice. We are mostly such slaves of habit, so used to feeling our bodies as ourselves, or as even being identified with them, and to thinking we are our minds, that few make any attempt even to rattle these shackles of familiarity; they are content to stay still-bound in them.

Now if any thing is certain in this puzzling world of ours, it is that we come to birth from the very start already wrapped in a snug cocoon of habit, of tendential familiarity. What else is the subconscious impress of heredity and of ancestral memory, as we call it in the West, not to speak of the empery of the determination of the larger, deeper habits of great Nature which we term natural laws? We find ourselves enmeshed in a complex of 'fatefulness,' mediate and immediate, against which we have determinedly to fight for even a small measure of comparative indeterminism. We

do not come with a clean slate on which to write our record; we have rather to set to work on a palimpsest, from which with all our labour we cannot fully erase the traces of the old writing.

The thinkers of the world have busied themselves with the great problem of the 'how' of this concatenation of the conditional, and tried in various ways to clarify it; and if they have failed to arrive at a solution, it is by no means surprising, seeing that in highest probability in the nature of things it is beyond the scope of man's embodied mentality. As exemplification of attempts at clarification, let us take two great types of theory,—one from the East and another from the West.

We first turn our attention to the characteristically Indian view. Though there are many differences in detail and some othernesses or even flat contradictions in main phases of doctrine, both Hinduism and Buddhism spring from one thought-ground, and agree that every human existent has an immeasurable past behind him, viewed as a continuant from sub-human conditions. It is held, moreover, that each of us on coming to birth is handicapped or advantaged by the result of his deliberate, as distinguished from instinctive, actions in the past, the fateful effect of his previous activities of thought, word and deed. This now subconscious past is conceived as having been lived in former births or comings-to-be in bodies and states gross and subtle. This is the traditional way of Indian thinking to account for and justify the inequalities of the conditions of life and of the status of character of the human individual. As far as the notion of subtle prior states of existence is concerned, it is a theory consonant with the general theory of pre-existence, wherever such theory is held; but in respect of the

notion of repeated physical transcorporation, it finds little favour in the modern West.[1] One thing, however, must be admitted by the non-prejudiced: the general background of the scheme of things set forth is grandiose in conception; there is nothing bourgeois about it. The universe of becoming is conceived as incalculably vast. But though exhaustive of time and space, it is radically determined by the law of recurrence. The universe of becoming ever returns into itself as it were, but never as a process of purely mechanical repetition[2]; it is infinitely changing. In this ocean of transmigration and transformation man is immersed; or, to change the metaphor, man is bound to the wheel of becoming and gyrates with it. Consequently, the whole religio-philosophy of those who realize this bondage, this fettering of fateful familiarity, is centred on devising means of escape therefrom.

No chance of freedom, they declare, can be had in the first place so long as we cling to the notion of egoity with its grasping after separate existence, and this, too, no matter what individual states of bliss within the flux it may be possible to enjoy as this egoism is progressively sublimated.

Nor is freedom, when it has been reached, to be considered as absorption into some static absolute; such a false concept of Brahman would be indignantly repudiated by even a tyro in Vedāntism. While in the later speculations of Buddhism, in its developed Mahāyāna phases, the greatest of all paradoxes has been reached, when the assertion is made that this same flux of the ever-changing,—called Saṁsāra, the revolution or circuit of states of existence,—is in reality one and the same with Nirvāṇa, the ideal which originally was set sharply over against it, as freedom to bondage, real to unreal, truth to falsity.

[1] I have very briefly indicated the present position of affairs in my review, in the last number, of Prof. Wincenty Lutoslawski's recent book, *Pre-existence and Reincarnation*.

[2] This cyclic mechanical repetition theory is said to be the invention of the Stoics; and some of them certainly did believe it.

The change from the bondage of the ever-changing to the freedom, not of a static changeless, but to a realization of the knowledge of its purpose, is dependent on a change of 'heart.' It is a change in our inner conditioning, not of external determining. To quote one of the many texts on the subject, and one of the simplest:

"Nirvāṇa in truth consists in rejoicing at others being made happy, and Saṁsāra in not so feeling. He who feels a universal love for his fellow creatures will rejoice in distributing blessings among them and find Nirvāna in so doing."

This self-devoting love is the prime virtue that guarantees or secures the finding of freedom. The doctrine is here enunciated in its greatest simplicity, stripped of all metaphysical subtleties. So doing and so feeling,—and by feeling is evidently meant the realization of a spontaneously benevolent will,—the agent is no longer bound by the karmic law; he becomes *a-karman*, *i.e.* free from the fruits of action. There is a ceasing from all selfishness, self-centredness or even self-reference; a radiance of benevolence and a radiation of beneficence begin to be poured forth through the self-victor on all creatures. There is hence no question of his ceasing to act. For as Kṛishṇa, presented in the *rôle* of the incarnate Logos, is made to say in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, or 'Song of the Blessed One': If I ceased from action, the whole world of becoming would cease. In this synthetic or reconciliatory scripture of the Higher Hinduism the means of liberation is declared to depend very largely on the renunciation of the fruits of action; action there must be, but without attachment to results, *i.e.* without regard to one's own future benefit. Thus the wisdom-knower becomes the inner witness or spectator of the outer drama, and realizes that what is being played out is due to the energizing, both in the great world of creatures and in the little world of himself, of the modes of nature (*guṇa's*). He ceases within to act in the desireful way the karmicly determined players play their parts, while realizing that without, he (his lower make-up) is still part of the show.

Though, as far as I know, there is no learned consent to equate *karma* with fate in the extreme *kismet* sense (if this is indeed the doctrine of the philosophers of Islām and not simply a popular Muslim

belief), the general treatment of the *karma*-doctrine produces on my mind a strong impression of being fraught with what I call 'fatefulness' to distinguish it from inevitability. By this I mean that, though there is for every individual the bias of past action hampering his present endeavouring, the universe of lives is not by any means conceived as identical with a purely mechanical system of determinism. If it were so, then the whole scheme of liberation, on which great thinkers and spiritual heroes, not only in India itself, but also in all Buddha-lands, have set their hopes and concentrated their endeavours, would be an utter absurdity.

It is the familiarity with what we seem to be, that chiefly keeps us fettered in the bonds of ignorance of what we are in spiritual reality. From this spiritual point of view, as moral agents,—*i.e.* as spiritually responsible beings—or, to put it otherwise, as responsive to an inner order of virtue far more potent than the external regulations of ethical custom,—we can accept the *karma*-doctrine as an attempt to adumbrate the working of the moral law, but always provided that we do not confound this working with any notion of mechanism.

And here we may note that Western upholders of the Eastern doctrine should be chary of quoting without qualification: "As a man sows, so shall he reap," as sufficiently disposing of the whole matter. The Pauline original (*Gal.* vi. 7), "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," is by no means so excellent an analogy as is generally supposed. A man may sow good grain, labour assiduously to till the ground and take every care, and yet his crop may be poor or fail utterly, owing to 'the weather' or some other catastrophe which Insurance Companies call 'the act of God.' Otherwise the life of the farmer would be less precarious, less fateful. But perhaps the naïve believer would still argue that even this is the man's own karma!

In the old-time Hither Asian and Mediterranean cultures similar attempts were made to imagine how the life of the soul was determined before its coming to birth in a physical body, how it was gradually adapted to so confined an existence,—in other words, how it was fatefully familiarized to incorporation. Busy speculation was rife; but naturally there was no agreement. It may, however, be said that the more general type of doctrine was bound up with that great complex of pre-scientific star-lore, which both strongly influenced philosophic thinking and constituted the basis of astral or sidereal religion. This type of doctrine enjoyed widespread empery over men's minds for many centuries, and was chiefly elaborated by the genius of Greek thinkers or those influenced by them.

The art of astrology applied to the individual horoscope[1] claimed, indeed, that the position of the 'stars' at the moment of birth of the physical body could be interpreted to indicate the tendencies of the future life of the native. But this concerned the future, not the past; for astrological prediction for the individual had developed out of a primitive form of astral divination for society. What may be called soul-history, however, was beyond its purview. Nevertheless this too fascinated the minds of many generations of thinkers, and one or two of their notions, in their subtler forms, may not be entirely outside the bounds of a tolerable probability.

The great Orphic, Pythagorean and Platonic tradition was tending to lose its impetus when, from about the beginning of our common era onwards, it experienced a busy revival or renascence, marked by Neo-orphic, Neo-pythagorean and Neo-platonic movements,

[1] We should here remember that it was the Stoics who popularized this form of astrology; the Platonists paid little or no attention to it.

a wealth of later Hellenistic and Gnostic schools, such pre-eminently as the Hermetic.

The prime doctrine was that the inmost reality of the human soul was of divine, of spiritual origin. This dogma sublimated the ancient Orphic myth that, in his beginnings, man was a star, a creature of light,—an essentially immortal intelligence. There had been an immemorial past during which mind or spirit had been gradually ensouled, soul variously enformed and finally embodied terrenely. How this came about for the individual and for what purpose, thinkers and philosophers, sages and seers, differed and disputed,—then as now.

In mythic story,—or shall we say symbolically?—our 'star' descends from the height of heaven and becomes enmeshed in the motions of the cosmos below it, no longer pure intelligence, but now transmuting to a sensible, sensitive soul—passionate, suffering—being clothed upon or attached to tenuous hylic forms, until it is finally shut into the most constricting carapace of the physical or gross body on earth. Of course the Platonic philosophers did not think that the soul was actually *in* the body or even the other way about; for the soul was not a quantitative thing but a qualitative reality.

In the development of ideas genetics may be of interest historically, but ætiological myths, even though highly poetical, no longer suffice us to-day. It was high poetry, ascribed later to a Pythagorean origin, that feigned these Orphic soul-stars as streaming forth from the height in the brilliant hosts of the Galaxy. And it was equally high poetry that conceived them as thereafter passing beneath the constraints of what Plato, in one of the greatest of his myths, figured forth as the 'spindle of Necessity.'

This was a marvellous complex whorl, the model as it were of a world-instrument or organon, but dynamically conceived,

seeing that it typified the motions of certain imaginary spheres.[1] There was the outermost single movement of the choir of the so-thought fixed stars, and the inner contrary general movement, with varying motions of each sphere, of the planetary choir of the seven; the two choirs together constituting the whole system of the cosmic economy. The Orphic-Pythagorean mythic Great Mother, Necessity, was furnished with three daughters, the Fates, assigned to the past, present and future, who varied the spin of the spheres; so that, though the spindle was organically pourtrayed, it was anything but a mechanism. It is to be noted that all four are figured as female; and in Indian mythology the female is ever the power-aspect of the god.

Later on, the whole of this inner spherical or spheroidal cosmos was generally known as the Fate; but it was also called the Harmony, as though it were a system, a Concord or Symphony (the famous 'music of the spheres'). For, as Thrice-greatest Hermes says, "*men* call their ruling fate," as though suggesting that the gods and sages did not approve this term.[2]

This 7/8 concept or fiction was learnedly tricked out with mathematical considerations; and we hear much of their relations and interactions, of arithmetical, geometrical and harmonical progressions, of 'the boundary numbers of the soul.' But all this theorizing, as we know to-day, was based, not only on an imperfect, but on an erroneous, observation of the components of our solar

[1] I venture here to dissent from the view of Prof. A. E. Taylor in his recent most excellent *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (Ox. Un. Press, 1928), when he writes (p. 152): "We must never bring in the 'spheres' in dealing with the astronomy of Plato's dialogues. In the myth of Er in the *Republic* we hear only of the edges or lips . . . of a set of 'whorls,' one within another, and in the *Timaeus* only of circles." But Plato's figure is not only of the 'lips' but also of the 'bellies' of the 'jars,' which are fitted into one another like a nest of Chinese boxes. This most distinctly represents the idea of 'spheres.' The 'disk' or 'cart-wheel' figure was too primitive to satisfy Pythagorean and Platonic notions even in early days; whereas later on the 'spheres' were not thought of as concentric physical shells, but were conceived of as constituted of tenuous material interpenetrating one another. (Indeed on pp. 174, 175, our great authority seems to contradict himself.)

[2] Indeed, as Prof. Taylor says: "The goddess of the *Republic* 'presides over the destinies of all things and is an unmistakeable symbol of intelligent divine purpose and providence" (*op. cit.*, p. 299).

system. To-day the sun is no longer a planet, but the centre of the system, and the moon is but the satellite of one of the planets. For us, not only the earth has been dethroned from its fixity,[1] but also the vast and innumerous sun-stars are ever moving in relation to one another.

The only facet of the theory that may speculatively interest us to-day, is that the inner root-motions of these invisible imaginary spheres,—quite apart from how many exactly in number they may be,—were supposed to bestow upon the soul in its interior constitution, prior to incarnation, certain life-modes and sensitive qualities. I am here considering only the general idea; for what these motions and qualities may be, is very variously suggested, and the suggestions are very contradictory. The main fault is that the ancients did not allow for conditions and states outside the range of consciousness as we know it. And this also for the most part is true of ourselves. Now a Platonic root-dogma is that soul is the cause or source of motion, —is indeed self-moved; it thus bestows movement on matter, and is not moved by matter. But the tendency of speculation seems to have been frequently forgetful of this principle. Thus we are told that the soul also 'absorbs' matter, as though it were itself a definite somewhat or substance; whereas this commerce is more correctly expressed metaphorically as drinking of the 'delights' of matter or spoken of as the soul suffering in its senses from material impulses or propensities.

In its primal or pristine state,—in its 'own-nature'

[1] It should here, however, be recalled that the dogma of the earth's fixity, its motionlessness, became 'orthodox' only in the 5th century B.C. Prior to then there were several other notions,—preëminently that of the Pythagoreans, with their curious theory of the earth as a globe having some sort of a motion relative to a hidden 'central fire' (not of course the sun). See Prof. A. E. Taylor's interesting discussion of the subject (*op. cit.*, pp. 227 ff.).

as the Vedānta would say,—mind or spirit is thought of, not only as matter-free, but also as soul-free,—soul meaning the life of becoming, as distinguished from the reality of being. When then soul is said, metaphorically, to descend, this signifies mind's commerce with soul-nature, with the domain of the sensible, with the great types-of-life and the energizings of the formative modal spheres. Life is never matter, however subtle hylic substance may be supposed to be, or what temporary relief may be had from the supposals of hylo-zoism. Therefore the motions or qualities the soul is said to assume in this phase of passage, are not in any sense hylicly determined, and cannot properly be manifested or expressed by material forms known to us. When, then, the myth will have it that the soul before incarnation drinks of material delights, and drinks ever deeper of them, it refers symbol-wise to modes of sense or life-awareness, rarer or more indefinite than the modifications of consciousness determined by our five-fold terrene bodily sensory; all prior to this concreting or crassification was simpler and more dynamic.

The soul is thus mythically said to have become more and more hylicly inebriate, and proportionately forgetful of its high spiritual lineage. Poetically, it is pictured as being plunged or dowsed into the mixing-bowl of Father Bacchus, which was later interpreted as signifying hylic mind. And so it drinks of these waters of Lethe, this heady wine of forgetfulness of its spirit's true homeland, and rolling and stumbling, no longer upright and rhythmic, falls finally in stupor into the physical. There, in general, it is said to lie psychically drunk with matter; it is now spoken of as dreaming or asleep or even dead, spiritually speaking. All experience this senseful inebriation. The many succumb fully to the temptations of the delights; but the few, who drink more sparingly, become the geniuses and sages of mankind.

They retain some measure of deep memory, some reminiscence of, or power of recalling, the spiritual world of perfect 'forms.'

If there be adumbration of some ray of truth hidden in the confused telling of this great myth, or of commentaries upon it, it suggests a preëxistent soul-history now hidden in our 'unconscious,' the most familiar yet unfamiliar energizing of our deeper nature, as it were an instinctiveness impenetrable to the observation of our present five-sense-bound mode of consciousness. It belongs to a dynamic order of what we may call preëxistent familiarity. Though the warp and woof of our subtle garment, as it were, or of our inner instrument, it is cryptic to us; being thus in ignorance of its nature, we can neither rightly use its energies nor effectively transmute its tendencies. In so far forth its working may be called fateful; for in last analysis all that 'men call fate' is ignorance.

In all this speculation from the past, however, I can find little that suggests prior states of physically embodied existence on other planets, regarded as sister-earths; this is a modern notion entertained in certain psychical circles. The main notion, in the subtler thought of mystical philosophy, is that the soul 'descends' by an inwardly inner way or mode, by a path that is symbolized as 'from the interior of the interiors to the exterior of the exteriors.'

So then, to speak in the language of extreme paradox, because of this consciously forgotten but unconsciously remembered deeper familiarity, far more than owing to the normal familiarity of the things of our present consciousness state of existence, we can more finely appreciate the saying of the Trismegistic thinker who declared:

"'Tis very hard to leave the things we have grown

used to, and turn back to the prime and pristine things."

But the path of return, of ascent, of inner transmutation, of growth in self-consciousness and self-knowledge, of 'repentance' as morally conceived, is not a going back the way we came. The 'prime and pristine' is far other than the 'things we have grown used to.' It is an ever-newness of life. It is not the 'primæval and ancient' as we imagine we think it back in time, but an ever-deepening gnosis of the eternal 'day-spring from on high,' out of the cramping ignorance of the age-long familiarities into the freedom of spiritual wisdom.

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THE PERSONALITY OF PLATO AS REVEALED IN HIS EPISTLES.

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THE Plato of the Dialogues has been as careful as Thucydides to efface from his work any trace of his own personality, whereas the Plato of the Epistles writes for himself, unfolding without reserve the desires, emotions, thoughts experienced by him in the situation described in each Letter.[1] Even in the Dialogues, however, one occasionally finds a passage which seems to give expression to some personal feeling, as if its author were reminiscent of special incidents in his own life or in that of his friends. One of these is the much-quoted digression in the *Theaetetus*, where Plato draws a picture of the philosopher as he appears when confronted with the business and interests of ordinary civic life:

> The lords of philosophy have never, from their youth upwards, known their way to the Agora, or the dicastery, or the council, or any other political assembly; they neither see nor hear the laws or votes of the state written or recited, the eagerness of political societies in the attainment of offices—clubs, and banquets, and revels, and singing-maidens,—do not enter even into their dreams. Whether any event has turned out well or ill in the city, what disgrace may have descended to anyone from his

[1] The writer, in describing the personality of the Plato of the *Epistles*, does not feel in any way committed to a belief in their authenticity or the reverse. If the author was Plato, he unconsciously revealed himself in the manner suggested; if the author was *not* Plato, he conceived the philosopher as being a man of this type.

ancestors, male or female, are matters of which the philosopher no more knows than he can tell, as they say, how many pints are contained in the ocean. Neither is he conscious of his ignorance. For he does not hold aloof in order that he may gain a reputation, but the truth is, that the outer form of him only is in the city: his mind, disdaining the littlenesses and nothingnesses of human things, is 'flying all abroad,' as Pindar says, measuring with line and rule the things which are under and on the earth and above the heaven, interrogating the whole nature of each and all, but not condescending to anything which is within reach. . . . And thus, my friend, on every occasion, private as well as public, as I said at first, when he appears in a law-court, or in any place in which he has to speak of things which are at his feet and before his eyes, he is the jest, not only of Thracian handmaids but of the general herd, tumbling into wells and every sort of disaster through his inexperience. His awkwardness is fearful, and gives the impression of imbecility.[1]

Some such reflections as these Plato must surely have had in 367 B.C., as he set forth (if he *did* set forth) on his ill-starred voyage to Sicily, the land of 'happy feastings' and unbridled luxury, that had been subject for some forty years to a tyranny, the most detestable of all governments. True, he had friends there, friends who were devoted to philosophy, but their number was small, and the whole atmosphere of the court to which he had been invited, was one of intrigue and flattery and pretence. Was there not every chance that the philosopher might stumble when he took this unwonted path, that he might be reduced to embarrassment through his ignorance of the ways of men, that he might seem ridiculous to the crowd, because he studied too earnestly the things in the heavens, while he ignored the plain facts visible to sight? In a society such as that at Syracuse he might well conclude that "should he attempt to march to

[1] *Theaetetus*, 173 c-174 c. (Tr. Jowett.)

the succour of the just, he would be like a man that has fallen among wild beasts."[1]

The glimpse of Plato's personal life and character afforded by the Epistles (now acclaimed, with one or two exceptions, by experts as genuine) is virtually the very picture that is drawn for us in the *Theaetetus*,—the picture of a philosopher leaving his sheltered life and his band of disciples, at the call of friendship, to face the turmoil of public life, and discovering, all too soon, that, in the petty world of courts, philosophical formulæ do not work, and that those who succeed in such a sphere must be sharp and shrewd, like the speakers in the law-court, "understanding well how to flatter their master in word and curry favour with him in deed." To attempt to teach a tyrant, brought up in self-indulgence, the principles of justice and constitutional government was a very different thing from the academic task of drawing up an ideal or even a second-best constitution, or of suggesting a code of laws for a new colony. Dionysius and Syracuse were concrete facts, to be understood and handled empirically. More than twenty years later the same situation was solved, for a time, by the courage and military skill of Timoleon; but Plato, in the meanwhile, had returned disillusioned to his associates in the Academy.

Before analyzing the Epistles for their revelation of Plato's personality, it would be well to reproduce briefly the story they tell and the events that called them into being, although these are well known to all readers of Plato. In early manhood, after his desire to follow a political career had been extinguished by the arbitrary acts of the Thirty and by the execution of Socrates on the restoration of democracy, Plato had spent some time abroad, and

[1] *Republic*, vi. 496 D.

had met in Sicily a young man of great intellectual promise, Dion, who was connected by a double marriage-tie with the reigning tyrant, Dionysius the Elder, and held a high position at the court. By his association with Plato at this time Dion acquired a life-long interest in philosophy, and became an adherent of the views that were held in the Academy. So great was his enthusiasm that, on the death of Dionysius the Elder, he urged Plato to come to Syracuse to help him convert the younger Dionysius, now thirty years of age, to the philosophic life, and "so bring great happiness to Sicily." "Now, if ever," he said, "will be realized the hope that a philosopher might become the ruler of a mighty city."[1] Plato, though doubtful of success in such a task, represents himself as impelled by his affection for Dion to accede to the request. The situation at Syracuse turned out to be much as he had expected, but the young Dionysius appeared to feel a genuine admiration for his teacher, although he did not make great progress in his philosophic studies. In the end Dion was expelled through the machinations of his opponents at Syracuse, who had worked upon Dionysius' jealousy and envy of his elder relative; Plato also left for the time being, Dionysius making the Carthaginian War an excuse for sending him back to Athens. In spite of this earlier experience, when Dionysius, from a capricious desire of acquiring a reputation for learning, again invited Plato in 361 B.C., the latter, again out of regard for Dion, went to Syracuse. This second visit proved to be as fruitless as the first, and on this occasion Plato did not escape as easily. He was kept under observation for a year, while Dionysius sold the property of Dion and forced his wife to marry another. At the end of a year Archytas, the philosopher of Tarentum, sent a galley and rescued Plato, who thereafter refrained from any further participation in the affairs of Syracuse, although he corresponded with Dion up to the time of his assassination in 353 B.C., and even wrote letters of advice to his friends after that date.

It must be admitted that the Epistles which relate these incidents present us with a very life-like picture of their author. He is faithful to type, having

[1] Ep. vii. 328 a.

the qualities one would expect in the head of an institution whose aim was the training of the youthful intelligentsia of the time. The life of the Academy seems to have been one of intellectual exclusiveness, and Plato evidently spoke in his lectures with the voice of authority. One is tempted to draw this conclusion from Aristotle also;[1] when a pupil is so reluctant to proclaim his difference of opinion from the head of his school, it would seem that Plato did not welcome as joyfully as Socrates in his own *Gorgias* the man who contradicted him.[2] In the Epistles Plato certainly does not suffer from any undue humility. He calls himself "the most eminent of those engaged in philosophy" (vii. 311 e). He went to Sicily, he assures Dionysius, chiefly through a concern for his own self-respect (328 c), fearing public opinion, lest he should appear not to be ready to practise what he preached. He looks upon fame and honour as his due, and congratulates himself on his intimacy with Dionysius, comparing their relationship with the association of Hiero and Simonides, and that of the many other wise men and potentates, wherein each gained honour from the other. Wisdom and material power should be held in equal esteem, and the prince ought not to condescend to the philosopher, but should listen to his words.[3] Plato is delighted to hear himself praised publicly in conjunction with the tyrant (xiii. 363 b). In Epistle ii. one can almost imagine that one hears the voice of Pindar, claiming to rank alongside his patron Hiero. "The best men leave nothing undone to win fame in time to come," declares Plato;

[1] *Eth. Nic.* i. 1096 a 13.

[2] *Gorgias*, 506 c.

[3] Ep. ii. 310 d-312 c.

and Pindar sang: "Heaven grant that thou mayest plant thy feet on high, so long as thou livest, and that I may consort with victors for all my days, and be foremost in the lore of song among Hellenes in every land."[1]

We see the tokens of the professional educationist also in the pedantic precision with which both Dionysius and other young men are addressed from time to time. In Epistle xiii. Dionysius is admonished to keep alive his interest in philosophy, so that there may be greater opportunities of mutual helpfulness between him and his teacher. He is advised to enquire into his financial liabilities and assets in minute detail, as it will be of great advantage to him as a ruler; nothing tells against a man so much as unsatisfactory habits in matters of finance. Not content with these exhortations to the tyrant himself, Plato urges him to appoint his young companions as official remembrancers, to remind him to read Plato's letters, and also to carry out their commands. And Dionysius is by no means to forget to pay Leptines for some money advanced to Plato against the credit of Dionysius. Further, in Epistle vi., written to Hermias of Atarneus and two ex-students of the Academy, Erastus and Coriscus, Plato not only bids the three men to be friends, but almost forces them into the bond by demanding a report of their association with each other, promising by his correspondence to prevent their ardour from waning. They are urged to read his letter together, two or three simultaneously, and as frequently as they can. Such minute supervision may have succeeded in the cloistered life of the Academy, but it does not impress one as likely to

[1] *Olympians*, i. 115-6. (Tr. Sir J. Sandys.)

prove effective outside it, particularly in the training of a self-indulgent youth like Dionysius.

It is, of course, true that this somewhat officious concern for his pupils may be forgiven to the educative zeal of a Plato. Yet, as one thinks back to the Dialogues, one wonders that he did not see the amusing side of it. The Letters would have been considerably livelier, could he have poked fun at his own exaggerated self-importance as delicately as he had once rallied Protagoras, when that sophist confidently proclaimed himself to be a teacher of virtue, or Gorgias, when he arrogantly declared that rhetoric embraced within itself the functions of all the arts. Was the humour in those Dialogues purely a reminiscence of Socrates, and of his ways of dealing with his antagonists in conversation? Or did increasing age weaken the risible faculty? At any rate, the Letters strike one as being over-serious. Not that humour is entirely lacking. There is perhaps sufficient to reconcile us to the thought that Plato was the author. Most of the pleasantries occur in Epistle vii., the letter which in a very special way has appealed to critics as being genuine. When Dionysius II. was anxious, for the sake of his own reputation, to prevent Plato from following Dion into exile immediately, he begged him to remain. "But we know that the entreaties of tyrants have in them something of compulsion," adds Plato.[1] Later, during his second visit to this tyrant, Plato made it his particular aim to discover whether Dionysius' much-vaunted conversion to philosophy was sincere: " for there are those who are not lovers of wisdom in reality, but who have merely taken the colour of doctrines, like men whose

[1] Ep. vii. 329 d.

bodies are tanned in the sun."[1] There is yet another sally, where Plato, after his second disillusionment, was seeking some means of escaping from Syracuse, and he decided that he ought not to blame Dionysius rather than himself, and those who had compelled him for the third time to come to the strait of Scylla, and "dire Charybdis measure o'er again."[2] "Conclude that Stesichorus was wise and copy his recantation!" is his advice to Dionysius, in Epistle iii., when the latter was convicted of an attempt to misrepresent Plato's character.[3] Such *facetiæ* seem perhaps rather tame when compared with the witty remarks of Socrates in *Republic* i., the *Gorgias* and elsewhere. Nevertheless, it is not altogether surprising that the capacity for humour should decline along with literary charm as old age sets in. It must be remembered that the earliest Epistle (xiii.) was probably written about 366 B.C., after Plato's return from his first visit to Dionysius II. This synchronizes roughly with the period in which the late Dialogues, such as the *Parmenides*, were composed, and these are all manifestly lacking in the liveliness and dramatic vigour which characterize the works of Plato's prime. In the latest work the teacher has banished the artist.

Hitherto we have noted some of the less attractive traits that may be discerned in the character of the author of the Letters, and have found that they appear to be the natural outcome of the somewhat narrow environment of a philosophic school. There is another noticeable tendency, however, which calls only for praise,—that is, the loyalty and devotion shown by all members of the school, whether teachers or taught, to one another. According to these letters,

[1] Ep. vii. 340 d. [2] Ep. vii. 345 d-e. [3] Ep. iii. 319 e.

a man's wealth consists chiefly in the abundance and fidelity of his friends. Hermias of Atarneus is urged (vi. 322 d) to make the two Academicians of Scepsis his friends, since the gaining of true friends is of greater value than much gold. The failure of the elder Dionysius to build up a stable dominion in Sicily is assigned simply to his lack of friends; he could trust no-one in all his wide domain, not even the members of his own family. The younger Dionysius is therefore urged above everything to make friends (vii. 332 c-d). Plato himself thought it was his duty to suffer in the cause of friendship. His first visit to the younger Dionysius was made not altogether because of his interest in philosophy, more, perhaps, because of the tie that bound him to Dion. He felt obliged to perform a service for Zeus Xenios (vii. 328 c-d). In his second visit Plato was actuated almost entirely by concern for his friend and, in particular, by a desire to save his friend's property, which might otherwise be confiscated. Friendship counted above everything, even his own better judgment; for, on the second occasion, Plato had very few illusions left in regard to Dionysius. A kind of freemasonry, then, appears to have developed in Plato's school, an obligation binding upon all the members to promote each other's welfare. It is even said that the pupils called themselves Philoi ('Friends').

The maxim: "Among friends everything is common," especially praised in the *Republic*, seems to have received a peculiar endorsement in the Academy. Tradition says that Plato resembled Socrates in taking no fee for his teaching;[1] but both probably would have admitted that the labourer is worthy of his hire.

[1] Diog. Laert. iv. 2.

In the *Gorgias*, for example, Socrates puts forward a suggestion that the teachers of ethics and politics alone can afford to exact no fee, and to leave their remuneration to their pupils, on the assumption that a man who has been benefited will naturally desire to confer a benefit in return. Hence any man who has truly made his pupils good, will not fail to receive a reward.[1] One fancies that it was on some such principle as this that Plato supported himself and met the expenses of his school. Evidence is forthcoming from Epistle xiii., for Dionysius is there quoted as having confessed that Plato had been of service to him as a teacher. It naturally followed that that service was requited by gifts. Plato seems to have been allowed to draw freely on the credit of Dionysius at Athens, and to have felt no embarrassment in doing so. He makes it plain that the funds obtained from this source were expended only on necessities, and were used largely to discharge family obligations, such as providing for his mother's burial, and assigning marriage-portions to his grand-nieces. Dowries had, before this, as he relates, been provided for his nieces by Dion and other friends. Expenses such as the undertaking of the Choregia and other liturgies were defrayed by borrowing from Leptines on the credit of the tyrant. In short, Plato tells Dionysius that he will use Dionysius' money just as he does that of his other friends, spending only the amount that is necessary and honourable to the position of both parties.[2] This attitude towards money-matters may not seem to harmonize with our modern ideas of business-relationships, but it does not appear to be un-

[1] *Gorgias*, 520 c-E.

[2] Ep. xiii. 361 b-362 b.

suited to a semi-religious brotherhood, whose members were pledged, as it were, to care for the welfare of the whole, and who lived, as far as possible, a common life. In such a society one does not look for worldly wisdom or business etiquette.

From his long association with youth Plato apparently acquired some skill in reading the natures of men. In Epistle vii. (328 b) and in Epistle iv. he analyzes very accurately the strength and weakness of Dion's character. He pays a tribute to his steadiness and his moral zeal, but he sees in him a lack of adaptability and an excessive austerity. "You are considered by some," he says, "to be less accommodating than you should be. Remember that by obliging people one is enabled to act, and Stubbornness must dwell with Solitude."[1] It was evidently this want of adaptability that led Dion to his breach with Heracleides and the popular party, and to his ultimate failure. The temperament of Dionysius is described with equal clearness. Plato says that he has logical ability, and might have become a good student through his great desire to excel.[2] But during the second visit it became perfectly plain that his self-indulgence and distaste for hard work would make it impossible for him ever to take up philosophy intelligently.[3] Further, many bitter incidents occurred which proved that no faith could be put in his word, so that the immediate object of making him a just and wise ruler could not be fulfilled.

Notwithstanding this insight into the natures of men, as shown in the case of the pupils with whom he

[1] Ep. iv. 321 b.
[2] Ep. ii. 314 d; Ep. vii. 338 d.
[3] Ep. vii. 341 a.

was closely associated, Plato's character was essentially unpractical, and unsuited to the conduct of affairs. The political project which Dion had proposed to Plato and himself was apparently the reformation of the form of government then existing in Sicily. First, the tyranny was to be abolished, and replaced (probably) by a limited monarchy; then an appropriate system of laws and institutions was to be formulated and enforced, the deserted cities were to be colonized, and the whole country united to resist the onslaughts of the Carthaginians.[1] The scheme sounded reasonable enough, but the character of the inhabitants and their past history were left out of account, and particularly the ceaseless faction which made it very unlikely that all parties would submit to be ruled by one monarch, however liberal. Further, however reasonable the project might appear, the methods initiated by Plato savoured far too much of the *Republic* and its ideal state to be likely to achieve any practical success in Sicily. It is the fervent, enthusiastic utterance of the *Republic* that we hear in Epistle vii. The great moment of the philosopher's life has come, and a city is to have a philosopher-king.[2] The scheme of education planned for Dionysius seems to be approximately that of the guardians in the *Republic*. We are told, at any rate, that it began with geometry; and on one occasion at least Plato appears to have engaged with his pupil in a preliminary discussion about Dialectic "in the garden under the laurels."[3] Further, Dionysius was reported to be continuing his studies in this or kindred subjects during Plato's absence, between the

[1] Ep. vii. 332 e, 336 a.
[2] Ep. vii. 328 a.
[3] Ep. ii. 313 a.

first and second visits. That Dionysius was not entirely enthusiastic about this scheme of study is indicated in Epistle iii., where Plato relates that he had asked Dionysius what stipulation was made when the tyrant was advised to re-colonize the Greek cities. "You bade me do it after I had been trained, but not otherwise," Dionysius replied. "Trained in geometry —or what?"—he had added sarcastically.[1] The process of education evidently appeared to him to be too tedious a preliminary to the great reforms. If some short cut had been available, he might possibly have been induced to attempt to remedy the worst abuses of the existing government.

In regard to the reform of the constitution, Plato after the death of Dion advised his followers (in Ep. viii.) to call upon the ruling families to choose representatives with a view to framing a new constitution, according to which the kings were to have charge of all religious ceremonies, and thirty-five guardians were to supervise the law, and there were to be a senate and assembly besides. The three kings were to be first Dionysius II. himself, secondly Hipparinus, son of Dionysius I. and half-brother of Dionysius II., and finally a son of Dion, whose name is not mentioned.[2] This arrangement allowed the people no voice in choosing their own constitution, and the form of government indicated was obviously too oligarchic to have won acceptance from the democratic party at Syracuse. It was, besides, too unwieldy to have been workable in practice. The idea of a triple kingship, as well as the general scheme, appears to have been borrowed from the institutions of Sparta; but Plato

[1] Ep. iii. 319 c.

[2] Ep. viii. 355 e-356 e.

either did not know, or did not sufficiently consider, the fact that this strangely mixed constitution at Sparta was the fruit of a long period of historical development, besides being sanctified by custom. Believing, as he did, that Lycurgus had organized all the Spartan institutions,[1] he did not realize the impossibility of foisting a ready-made constitution upon a people, without considering their previous character and history. Timoleon, at a later stage, succeeded in restoring order in Sicily simply by adhering steadfastly to the will of the Syracusans themselves.

The schemes of government put forward in the Epistles, therefore, no less than the plan for the education of Dionysius, appear to us to have been, in the circumstances, impracticable, and prove that the philosopher is not the man to face the storms of political life. One or two minor errors of judgment are also displayed. In Epistle vii. Plato tells how he was prevailed upon to make his second visit to Dionysius the Younger. His own feelings were altogether opposed to any such journey, since the tyrant had not kept his word, that he would send for his friend Dion simultaneously with himself. This was surely a sufficient indication of the kind of conduct that one might expect from Dionysius. Yet when the tyrant sent his final threat: "If you do not come, none of your desires regarding Dion shall be carried into effect," the philosopher succumbed, although this last thrust should have moved him least of all.[2] Later, when Plato was at Syracuse, and Dionysius was sending soldiers in pursuit of the democratic leader Heracleides, who had been accused of conspiracy, Theodotes, the uncle of

[1] Ep. viii. 354 b.

[2] Ep. vii. 339 c.

the hunted man, urged Plato to accompany him and to remonstrate with the tyrant for breaking a promise which he had made to do the man no hurt. Dionysius was enraged at being thus confronted, and made no reply to the entreaties of Theodotes, until Plato said: "Take courage, Theodotes, for Dionysius dares not act contrary to the compact which he made yesterday." Dionysius, furious at having the words thus taken out of his mouth, retorted in a 'very tyrannical' manner: "With you I made no compact either great or small," and immediately gave orders for the seizure of Heracleides.[1]

This failure to cope with the practical difficulties of life in Syracuse is nevertheless combined with an ardent zeal for religion and for philosophy, such as one would expect from the writer of the Dialogues. The friends of Dion are exhorted to hold fast to the ancient doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and to believe that each soul, being responsible for the deeds done in the body, shall be judged for them hereafter.[2] The other great dogma of Platonic religion, the belief in a supreme deity, is asserted in several passages, very strikingly at the end of Epistle vi. (323 d), where Hermias and his friends are urged to invoke the god who is "ruler of the present and the future, and the true father of that which guides and originates, whom we shall all know clearly, if we engage in true philosophy." The purely philosophical references, although they are in places very obscure, appear to give us in outline a part of the Theory of Forms and of the process of Dialectic already familiar to readers of the *Republic*. The Epistles, however, make use

[1] Ep. vii. 349 a, b.
[2] Ep. vii 335 a.

of mystical language to a greater extent than the *Republic*. In several places Plato declares that the truth which he has to teach, cannot be imparted by the study of books, and cannot even be written down. It is communicated only by personal communion between teacher and taught, in a kind of ecstasy. "By long familiarity with the thing itself, and living together, a light as it were of a fire leaping forth will suddenly be kindled in the soul, and there itself nourish itself" (Ep. vii. 341 c, d). "Only after names and definitions and sensible perceptions of things have been tested in mild and kindly argument, and subjected to questionings and answerings without prejudice, do wisdom and intellect in these matters shine forth" (Ib. 344 b). The philosophy which he taught could be comprehended, he said, in the briefest statements, and should be committed to memory (Ep. ii. 314 b). When he is describing his system to Dionysius in this same letter, he says that he must speak in riddles, lest anyone who might chance to read the letter should understand (Ib. 312 d-e).

These references to a cryptic and mystical doctrine are such as one would expect from an exclusive, self-sufficing brotherhood. They imply a certain amount of intellectual pride, and are combined with a great contempt for the common man. "The intuitions of the god-like are more valid than those of other men,"[1] we are told, and Dionysius is urged never to disclose the Platonic teaching to uneducated people.[2] Further, the students of the Academy are expected to surpass ordinary men in the same way as ordinary men surpass children.[3] This exclusiveness was not inherited from

[1] Ep. ii. 311 d.
[2] Ep. ii. 314 a.
[3] Ep. iv. 320 c, d.

Socrates, who (according to the *Apology*) made it his mission to convict all men equally of ignorance. It is perhaps the inevitable outcome of the views upon which the educational scheme in the *Republic* and that of the Academy were built. "The god who created men mixed gold in the composition of those who were qualified to rule, while in the auxiliaries he made silver an ingredient, assigning iron and copper to the cultivators of the soil."[1] Plato was nothing if not aristocratic.

We find, therefore, that the Epistles present a fairly consistent picture of a man of great mental power and of strong affections. Absorption in the intellectual side of life has tended to give him a narrowness of outlook when practical issues have to be faced, and to promote a certain egoism and reserve. Long association with younger men, regarding their master with veneration, produces at times a dictatorial and pedantic manner of speech; but this is counterbalanced by a great zeal for the welfare of his pupils, and by loyalty to all who have called him friend. The lofty moral tone which was maintained throughout the *Gorgias* and the *Republic*, has its counterpart in the Epistles, and assures one that, in spite of the failure and humiliation experienced at Syracuse, Dion and the other students of the Academy must have been better men for their intercourse with Plato. Sometimes, it is true, one feels that the writer of the Epistles is a somewhat petty and prosaic personage compared with the sublime creator of the Dialogues. Certainly the sprightliness and humour of the latter have waned, almost vanished at the advance of age. Nevertheless, the Plato of real life was not nearly as unattractive as

[1] *Republic*, 415 A.

were some others who attained great heights in the realms of thought and poesy, and whom we know, by the evidence of their contemporaries, to have been rather difficult to live with. In the Dialogues we saw the prophet in his hour of inspiration. In the Epistles the vision has "faded into the light of common day," and we find a human being like ourselves, moulded of earthly clay.

MARIE V. WILLIAMS.

FREEWILL.

So man is free. But the choice for himself amid infinite actions
Is matched by the choice for the Deity of reactions equally endless.
Nay, 'tis abundantly clear that the Godhead's potentialities,
As the Infinite of the infinite, must transcend Man's simple infinity.
Hence the freewill of man connotes an infallible prescience
On the part of the Deity; since every possible eventuality
Is clearly foreseen, as it were by a supernatural player
To whom every move on the board is known. Thus within the arena
Of human freedom mankind is free; yet the consequences
Of each several act are determined, and so hamper or else facilitate
The next that we make. In sooth where our choice appears most restricted,
The move that we make is free; the restriction itself arising
From the gambit already adopted, but none the less self-selected,
Since every move in it was due to our own volition.
The game is ours to play, but the rules are predetermined.

All is foreseen: yea the end itself, and each path thereunto,
Though the pathways be infinite, e'en as the pathways of Ocean are infinite.
For all ways lead to God. Some ways may seem at the outset
To lead right away from his presence, yet such have their perihelion
And swing back again to the centre; since the Everlasting Mercy
Bears us up and prevents us from falling out of the cosmos
Into the endless realm of eternal night and nothingness.

CLOUDESLEY BRERETON.

THE WONDERER.

A COOLIE'S child am I,
But because I am small for my age—
Rice-sweepings swell only the stomach,
Not the arms and legs of a boy—
I cannot yet carry burdens in baskets
On a pole over my shoulders,
Like my father or my grandfather,
Only my father's dinner and my grandfather's;
Then stand and watch them eat
For a little part of the nooning hour.
Rice without fish is soon finished.
I wonder as I watch them;
Wonder what it will be like
To be grown like my father, cursing at life;
Or old like my grandfather,
Bowed wearily, dragging himself,
Smiling a little as my father curses.
"It will soon be over," he says,
"Save your strength, my son,
God has made it so."
And I wonder why God has made life like this,
Or my grandfather, or my father, or me.

J. B. MONTGOMERY MCGOVERN.

THE CHEMIST.

WATCH him close.
He holds a gleaming, crystal phial,
Filled with liquid;
Deep blue that liquid,
Flushed with sun,
And deep as lustrous sapphires
In oriental splendour:
A crystal phial
Of blue allurement.
Yet Death, that ever-present shadow,
Ice-cold, remorseless and supreme,
Keeps watch at his right hand.
One drop . . . and that grim spectre
Will stretch his hands and claim him.
One drop . . . and all is gone
Like unsubstantial shades
That fly from sun.
One drop . . . and then black nothingness
Will draw its claws about him,
And drawing near
Engulf him in its maw:
The end of life and hopes,
Of conflicts and desires;
The end of all that's dear to man.
And all that's left
Is void and darkness.

We shiver,
Uneasy and afraid.

IAN FORMAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A NOTE ON 'METATRON.'

IN the course of a long and friendly review of Odeberg's *Hebrew Book of Enoch*, printed in the April number of the QUEST (pp. 817 ff.), Dr. Gaster rather trenchantly criticizes the solution proposed by Odeberg of the derivation of the name Metatron. Here, it seems to me, Dr. Gaster hardly does justice to the editor's argument. Odeberg connects the name with the Greek '*thronos*,' and he suggests that the form *Metatron* may have arisen in some such way as follows: in the circles where the name arose some such expression may have been used in Greek as "*He whose Throne is* (the most glorious) *next to the Throne* (that is, the Throne of Glory)." In such expressions the words '*meta* (*ton*) *thronon*' would form the last and essential part of the definition, and might, when the conception had become established in this form, be shortened into *ho meta* (ton) *thronon*—in a hebraized form *Meṭaṭrón*.

Dr. Gaster thinks this etymology is "absolutely impossible" on the ground that "such a word does not exist in Greek, and therefore could not be taken over by the Jews." This surely rests on a misunderstanding. What Odeberg proposes is not a single word, but the tail end of a sentence. Dr. Gaster further objects that the word '*thronos*' never occurs in the Hebrew language; in other words, a Greek etymology for Metatron is impossible. In view of the fact, however, that the Angel *Sandalfon* derives his name from the Greek word '*Sunadelphos*' —Co-brother, and that this Angel is regarded as the brother of Metatron, this summary rejection of the possibility of a Greek etymology is surely rather hasty. Both Angels are mentioned only in Jewish sources, and doubtless belong to the esoteric lore connected with the Merkabah mysticism. It is worth noting that 'thrones' (*thronoi*) is used by St. Paul in *Col.* i. 16 of a high order of Angels, and this is one more indication of the close

connection of the idea of 'throne' with the angelic order, at any rate as regards one class of angels, and that one of the highest classes.

Dr. Gaster says "in all probability it (the name Metatron) is due to some popular etymology, or the result of some syncretistic confusion of mystical names, borrowed from the mysteries." This rather vague suggestion would almost cover, it would seem, Odeberg's hypothesis. It may be surmized that the Jews derived it from Gnostic circles; it apparently goes back to the early years of the second century.

The position assigned to Metatron in the text of *3 Enoch* is certainly extraordinary—it is all but Divine. He is actually called 'the lesser JHWH.'

Dr. Odeberg has merely set forth what the book itself says on this point.

(Canon) G. H. Box (D.D.).

A Remark on the Above.

Surely Canon Box cannot suggest seriously that the name of a celestial being with divine attributes could have been made out of the fag-end of a Greek phrase almost hopelessly mutilated? Moreover the 'throne' of God is mentioned so often in the Bible that it would be surpassing strange for a Jew to adopt the Greek word when he had already one so well defined and established in his own language. Still more surprising is the etymology for 'Sandalphon,' mentioned by Canon Box as being derived from the Greek '*Synadelphos*.' I do not believe that there could be anything more horrifying to a Jewish mind than the idea of a 'twin brother' among the angels, with the implication of paternity and other such ideas so alien to the Jewish conception. Finally, my reference to the Mysteries has evidently been misunderstood. I referred to the Mithraic Mysteries, whence the name Mithra could have been borrowed, and mixed up by popular etymology with '*Metator*.' But there was no idea in referring to the Mysteries of referring at the same time to the mystical and eschatological speculations in these Mysteries, which were so well guarded that they were known only to the initiate.

M. Gaster.

THE REVIEW OF 'I AM' (pp. 321, 322).

THE summary of the argument appears to me not only to be correct but expressed in exceptionally clear language. So I now consider only the following statements:

"Clear then as our author is with regard to his main contentions, it is somewhat surprising that he has nothing to say about the fundamental activity of this permanent self which is stated, following Kant, to be that of imagination." . . . "At the least a definition of the activity of imagination should have been attempted." . . . "As it is we are left guessing."

My point is that *how* the transcendental subject is active with the *full* use of imagination we cannot even guess at. With our limited power of the *use* of imagination we cannot touch on the question of *how*, as subjects of *full* imagination, we should be active or what our experience would be.

I do not deny that the evidence for our survival of death, with experience somewhat akin to our human experience, is strong and, apparently, growing stronger. But this evidence cannot give us information of the experience of those who have passed over. It can give us information *only* so far as we, with our limited power of imagination, can *understand* their experience. I have good reason to believe that Sir Oliver Lodge would agree that he is in communication with Raymond only so far as he, Sir Oliver, can *understand* his communications. The *I am* is, but must remain, for us, unknown; that is, we cannot *define* what it is and so cannot define *how* it functions with full imagination.

Ecstasy (which William James accepts as part of human experience) gives, I think, a good example in support of this, really agnostic, argument.

Not only the saints but many of us ordinary men have *experienced* the state of ecstasy. Once I came to myself from that state, roaring with laughter. Everything was clear. My perplexity as to what *is* was swept away. Then, suddenly, my brain, and with it my brain-thought, came again into its restrictive operation. And then all *details* of what I had felt, all my experience in ecstasy was gone, had vanished as an empty dream. *But* the fact that I *had* had experience when in the state,

experience of activity, remained in me *in feeling*. Thought? All gone; but *feeling* transcending all thought remained.

This is why I give such great importance to ignorance, to my inability to define the *I am*. I *feel* its existence; what it is I know not, cannot guess.

It may be quite possible to define the form into which we survive. But the *I am* exists for us all, quite apart from our earthly form. It would appear probable that we survive into another form. Etherial? But the *I am* is not affected by this change of form. This is why I have written that my argument, while not touching on the immortality of *I am*, tends to make it probable. I do *not* deny personal moral certainty of immortality. But this moral certainty is unevidential.

F. C. CONSTABLE (M.A.).

'THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY': BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE (pp. 297, 298).

THE note by Miss Alma Reed, appended to the translation of Prof. Vittorio D. Macchioro's valuable article, the author informs us was not authorized by himself. He wishes it to be understood that the biographical sketch is not entirely true to fact, and especially that what is stated about foreign translations of his book *Zagreus* is incorrect.

We have at once expressed to our distinguished contributor our sincere regrets for this mischance, and need hardly add that the publication of the note was allowed in all innocence on our part.—(ED.)

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

(Unsigned Reviews or Notices are by the Editor.)

THE ARUNTA.

A Study of a Stone Age People. By Sir Baldwin Spencer, K.C.M.G., F.R.S., etc., and the Late F. G. Gillen. London (Macmillan); 2 vols.; 36s. net.

THIRTY years ago, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen (as they were then) electrified the world interested in such matters by their account, in *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, of their sojourn among the Arunta and neighbouring tribes and of the things they had learnt concerning them. Here was a congeries of hitherto unknown peoples, living a hard life in a dry and barren land, untouched till then by contact with the white man, and at a stage of culture corresponding to that of Later Palæolithic Man in Europe. The authors were able to discover their beliefs and practices by living among them as fully initiated members of the tribe. In these later volumes Sir Baldwin says: "We were both regarded, for some reason decided upon by the older men, as belonging to the Bultara section and the Udnirringita or witchety grub totem. On my recent visit to the Macdonnell Ranges, an old man, whom I had met in 1896 at the Engwura ceremony, greeted me, to my surprise, with the words: 'Unta, Yinga, Udnirringita'—that is: 'You and I are both Udnirringita.'" The account they gave was a revelation of primitive life and customs which made a great stir at the time, and has been a source of inspiration to all students of the evolution and development of human ideas ever since.

Some little time after Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's book was published, a German Lutheran missionary, the Rev. C. Strehlow, since deceased, published the story of his experiences among the same native tribes, in which he arrived at conclusions differing considerably from theirs; but, as Sir Baldwin says, his work was done entirely in the study and was gained from natives who had been for twenty-five years under the influence of missionaries,

and this vitiates his conclusions. In two appendices Sir Baldwin replies in detail, with the result that the account given by himself and Mr. Gillen holds the field.

The present volumes have been written by Sir Baldwin Spencer alone, for Mr. Gillen has passed away in the interval. They contain a re-investigation of the subject made during a visit paid to the country round Alice Springs, where the Arunta live, in the year 1926; and, while many new facts are disclosed, we may say at once that the story told remains to all intents and purposes the same.

It is well that two such competent scientists should have taken the work in hand when they did, and that the survivor should have surveyed the field again; for it is sad to relate that, whereas in 1896 the local group of Udnirringita people, for example, numbered forty, now not one solitary man, woman or child remains; and indeed, of some 2,000 members of the Arunta tribe then existing now barely 600 are to be found. Before long these natives will in all probability share the fate of the Tasmanians and become altogether extinct; and were it not for this publication, like the Tasmanians, they would have gone down into oblivion with all the interesting light they throw on prehistoric man unknown and untold.

Their whole manner and attitude towards life show primitive man as a dreamer and a poet, in action if not in expression. The Arunta, as described and before contact with civilization, lived in a world of mysteries, which they attempted to penetrate by means of magical ceremonies; and these, elaborate and long drawn out, were evidence of an intense dramatic instinct inherent in man's nature.

They believed themselves to be descended from ancestors who lived in times called 'the Alchera'—beyond which memory could not go; their beliefs were animistic, their social arrangements totemic. Each of these Alchera ancestors belonged to a certain totem, and every existing member of the tribe was the re-incarnation of one such ancestor, whose soul had entered into the ground beside some tree or stone, accounted, therefore, sacred; and at the appointed time this soul entered the womb of some predestined woman. Thus they were entirely ignorant of sexual intercourse as the beginning of new lives. At the most this only prepared the woman for the birth that was to be. As soon as a child was born, it was the duty of the husband to hunt for the 'Churinga'—the sacred stone or stick, adorned with strange and

mystical signs—which would reveal the totem to which the child belonged; in this the Arunta differed from all other totemists. In other tribes, the child belongs to the totem of father or mother, according as the system is that of matriarchy or patriarchy; among the Arunta, the child belongs to the totem of the locality in which it first sees the light.

Their marriage arrangements were devised on a most complicated scale; and many new tables are given in these volumes to make them more easy to follow. The object of it all was to make the marriage of near relations and inbreeding impossible. In studying these tables one cannot but be struck with the ingenuity of these untutored people, and with the extraordinary powers of memory shown. This, however, is a characteristic of primitive man, who has no writtten documents to interfere with memory.

Another characteristic is the artistic ability displayed in their drawings on the walls of caves, held sacred and secret, where, or in the neighbourhood of which, their magical ceremonies were performed, and on the Churinga. Nothing, indeed, done by the Arunta can be compared with the Aurignacian drawings in France and Spain, but the instinct is the same; and in each case they were intended to serve some magical purpose—usually to promote the increase of the animal, insect or plant which was the totem of the particular group.

These two fine volumes, then, which contain the results of a further investigation of the lives and habits of the Arunta, undertaken after an interval of thirty years, are a worthy monument to the labours of Sir Baldwin Spencer and his late colleague, and are deserving of the careful attention of every student of Anthropology.

They are enriched by a number of fine photographs of the scenes described, and of the people engaged in their initiation and other ceremonies, with examples of their artistry in drawing and handicrafts, and many good maps. There are also several Appendices besides those already referred to, a Glossary of native words—in which it will be found that a considerable number of changes are made from those contained in the earlier work—and a full Index.

H. J. D. ASTLEY.

TIBET'S GREAT YOGĪ MILAREPA.

A Biography from the Tibetan. Being the 'Jetsün-Kahbum' or Biographical History of Jetsün-Milarepa, according to the late Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English Rendering. Edited with Introduction and Annotations by W. Y. Evans-Wentz, M.A., D.Litt., B.Sc. Oxford (The University Press); pp. 315; 16s.

READERS of THE QUEST—at any rate 'constant readers'—have already had their appetite whetted for the feast of the present volume by the article of Major W. L. Campbell, C.I.E., late Political Officer representing the British Government in Tibet, which appeared in its October issue for 1928. Since then M. Jacques Bacot has published his interesting study and very capable French translation, *Le Poète Tibétain Milarépa* (1925). Both of these gentlemen have been of help to Dr. Evans-Wentz in preparing the version of the famous 'Jetsün-Kah-bum'—or 'Hundred Thousand Words' of Milarepa. Years ago our author charmed us with his *Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries*, and quite recently put us in his debt by his pioneer edition of the classical Tibetan treatise on the *Bardo* or Intermediate State and After-death Experiences, which he entitled *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*. The translation from the Tibetan, both of the latter work and also of the present Biography, was due in the first instance to the ripe scholarship of that learned Lama, trained on Western lines, Kazi Dawa-Samdup, whose premature death in March, 1922, we sincerely deplore. He passed away, leaving much valuable work unfinished, among his literary remains being these now posthumously published versions of two of the most popular works in Tibetan. Dr. Evans-Wentz, who was his pupil for a number of years, has successfully carried out a pious and by no means easy task in editing these translations, and furnishing them with a valuable introduction and an abundance of notes, though at times too speculative. His *Bardo* book has already been very favourably reviewed in our pages by Mr. Heym.

The Life of Jetsün Milarepa is brim full of interest, and makes most entertaining reading. We have space, however, for only a few remarks. Perhaps the most amazing feature of this 11th century poet and ascetic, magician and mystic, whose exploits are still 'household words' throughout the length and breadth of lama-land, is his conversion. Owing to the protracted

brutal persecution at the hands of relatives, who made the lives of his mother, his sister and himself a constant martyrdom, Jetsün apprenticed himself to an adept in the black arts, and became so skilful a pupil that he was instrumental in wiping out at the first shot 35 of his enemies. So he started with 35 murders to his credit or debit. Thereafter he repented of his villainies, and did so with such strenuous self-mortification and devotion to righteousness that he ended his long life with the attainment of Buddhahood; indeed he has become the exemplar of the highest life of sanctity *more Tibetano*. We have certainly nothing in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the West that can hold a candle to such a *volte face* or such a complete moral somersault. Indeed, judging by the known doctrines of Buddhist moral causality, one would have said that such a miracle was utterly impossible. Yet there it is recounted and glorified, detailed and revelled in. Milarepa became a fanatical ascetic and practised for many years the most amazing austerities. His chief speciality in the way of psychical attainment was the *siddhi* of what may be called yogic warmth; so that with only a single cotton cloth, or even quite naked, he could withstand the rigours not only of the 12,000 feet Tibetan plateau but also of twice as high up on Mount Everest. This became the dress and practice of the famous Kargyütpa sect of which he was the founder. Throughout the Life and in the introduction and notes we are brought into constant contact with the idea of 'esotericism,' in an extreme form. We do not move in the open atmosphere of the Buddha-teaching and Buddha-practice of the early Pali documents; but throughout there is the notion of things hidden, secret teachings and documents. It is all drenched through and through with Tantrism. The problem, therefore, for the Western student is to discover what of truth there may be in this welter of treatises dealing with 'occult powers.' It is no easy task; for in this strange biography there is an amazing mixture of what the Buddha practically deprecated and of high and beautiful aspirations. In any case Dr. Evans-Wentz's volume will give the reader many an opportunity of thinking furiously, and above all will introduce him to a world of religion and superstition that is a most surprising, but also arresting mixture. For one who agrees in general that "the proper study of mankind is man," Milarepa is a fascinating specimen of *homo sapiens* to contemplate. His story does not bore us at any rate, like so many an edifying exposition of our Western lives of traditional sanctity. And though, like the

present writer, we may have bidden a long farewell to the lures of 'esotericism' and 'occult powers,' we can still profit from Jetsün's heroic struggle in the midst of such an environment to transcend it all, and reach to the simplicities of the genuine Buddha-life. Those, on the contrary, who are still under the fascination of the ancient 'magic'—and there are many of such in the world to-day—will revel in the recitals of the way of what has been called the 'lower *iddhi*,' and long to be able to perform such stunts. We doubt, however, that they will take to a diet of 'nettle soup,' like Milarepa did, and turn green to start with. But, joking apart, the student of comparative religion and psychical and mystical endeavour, owes a debt of gratitude to Dr. Evans-Wentz for equipping him with the means of becoming acquainted in detail with a most interesting and instructive phase of Tibetan Buddhism. There are a few well-explained illustrations and descriptions of emblems, and the whole volume is turned out with the care and in the excellent style of the Oxford University Press.

The Projection of the Astral Body.

By Sylvan J. Muldoon and Hereward Carrington. London (Rider); pp. 242; 18s. net.

This interesting account is introduced and annotated by Mr. Hereward Carrington, who is well known as a careful student of psychical research matters and the writer of a number of useful books on the subject. He is loud in its praise as a document of first-hand experience diligently observed and analyzed, for a dozen years or more. Mr. Muldoon is a young American with, presumably, a psychical heredity, and at any rate brought up in a psychical environment. He has pluckily persevered in writing his first attempt at authorship, with the encouragement of Mr. Carrington, and under very adverse circumstances of continual ill-health. Though he disclaims any extensive reading and bases himself throughout on personal experience, our author quotes from quite a number of books relative to the subject and calls into question a number of their statements. The general impression produced by the account is, that the author tries his best to be straightforward and truth-telling. Though modest enough in general, he does not hesitate to declare that, while many have written about the projection of the double and described their experiences, he is the first to have traced the process in the

unbroken succession of its moments, and told precisely how it is done by himself. This much at any rate can be said, that we know of no other account so detailed; moreover, it gives proof of much grit and determination to have succeeded in retaining consciousness throughout so complex an experience. We should have preferred ourselves to speak of it as the 'projection of the double' (whether qualified as 'etheric' or 'ethereal'); for throughout there is question only of a replica of the physical body, in point to point correspondence with it, and the experiences in this double have to do with terrene objects, concerns and situations. There is nothing 'astral' in the classical sense about it; and the modern faulty users of this term also generally refer to a subtler vehicle, though it must be confessed that they lack precision in the matter.

Mr. Muldoon makes much of the so frequently testified to connection between the two bodies known as the 'cord,' going back as far as the famous text in *Ecclesiastes*. But he 'goes one better,' so to say, in a material sense, and speaks of it in its most proximate appearance as the 'astral cable.' He avers that up to a distance of some 15 feet this connection varies from about the size of a silver dollar in cross-section to some half-an-inch. Thereafter it suddenly thins to, as it were, a fine spider thread. Within what he calls this 'cord-activity range' is the normal state of sleep and dreaming consciousness of the double, varying from a very slight displacement from the physical, when the two bodies almost entirely coincide, to complete mutual exteriorization. Beyond this range, for those who can recall the experience, there is 'travelling' to distances near or remote, and at varying speeds, sometimes leisurely, so that the passage can be observed, sometimes with extraordinary rapidity. I have always been inclined to think this psychical 'umbilical cord' was more of an imaginary thought-projection than anything else; but there it is, cable-size to start with, according to Mr. Muldoon's testimony. Strange that in an age when we have 'wireless' physically, we should be bound down to 'wires,' and cable-bundled at that, psychically. It is all very physical—ultra-physical indeed. It may be so, as far as this semi-physical double is concerned and with the habit of 'wireless-less' thought behind it; but one would imagine that in mingling with crowds on the 'other side,' the 'cords' of our projectionists, conscious or unconscious, run great risk of getting entangled! Not the least interesting part of Mr. Muldoon's exposition is when he deals with dream-consciousness

and dream-causation. But there is much else, and a very wide field of 'double'-experience is surveyed; it, moreover, bristles with points of controversy, and with many a problem that must be thrashed out again and again before solution can be reached. We have, however, to thank Mr. Muldoon for this careful record of what he has found in his own case. It is a very human empirical document; but we doubt not that similar experience similarly detailed would be found to have a different history in other cases. One who followed, for instance, the traditional yogic posture would certainly not, as with Mr. Muldoon, start from a flat-on-the-back position. He would thus not have to go through the initial horizontal projection and then proceed to the change to the perpendicular, as is our author's habit. And in this regard, we think that the 5 sketches (out of the 10 illustrations) which have been specially drawn for the volume, are of very little value. Tyros, who try to follow out Mr. Muldoon's recipe, should not have an easy task, judging by his description of how he has had to concentrate his whole being on this single end, and obsess himself with his purpose day and night. And yet we hear that numbers are beginning to say they can 'do it,' in the Muldoon style. We may thus expect to see before long, on the lines of 'just how to wake the solar plexus,' advertisements of 'just how to project the astral' in so many lessons at so many dollars; with an extra fee for lengthening the 'astral cable'!

Papyri Graecae Magicae.

Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von Karl Preisendanz. Band I. Leipzig (Teubner); pp. xii. +200; 18s.

Among the numerous papyri fragments preserved in the dry soil of Egypt there have been found also some of a peculiar character. They were not fragments of ancient Greek literature, nor did they claim any classical value; on the contrary, they were ignored for a long time, and treated practically with contempt by the classical scholars. Slowly, however, men possessed with a deeper insight into the movements of the spirit have recognized the extreme importance of this Cinderella of the papyri, surpassing in a way the importance which had been attached to the other fragments of what is called the Hellenistic and the Greek classical literature. They contained magical prescriptions, directions for preparation

of love-philtres, conjurations and charms of the most diverse kinds. They were written in what is called 'vulgar Greek,' and they were replete with names of gods and demons, and full of 'barbarous' words which no man could pronounce. These belong to what I would call 'the literature of the twilight,' where reason has stopped short, and an unbridled faith conjures up spirits and apparitions in the dimness of the dusk. It is the literature of the masses, quite distinct from the dogmatic literature of the hierarchy, the result of mystic speculations of many nations and many times, gathering into itself all that can be found of a kindred nature among other peoples. It is a literature which has a charm of its own. It casts its spell upon those who study it, and it is invaluable for the understanding of the deeper instincts of the masses, and their peculiar psychology. Moreover, it is a literature possessed of an extraordinary vitality. It has survived the downfall of many nations, and the destruction of many religions of the upper classes; and it is believed in to this very day with greater strength of conviction than in any dogmatic teaching of the catechism. But it has been driven underground. These magical papyri which have now come to light, some of which may belong in their actual form to the first centuries of the Common Era, read as if they were hand-books of medieval witches and magicians; nay, we find often parallels to them in modern collections of conjurations and charms. These magical papyri have been scattered among the great libraries of Europe; the longest belong to Paris, others are in London, Leyden, Berlin, etc. But it was only towards the end of the last century that, through the influence of Albrecht Dieterich, a serious study of them was begun. Many of the most important papyri were afterwards published in widely different places, by scholars like Parthey, Leemans, especially Wessely and Kenyon, and last but not least Eitren, the most important without any translation. In consequence it has become almost impossible to obtain these different publications. Not a few also require renewed examination, and thus also a new interpretation, for these texts are anything but easy of understanding.

It was, therefore, a happy thought, originally suggested by Dieterich, that at last a Corpus of these magical papyri should be published, and if possible accompanied by a translation into a modern language with short explanatory notes. As far back as 1913 a beginning was made, and the Greek texts were already set up in type. But then the World War, which has upset so many

things, threatened to cut this enterprise short. Happily, through the munificence of the Teubner firm, willing to make every sacrifice, the work was again taken in hand, and we have in this first volume the result of the combined activity of the best-known scholars who had continued the study of these magical papyri throughout these years of stress and trial. The original text had been subjected to a thorough-going revision, and it is now published with a German translation facing the text, also accompanied by brief notes of a philological and bibliographical character. References are also made to parallels in other similar texts. In this volume seven texts have been reproduced, among them important ones from Berlin, Paris and London. There are still some twenty-nine outstanding, but with one or two exceptions they are very small fragments. Six plates have also been added, all containing diagrams or illustrations found in these papyri. One can scarcely exaggerate the value of this work for the study of that 'spiritual' welter which seemed to have seized upon the nations towards the beginning of the Christian Era, and that syncretistic chaos which threatened to drown the world in a flood of mysticism and superstition, the abnegation of reason and the death of hope. And yet it throws an unexpected light on the mentality of the masses, and upon the influence which empirical groping can exercise upon the credulous mind. It is sincerely to be hoped that the other volume may soon follow, and that the firm of Teubner may reap the reward of this praiseworthy though risky enterprise. This handy volume is, as is usual with this firm, very beautifully printed. Especially is this the case with the new Greek type. It will now be possible to undertake a comprehensive study of the whole material, its sources and origin, and its relation to the Babylonian, Egyptian, Jewish and medieval magic literature.

M. GASTER.

SCIENCE AND PERSONALITY.

By William Brown, M.A., M.D. (Oxon.), D.Sc. (Lond.), Wilde Reader in Mental Philosophy in the University of Oxford, etc. With a Foreword by Sir Oliver Lodge, D.Sc., F.R.S. London (Oxford University Press); pp. 258; 12s. 6d. net.

THIS is an instructive and valuable volume. It follows very appropriately on the last work of our distinguished colleague, *Mind and Personality* (1926). It is based on the Terry Lectures,

delivered at Yale in March, 1928, but now expanded and supplemented by a number of important contributions that have appeared in the Proceedings of learned societies and in other periodical publications of standing, the whole being woven into a methodical exposition. Already, as long ago as Oct. 1927, there appeared in our own pages a skimming of the cream of all this research and hard thinking, in Dr. Brown's Presidential Address to the Quest Society, entitled 'Religion in the Light of Science and Philosophy'; so that our 'constant' readers will already have some notion of the main trend of our author's contentions. Dr. Brown is nothing if not synthetic in his outlook. Science, philosophy and religion must co-operate with one another to be really fruitful; and here the biological and psychological sciences, in the latter of which Dr. Brown is a deeply experienced specialist, are of peculiar importance. In all this vast subject-matter our author shows himself throughout as familiar with the latest researches and theories of the great disciplines. He covers the ground understandingly, and instructingly surveys it from the mysteries of mathematical physics to the most recent speculations on the nature of mind; moreover he is knowledgeable as to the philosophical implications of such theories, and by no means neglectful of æsthetic and moral values, and above all of the supreme value of religious and spiritual experience. It is a book to study and ponder over. Last but not least, we admire Dr. Brown for his courage in including two chapters (xv. and xvi.) on 'Personality and Psychical Research.' Here he treads with caution, but has no doubt as to the importance of the scientific study of this welter of supra-normal phenomena. Dr. Brown, apart from the study of the voluminous 'Proceedings' of the S.P.R., and other works, has had a number of sittings with the well-known sensitive Mrs. Osborne Leonard, and is, as so many of us are, charmed with little 'Feda.' He, however, holds his judgment 'officially' in suspense, though he is clearly impressed. In an Appendix he gives a full *verbatim* report (18pp.) of one of his numerous sittings, as a specimen of what goes on.

With regard to the second member of the title, 'Personality,' —our author uses it to signify what man is striving to become, a reality in the making, so to say, a perfecting of the individual human into true manhood. We have often contended that the term 'personality' is unsatisfactory, and that 'personalism' does not adequately represent the highest ideal. But the concept is certainly at present the most fashionable idealistic idol. If we

are to use the term, I venture to think it should preferably be confined to connote what may be called the flowering or blossoming moment of man's growth in self-realization, and not the fruitage—flower not fruit,—an intermediate stage, not a completion. We are therefore glad to notice that once or twice Dr. Brown has slipped in 'or super-personal' after 'personal,' and only wish he had done so more frequently.

There are many points of detail on which we should like to dwell, did space permit, especially with regard to the analysis and treatment of the phenomena of mind, when Dr. Brown deals with what he calls 'deep' analysis, in preference to the usual term 'psycho'-analysis, so preferring it because it deals with the 'depths' rather than with the more superficial aspects. But of all these suggestions, perhaps the most important and fruitful of our author's contentions is, that the process of disintegration or disassociation is as normal and necessary as that of association or integration. This is a very good point. As we have said, the whole volume is instructive and valuable, and we can cordially recommend it.

THE VEDĀNTA AND MODERN THOUGHT.

By W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Litt., Principal of the Scottish Churches College, Calcutta, Prof. of Phil. in the University. London (Oxford University Press); pp. 256; 12s. 6d. net.

THE interest of Western scholars in the Vedānta is increasing. Recently on the Continent several books have appeared by theological writers of the Roman communion even, and that too sympathetically considering some points of contact between the Advaita of Shaṅkara and the Summism of Thomas Aquinas. Dr. Urquhart's contribution to the well-known 'Religious Quest of India' series is in general an able piece of work. He is principally concerned, philosophically, with the main positions of that great scholastic commentator Shaṅkarāchārya (9th cent.); and, though he has also somewhat to say of his great opponent and critic Rāmānuja (11th cent.), who presents a doctrine—also, of course, fundamentally Vedāntic—more in keeping with Dr. Urquhart's own sympathies, our author's chief interest is to point out the unsatisfactory nature of an absolute monistic world-view, which he also discovers in modern idealistic thinkers of the Absolutist persuasion. We recognize and acknowledge that Dr. Urquhart is

a careful student, and does his best to state fairly the doctrines of the Advaita, and especially what he calls the 'identity relation' —the 'thou art that' formula—and the much-disputed *māyā*-doctrine, construed as cosmic illusionism. We agree that Shaṅkara was extra-vagant in the latter respect; but we think that it is a mistake—though one frequently made even by Indian writers themselves—to treat the A-dvaita (non-dualistic) position as a pure monism. It is far more subtle than that; it reserves for itself the right to reject monism, as it does all other 'isms' and qualifications, with its famous traditional mantric ejaculation: '*Neti, neti*'—No, no; it cannot be said. Naturally, the vast majority of thinkers and 'feelers,' especially in the West, prefer the notion of a deity of many attributes to one that beggars all description. They generally prefer Logos to Theos; they prefer immanentalism to transcendentalism. But the Vedānta of Rāmānuja—his qualified or modified non-dualism (Viśishādvaita) —equally stresses the deity with attributes; and, therefore, Dr. Urquhart is not quite fair to the Vedānta in general, when he makes Shaṅkara its protagonist and representative, well-nigh *hors concours*. We have before on several occasions praised highly the 'Religious Quest of India' series, under the very able chief editorship of Dr. J. N. Farquhar, now Professor of Comparative Religion in Manchester University; it marks a new and most welcome departure in missionary activity. But even so, the series still somewhat resembles works that appear with the imprimatur '*Nil obstat*.' We all know what that means: they are often most excellent studies and with all the appearance of impartial enquiry for the main part—all but the last chapter, which asserts the already foregone orthodox conclusion. So also —though it may be in detail *longo intervallo*—in essence the contributors to this series must end up with an apologetic for Christianity. It is so at the conclusion with Dr. Urquhart's survey. We respect Dr. Urquhart's convictions, but we are unable to believe that when all the 'heathen' are converted to Christianity, all will then be well and the 'Kingdom' established on earth. There are to-day hundreds of millions of 'Christians' already, and among them things are by no means well. If the 'religion of Jesus' was good, nay excellent, in many respects, it still lacked adequate universalism; while as for the 'religion about Jesus' it has been particularized from the start. It badly needs reformation, and especially in its spirit of over-busy proselytism. Modesty has never been one of its saving virtues.

ALTJÜDISCHES SCHRIFTTUM AUSSERHALB DER BIBEL.

Übersetzt und Erläutert von Paul Riessler. Augsburg (Dr. Benno Filser Verlag); pp. 1,842; 32s.

AFTER having produced a new translation of the Bible into German, itself already by no means a simple achievement, the author of this book has now published a volume of the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings of the Old Testament. As far as we can see, the work has been done single-handed. It is unquestionably an extraordinary performance. True, we have already such a collection, in the two volumes published under the direction of Kautzsch. This has been the work of many collaborators. And similarly we have in English the great work, also in two big volumes, undertaken by Canon Charles with the help of many scholars. Here, however, not only has this work been carried out by one single man, but he has done even more; for he has added a number of texts not included by the former in their collections. The principle which he follows is that, whatever can be shown to rest upon a Hebrew or Aramaic original, should be included among these 'Old Jewish Writings outside the Bible.' There are no less than 61 texts, some larger, some smaller, in this volume, which he begins with the translation of the Eighteen Benedictions of the Daily Jewish Service. There is just as much justification for these prayers as there is for the so-called Sadokite document, which is as far from being Sadokite as it might be Karaite. It is surprising how scholars who claim to have some knowledge of Semitic language and literature, could have been so easily misled as to believe that a document of the fourth or fifth century C.E. could have been written in the second century B.C.E., as if six hundred years in between would make no difference. We find here also the Maxims of the Fathers and the Sentences of Menander. We have also the poem of Phokylides, the fragment of Philo the Elder, and the so-called Biblical Antiquities ascribed to Philo, to which only recently special attention has been paid by scholars. Of the Sibylline Oracles he gives us only the third and fourth books, evidently since the Jewish origin of these is undisputed. We have here also the Testament of Solomon, and the Testament of Job; and so one could go on enumerating a number of texts missing in the other collections, and introduced here. Riessler

publishes at the end very brief literary references, and gives also the sources whence he has taken the texts; but gives no other commentary or literary parallels. The translation reads very smoothly. The book by its completeness will prove invaluable to the student of this literature. There are only one or two points to be mentioned which add to the merit of this publication, and also to its demerits. I had better start first with the latter. The book is printed unfortunately in the trying German type, moreover very small. The merit of the book lies in its handy form. It consists of no less than 1,842 pages, and all these form one small handy octavo volume, of the thickness of one inch. This miracle has been achieved by using the thinnest possible imaginable paper, the type often striking through. It is not, however, an easy task to turn the pages. Let us hope that a second edition will soon be forthcoming, and that the publishers may be prevailed upon to change the type and give us better paper. It is a pity to handicap the scholar by these drawbacks, which create unnecessary difficulties for those who wish to benefit by this extraordinary publication.

M. GASTER.

RĀBI'A THE MYSTIC.

And her Fellow Saints in Islām. Being the Life and Teachings of Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya Al-Qaysiyya of Baṣra, together with Some Account of the Place of Women Saints in Islām. By Margaret Smith, M.A., Ph.D., Sometime Scholar of Girton College, Cambridge. Cambridge (The University Press); pp. 220; 10s. 6d.

THIS methodical and painstaking study gained Dr. Margaret Smith her Ph.D. at London University. It is gratifying to find a woman student competently equipped in the difficult discipline of Arabic scholarship, and especially pleasing to welcome her to the select band of first-hand Western students of Sūfism. Dr. Smith has been led to her choice of subject by Prof. Reynold A. Nicholson's profound knowledge of Muslim mysticism, and it is very appropriate that she should have specialized on the very important part played by women among these saints of Islām. Rābi'a of Baṣra († 801 A.D.), though doubtless not the first, is by far the most famous of the early Sūfī spiritual heroines. Half the treatise is devoted to what can be gathered concerning her and her practices and doctrines from a critical survey of the sources; and the remaining part gathers together a mass of information

concerning the status of women saints in Muslim lands. As far as we know, no monograph has been previously devoted to Rābi'a exclusively, and the sketch of the women-mystics as a class is a distinct novelty. It seems as though these 'shaykhas' succeeded to a pre-Islāmic liberty enjoyed by the women of tribes retaining matriarchal customs, and that Qurānic regulations in other respects favoured the male at the expense of the female, beginning with the practice of the Prophet himself. It is difficult to discover whence Rābi'a got her very unwholesome and devastating sense of sin except from morbid Christian monasticism.

Science and the Unseen World.

By Arthur Stanley Eddington, F.R.S., Plumian Professor of Astronomy, University of Cambridge. Swarthmore Lecture, 1929. London (Allen & Unwin); pp. 56; 2s. 6d. net.

We cordially recommend this striking Lecture to those of our readers who are not already acquainted with it. Professor Eddington is one not only of the most distinguished, but also of the best known scientists in this country, and far beyond its borders, and can therefore speak with authority, and free from all impertinence, on the limitations of our present scientific knowledge. As a member of the Society of Friends he is accustomed also to breathe in the free air of the Spirit. On almost every page of this arresting Lecture there is some statement of note that might call for remark. But two only must suffice the quotation-space of this short notice.

"By 'natural law' is here meant laws of the type prevailing in geometry, mechanics, and physics which are found to have this common characteristic—that they are ultimately reducible to mathematical equations. They may also be defined by a less technical property, *viz.*, they are laws which, unlike human law, are never broken. It is this belief in the universal dominance of scientific law which is nowadays generally meant by materialism."

This mathematical view of the universe is throughout a question of symbols. But

"Natural law is not applicable to the unseen world behind the symbols, because it is unadapted to anything except symbols, and its perfection is a perfection of symbolic linkage. You cannot apply such a scheme to the parts of our personality which are not measurable by symbols any more than you can extract the square root of a sonnet."

THE CLOUD-MEN OF YAMATO.

Being an Outline of Mysticism in Japanese Literature. By E. V. Gatenby, M.A. London (Murray); pp. 128; 8s. 6d. net.

IT is always pleasant to get a new volume of the long-established Wisdom of the East series. Under the practised and capable editorship of our old friend Mr. L. Cranmer-Byng, one is sure to get something of interest, and generally of beauty as well. This last volume is devoted mainly to poetry and drama, and these of old-time Japan and the latter of the No-tradition. Mr. Gatenby's small volume is a well-done piece of work, and has much of charm in it. It is no easy thing for a Westerner to get into the spirit of Japanese poetry. It differs from what he has grown used to, and chiefly in the convention that the poet of Nippon, as also of China, suggests rather than describes, and leaves it to the reader to enjoy the suggestion in his own way. This view of æsthetics is out and out that of Croce in our own day in the West; but it also shows that the power of appreciating beauty is more native to the Japanese than to ourselves: they can create for themselves from the most simply suggested situation of the poet. It is all very delicate. Moreover it shows an extraordinary sympathy with nature; and this is the basal characteristic of this Far Eastern mysticism. Thereupon, in particular, supervene the profundities of Zen Buddhism, which are always a delight to contemplate, at least for those possessed of a truly catholic mystical temperament. And here Tao is not far off. Though he is Confucian in his sympathies, that feeling of responsibility to the higher order of things which is the characteristic of true morality in spiritual awareness, is well brought out by Kyusō (1658-1784), when he writes:

"This 'feeling of response' of the gods is the thoroughfare of the spirit. If there is the least 'touch' of the spirit, though it show not in voice or face, the gods know it at once. But when in perfect quiet there is no mixture of the spirit, the gods can find no place to enter in. This is the true nature, that I call the 'self.'

"Where, then, is this 'self'? It is before all thought, the reality of the unmoved. Superior men cherish it. Heaven and Earth are given rank by it, and by it all things are reared. From it 'feeling' goes to God, and there is nothing apart from it."

We thank Mr. Gatenby for a very pleasing booklet.

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