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ON THE WATCH-TOWER

The Triumph of Mind over Body

WE take from the Edinburgh *Evening Dispatch* (Oct. 11th) a most extraordinarily instructive account of a girl—blind, deaf and dumb from nineteen months—who now holds a distinguished place among the students of Harvard University. Not to speak of the convincing proof given by this courageous soul of the triumph of mind over body, and the crushing blow to materialism which such a triumph connotes, there is in addition, in her case, evidence of an inner world of experience which, as far as we can judge by the short description of its nature given by herself, is not the mere product of her feeble nineteen months' physical consciousness, but largely a self-existent soul of things (a world as *real* as the physical), where "the blind see, the deaf hear, . . . and the poor have the Gospel preached to them," and where, alas! . . . all the opposite of this takes place as well.

In the course of his opening address to his class in St. Andrews University yesterday, Professor Knight spoke of a very remarkable American girl—

blind, deaf and dumb—who had been educated to read, assimilate knowledge, and attain to a culture so rare that now, at Harvard University, she had been out-distancing most of her competitors. He saw something of her this spring, at Boston, and, take it for all in all, it was his most remarkable experience in America. Helen Keller was born in June, 1880. When nineteen months old she had an illness which entirely deprived her of the senses of sight and hearing; and, so far as speech was concerned, she then could only prattle. All her other powers, however, remained, and she had abounding physical health. Fortunately for her, she soon obtained the services of a teacher—Miss Sullivan—who is almost as remarkable a woman as herself; and the singular success which attended Dr. Howe's efforts to educate Laura Bridgman, a much less capable girl, prepared the way for the triumph which had followed Miss Sullivan's labours. At the age of twelve, Helen Keller wrote the story of her life, up to date; and it is the most remarkable child-autobiography in existence. The most remarkable thing to the student of psychology in this wonderful child's life is, Professor Knight continued, that we have through her explicit proof that the human mind can, in an abnormal development, go back in later years and remember the events of infancy, reproduce the pictures of the past, and reconstruct them adequately, so many things having "leapt to light" out of the subterranean cave of consciousness. She was taught by the familiar finger-language, and also by lip-language, as the sense of touch remained not only intact, but probably more vivid because of her loss of others. What he wished, however, to emphasise was this—the clear proof given of the stupendous possibilities of human nature, in the fact that out of our submerged consciousness so much may ultimately arise. Many hundreds of words, which when first heard had no meaning whatsoever to a mere infant of days, rose up and came out clear into the light of day when the influence of her teacher stirred them; and we now have in this girl—deaf and blind and still dumb—a consciousness so marvellous and unique that it will remain a field of study to psychologists for generations. To the ethical student and the religious thinker the development of Helen Keller's mind is of peculiar interest. Before her illness, as an infant, she could have had no idea of God or of immortality, except in the way in which (as Wordsworth put it) "Heaven lies about us in our infancy." But a conception of God and of the future has arisen out of those natal germs implanted in her consciousness from the first. She seems to have reached a theodicy, or doctrine of God, by stages, beginning with the notion of "Mother Nature" and "Father Nature," proceeding thence to a definite conception of the personality of God. And, above all, she has attained to a belief in the everlasting centre of Good within the universe, and in Love as the crowning element in the life of all that lives. Her inner vision is such that she once said, "I see things far, far away, which I could not see with external sight if I could see; so I am not blind." She said to the same interlocutor, "I am never alone; the thoughts of some one are always with me."

Most of our readers are acquainted with the labours of Professor Harnack and with his high reputation for independent thought in the fields of Biblical research and ecclesiastical history. They will, therefore, regret to learn that the Professor, in his old age, has taken up a position of dogmatic exclusiveness, for which a perusal of his admirable *History of the Evolution of Dogma* would little prepare them. It is one of those flagrant contradictions in human nature which render its study the most interesting of all sciences. The following description of what really independent students of religion cannot but consider the learned Professor's palinode and recantation, is taken from a letter of its Berlin correspondent to one of the August issues of *The Christian World*:

Rigid Sectarianism in High Places

Professor Adolf Harnack has just published a lecture recently delivered on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the University of Berlin. Dr. Harnack is rector of the University for the current year, and his address has created unusual stir in university circles throughout Germany. His theme was "The Position and Aim of Theological Faculties." He strongly opposed the suggestion that the present scope of the faculty as usually understood in most universities is too narrow and restricted from the point of view of the scientific investigator. The contention that a theological faculty should have several chairs for teaching the general history of religion rather than the particular history of the Christian religion is a view which he cannot share. In theory, he admitted, much might be said for such an idea. The theologian does well to have a complete view of the whole "ladder" of religion, to understand the connection of one religion with another, to grasp the notions which led nations to rise from impure faiths to others more pure and reasonable. Further, the work of missions to which the Church has now set itself seems to demand that missionaries should be instructed in the general science of religion as well as in the religion which they are to teach. But, continued Dr. Harnack, "whether or not a durable and worthy civilisation is possible without the preaching of the Gospel may be answered either affirmatively or negatively. One thing is certain: the nations who are now dividing out the earth among them must stand or fall with the Christian civilisation. The future will tolerate no other civilisation." The Professor went on to reiterate his conviction that existing theological faculties must confine themselves to the Christian religion. It is a religion which has the Bible; it has, secondly, an unbroken history of nearly three thousand years; and, thirdly, it can be still studied as a living faith. Whoever knows this religion, knows all; whoever is ignorant of it, knows none. What are Homer and the Vedas and the

Koran beside the Bible? The Bible is inexhaustible. Every age draws fresh treasures from it. In the Bible is concentrated, and around it is grouped, all the labour of the theological faculties. And as often as a man, layman or theologian, draws something out of its depths, so often is mankind raised a step higher. "We wish to see the theological faculties remaining as they are, faculties for the investigation of the Christian religion. The Christian religion is not one of many: it is *the* religion. And it is *the* religion because Jesus Christ is not a Master among many, but *the* Master, and because His Gospel satisfies the inborn wants of mankind. I have already said that the Bible must be the centre for all the work of the theological faculties. I will now go further, and say that this centre is Jesus Christ." These are notable utterances, and will do much to reassure those who regard the views of the great scholar with suspicion and fear.

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"The Last Infirmity of Noble Minds"

THIS declaration of Professor Harnack's is for all members of the Theosophical Society a gratuitous insult to the hundreds of millions of non-Christian religionists in the world. It offends against our ideal of brotherhood and it offends further against our idea of Christianity. It is the outcome of the narrowest exclusiveness, more suited to a bird brain than to the capacious thinking organism of a great scholar; and yet it is at base the inmost persuasion of the vast majority of professing Christians, and also, if we change the name of the Master, of the vast majority of religionists of every kind. What seems so simple and wise and precious to most of our readers—the conception of the common source of all that is good in religion, and the belief that the existing faiths are but expressions of one and the same truth suited to the needs and limitations of human imperfection—is in the opinion of the majority of mankind a blasphemy against its most cherished persuasion that the special form of faith to which it subscribes is exclusively and absolutely the living truth itself. And this is not only the belief of the ignorant but also the conviction of the vast majority of the learned, so that we may well say that it is not "fame" but rather sectarianism which is "the last infirmity of noble minds."

* * *

BUT all the sectarianism in the world cannot separate man from

man ; we are for ever bound up together, and together we shall rise or fall. The brotherhood of man is a natural fact from which we cannot escape, and the fatherhood of God must be understood in the terms of that brotherhood or be cast out from nature and living truth into the outer darkness of theological prejudice. If priest and professor refuse to teach the world the nobler lessons of life, the Masters of Wisdom find other instruments and prophets. And on this subject we may listen to a Carlyle rather than to a Harnack, when in his essay on Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, he says :

The Brotherhood of Man

> Man, as if by miraculous magic, imparts his Thoughts, his Mood of mind to man ; an unspeakable communion binds all past, present, and future men into one indissoluble whole, almost into one living individual. Of which high mysterious Truth, this disposition to *imitate*, to lead and be led, this impossibility *not* to imitate, is the most constant, and one of the simplest manifestations. . . .
>
> Thus both in a celestial and terrestrial sense are we a *Flock*, such as there is no other ; nay, looking away from the base and ludicrous to the sublime and sacred side of the matter, have not we also a *Shepherd*, "if we will but hear his voice" ? Of those stupid multitudes there is no one but has an immortal Soul within him ; a reflex and living image of God's whole Universe ; strangely from its dim environment, the light of the Highest looks through him ;—for which reason, indeed, it is that we claim a brotherhood with him, and so love to know his History, and come into clearer and clearer union with all that he feels, and says, and does.

* * *

THOSE among us who may perchance retain the memories of this present life when they return at no distant date in new and better bodies to resume their work, will have, it would seem, even more than the usual temptation to weary the public with perpetual reminders : "We told you so many years ago." For steadily, and more and more rapidly, Science (with a capital S) is establishing the truth of what occult teaching years ago has already affirmed. So that by the time we come back, we shall doubtless find that the "fanciful" geology, the "imaginary and unfounded" catastrophes and changes, the "wholly impossible" re-distributions of continental and oceanic areas,

Northern Lemuria

and even such utterly "outrageous" fictions as the world-maps of the *Story of Atlantis*, have become "orthodox" science which every school-board taught child accepts as placidly and as ignorantly as the Sunday-school children of the beginning of the nineteenth century accepted the Mosaic chronology, the Deluge, and the Creation of the World in 4004 B.C., as laid down by Archbishop Ussher. In illustration thereof, the following is taken from *Nature*, July 4, 1901. The "Glossopteris flora" mentioned, is so named after a fern-like plant, probably related to our modern cycads, which is found in the fossil beds of almost every part of the Southern Hemisphere, in Australia, India, South Africa, and South America, one of the most typical of the plants of Southern Lemuria.

In the issue of *Die Umschau* of June 15, Prof. W. Amalitzky announces the discovery of gigantic anomodont and other reptiles in a Permian deposit at Sokolki on the Dwina, Russia. The bones occur in an old river channel cut in Lower Permian beds, and subsequently filled up with sandstone. Regular excavations have been undertaken, with the result that a very large number of skeletons and separate bones have been disinterred. Most of these are imbedded in hard nodules, and a considerable sum of money is required for their proper development. Most noticeable is the discovery of no less than from fifteen to twenty skeletons of the large anomodont Pariasaurus, *hitherto known only from South Africa*. One of these has been developed, and measures 11 feet in length. Remains of Dicynodon and other anomodonts, as well as dinosaurs and a labyrinthodont, are likewise recorded. According to Prof. Amalitzky, the reptilian remains are *associated with ferns belonging to the well-known "Glossopteris flora"*; and it would accordingly appear that this peculiar Southern flora and fauna, *which formed a belt round the globe in low latitudes during early Mesozoic times, had a northern extension into eastern Europe.*

The italics are ours. "Northern Lemuria" is described in *The Secret Doctrine* (Vol. ii., p. 348), although *Western* Europe is there referred to as belonging to it.

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Temperature and the Origin of Species

THE world of biologists is in somewhat of a flutter. If the following experiments of Professor Standfuss can be repeated, his discovery may be made the base of departure for excursions into the mysterious depths of biology which will open up entirely new fields of research, and revolutionise the present

official views of the origin of species. *The Morning Post* (October 9th) gives the following account of the Zürich professor's discovery :

Following out a line of study laid down by Wiessmann, M. Standfuss has found that chrysalides kept at an artificial high or low temperature may be induced to produce species of butterflies peculiar respectively to tropical or northern climes. A chrysalis of that common Swiss species, *Vanessa urtica*, was found, after being kept at a temperature of 4deg. Fahrenheit, to develope as the perfect insect *V. polaris*, a species known in the latitudes of Lapland. Unless some singular error has crept into the published reports of these remarkable results, the biological world must shortly revise its creed.

* * *

Did the Monkey not descend from Man ?

SCIENTISTS in Germany are apparently only at this late hour being startled by the question : "Did the monkey not descend from man ?" Students of Theosophy have not only been familiar with the question for twenty years, but have had it treated in great detail by H. P. Blavatsky in her more than extra-ordinary *magnum opus*, *The Secret Doctrine*. If this was the only point on which she had insisted her work would have been remarkable ; but seeing that it bristles with hundreds, if not thousands, of problems of the same nature, it remains (no matter how we may pick holes in its arrangement or details, in its style or in its scholarship)—a marvellous monument of the unexpected and inexplicable for those who belittle her memory out of sheer ignorance and prejudice. Strange that in the new official conflict, it should be a Hoeckel going forth to battle with a Haeckel. Our paragraph is taken from *The Morning Post*, of September 25th :

The German *savant* Herr Hoeckel, after considerable research, has startled his countrymen by propounding the exact antithesis of the Darwinian theory. He asks not "Did man descend from the monkey ?" but seriously "Did the monkey not descend from man ?" His argument in favour of the degenerate man becoming a monkey is based on the fact that children have been lost in savage regions, in the back woods, and elsewhere, and that these deprived of human associations, have acquired animal tendencies, climbed trees, ceased the use of language, and resorted to the primitive foods for nourishment. Indeed, all the professor's observations serve to suggest that man is not a civilised edition of the ape, but that the ape is the decivilised edition of man.

The Antiquity of Stonehenge

ANOTHER of the innumerable subjects discussed by Theosophists is the antiquity of Stonehenge, and a number of our writers have declared for its great antiquity. The later "scientific" hypotheses have all been in the teeth of this belief; the most grudging estimates of the age of this hoary pile have been made, and that too by men who have in other fields of research of a similar nature been forced to eat the most humble pie. Professor Petrie's opinion that it did not exist till several centuries after the Christian era, is a curiosity of pure "cussedness" in so distinguished an antiquarian. The only normally sceptical mind is satisfied that it existed at least 500 years B.C., for Hecatæus of Miletus refers explicitly to a great temple of Apollo, of circular form, in the island of the Hyperboræans, "the fruitful island that stretches northwards of Gaul in the great ocean stream." If this is not Britain and Stonehenge then it is a very striking "coincidence." Stonehenge has lately been falling to pieces in an alarming fashion. A committee of experts—engaged in strengthening the foundations of the mysterious trilithons—have now made a remarkable discovery. "While digging some few feet below the surface," says a paragraph which has been round the press lately, "they unearthed a number of flint instruments which are supposed to have been used in shaping the large blocks above, and the circumstance is said to warrant the assumption that 'Stonehenge is the product of neolithic man.'"

THEOSOPHY AND MATERIALISM

(CONCLUDED FROM p. 148)

THE whole Theosophic doctrine may be epitomised and illustrated in a very simple case—a nut, say an acorn. The mass itself is clearly of matter. Chemical analysis can resolve it into all its constituent elements—carbon, phosphorus, the silicates, etc., and accurately state of what and in what proportions it is composed. But if chemical skill should take these same elements and quantities and attempt by a constructive instead of a destructive process to combine them as an acorn, it could not succeed. Even if the form and parts could be precisely framed, the most essential quality of the nut—its power to germinate—would be absent. In other words, life, the vital principle which ensures to the natural product a future of evolution and parentage, is lacking. All the material case is there; not so the mysterious vitality which no chemistry can supply. This vitality is unseen, even undistinguishable by the most powerful of microscopes. It eludes every research and every test. It is a power from another plane of Nature, residing in, coincident with, the material plane, which has furnished the solid constituents of the nut, pervading those constituents and giving to their aggregate the ability to sprout and become a tree, but itself a distinct thing, not perceptible by fleshly eyes, not producible by fleshly hands. Furnish the needful conditions, plant the acorn in soil watered and sunned, and in time a sprout, a sapling, a giant tree will ensue, the elaborated evolution in trunk and branch and foliage and nuts of the original germ which an infant might grasp. All these potentialities lay shrunken in the shell, lay as a germ till the inherent life-power and the external life-agencies united to develop into full luxuriance. There could have been none of this luxuriance without the tangible nut and the

tangible soil, and the visible rain and the visible sunshine, yet impotent would these have proved had no unseen life vibrated through the kernel and pressed it onward to germination.

So it is with the universe. Throughout space there spread, æons ago, the original of what we see as matter. It would be now, as then, inert, powerless, changeless, but for that influx of vital principle which poured forth from the secret chambers of the Most High and began to transform atoms into organisms. In the inconceivably long time since, that living force has pervaded, moulded, shaped, differentiated into infinitely-variegated forms the material before it, steadily unfolding all its possibilities and bringing them into objective existence. Up through various planes the products rose, the mineral developing into the vegetable, that into the animal, that into the human. As Herbert Spencer puts it, "the simple became complex, and the homogeneous heterogeneous, through successive differentiations and integrations." As we look around us now, at this advanced stage of evolutionary process, we see, even with our imperfect vision, something of that marvellous result which comes from the action of life upon matter. Strata of organised forms in measureless variety and complexity, with a no less varied degree of vital thrill, comprise the universe around. All are compounded of a physical basis and a super-physical life-principle. In the matter were possibilities, potentialities; yet these would forever have remained such but for that principle which quickened and educed and combined them. It was this living current, an efflux from the central source of being, which transformed a reservoir of material into a universe of organisms. In the great acorn of a vast world-tree lay dormant root and branch, and twig and nut, and when the vivifying power passed through it at the fitting time, all the cosmic germs came slowly into manifestation.

Now the materialist may say: "What matters it whether the life-principle be a separate existence or an inherent quality, so long as it in fact pervades every atom and ensures its normal evolution? If that force is always coincident with substance; if, as Theosophists claim, no particle is dead or without the pervasion of that force, why should we not consider the force as a quality of the substance? Is not vitality as truly a characteristic of

matter as is extension or atomic structure?" The answer is easy. If life is not a force distinct from matter, however associated with it; if it is merely one of its marks and not a manifestation through it; then the effacement of a living form would efface the vitality resident in that form. In other words, there could be no organic life after the physical organism displaying that life had been dissolved. When a man, as we say, "dies," his mental, emotional, and aspirational nature, being simply the product of the powers inherent in the matter of his form and deriving its high development from the high development of that, must die too. There can be no survival of the product after the causes and conditions of its existence are annulled. Hence no individual future after physical decease, no soul-survival, no possibility of immortality. This, of course, is no objection to one who already considers it as a fact, but it has very serious quality to one who gives weight either to the universal instincts of humanity or to the phenomena of spiritualism and psychism. All of these unite in deprecating the notion of the ego as a mere outcome of bodily organisation, and of death as a terminus to individual existence.

Though materialism and Theosophy are at one in holding to the union of the life-principle with matter as a fact, and while they differ as to the two being in reality distinct, there is another difference which makes more patent the gulf between. Materialism contends that, as all is the result of organisation and environment, the character of individual men is consequent upon their physical structure and experience. The combination of atoms in the nervous system and the brain determines my temperament in a particular way, and a differing combination in my neighbour determines his temperament differently. Talent, aptitude, tendency, the sanguine or the despondent nature, all the qualities and mixtures of qualities in men, are thus referable to their bodily constitution. The body is the cause, and the ego is the result. The Theosophical doctrine is precisely the reverse: the ego is the cause and the body is the result.

This is consequent upon the prior doctrine of reincarnation. For, considering life as a distinct reality from matter, Theosophy perceives the existence of a human monad before the existence

of the physical frame which enshrines him. The object of incarnation, and of each successive case of it, was to furnish opportunity to the monad for direct participation in material existence, and so an experience, otherwise not to be had, of life carnal, social, competitive, with all the multitudinous lessons only to be secured through the discipline of affections and purposes and energies. As in a fleshly body intercourse with the world of things and men is possible but as that body is moved by the will within, every output of volition courses through nerves and muscles and causes them to act. A definite quality is thus imparted to the atoms which in aggregate form the organism through which the individual nature expresses itself.

Moreover, thought makes its impress on the brain structure, favourite ideas recurring, if for no other reason, because the brain-furrows already made furnish lines of least resistance to arising currents. Thus in various physiological ways the tastes and wishes and desires of the real being within stamp themselves on the atoms constituting his physique. In the cellular tissue of his body are not merely records, but actual reservoirs, of his habitudes. In idle moments, when no different emotion masters them but relaxed purpose leaves open a way to normal impulse, these tiny conservators of habit vibrate in their accustomed way and a familiar thought recurs to the mind. Character surges up from the recesses where imagination and memory and meditation had stored it, these recesses being the cells of our structure, physical and astral. Thus, in very literal sense, the ego records itself in its tabernacle. What we desire and plan and seek, what —in short—we really are in essence, expresses itself in the plastic matter of our outer forms, and the subtle senses of the adept or the seer can read in aura and physique the transcript of a soul.

Even more than this. As karma, the infallible system which ensures to every man in his incarnation the physical and moral conditions to which his prior conduct gives him right, must provide means for that ensurance, there is, as Theosophy teaches, a conservation in semi-material form of the germs which are in the next life to supply the fitting body for the returning ego. The psychic integument for that ego is ready as its psychic form, the ante-natal mould upon which the later physical form is to be

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shaped. In some strange way there is thus preserved over for each man's reappearance the potential nucleus demanded for full kârmic award. Here again, as with the nut, we have, embedded in a small material object, an infinitesimally minute and utterly invisible model of the ultimately-expanded form; and here too, again, it is vital force from an unseen plane which impregnates mere matter and gives it life. And so, through material agencies, but from an extra-material influence, there is prepared for each soul, as reincarnation brings it back again to earth, the very kind of body it has earned, and thus the body each soul wears is not the parent of that soul but the child.

Notice in greater detail an aspect of matter which still further accentuates the difference between Theosophy and materialism. The soul is plunged into physical existence in order that through it may be learned all possible lessons of experience. Evidently an enormous range of incidents and relations comes into being only by incarnation. Picture a world of mere spirits, and you find in it intellectual, moral, and spiritual affinities, and such affections as these inspire. But the distinctive affections of the family—father and mother, parent and child, brother and sister—do not exist; nor do any of the sweet amenities which arise from sacrifice gladly undergone for a kinsman's sake. Nor could there be the countless disciplines which come from wrestling with misfortune, struggling after success, keeping honour bright under temptation, giving up pleasure rather than duty, cherishing a sense of justice, contributing to public spirit, culturing the sentiment of sympathy, sharpening the power of ingenuity and readiness and foresight, subduing wish for personal indulgence when injurious to self or others, acquiring self-control under painful stress, gaining power over externalities, becoming master over nature within and without. All these and allied attainments are foreign to a being in circumstances which do not call for them, yet no being can be perfected unless they are part of his equipment. Hence is imperative a sojourn in the material life which alone makes them possible, and so a real adept—and nothing short of adeptship fulfils the ideal of evolution—must become such through manhood, through a human career involving many and varied incarnations. But all

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this implies that matter is valuable only as a tool for, a channel to, a means of, human evolution. As Patañjali has it: "Nature exists for the soul's experience." From this point of view, matter is not the germ from the natural unfoldment of which comes the mind, the soul, the higher being, but is the environment through which that mind and soul and higher being draws experiences which minister to its independent and antecedent life, enriching it and serving it and yielding to it all the value it contains. As with the nut; the sheltering husk, the containing soil, the external sun, the falling rain, but serve to give the conditions and the helps which the interior life-principle requires. To Theosophy the physical world is therefore only the shell needful for the really important spirit that it enshrines, not, as to materialism, the reality from which develope intangible thought and fancy and aspiration.

Furthermore, as a consequence of the above, there must come a time when matter as a servant to spirit will have done its work and so be superseded. On materialistic theories this could never be. If there is nothing external to, higher than, matter, its withdrawal would end the drama of life. But our loftier view contemplates a stage of evolution when all the limited possibilities of physical contribution, many, valuable, indispensable as they are now and for long time to come, will have been exhausted. There will be nothing more to learn from incarnations. Why, then, should they be repeated? Just what will take their place at an era so distant and different, who can say? Yet it is inevitable, from all demands of reason, that a method of ministration which has yielded all the results of which it is capable shall pass away, a further one, adapted to new exigencies, taking its place in the series. And in that more glorious time, a time so advanced in æons and in developments that no present faculty can even conceive of its unlike contents, doubtless we—and the materialistic philosophers who now accept nothing beyond the range of sense—shall together trace the long path of the soul through earthly states, and marvel that the reality of the supersensual world could have ever been in doubt.

From its conception of the actuality of life as apart from matter, of the true function of the physical world, of the right

relation of the seen to the unseen, we at once infer the attitude of Theosophy to human existence. The whole material universe, with all its contents and processes, is a stepping-stone to a higher grade. Life has come from beyond, and passes through this gross environment up to a loftier plateau. The grandest intellections and aspirations of man are not flowerings from an earthly stalk, but have their source above. The pursuits of life do not acquire their value as finalities in a method of social betterment, but as disciplines for the ego and as contributions towards an era when there will be larger emancipation from sordid wants. Human duty does not arise only from expediency or from kindly spirit, but regards the whole circuit of individual career through many incarnations of which the present is but one. The moral sense is not a mere refinement of improved civilisation, like good manners and fine taste, but is the voice of God making itself heard above the clamour of desire and selfishness. The spiritual instinct claims no parentage in the more ethereal states of matter, but mounts straight to the Divine source from which it has come and to which it ever aspires. Religion scorns to be accounted a thing of beliefs and forms and external rites, and avows that all such simulations are worthless, only that being genuine which unites the soul to God and makes its action here celestial in quality. There may be, there almost certainly must be, expression of it in outer shape, but, as with the nut of the tree and of the universe, it is the indwelling life, the vital principle distinct from the encasing shell, which is to be recognised as its essential part. Theosophy would drive off the parodies of religion which too often pollute the Churches, would strip away their clap-trap and their gew-gaws and their unrealities, would expose their insincerities and follies and misrepresentations, and would put in their place those eternal verities which admit of no compromise, no sham, no perversion, insisting on genuineness, directness, solidity as the test of spiritual worth. It would voice in unmistakable terms the truth that the inner life is indeed a *life*, not a sentiment or a spasm or a decorous trait, and that it is real only as it takes hold of and controls the daily thought and the daily act. This spiritual force, proceeding from the summit of all being and uniting thereto the individual soul, is what is to raise human

nature, and each partaker of it, steadily up through grades of evolution till it is assimilated with the Divine.

In the truest sense, the Theosophic conception ennobles matter. It does not waive aside unseen forces as visionary and undemonstrable, nor, on the other hand, does it impute them to an origin so much below them as is matter, but it exalts them as the richest possession of humanity and shows how matter is the stepping-stone to their acquirement and manifestation. "Is life worth the living?" sounds ominously around us as the great question of a sense-besotted age. No; not if procreation and wealth and office and enjoyment are its aims. If nothing more elevating, more satisfying, than these was the reason for this vast organism of men and things, then surely the whole attempt was a mistake and is a failure. The result is but partially attained and in no way compensates for the griefs. But if we see the system as a heavenly-devised method whereby from fleshly life are to be gathered the fruits of generous culture, noble effort, steady reach after perfection in motive and character and act and unselfish manhood, all assumes a different meaning. The material conditions to human existence are conditions to its progress, furnishing the means for vast extension in knowledge and training and unfoldment. Like pages to a king, they derive dignity from their function. It is no small honour to be ministrants to an exalted office, helps to a royal mission. An atom aids to make possible an adept, matter to produce a Master. And from this point of view the whole tangible kingdom of Nature is a grander and more glorious thing, more honourable and significant, than as the limit of potentialities or the source of destiny. As the vehicle of the supreme power, it shares in that glory.

But is there no danger that Theosophy itself, by its doctrine of atoms and universal life and the immanence of spirit in matter, may foster a materialism quite as pronounced as that of the scientists? I do not think so, provided fact is stated justly and without tendency to extremes. Yet, of course, in this, as in any subject, extremes will meet. In religion he who scouts at faith becomes often more credulous than the docile believer. In science he who decries all that is not demonstrated is frequently he who stands gladly on mere hypotheses. And it is but natural

that Theosophists who regard Theosophy mainly as a protest, should push it so far that it passes the opposite pole of the diameter and approaches the point it antagonises. Sometimes we hear enthusiasts for Law in Nature treating law as a self-evolved force, rather than as a force impressed by the Supreme Architect upon His work. Sometimes the sincere percipients of the spiritual in the universe so antagonise it to the material that the material is made the source and cause and genesis of evil, a renewal of the Manicheean notion and quite as materialistic. Sometimes the moral character of individual men is supposed so to impregnate the transient atoms of their bodies that these, however decomposed into elements, harbour always that character and disseminate it around. And there are many ways in which Theosophists of untempered mind do not keep the *via media* of truth, but diverge to excesses which must be errors. This is inevitable in any movement. It will always occur till every believer is sound in judgment and balanced in expression, until, in other words, every disciple becomes a sage.

But no extravagance of individuals need cause distrust of the great truth which to-day is recalling earnest men to consciousness of the reality of the unseen world and to interest in the study of it. The soul cannot find nourishment in materialism; it cries aloud for its true home and for its sustenance. Theosophy avows these without reserve. It points to the source of life, the nature of life, the aim of life, and in the presence of such grandeur gives smaller topics their lesser interest. The earth is of value as a study and for a sojourn; it is filled with contents which may stimulate the learner as time after time he passes here an incarnation; its many experiences educe in him those qualities that in their fulness will make everlasting wealth; but it is not for itself or as a home that Theosophy estimates it. In the pilgrim himself are the elements of true riches; material existence only enables him to bring them to perfection; it is they which shall endure when the universe shall have dissolved. For when that which is perfect shall come, then that which is in part shall be done away.

ALEXANDER FULLERTON

THE "LIVES" OF ST. PATRICK AND ST. BRIDE

A Study in the History of the Early British Church

It has been said that the great apostle of the Irish was a mythic character; that no such human personality actually lived, moved, and had his being in fleshly form on earth. As a matter of fact it is not possible to prove his existence conclusively by historical means. Personally, however, it seems to me that the weight of evidence is in favour of there having been such a personage as St. Patrick; I believe that the mass of legends and semi-legendary history conceal a very great and real personality. I have further a theory with regard to those accounts of the Saint with which monkish piety has furnished us, though my theory respecting them does not touch the personality of Patrick to any large extent. I propose then first to lay before my readers a rough sketch of the evidence, and the conflicting theories founded upon it. Then I will outline the main incidents of the recorded lives of St. Patrick and St. Bridget, or Bride; finally, I will advance my own hypothesis.

To begin with a dry catalogue of the different authorities* and their opinions. Archbishop Ussher maintains the reality of St. Patrick's person and mission; Dr. O'Connor gives a copy of the letter written by the Archbishop on the subject.† In this letter Ussher says that though Bede is silent with regard to the mission of Patrick,‡ he has seen in Sir R. Cotton's library an ancient fragment, prior to Bede, which mentions the Irish saint.

* I do not profess to catalogue all that has been written on the subject; I should require several whole numbers of the Review to do that. I but summarise roughly the views of some theorisers.

† The original letter is in the Cotton MSS., British Museum.

‡ A very extraordinary, and at first sight inexplicable, silence.

Dr. O'Connor himself examined this MS. and arrived at the conclusion that Archbishop Ussher was mistaken as to its antiquity; in his opinion it is not older than the ninth century. Nevertheless, though O'Connor was unconvinced, other authors besides Ussher believe that the unknown writer of the Cotton MS. was prior to Bede. In the Life of St. Kiaran the elder, which is printed in S. H. O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, Kiaran, an Irish Christian bishop who was prior to Patrick, is represented as meeting the Irish Saint, who went to Italy, while the see-less bishop Kiaran returned to Ireland.* Cumian, a disciple of Columba, writing in 596, mentions Patrick; the younger Cumian, writing to Segenius of Hy† in 640, remonstrates with him upon his heretical observance of Easter, saying that his practice is "repugnant to the cycle our holy Pope St. Patrick introduced into Ireland." A MS. was discovered in the monastery at Bobbio, Italy, by Cardinal Borromeo, which is said to have been carried from Ireland to Italy in the time of Charlemagne; this MS. is asserted to be 1000 years old, and is in Irish character. It contains a hymn to St. Patrick: "*Hymnus S. Patricii Magistri Scotorum.*" Adamnán in his Life of Columba mentions Patrick, but only by the insertion of three words: *S. Patricii discipulus;* surely an inadequate recognition of Ireland's apostle.

O'Connor expresses the opinion that even were all the MSS. destroyed in which Patrick's name occurs, the fact should not, in view of the known destruction of MSS., be permitted to outweigh universal tradition. Sir W. Betham,‡ on the other hand, is by no means satisfied with the evidence. He remarks that in 634, when the Pope wrote to the Scots, exhorting them not to oppose their small number to the universal belief of the orthodox Churches, he does not reproach them with having strayed from the pure faith given them by Patrick 150 years previously, nor is Patrick mentioned. I suggest, in reply to this remark, that there is the possibility that Patrick was thought to be heretical by the early Roman Church. It may be that he has been honoured in

* This Life of Kiaran is taken from a MS. written in 1780, which was probably transcribed from one in the Royal Irish Academy, a translation from the Latin of J. Colgate (1645).

† Hy is another name for Iona

‡ See *Irish Antiquarian Researches.*

later days and his heresies glossed over, because of the power and weight of his traditionary influence; just as pre-Christian sacred rites were used by the Culdees, so may the reverence paid by the people to the sanctity of a heretic have been utilised by the successors of the Culdee monks. There is, admittedly, a very marked difference between the character displayed by the broad-minded, genial and kindly Patrick of the *Colloquy*, and the far more bigoted and altogether unlovely portrait of the Saint as he is pictured in later MSS.

Colman (664), defending the British Church from the charge of heresy, does not say: St. Patrick, a missionary from Rome, taught us thus 200 years ago; he does not mention the name of Patrick; he appeals to the authority of St. John the Beloved as the source of Culdee doctrine. Now the fourth Gospel, attributed to St. John,* is a mystical Scripture; it is said that this Johannine tradition is of Gnostic origin. Can it be that Patrick, though he visited Italy and studied there, did not come as an emissary from Rome? Did Colman know that he was heretical, and did he therefore appeal to an authority he knew would be recognised, that of the tradition of the author of the mystical fourth Gospel?

Bede, though he does not mention Patrick, mentions the unsuccessful Irish mission of Palladius. Betham remarks that the second Palladius was not called Patricius until the seventh century; the author of "Peculiarities of Culdeism,"† argues that the first Palladius, whose mission failed, was the only Patrick; he seeks to show in two articles ("Palladius Restitutus," *Brit. Mag.*) that the gloriously successful mission of Succat or Succetus Patricius (Patrick) was a pious invention of Columba's; but he does not, it seems to me, prove his case.

The *Book of Armagh*, which was written or compiled by Aidus in 678, is sometimes called the *Book of the Canons of St. Patrick;* it contains much matter respecting the Saint; it comprises an anonymous Life of Patrick and his "acts and sayings," also the *Life and Acts* of St. Patrick, collected by Tirechan,

* I am not, of course, ignoring the fact that later criticism has rendered the belief in the authorship of the fourth Gospel by the "beloved disciple" untenable.

† Herbert. See *British Magazine*, vols. xxv., xxvi., xxvii.

Bishop of Meath, and taken from the mouth of Ultan, whose pupil he was.* The *Book of Armagh* also contains a collection of memoranda from various sources, and an account by Aidus of his authorities; then follows the *Confession* of St. Patrick, ending with the words: "Thus far . . . . . Patrick wrote with his own hand," after which follows the statement that he was translated to the heavens on the seventeenth of March. There follows upon this a letter from St. Jerome, a collection of passages wherein the four Gospels agree, a statement of the contents of the Gospels, and lastly the prologues and arguments of Pelagius. Aidus was dissatisfied with his own work; he says, in his summary of his authorities, that he finds it difficult to write what was evidently an oral tradition; he says his knowledge is small, his authors doubtful, his memory treacherous, and the common tradition of the country against him.

So far I have chiefly dwelt on the views of commentators, and on the evidence of St. Patrick having lived and worked in the early British Church. Now let us turn to the recorded circumstances of his life and birth. There are various accounts of his parentage, birth, childhood, captivity, escape, mission and miracles. All of these agree that St. Patrick was once a slave in Ireland, to which country he was carried at the age of sixteen. In the Life to which I have already referred, of which Tirechan, Bishop of Meath, was the author, it is said that Patrick's name was originally Succat (a British name); he was also called Cothirthac† because he "served in four houses of the magi," having been sold to four brethren, one of whom, Milcho, was a magician.

In the Life of St. Patrick translated by Mr. Whitley Stokes from the *Book of Lismore*, it is said that the Saint had four names, and "such was the zeal of the service in which Patrick abode that each of the four households [in which he served] supposed that it was to it alone he was a servant." This Life states that "of the Britons of Ail, Cluade was his father, Concess his mother, and in Nemptor was he born." Milcho, the magician, set Patrick to keep pigs; he was a swineherd during

* A translation of Tirechan's *Life* is published in *Irish Antiquarian Researches.*

† *Ceathar* = four; *tigh* = a house.

four years. At the end of this time he had a vision in which an angel (Victor) visited him as he slept on a mountain,* saying to him: "Your ship is ready, rise and walk." Patrick was twenty-two when he thus escaped after six years of slavery; he is reported to have travelled through Gaul and Italy and through the "islands of the Terrene sea," in one of which he spent thirty years.

In the *Confession of St. Patrick*, the Saint says that after his first escape from Ireland he "again suffered captivity," but how or where he does not tell us. He says he returned from his slavery in Ireland to his parents in Britain; there he had a vision of a man, Victorinus, who brought him letters. He heard the voices of "the brethren in the wood of Focluti," saying to him: "We entreat thee, holy youth, to come and walk among us." In his epistle to Coroticus, the Saint mentions his parentage; he says he was of the Patrician order, which seems to show he was a Roman not a Briton; his father, he says, was a decurion. In the account of St. Patrick given by St. Eleran, the Saint is said to have been seven, not six, years in slavery; he is represented as receiving his call to Gaul two years after his escape. Eleran gives the place of his birth as Nemthur† in Armorican Gaul. According to yet another account Patrick was born at Banave, by the Tyrrhenian Sea.

In the Life written by Joscelinus‡ great stress is laid upon the miracles of the Saint, especially those of his childhood. Joscelinus, writing later than other biographers, does not appear to me to use the mystical technical terms, if I may so describe them, which are noticeable in earlier accounts. He says that Patrick, escaping from Ireland, went to France, and became a monk under Martin of Tours; there he remained during eighteen years, after which he went to Rome for instruction; thence he went to Justus on an island of the Tyrrhene Sea, whence he received a "little staff," given to Justus by Christ Himself.§

* I shall comment later upon the various noteworthy points in this history of the Saint.

† Stuart gives this: *Turris Cœlestis* = the Holy Tower.

‡ Joscelinus was a monk of Furness; he wrote in the seventeenth century; he lays stress upon Patrick's "instruction in Rome."

§ It will be noticed that this statement seems to imply a belief in the early Church that the Master communicated with and instructed His followers for many years after His departure from the earth

Joscelinus says that Pope Celestinus I. sent Patrick to Ireland; he sums up the life of the Saint as follows: Died a virgin at 125; was carried into Ireland at 16; spent 6 years in captivity, 18 in France; was 55 years old when he came to Ireland; preached 35 years; spent 35 years in contemplation.

The author of "Palladius Restitutus"* entirely scouts the importance of St. Patrick's mission. He believes the true story of the great Irish saint was the history of the abortive mission of Palladius in 431. Is it likely, he asks, that Germanus and Celestinus sent a Palladius Patricius to Ireland in 431, and another Patricius, whose real name moreover was Succat, in 432? We are asked to believe, says our author, that the first possessed the name of Patricius, the second assumed it; that both missionaries landed at Inverdea, and both found the Pagan king, Nath, ready to oppose them. The second Patricius was named by a British name and came from Nemthor; Gildas also, like Succat, came from Nemthor, so that we have two apostles of Ireland from a place, an obscure place, on the frontier of the Picts and Cumbrians.

Gildas† of Nemthor, according to the Welsh *Triads*, reorganised Bardism in Wales; he also came as a Christian missionary to Ireland. Herbert apparently thinks that this Gildas established what was unsuccessfully attempted by Palladius. The second Patrick he regards as an invention of Columba, whom he views as an upholder of secret rites, and one who blended Druidism with Christianity.

Herbert traces the history of Palladius as the true Patrick; he seems to think that the story of Patrick's sojourn in Gaul and Italy is the tale of "deacon Palladius," the opposer of Pelagianism, whose mission to Ireland failed. But if this was so, it is strange that Aidus incorporated the writings of Pelagius with those of Patrick when he compiled the *Book of Armagh*. Herbert thinks that this true Patricius sojourned, as is reported, at Lérins, and then went to Capua, where he, before his mission, "saw God" on a hill by the sea called Arnon, Hermon, or Morian. Either this

* This is Herbert, who is greatly opposed to the Culdees.

† Gildas is a title, not a proper name. Gilda Dé = Servant of God. It seems to denote that Gildas, who reorganised the Bards, and visited Ireland at Bride's request, was a Culdee.

Palladius, whose mission failed, or Succatus Patricius is to be identified with Patricius of Nola, who is honoured, like the Irish Saint Patrick, on March 17th. Herbert expresses himself very strongly upon the question of the identity of Patrick; he is an opponent of the Culdees, he accuses them of human sacrifice, and disbelieves in the existence of Succat. However, it is certain that in the ancient *Leabhar Breac*, or *Speckled Book*, the original name of Patrick is given as Succat and he is said to have been born at Nemthor* 372 A.D.

It will be seen by the foregoing that it is not possible by historical means to determine the identity and place of birth of the Saint. It is certainly strange that there should have been two missionaries of the name of Patricius, and that they should have been sent to Ireland on succeeding years. Strange that one should have utterly failed, and the other, the year after, should have been triumphantly successful. It is still more astonishing that Bede does not mention Patrick, and Adamnán should dismiss him with three words.

It would, however, be the greatest marvel of all if no personality lay behind the mass of legend, the universal belief concerning the Irish apostle. As I have already said, the question arises in my mind: Was Patrick orthodox? Does the fact that he, like Gildas, is said to have been "born at Nemthor," mean that he received instruction or a mystical "birth" there? Did both these missionaries represent a certain School of mystic Christianity, perhaps Gnostic in its character?†

According to one account, Patrick received his visit from Victorinus in Britain after he had returned to his parents, presumably at Nemthor.‡ Did Patrick, like Gildas, reorganise the

* In Britain. Another author places Nemthor, which he spells Nemthur, in Gaul.

† There are curious allusions to mystic "deaths" in some of the old Irish MSS. In a seventh century MS., to which Miss Stokes refers in her book, *Three Months in the Forests of France* (App. IV.), three martyrdoms are mentioned: white, grey, red. In the first the man parts with all he loves and embraces poverty; in the second he renounces his passions (an inner, not external martyrdom); in the third he is "crucified with Christ, and is slain for His sake."

‡ The fact that Nemthor is translated "Holy Tower," is striking, and, it seems to me, confirms my view. Quetzalcoatl, the "Christ" of the Ancient New World, is born in the "Holy City" of a Virgin Mother. There are many indications of the use of technical phrases in the Irish MSS. Thus Mr. Whitley Stokes speaks of the "intentional word puzzles" in the *Amra* of Columcille. The phrase *aes foirfe*, or "perfect folk," is used in the *Life of Senan*. Findchua is, after baptism, called the "perfect child."

old faith, and blend with it a mystic and inner Christian teaching? This is the accusation brought by Herbert against Columba, whose birth Patrick is said to have foretold. The attitude of Patrick towards the Bards seems to have been that of a friend; the "poets and magicians" were readily converted by him.

There is a curious old MS., a translation of which will be found in the *Silva Gadelica*, called the *Colloquy of (or with) the Ancients*. Its age, either as an oral tradition or as an original MS. production, cannot be proved. The copy to which I refer belongs to the fourteenth century. It is a *Colloquy* supposed to take place between Patrick the Saint and Caoilte the Fenian hero, whose life is assumed to have been preserved for 150 years after the battle which destroyed the bulk of the Fenian band. That which is chiefly interesting about the MS. is the attitude adopted by Patrick towards the aged hero, and Caoilte's response. Patrick shows the utmost courtesy and affection towards the "ancient," while Caoilte displays reverence for, and eagerness to learn from, the Saint. As Mr. Nutt has pointed out, the later MSS. show an entirely different spirit. Patrick is harsh and arrogant; the Pagan warriors are bitter and defiant; the whole tone is changed; the playfulness, the gentleness, the courtesy, the kindly interest of the one in the experiences of the other, have entirely vanished. Patrick is a bigoted and cruel slave-driver in the later MSS., imposing hard conditions, terrifying, and preaching pedantically to the remnant of the Pagans. In the older MS., the *Colloquy*, he is full of sympathy and entirely lacking in fanaticism. He fears to waste time in hearing the tales of Caoilte, but his guardian angels not only bid him listen, but cause the old hero's stories to be "written on the tabular staves of poets," and thus preserved. "Success and benediction, my soul," says the genial Irish Saint to Caoilte, "That was a good tale. Where is Brogan the scribe?" It seems to me that we have here a, perhaps allegorical, record of the linking of old and new forms; Patrick strives to prevent the old lore* from being lost.

* I cannot enter into a full analysis of the *Colloquy* for lack of space; it seems to me that it deals with the history of a race, not of a man; perhaps it may be the story of certain processes of creation.

It is true that Bede is silent with regard to Patrick; this is strange, but it must be remembered that Bede was orthodox; it is possible he might preserve silence when one who held dangerous views was in question. Adamnán, who wrote the Life of Columba in order to enhance the glories of Iona, and dismisses Patrick with three words, had conformed to Rome. Is it possible that the first Patricius (Palladius) was rejected by the Christians of Ireland because he did not know the inner truths of his Faith, which, even then, were held to be heresies? Is it possible that Succat Patricius (St. Patrick) was received because he was initiated into the inner mysteries at Nemthor, because he had knowledge that was recognised alike by the ancient Saints of Ireland, and the chiefs of the orders of the Fili? Was he, in fact, a teacher of the Gnosis, and therefore held to be heretical by the Roman Church of the early centuries?

Later writers, such as Joscelinus, take pains to tell us how Succatus Patricius "went to Rome" for teaching. Older orthodox chroniclers disregard him; those who write his praise are members of the Church which was accused of heresy. Nothing is more striking than the curious freedom from narrowness and sectarianism to be observed both in the *Colloquy* and in another MS. in praise of Columba, written by the chief Ollamh, Dallán mac Forgaill, after the death of the Saint.*

Whether Succat Patricius "went to Rome for instruction" or not, I think it probable he went to Italy; Irish saints were great travellers; the leading Culdees travelled and founded monasteries both in France and Italy. It is very likely Patrick was, as is reported, at Lérins; it is very likely that he is venerated as St. Patricius of Nola. As for his "seeing God on a mountain" before his mission, the phrase probably conveys a truth. Those who have studied Mr. Mead's translations of the writings of Hermes Trismegistus will understand the words to imply that Patrick was an initiate; that he was, by this statement, asserted to be on the Path before he went as a missionary to Ireland.

Tirechan makes use of another significant phrase when he

* This is the *Amra Coliumb Chille*, translated by Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, 1899.

tells of the arrival of Patrick in Ireland; he says that the Saint "went up from the sea at sunrise." I know that it may very well be said that this is wresting a very simple statement of an ordinary occurrence to the meaning which my preconceived ideas prompt me to place upon it. I freely grant that this would be so if the phrase stood alone, but when the matter is examined further I believe we shall find that it does not do so.

Soon after the landing of Patrick he received as his disciple a young boy, Benignus, who was subsequently his first bishop. Benignus is spoken of as being the son of Patrick, by a writer who appears to think that the Saint was his father in the ordinary relationship implied by the word. Patrick was an ascetic celibate; Benignus was his son "in the Lord." Patrick baptised him, and gave him the "new birth."* The use of the word "son" or "child" by the spiritual teacher to the pupil, has, it seems to me, a very definite meaning in all mystic schools.

Patrick, after baptising Benignus, went to the court of King Leoghaire on Tara Hill; there he lighted the Paschal fire at the same season at which fires were extinguished and re-kindled according to Druidic rites. This we know because Leoghaire the Pagan was observing fire-ceremonies at the same time that they were being observed by Patrick the Christian. The action of Patrick offended the king, because it was the royal right to kindle the holy fire and Patrick anticipated the action of Leoghaire. Nevertheless Leoghaire and his court seem to have accepted Patrick as one greater than the king. It was on this occasion that the Saint received the daughters of Leoghaire, saying: "Unless ye taste of death ye cannot see the face of Christ"; after which he gave them "the sacrament of death," which has led modern writers to accuse him of human sacrifice. This hint at the liberation of the converts from the physical body adds to the significance of the statement that Patrick went up from the sea "at sunrise"; the reader will be aware it is said that in Egypt, and also in Druidic rites, the soul of the candidate

* The reader will remember that throughout the Sermons of Hermes, the Master addresses Tat as "son" and "child." The monks of Columba were addressed by him as "little children," the phrase which is used so freely by St John

for initiation returned to the body at sunrise; the body was carried out of the chamber in which it had lain, in order that the rays of the rising sun might fall upon it. It seems to me also that the phrase may have an inner and mystic, as well as a purely physical, significance.

All the *Lives* of Patrick are filled with accounts of his "miracles." He is represented as fasting forty days and nights upon the mountain Cruachan Aigli, beset by devils in the form of birds.* He is said to have fought with and worsted magicians, and to have raised the dead. Even in the days of his slavery he is asserted to have converted the son and daughter of his master, the magician Milcho. This magician, despite the fact that he was not converted, saw "the mouth of my son filled with fire; and my son filled the lips of my daughters and they were all consumed to ashes, and their ashes enlivened many, and fire issued from their mouths in flakes like the flight of birds."†

In the *Confession* the saint refers to his temptations by Satan; he says that in his sleep, "Satan strongly tempted me, which I shall remember as long as I shall be in this body"; at last in the extremity of his temptation he was released "by the splendour of the sun." In the same *Confession* he gives a Creed, in which he uses the phrase "through Whom all things were made"; this phrase is used in the attempt to express the work of the Logos in the building of form; Miss M. Stokes‡ says St. Patrick taught the doctrine of the Trinity; she also refers to the Würzburg glosses upon some Irish MSS., in these the Holy Ghost is said to be *septiform*.

St. Patrick's inner spiritual experiences are partly described in his *Confession*. He speaks of an inward voice which he heard praying within his heart. "Again," he says, "I perceived him praying in me, and he was as if within my body." The Saint marvels greatly who this may be; he hears at last the words: "He who gave thee life, the same is before thee who speaks in thee." The inward presence of "the Christ in the heart," the "Man

* Let me draw attention to this statement in which the experience of Patrick is paralleled with the Gospel story of the Christ.

† This extraordinary symbolical vision is given in Tirechan's *Life*, to which I have already referred.

‡ *Six Months in the Apennines*. (London; 1892.)

the size of a thumb," could not be more clearly taught than it is here taught by Patrick. He shows quite unmistakably that he believes the Self which gives life to be the very self of man. Patrick's *Confessions* are a mere fragment and give no great account of his work; but we learn from other sources the numerous activities in which he engaged. He travelled greatly and founded many churches; he is said to have founded Armagh College, and seems to have been readily accepted as a teacher by the learned class. He strove to convert his old master, Milcho, who consumed himself and his household with fire, on the approach of Patrick.

The great Irish Saint is described as humble and sweet in manner, very learned and versed in four languages, besides Greek. He was eagerly received by St. Bride, who hastened to hear him preach. While he discoursed she slept, to the scandal of the congregation, but Patrick called upon her, in sleep, to tell of her heavenly visions. St. Bride complied; whereat the Saint applied to her the text: "I sleep, but my heart waketh." This tale of the full consciousness of St. Bride during the sleep of her body is interesting; in fact, her whole history is of interest, as even the slightest sketch of the recorded life of this "Mary of the Gael" will show.

St. Bride was born in slavery; like Patrick, she was enslaved by a magician; she was, moreover, of illegitimate birth. Her master, the magician, made her a cowherd. The food upon which he fed her sickened Bride; she was unable to eat it. The magician, perceiving this, cried repentantly, "I am unclean." He ceased to feed Bride upon the fare which revolted her; he gave her to drink of the milk of a white cow; she, no longer fed upon the magician's meat, converted him; whereupon he set her free.

In the next paper I will put forward my tentative theory with regard to the lives of these Saints.

I. HOOPER.

THOUGHTS FROM THE AITAREYA UPANIṢHAD

Suggested by the First Chapter of Dr. E. Röer's Prose Translation

One was, the Self, before, beyond all else.
He was all Thought—and by His Thought came all:
The Cosmic Spheres of Space, Light, Land and Sea
Stood forth, first-born of Mind.
Next, o'er the waters
Thought brooding, drew from them the elements
Wherewith to shape a Universal Model:
Yea, from the fire of that high contemplation,
A type divine in human guise was fashion'd;
And from each part of this full-natur'd Being
Burst forth all powers—subordinate to be,
Yet gods—presiding o'er this lower world.
Thought brooding o'er this Universal Man,
The mouth burst forth, e'en from an egg as 'twere,
And from the mouth came speech, and fire from speech;
Then nostrils, eyes, ears, skin and heart appeared,
And every death and life creating organ:
From them came breath, sight, hearing, hair and mind,
All vital change, and powers of generation;
From these, in turn, all universal nature—
The wind, the sun, the quartered realm of space,
All plants, and herbs, with giants of the forests,
The moon, and death, and life-creating waters;
(These all are gods, o'er worlds and men presiding).
Thus every part of this the first-born Son
Was shaped by Him from Whom all power proceeds;
And all was seen exceeding fair and good!

Now all the powers willed thus into existence
Were brought within the region of this world;
The which the Primal Thinker had subjected
To hunger and to thirst's assailment sure.
These, then, within themselves knew thirst and hunger,
And said, "We need a certain sphere of rest
Wherein abiding we may be sustained
By food befitting!"
So Mind Supreme
Caused animals forthwith to be evolved,
Wherein the powers might choose a habitat;
He brought a cow, and then a horse before them,
"These verily"—they said—"may not suffice us,
To shew forth all our varied energies!"
So then He brought to them a man, fair-fashion'd,
Whereat they cried aloud in wonderment—
"Well done, in truth; man is a thing well formed!"
Then every power according to his station
Bade He to enter in the man straightway;
Thus fire, becoming speech, the man's mouth entered;
Wind in his spreading nostrils came as breath;
The sun, becoming sight, his eyeballs entered,
As hearing came the quarters to his ears;
The herbs, and stately regents of the forest,
Soft down becoming, entered in the skin;
The moon, becoming mind, his heart then entered,
And death, as changing, vitalising power,
Entered within the inward, hidden reins,
And water too, as germs of birth and life.

Then thirst and hunger came to plead with Him
Who had to every power its part apportioned;
"Wilt Thou prepare a place for us?" they said.
"In all those deities shall be your portion,
I make you now partakers with each one,"
He said; (for that in truth by means of hunger
And of thirst the powers were moved to seek their lot
In all, but chief in man—of all the heir).
He Who these worlds and world-protectors now
From thought had thus unfolded, furthermore

By fire of contemplation caused to spring
To life a form, whose death should satisfy
The universal need of every power ;
Which being come to birth, in truth was Food.

* * * *

This seizing on, the universal model
Became the food-consumer, inly changing
Food for his own use, and growing strong thereby.
Whereat the Soul Supreme, in contemplation,
Took thought: "This body which My Self hath made
To live by food, without Me could but cease!
I will e'en enter it a second way,
That higher is than food—the body's life ;
(Yet truly all things I My Self pervade,
Though speaking be by speech, by breath though breathing,
Though sight by eye, and by the ear though hearing,
Though feeling, thinking, and the vital powers
Be all by touch, and mind, and vital organs,
Yet I—the Self—through these, and all else, work).

Still—I will enter in a special way,
Will penetrate the body by a door
That shall become the doorway of division,
For therein individual souls are born."
(This is the way that leadeth souls to bliss ;
Who walk therein return to Him—the Self.)
Thus entering in, the Soul Supreme becomes
The individual soul in all men dwelling,
And in all things that conscious live on earth :
Dwelling within the eye, whence things are seen
That are without, around, and in the mind,
Reflecting all things seen ; and in the heart,
Feeding on all, and growing by these things.

The soul, when born, regarded every element,
And found no other as distinct from it—
(For soul is all—and only soul is true) :

Soul saw, and knew the universal world
To be as 'twere the body of the One
Supreme and only One; and, "Brahm in me
I see," he said, "and Brahm in all things else!"

* * * *

The Self *is* Brahm—and Brahm *is* all. . . . Who this
Hath learned, desireth not this lower world,
But soaring heavenward, is deathless grown.

EDITHA CLARKSON.

THE YOGA THAT IS PAIN-DESTROYING

For a Muni who is seeking Yoga, *action* is called the means; for the same Muni when he is enthroned in Yoga, *serenity* is called the means.

United to Buddhi, one abandoneth here both good and evil deeds therefore cleave thou to Yoga; Yoga is *skill in action*.

Perform action dwelling in union with the Divine, renouncing attachments, and balanced evenly in success and failure; *equilibrium* is called Yoga.

Yoga *killeth out all pain* for him who is regulated in eating and amusement, regulated in performing actions, regulated in sleeping and waking.

BHAGAVAD GÎTÂ, vi. 3, ii. 50, ii. 48, vi. 17.

THERE are many systems of "Yoga," practised for a variety of ends, but so far as the writer is able to understand, one only is worth the serious attention of Europeans. The others are based on suffering and ascetic excesses, with the object of attaining "powers" for the personality; they are essentially selfish and can only end in satiety. Apologists say that they at any rate strengthen the will, and direct the attention away from the physical plane of life, and so forth; but the writer believes that ultimately it will be found that all forms of Yoga which involve suffering in any vehicle of consciousness are fundamentally im-

moral. No matter what fine motives may be put forward in justification of self-torture, it is obvious that pain is Nature's danger-signal, which warns the self that the vehicle involved is out of harmony with its environment. Consequently any practice which involves suffering is a cause of discord. This must be injurious to the ego in whose vehicle of consciousness it exists; and since all egos are essentially one, the injury must also affect "that united Spirit of Life which is the true Self." Hence these painful forms of Yoga belong to those forces which retard evolution, not to those which aid it. They can very safely be left entirely alone.

On this matter, Râmakṛishṇa, the Indian sage, who had had considerable experience, spoke with no uncertain voice. He said: "Visit not miracle workers. They are wanderers from the path of truth. Their minds have become entangled in the meshes of psychic powers, which lie in the way of the pilgrim towards Brahman as temptations. Beware of these powers and desire them not."

It is a matter of experience that the multifarious details of the physical plane, and their consequent sensations and feelings, are quite distracting enough. Clairvoyance and clairaudience and the other powers of the personality can only open up fresh realms of details, and also must tend to intensify the personality by chaining the attention more strongly down to that point of view. Since the personal point of view is invariably coloured, *that* cannot be the way to gain the sight by which the things-that-are are seen as they really are.

The writer by no means wishes to depreciate these "occult gifts" when they come naturally to persons who would probably never have been able to believe without "seeing." We owe them a great debt of gratitude, for they have given us a number of details of the higher planes which, taken together, enable a rational theory to be formulated, which when understood explains life better than any current religion or philosophy.

But it was once said: "Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed." If belief means seeing the sense of an idea and trying to put it into practice, then there are not a few to whom this beatitude may be fairly applied. It is for them

that the lower forms of Yoga are merely a waste of time, if nothing worse.

Now the Yoga, of which the *Bhagavad Gîtâ* treats, is as different from the postures and performances of the lower forms as is light from darkness. Only in one place does it even mention any physical method, and there it merely prescribes the traditional position of oriental meditation.

In the verses set at the head of this paper the essentials of the system are summed up, as far as the writer can understand. It is one which all can practise with benefit, for it makes for perfection in thought, feeling and action, and puts an end to pain. Its keynote is moderation, and it cultivates the power of adjustment of the lower vehicles to any environment, by the attainment of perfect skill in action. This gained, equilibrium or poise results; and all impacts from without are accommodated to without jar or friction, just as a well-balanced vane swings before all winds though immovably fixed upon its base.

There are two forms of equilibrium—static and dynamic, that of a stone at the bottom of a pond, and of a spinning top; comparable in life to that of the bed-ridden paralytic and of the poised athlete ready to meet with instant movement any force brought to bear upon him. The writer believes that the *Bhagavad Gîtâ* uses the term in the latter sense, for its Yoga of equilibrium is obtained by the Yoga of skill in action. Just so is the perfect balance of the athlete produced by training, by the acquisition of skill in action; and such a man has put an end to external pain by his perfect adjustment to his environment, whereby the incidence of injury is avoided.

The balance of the vehicles of impulse and of thought is precisely analogous. The astral body, trained to feel with perfect nicety neither too much nor too little, transmits acute perceptions only to the consciousness, and conveys back to the physical body only impulses directed by right reason. Hence all impulses from without are instantly controlled, and the jangle which causes suffering is put an end to. The mental body again, perfectly balanced by constant practice in true thought, instantly adjusts itself to any new idea which enters it; such an idea, if true, is fitted into its place as indicated by the principles of

things, and error, the suffering of the mind, is put an end to by instant discrimination and rejection. So the ideal balance is reached, and the inner eye is opened on the Great Creation. But that skill in action which leads to balance, has to be cultivated, "united to Buddhi, and dwelling in union with the Divine."

This is where the real difficulty arises, for to be united to Buddhi is to have unified the consciousness with that of the ego, for the writer believes that the ego is really the buddhic vehicle in process of evolution. This unified position is that of the detached mind, the impersonal point of view, for to detach the consciousness from the personality is to unify it with the ego. To take it is to have "retreated to that inner fortress whence the personal man is viewed with impartiality," as *Light on the Path* puts it. We are there told further: "Not till the bonds of personality are loosed can the profound mystery of Self begin to be seen. Not till you stand aside from it will it in any way reveal itself to your understanding. Then, and not till then, can you grasp and guide it."

It is obvious, that as long as we identify ourself with our personality, we must inevitably be swept about by its unreasoning impulses, and its semi-reasonable emotions. But the acquisition of this abstract point of view is impossible for those who "desire desires"; only when the Self has tried them all round over and over again, and found them all wanting, does the time arrive for it to retreat into the inner place of peace. Thence a man reviews his personal pains and pleasures, his sorrows and joys, and by degrees calms down the surging emotions and regulates the uncontrolled actions which bring suffering and pain into his consciousness.

The writer believes that there is no virtue in pain and suffering in themselves, they are simply indications to the self of what to avoid. If their causes are not avoided they have failed in their function to educate the self, and the consciousness will continue to be distracted by their presence, till it sees the wisdom of bringing its vehicles into harmony with their environment.

Two possible ways of so harmonising are apparent. The

self may leave its vehicles uncontrolled, and try to modify the environment; so men retreat into caves and cloisters, and lead futile existences without experience and without knowledge. Or the self may so discipline its vehicles that they are balanced or poised under the impacts of the whole three worlds, and consequently shrink from nothing. The whole of life is met unflinchingly, and the whole duty of man done, not only without pain and without mistake, but also with satisfaction and success. Which method is more likely to be in accordance with the plan of evolution is a matter for the individual judgment.

But to put this Yoga by skill and balance into practice, union with the Divine, this detached attitude of mind, must be established. How can it be done?

One possible way, the writer thinks, is by the exercise of the imagination. We accept the Theosophic theory of reincarnation and karma as the most reasonable explanation of the whence and whither yet put forward. We then imagine ourself to be the eternal reincarnating ego, who has created the present personality as his organ of experience and experiment. We realise that we have had many such personalities before, and shall have many more in the future; while the deeds done and undone, the loves and the hates, the joys and the sorrows, are carried on from one incarnation to the next. If we train ourselves habitually to take this standpoint, and review our present life from thence, we shall find that things in general will take on a very different complexion.

We shall see that there can be no effects without adequate causes, and those effects which apparently are uncaused are reasonably referred to a former life. All causes have been set going by ourself at one time or another. If someone hates us, what have we done to cause it? We have injured him in some way or he could not hate us. Obviously it is our fault, and the sooner we repair it the better. So with the whole of life, we have made our bed and must lie on it; it will be wise to make the best of it. Many mountains will become molehills through this attitude.

When we can trace the effect to the cause, we are warned for the future. We are like the American politician who said:

"I have made as many mistakes as most men, but I never make the same mistake twice." Pain is the result of unskilled action, cease from such activity and pain must be put an end to.

From this abstract standpoint we shall be balanced evenly between success and failure, for we shall see that experience is what we are here to gain, and that to meet failure with fortitude is to succeed, while to meet success with elation is to fail. In either case we shall have gained knowledge. We shall also abandon good and evil deeds, for we shall see that a given act is good or bad according to the stage of evolution of the actor; when all our acts are designed with the sole idea of helping things along, "desiring the maintenance of mankind," good and bad will for us cease to exist as specific qualities of action. In any case we shall have done what we could.

This impersonal point of view is naturally exceedingly difficult to maintain; the personality is continually getting in the light with its vanity and foolishness; but by constant practice, we are told, even in this form of action skill can be attained, and ultimately serenity reached.

Since in all men at this stage of struggle there is a tendency to favour the passive or the active method, those to whom helping seems best should never forget to learn by experience, while those to whom learning seems best should never forget to help when possible. Both "studious observation of life and self-sacrificing labour" are necessary for him who would "enter the way." But from the purely abstract point of view there is no self-sacrifice and no studiousness in the matter. When the ego realises itself as a centre of consciousness, and understands that the whole solar system and all in it is intended to evolve such centres of consciousness in the Great Mind, it must become obvious to him that there is nothing else to be done but to try to understand more and more, and to try to help the other centres to understand also. So the Great Process will be helped along; for the ego will see that he learns by trying to help, and helps by trying to learn; and that his personality is the organ of experience and experiment with which he works. To realise this is to enter "the service which is perfect freedom."

The ego, so using his personality, will also see that the way

to help other personalities is not by gratifying their desires but by clearing their minds. To go about yielding to the personal selfishness of others is to intensify it; to give them clear ideas is to open in their souls windows on Eternity. Having taken up for a moment this impersonal attitude it will be of interest to consider in a little detail the attainment of balance by the acquisition of skill in action, in the several vehicles of the embodied self.

It is abundantly evident that the perfect skill in action which results in physical balance, does destroy pain by always avoiding injury. The child learning to walk continually falls, and hurts himself. So does the drunken man, and the preoccupied or hurried person. But the ordinary wide-awake man walks the world unhurt from year to year. It is quite extraordinary, when one thinks of it, how very seldom one is even touched in the crowded streets; by long training people learn to pass by mutual avoidance. If one is elbowed it is probably by a country-man who has not acquired the art of balance in activity.

Having attained equilibrium as a whole by means of the skill in action of the muscular system, the next step is to attain that equilibrium of the different organs which results in health. Each of the organs must be trained to fulfil its functions perfectly and none should be neglected. Such food and drink as the personal and racial experience indicates should be taken in reasonable moderation; adequate air and warmth must be provided by reasonable attention to lodging and dress; reasonable exercise and rest; reasonable avoidance of things which experience has shown to be harmful. "Regulated in eating and amusement, in performing actions, in sleeping and waking." If we performed this Yoga we should literally put an end to all pain arising in the body from disease, exception being made for painful conditions due to past excesses in this life or in another.

The final perfection of this Yoga in the physical body consists in the perfect adjustment of the organs of observation and of action. The sense of smell must be trained to report to the self the exact quality of the stimulus which affects it. It must be balanced between hyper-sensitiveness and the reverse. So

the presence in the environment of matter either healthy or unhealthy is detected, and the surroundings are either modified, or the self is warned to remove its physical vehicle out of harm's way. So pain, by prevention, is again destroyed. The sense of taste has to be equilibrated in a similar way; what is wholesome is discovered, and the unwholesome avoided.

So the senses of sight, touch and hearing have to be trained till skill in action results in their perfect adjustment to the environment. When all the organs of sense have thus been accurately trained and so balanced between hyper-sensitiveness and insensitiveness, the power of acute sensation is acquired, and the physical body can be used by the self as the organ by which knowledge of the physical world is gained.

The attainment of perfect adjustment, or balance, through skill in action is even more manifest in the case of the organs of action. Apart from the balance and poise of the body as a preliminary necessity, the continual practice of the hand in any art results in the perfect balance between the extensor and flexor muscles; so the organ becomes the facile instrument of the creative mind, the master-hand becomes synonymous with perfection of technique.

Similarly the perfect balance of the muscles of the tongue and larynx is essential to perfect articulation, and so to all the arts of oratory and declamation. Stammerers and stutterers are those in whom the self has imperfect control of its vehicle of expression, and who, consequently, are debarred from such forms of manifestation.

Such examples as the foregoing might be taken from every department of human activity. It is evident that this Yoga of poise by skill is based on the most careful and assiduous training of the body, both in sensation and action. It is only by labour that the organ of "experience and experiment" can be perfected for the use of the self.

The next step is the application of the system to the astral body, the vehicle of impulse. Already the wants and appetites will have been equilibrated, since these depend on physical conditions. Physical balance has become automatic, and the consciousness has so been set free for other work. Only under

exceptional circumstances, such as accidents, do we have to attend to it.

The working of the various physical organs has also become automatic and sub-conscious; only when any organ is out of order does it intrude upon consciousness, and arrest the attention by pain. The causes of normal wants and appetites having been arranged for and regulated in the Yoga of the physical body, by adequate and rational ordering of the life, these sensations also cease to trouble. So the attention is set free to make use of the acute sensations by which experience is gathered, and of the organs of action by which the self manifests its creative powers.

The final balancing of this vehicle is with respect to astral vibrations coming from the personalities of others. This is the emotional nature, which has to be disciplined into skill in action and so balanced. It is plain that skill in action of the organ of feeling must result in perfect adjustment to the environment. We must learn to feel with adequate accuracy, neither too much nor too little. Emotionalism and callousness are a pair of opposites, one cannot exist without the other, as a study of every-day experience demonstrates.

This power of accurate feeling is called acute perception, and is gained by persistent control and analysis of the emotions. The self must form the habit of analysing each emotion and comparing cause with effect, saying for example: "Was not this excitement out of proportion to its cause? Was not that cause worthy of keener interest. Was I emotional in the one case or callous in the other?" In this way impulses and emotions are transmuted into acute perceptions on the passive side, and into perfect good feeling on the active. As with the physical vehicle, so ultimately with the astral, skill in action must result in balance and automatic action take the place of conscious control. So the consciousness will be set free and withdraw into the mental vehicle, its own place. The acute sensations of the physical body are at this stage transmuted, uncoloured, into the acute perceptions of the astral body; these, stripped of the last vestige of personal like or dislike and taken into the vehicle of thought, are the basis of all ideas, first concrete,

then abstract. When all the facts of life are equally interesting as facts, when there is no desire left except to know the truth, then the worlds of manifestation are presented to the ego as they are, and he can use his abstract consciousness, the result of all his incarnations, to discriminate and sort out his present experiences under the headings of the abstract principles to which they belong. An abstract principle carried into the world of form works out into innumerable details; when these details, or facts, are accurately presented to the ego, the corresponding principle is grasped and the whole department of knowledge understood. This condition of mind, the writer believes, results in the attainment of knowledge. To enter the hall of knowledge is to enter the state in which this process becomes possible. That state is the impersonal consciousness. When it is attained the skill in action of perfect unclouded perception results in that serene consciousness which understands the principles and knows the facts of life.

The writer fears that many, attracted by the title of this paper, will have read it with profound disappointment. Is this all? Is the great mysterious Yoga of the East nothing after all but the old, old struggle for perfection? Is there not some marvellous way by which the hill of difficulty can be circumvented; some wonderful Teacher whose magic word will turn us into archangels of power and wisdom? Can we not by renouncing a few physical things which we do not really much care about, and by some "training" from outside, acquire the siddhis of the Arhats, outstrip our fellowmen, scale great heights, become Adepts, Mahâtmâs, Buddhas, Saviours of the World?

It is the writer's conviction that perfection is not bought so cheaply. When the Master of the West was asked an analogous question he said: "Can ye be baptised with the baptism with which I am baptised, and drink of the cup of which I drink?"

The writer believes that this "baptism" is that of impersonality, and this "cup" that of the Divine Wisdom. Impersonality is the outcome of perfect balance of the vehicle of thought, gained through skill in perception and action. Wisdom is the result of the balance of the vehicle of understanding, when pure knowledge and pure love are synthesised. These are the stages on

the way of that evolution of consciousness which is the one thing needful. It may be left to time or accelerated by toil. All else —success in the lower Yoga, powers of any kind, perceptive or creative, all that men strive for in East or West—is in the end vanity and vexation of spirit. The Wise out of their own experience have told the world so from the beginning. The Master of the West knew the way in reality and said: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you."

A. H. WARD.

HOW THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT HAS COME DOWN TO US*

No other documents of antiquity possess such a wealth of MS. copies as the books of the Greek New Testament collection. No less than 3,829 MSS. have been already definitely catalogued, while it is believed that there are some 2,000 still uncatalogued, without taking into account a number of MSS. stored away in monasteries in the East and as yet uninspected and even undiscovered by Western scholars, and also doubtless a number of MSS. still buried in tombs or sand-heaps in Egypt. The vast majority of these MSS., however, are of late date; further, most of them contain only separate portions or separate books, while some of these even are mere fragments.

The most important task of the lower criticism is to arrange and classify this MS. chaos, and the most important factor to guide it in this herculean task is the question of age. MSS. have therefore been divided into Uncials (or Majuscules) and Cursives (or Minuscules), according to the style of writing held to be in use at earlier and later times; but the latest discoveries

* See in the last number "The 'Word of God' and the 'Lower Criticism.'"

in palæography necessitate a reconsideration of this hard and fast division as a reliable criterion of date.

Uncials, literally "inch-high" letters, are capitals. In olden times, as in the present day, these capital unjoined Greek letters were used in inscriptions; they are also supposed to have been used exclusively in MSS. of books of an important or sacred character. But prior to the Christian era—perhaps long prior to it—there was also used for ordinary purposes a cursive or running style, in which the letters were joined together. This running hand has, so far, been generally believed to have found its way into the MSS. of the Bible only in the ninth century. Of the 3,829 catalogued MSS. there are only 127 Uncials to 3,702 Minuscules.

Now as Greek copyists were not accustomed to date their MSS. it is the further task of palæography, or the science of deciphering ancient writings, and determining their dates, etc., to settle the criteria whereby these Uncials and Cursives may be further classified as to date. These criteria are as yet very imperfect, for distinctions based on considerations of the writing being angular or round, upright or sloping, or even sometimes of the punctuation being simple or elaborate, and deductions drawn from the material of which the document is composed, are often exceedingly misleading.

That the style of writing as criterion of date of undated MSS. is largely a matter of private opinion may be seen from a comparative table of the results arrived at by specialists. Thus while Vollert assigns as many of the Uncials as five to the fourth century, von Gebhard assigns but two, while Scrivener will not admit a single Uncial to so early a date, and for the rest of the centuries there is a similar or even greater clash of opinion. Moreover the latest discoveries of dated papyrus MSS. of the first centuries have shown that all prior opinions and tentative canons of judgment on these points have to be entirely revised.

It is equally a question of opinion with regard to material as a criterion of date, and though it is tolerably certain that cotton paper was not employed till the eighth century, parchment and papyrus have no dividing lines, even in Egypt itself. As to the absurd legend that parchment was first used by

Eumenes (197-159 B.C.), king of Pergamum in Asia Minor, surely there were books in the Greek world written on hide of some kind before Eumenes formed his library!

As books became more widely used, however, and the supply of papyrus exhausted in Egypt, parchment grew scarcer and scarcer, so that it became the practice to erase the writing from an old MS. in order to use it for a new work. Such MSS. are called palimpsests or rescripts, and it is often possible in great measure to recover the older writing under the later lettering. Thus a late text may hide the precious remnants of an early document.

Now as in all the early MSS. the writing is continuous, there are no breaks between words or even sentences. Further, as all breathings (or marks of aspiration) and accents are omitted and the punctuation is of the most primitive kind, or even non-existent, the same combination of letters can frequently be read in two, or even more, absolutely distinct ways; we know historically that it was frequently a question with Church teachers as to whether a sentence should be taken interrogatively or otherwise, or how at all the sentences were to be divided.

MSS. may further be classified according to their contents, for it is to be remarked that of all our known Uncials only one (the Codex Sinaiticus) contains the whole of the New Testament complete. A few others, like the Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, were once complete, but are no longer so. The vast majority of MSS. contain only separate portions of the New Testament, or even only separate books. Nor is this surprising, seeing that the New Testament is not a single book but a collection of groups of books and single volumes, which were at first and even long afterwards circulated separately. Thus not only in the MSS. (both Cursive and Uncial) which contain the whole collection, but also to a certain extent in printed editions, there is to be found the greatest variety in the order of the several parts, and of the several books of each part. For instance, the Gospels are found in any and every order. Among the Uncials, while 73 contain the Gospels, only 7 contain the Apocalypse; and of these 73 again only 6 are quite complete. Of the 20 Uncials containing the Pauline Letters only 1 is entirely complete.

Hence, as Professor Nestle says, "it is plain that our resources are not so great, after all, as the number of MSS. given above would lead us to expect."

A word may not be out of place here concerning the four great Uncial MSS. which once contained the whole Bible, both Old and New Testaments. In so doing we append the well-known symbols by which these MSS. are known, but in this connection it should be understood that the letter or number symbols by which the Uncials and Cursives are designated are arbitrary, and not a really assured scientific classification according either to age or importance.

Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ) is so called because it was discovered in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, by Tischendorf; its pages were recovered piecemeal, so to say, after three visits, and not till 1859 did Tischendorf carry off the complete MS. in triumph to St. Petersburg. It dates probably as far back as the fifth century. Besides the books of the Old and New Testaments, it also includes *Barnabas* and *Hermas*, presumably an indication of the early date of its original, a time when the Canon was still fluid. On the other hand, the "corrections" of no fewer than seven hands have been discovered in it. No one knows where the original copy was written, but it is generally ascribed to the West, and even definitely to Rome.

Codex Alexandrinus (A.) is so called because it contains a note saying that it was presented to the library of the Patriarch of Alexandria in 1098. The Codex was sent by the Patriarch of Constantinople to Charles I. in 1628, and is now in the British Museum. It is supposed to belong to the fifth century, and to have been written at Alexandria, the Coptic forms of A and M indicating an Egyptian origin. Thirty-one leaves of the New Testament portion are missing, and it also contains the non-canonical First Letter of Clement of Rome, and a fragment of the so-called Second Letter.

Codex Vaticanus (B.) is one of the greatest treasures of the Vatican, and was placed in the library by Pope Nicolas V., shortly after its foundation. Part of *Hebrews*, I. and II. *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Philemon* and the *Apocalypse* are wanting.

Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (C.) is the most important palimp-

sest, and is now in the National Library, Paris. It has its name from the fact that in the twelfth century thirty-eight treatises of the Syrian Church Father Ephraem (d. 373 A.D.), were written over the original text. Of the N.T. part, I. and II. *Thessalonians*, thirty-seven chapters from the *Gospels*, ten from the *Acts*, forty-two from the *Epistles*, and eight from the *Apocalypse*, have been lost. It is supposed to date from the fifth century, and to have had its origin in Egypt.

Speaking of these four great MSS., Professor Nestle remarks interestingly: "It will be observed that at the present time they are distributed among the Capitals of the great branches of the Christian Church, *viz.*, St. Petersburg (Greek), Rome and Paris (Roman), and London (Anglican)." But he adds significantly: "German scholars have taken a foremost place in their investigation."

Of the remaining Uncial MSS. by far the most important is *Codex Bezæ Cantabrigiensis* (D.). This MSS. was presented by Calvin's friend, Theodore Beza, to the University of Cambridge in 1581. Though it is said to be not older than the sixth century, and though inferior in compass and at present in general repute (for its readings have been so far consistently rejected) to the four above-mentioned, it is now being gradually recognised by independent specialists as surpassing them all in importance. It now contains little more than the *Gospels* (with certain lacunæ) and *Acts*, but originally contained other books as well. The *Gospels* are found in the order *Matthew*, *John*, *Luke*, *Mark*. The great importance of this Codex is that in it "innumerable passages occur . . . where the text of D. differs in the most remarkable manner from that of *all* the Greek MSS. we are acquainted with."

At least nine later hands (? "correctors") can be distinguished in it. But, fortunately, it is accompanied with an old Latin version translated directly from the Greek of the parent MS. Now seeing that Codex D. was discovered at Lyons in the monastery of Irenæus (c. 180 A.D.), and that "its text agrees with the Scripture quotations found in that Father even in the matter of clerical mistakes," it is not only possible but highly probable that the Greek text is derived from the copy of Irenæus himself.

This carries us back to early days (in the writer's opinion to some fifty years only from the autographs) and Codex D., instead of being a mass of "corruption," becomes a MS. of the highest importance. But even so, "we are not at liberty to regard even the oldest of the MSS. as presenting the very form of the New Testament autographs"—not even the copy of an Irenæus.

Now recent papyrus discoveries have shown that "no distinction of time can be drawn between the Uncial and Cursive hands," even of the first centuries. "The sharp line of demarcation, therefore, which has hitherto been drawn between these two classes of MSS. has no real justification in fact."

The earliest editions of the printed Greek text had to be content with "indifferent and late" Minuscules, while the general tendency of intermediate criticism has been to reject Minuscules altogether and base the text on the oldest Uncials exclusively. It is, however, now recognised that the text of a demonstrated late MS., Cursive or even Uncial, "may be derived from a very early source through comparatively few intermediaries, and that it is possible to reconstruct a lost original by means of a comparison of several witnesses." Both on this account, and also on account of the new data acquired for palæographical science by recent papyrus "finds," the Minuscule or Cursive MSS. demand as careful inspection as the Uncials.

We have picked out among the Uncials the four great *éditions de luxe*, so to speak, not because of their proved intrinsic importance, but because they have been hitherto generally regarded as the most precious, and we have referred to Codex D. because of its now proved great critical importance. Of the information given concerning the main Minuscules there is little that can interest the general reader. Those, however, who have seen specimens of Haupt's Bible with its polychrome device for indicating the various strata of the text of the composite books of the Old Testament, may be interested to hear how this device has been also employed in one of the Minuscules (16) in the Paris National Library, though of course for pious and not critical purposes. Codex 16 is written in four colours. The narrative is transcribed in green, the words of Jesus and the Angels are in red and occasionally in gold, the words of the disciples in blue,

while those of the Pharisees, of the people, and of the Devil are written in black! In this connection it is interesting to notice that Ignatius of Loyola, the famous founder of the Society of Jesus, employed a similar conceit in a book of quotations he wrote out in the earliest years of his entrance on the holy life.

Another class of MSS. which till quite recently was even more neglected than the Minuscules, are the Lectionaries, or MSS. containing only those portions (*pericopæ*) of the scriptures read at Church services. Their date is not easy to determine, because in this class of document the Uncial hand was used much later than in others. There are some thousand of these Lectionaries, and though they are of minor importance they can serve to fix the type of text in the provinces to which they belong.

We now pass to our second great source of material for the reconstruction of the text—the early Versions. We have here, of course, nothing to do with the question of the original language of the Sayings of Jesus, nor yet with the further question of the language in which the "sources" of the evangelists were written; all this, enormously important as it is, lies beyond the Greek autographs of the four canonical Gospels. The early Versions are translations from these autographs, or rather at best from early copies of them. The Letters of Paul may have been translated even in the first century, but our main interest is with the Gospels, the very earliest versions of which may at best date back to the middle of the second century.

Of these the most important for the East would be into that form of Aramaic used chiefly in Damascus and Mesopotamia and now commonly known as Syriac. In the West, though Greek was generally understood by the educated (so that when Paul writes to Rome *in Greek* he must have been writing either to aliens or to people of some education)—when we find Christianity in the second century spreading in the south of Gaul, in the north of Italy and north of Africa, there must have been an early need for translation into Latin. So also in the South, early need must have been felt in Egypt, especially up the river, for translation into the vernacular.

With regard to the Syriac versions, of which a wealth of most

valuable MSS. exists, it is to be remarked that the "common" New Testament of the Syrian Church, in all the branches into which it has been divided since the fifth century, even up to the present day, omits the *Antilegomena*, or disputed books, *viz.*, II. *Peter*, II. and III. *John*, *Jude* and the *Apocalypse*, an indication that it goes back to a time and to a region when these books were not reckoned in the New Testament canon. This Peshitto ("simple" or "common") translation has hitherto been called the "Queen of the versions." Of the MSS. of this version at least ten date from the fifth and thirty from the sixth century, a remarkable number considering the paucity of our Greek MSS. of so early a date. It becomes, therefore, a question of great importance to determine when this version was made. Tradition assigns it to the Apostle Thaddæus, and therefore pigeon-holes it with the Matthew and John problems. From Eusebius (c. 325 A.D.), however, we learn that the primitive Church historian Hegesippus (c. 160-180 A.D.) quoted "certain things from the Gospel according to the Hebrews and from the Syriac (Gospel) and particularly from the Hebrew dialect." From this we learn that a Syriac Gospel existed and that it was different from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews;* though whether this Syriac Gospel was our four Gospels, and what is the precise meaning in this connection of the curious phrase "particularly from the Hebrew dialect" remains an enigma.

Now in 1842 a Syriac MS. of the Gospels was brought back from Egypt by Cureton and deposited in the British Museum, the text of which differed considerably from the Peshitto, and in 1894 Mrs. Lewis, after three visits to the Monastery of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai, copied and published the text of yet another MS. closely related to the Curetonian. Both these MSS. are undeniably "very old," and though the question is still an open one, it seems very probable that these versions are earlier than the Peshitto.

The importance of this may be seen by taking an example. The Curetonian and Lewis Syriac preserve the very ancient reading of *Matth.*, i. 16: "Joseph . . . *begot* Jesus the Christ." This reading is preserved by a number of the oldest Latin MSS., but is found in Greek in only four Minuscules. Here, then, in

Syriac from the far East is found a reading preserved in Latin witnesses from the far West, whereas our Greek MSS. would allow us to imagine that "always everywhere and by all" it was handed down as it is orthodoxly believed.

Of other Syriac versions, we possess the text of the revision by Thomas of Heraclea (616-7 A.D.) of a very literal version made in 508 for Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug. And "it is very remarkable that there were MSS. in Alexandria at the beginning of the seventh century which were regarded by Thomas of Harkel as particularly well authenticated, but which deviate in a marked degree from the bulk of our present MSS., and which, especially in the *Acts*, agree almost entirely with Codex D."

Among Syriac Lectionaries, or Evangeliaria, is to be noticed one which, besides many other peculiarities, preserves the name of the robber (*Matth.*, xxvii. 17) as Jesus Barrabas.

We now pass to the Latin versions. The most famous is the Vulgate, the common Bible of the Roman Church from the early Middle Ages onward. This revision was made by Jerome (Hieronymus) at Rome, at the request of Pope Damasus. In 382, Jerome sent the first instalment (the four Gospels) of his gigantic undertaking to Damasus, accompanied with a letter, which began as follows: "Thou compellest me to make a new work out of an old; after so many copies of the Scriptures have been dispersed throughout the whole world, I am now to occupy the seat of arbiter, as it were, and seeing they disagree, to decide which of them accords with the truth of the Greek." There are, he says, "almost as many (Latin) versions as manuscripts."

We learn further from Augustine (354-430 A.D.), who lived in the north of Africa, that there was at this time "an endless variety and multitude of translators," among which he considers the *Italic* version the most faithful. On the ground of this passage all pre-Jeromic versions have been inaccurately classed as *Itala*, but Augustine must have meant by the term a particular version only, most probably that current in northern Italy, Augustine himself being the pupil of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan.

Jerome professes to have made a careful comparison of the Greek MSS. at his disposal, and to have based his revision upon

this collation, but he seems to have inserted new readings from the Greek only in the Gospels, and even in them to have made alteration in the familiar Latin wording of the current Roman version only when a change of meaning was necessary. For the rest of the books he contented himself with improving the grammar and diction.

The revision of Jerome, however, gradually ousted all other competitors, and became eventually the Authorised Version of the Latin Church. But of what version was Jerome's revision? It was most probably the current version at Rome in his time. Now, though the text of Jerome's revision has suffered from much "emendation" throughout the centuries, it is a comparatively easy task to restore the original wording, because we have no less than 8,000 MSS. extant, and some of these are very early. But even so, we have only arrived at *one* pre-Jeromic version emended by Jerome's industry.

The direct materials of the pre-Jeromic versions consist of only 38 MSS. and quotations from early Latin Fathers. Among these, however, are to be found many witnesses to a more immediate tradition of the Greek text than Jerome's readings based on a theologically rather than a historically critical collation of MSS.; the material, though small in bulk, is therefore of vast importance for the textual criticism of the New Testament.

For the South the most important versions are the Egyptian or Coptic, in several dialects. The Bohairic, or Alexandrian, and the Sahidic, or Upper Egyptian, versions are remarkable for the fact that among the Gospels *John* invariably stands first, and the *Apocalypse* is absent. These two versions are based upon quite different Greek originals. Of the Middle Egyptian dialects only fragments are as yet known to exist. Hitherto the Bohairic version has been regarded as the purest, but "a correct edition and a critical application of these Egyptian versions is, next to a fresh examination of the Minuscules, the task of most importance at present for the textual criticism of the New Testament. For the Sahidic version in particular represents a type of text found hitherto almost exclusively in the West, and looked upon as the outcome of Western corruption and licence, whereas it may really bear the most resemblance to the original form. In

the *Acts* especially its agreement with the text of Codex D. is remarkable."

Of the Gothic, Ethiopic, Armenian (in some MSS. of which also *John* precedes the Synoptists, and the *Apocalypse* is absent prior to the twelfth century), the Georgian, Arabic, Persic, Old High German, Anglo-Saxon, Bohemian and Slavonic versions nothing need be said, though they are here and there valuable for the restoration of the original text.

It is, however, to be noticed that it is not in such centres of evolution of theological orthodoxy as Rome and Alexandria that we are to look for the earliest traditions, but in distant regions where what was originally received was held to with greater conservatism.

The third source of our materials consists of quotations found in other books, chiefly the writings of the Church Fathers, which belong to a period earlier than any of our existing codices. The quotations of early hæretical writers have also to be most carefully considered, and also the quotations of the early opponents of Christianity. But all of this material has to be employed with the greatest of caution.

We have to remember in the first place that brief quotations were generally made from memory, owing to the difficulty of looking up passages in bulky MSS. Indeed, the very numerous and striking discrepancies between the text of the many quotations from the "Memoirs of the Apostles," found in the writings of Justin Martyr (c. 150 A.D.), and the now received text of the Gospels have been explained by apologists on this supposition; but all the evidence seems to point to the conclusion that the quotations are accurate and therefore that the text of the "Memoirs" differed widely from any type of the Synoptical documents with which we are acquainted, if, indeed, the "Memoirs" were at all these documents. In longer quotations also it was the custom of indolent scribes to copy only the opening words of a familiar passage followed by a convenient "etc." Indeed, as late as 1872 an Oxford editor, in publishing Cyril of Alexandria's commentary on the fourth Gospel, wrote down in his MS. only the initial and concluding words of the text, and allowed the compositor to set up the rest from the Textus Receptus! In fact all the texts of

the Fathers require most careful editing before they can be used for critical purposes; for the habit of scribes to accommodate the text of biblical quotations to the form most familiar to themselves was so inherently natural, that so far from being conscious of dishonesty they imagined they were correcting errors!

So far this field of textual criticism has been little tilled, for though the patristic writings have been carefully scrutinised in the interests of dogmatic history, especially for the history of the Canon, there is no collection of patristic quotations to elucidate the history of the text.

Turning next to what Professor Nestle calls the "theory and praxis" of N.T. textual criticism, we may, in conclusion, dwell on a few points of special importance. After speaking of the "official recensions" of the text subsequent to the time of Origen, that is from the middle of the third century onwards, Professor Nestle considers the question of recension prior to this epoch, "when activity in this field was more disconnected, and might be said to run wild and unrestrained." He thus continues:

"And there is this further difficulty, that some of the writers who fall to be considered in this period came in later times more or less justly under the imputation of heresy, with the consequence that the results of their labours were less widely disseminated, if not deliberately suppressed. In circumstances like these any attempted revision of the text must have been equally mischievous, whether it proceeded from the orthodox side or from the opposite. That there were *διορθωταί* [*i.e., correctores*] who were supposed to correct the text in the interests of orthodoxy, we have already learned from Epiphanius. Indeed, from our point of view the action of the orthodox correctors must be thought the more regrettable of the two, since the books without a doubt parted at their hands with many vivid, strange, and even fantastic traits of language. Even in the matter of style it seems to me incontestable that it was at their hands that the Gospels received that reserved and solemn tone which we would not now willingly part with, and which can be compared to nothing so much as to those solemn pictures of Christ that we see painted on a golden background in Byzantine churches. For myself, at least, I have not the slightest doubt that the Gospel, and the Gospel par-

ticularly, was originally narrated in a much more vivacious style."

As examples of this greater vivacity and homeliness the following examples are given. The Authorised Version reads (*Matth.*, vi. 8): "Your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask Him"; but Codex D. preserves a closer resemblance to the graphic original in the words "before even ye open your mouth." So also in the Parable of the Barren Fig Tree (*Luke*, xiii. 7): "Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground," says the owner according to the Received Text. But Codex D. reads graphically: "Bring the axe!" And in the answer of the vine-dresser, instead of the Authorised and colourless: "till I shall dig about it and dung it," D. gives back the action in life-like diction: "I will throw in a basket of dung."

The modern textual critic, then, in dealing with a MS. must follow a method of cure far different to the "*correctores*" of antiquity. He must be a skilful physician, knowing all the ailments to which the reproduction of MSS. is subject, before he can restore an ancient scripture to health. In the first place he must decide whether the MS. was dictated or copied, for the injuries to the text will vary considerably in the two cases. If the MS. is the copy of another and not dictated, he must remember that errors most frequently arise from the illegibility of the original, proper names especially being often very doubtful. In the case of "continuous writing" again, owing to the eye of the scribe jumping from one word or group of words to another the same or similar to it, frequent errors occur, and there is often confusion and transposition of letters in single words. He has also to bear in mind the probability of unconscious and conscious or intentional additions, also grammatical corrections, assimilations to parallel passages, and changes made for liturgical or dogmatic purposes.

Such are some of the main facts of the evolving science of the lower criticism. It must be now patent, even to the most unlearned reader, that once we know the bare elementary facts of the history of the text, it is utterly impossible in the nature of things that there can be any question of verbal inspiration. The thing is not possible in face of the facts; it is, therefore, unthinkable by the rational mind.

G. R. S. MEAD.

THE HOLY FOUNTAIN

ONCE, in a land of many waters, where the Gods walked in the haunts of men and sometimes showed themselves to reverent eyes, there was a very holy temple surrounded by a sacred garden. The garden was fashioned with winding walks fenced with cunningly carven hedges of evergreen shrubs; pungent smelling were they, rich of perfume, sending up to heaven a sweet incense of worship both by day and by night. In the walks there wandered white peacocks and milky feathered doves, the sound of whose cooing voices blended with the murmur of the fountain. The fountain stood on a broad terrace before the temple doors; great care was taken lest aught should taint the sources of the sacred stream, and pollute the crystal purity of the waters that gathered in the white marble basin. None entered within the garden except the king and the holiest priests, save on one night of the year, when those persons who were held to be worthy and would submit to months of rigid discipline and purification, were suffered to enter the sacred walks. For, on that night, when the king and the chief priest, who had fasted and prayed and bathed themselves seven times in water drawn from the sacred fount, bowed themselves and chanted supplications to the Holy Presence of the Fountain, it came to pass that the glory of the God smote the water and illumined the temple and the garden. In that hour the pure in body and in soul gained the desires of their heart; whatsoever they earnestly desired, that was brought to pass by the mercy and compassion of the God. Sometimes the people found they had desired unwisely; but howsoever that might be, they received their desire.

The land was very rich and prosperous; the father of the king who reigned at the time whereof I write, brought about a great development of the jewel mines without the city. These mines had been worked by slaves, but the reigning king liberated

the slaves, who were chiefly prisoners taken in war, and sent them to their homes. Now the work in the mines was unhealthy and very hard; therefore, to induce the poorer folk to labour thereat, the king offered very high wage to all who would work thus. However, the people who consented to do so sank in the eyes of their fellowmen, they were outcasts from the ranks of the city dwellers, they lived in a quarter apart, a very foul and unclean spot without the walls, a lawless place, where, besides the toilers in the mines, there lived people of evil and idle life. The houses were but hovels, a stream of tainted water flowed through the streets and formed a stagnant pool without the confines of the place.

Now at the time of which I speak the hour drew near when the glory of the Presence should smite the water in the holy garden. On the day that this should be there came to the justice hall of the king a decent widow crying very bitterly. When the king asked her of her grief or wrong, she cried:

"Most gracious lord, suffer that my son be carried into the sacred garden this night, that the power of the God may heal him."

"Who is thy son, O widow?" said the king.

And she replied: "He toils in the mines without the city, and this day he lies nigh to death."

And the king answered: "My own physician shall tend thy son, O sorrowful mother, but we should sin against the sacred Presence of the God if we permitted an outcast, all unpurified, to enter the holy places." For those who did not dwell in the city were called "outcasts" by the city dwellers.

Then the widow beat her breast and cried out: "No physician, but the God only, can heal my son."

The king, speaking compassionately, showed her that her prayers were vain, for she asked of him that he should be guilty of sacrilege. So the widow, lamenting greatly, went away to a group of trees within the city, and sat there, crying: "Ah! my beloved, how shall I live without thee who hast given thy life for mine!"

Then one who pitied her drew near and questioned her, and she said: "My husband, sir, died and left me with two sons;

and one, the elder of the twain, went forth, leaving me and his brother in the city, to work in the mines. He was but a lad, and ever frail of health. After a while he fell ill; then he went to a skilled physician, who bade him seek other work, saying that if he laboured in the foul air of the mine he could not live more than three brief years. Then he, though he was young, and life is pleasant in the eyes of youth, reasoned that if he worked within the city he should gain little, so that I and his brother would want such things as we needed; but if he worked on till the air slew him, his brother, who is stronger than he, though then he was but a boy, would be of age to work for and sustain me, so that I should never want. And I, poor fool, knew naught of this until, three days ago, his brother was of age to work. Then my boy strove no longer with his sickness and pain, and lay down to die for my sake."

And she wept and bowed her forehead in the dust, crying: "Ah! my beloved one, who hast borne in silence weariness and coming death for three long, cruel years, would God that I might give my life for thine!"

Then she rose up and went with dust on her bent head and on her raiment to the foul quarter where the miners dwelt, where her son was dying for her sake.

That night the chosen gathered in the holy garden; and the king and the priests were there, chanting sacred metres and calling upon the God. But there was darkness in the garden, where the white birds glimmered ghostlike among the perfumed alleys of the clipped hedges. No light smote the water, no celestial music was heard, and though the people worshipped and the priests cried upon the God, saying: "O Sacred Presence, O Fount of Life, O Fount of Love, hear us and visit us!" there came no voice nor light, nor any sign in answer.

At last the chosen went home in sorrow; the king and priests spent the night in great humiliation before the shrine, fearing lest some unworthy person had been admitted, or some unseen sacrilege done, so that the God had not visited the fount with his power.

Now even while the holiest of the city had fruitlessly supplicated the God in the holy garden, a marvel had befallen in the

quarter of the outcasts. In the morning there came one to the king and to the chief priest, who sat together conferring, crying:

"O king, the people affirm that last night the Holy Presence visited the quarter of the outcasts, and there a youth, who lay nigh to death, was healed of his sickness. They are bringing hither the young man that he may testify of these things. As for me, O king, how the matter stands I know not; but this I know: the foul and stagnant pool that lay without the place is crystal clear, and on its surface float the sacred lilies that blossom on the holy fountain; and the air is full of sweet savours, and flowers are springing in the streets, about every house door, and in the air is a sound of music, and of voices that sing praises to the Holy Presence."

"Bring the youth hither," cried the king; and the people did as he commanded. The man was young, scarce more than a boy, and he was clad in coarse garments, such as were worn by those who laboured in the mines; he bowed himself before the king and kissed the footstool whereon his feet rested. And the king said: "O youth, what is this thing we hear of thee, that thou wert healed in the quarter of the outcasts by the Holy Presence of the God of the Sacred Fountain."

The youth replied: "O my dread liege and king, it is true I lay sick unto death; my mother yesterday besought that I might be borne into the holy garden, and when she knew this might not be because of the sacrilege and the pollution of the holy places, she came back to me, crying bitterly, and we waited together till the end should come. And it was so, that when midnight was near I perceived a sweet savour that filled the air, and I heard the sound of music that came from the sacred garden which is upon the holy hill, and floated downwards even unto the quarter of the outcasts; and then my mother, who looked from the window, cried that a great light had smitten the surface of the pool that is without the place, and lo! I saw a light within my room, and heard a most sweet sound, and smelt a fair and delicate perfume; and within the light I beheld the Holy Presence in the likeness of a man of most loving aspect, bearing in his hands a translucent cup. And he spake unto me in a voice sweet and gentle, even tenderer than a mother's to her

young child, and he said: 'Behold, thou who lovest me even unto death, I bring to thee my cup, that thou mayest share it with me.' And I said: 'I do not know thee, O holy one, that I should love thee.' Thereat he said: 'Is not my life in her for whom thou diest?' And thereupon the blessed vision set to my lips his cup, and drinking thereof I was healed."

Then said the king: "Blessed be thou, O my son, who hast drunken of this cup, whereof neither I nor these have been found worthy yet to taste. Let a temple stand and a fair garden grow where once was foulness that the God hath cleansed for thy sake; and cast the doors of temple and of garden wide, so that all may enter freely therein; for those whose hearts have in them love, are ministers of the God, and those who love not yet, are loved of Him, wherefore within this garden all that lives shall seek and find their rest."

MICHAEL WOOD.

THE HIGHER FUNCTIONS OF PHYSICAL BEAUTY

IT is the tendency in these level-headed days of pseudo-enlightenment to under-rate the power and utility of physical beauty. True we hear much concerning athletics, Swedish drill, the Sandow training, and the Delsarte method, but these have health and physical strength as their primary object and not necessarily beauty of form; moreover the advocates of such physical culture —and they are many—almost invariably urge as their strongest argument in its favour, "that a healthy mind is the outcome of a healthy body," thus again insisting, true children of this age of intellect, upon the mind as the ultimate goal of all bodily development.

We are told that the age of the body is passing; scientists point us to a possible future when spidery creatures, all forehead and goggles, will be the inheritors of an earth once adorned by the beautiful presence of such peoples as the Greeks. This senti-

ment pervades to a large extent even the light reading of the man in the street, and the third-rate scribbler, who in past time would have expended much ink in describing the physical charms of Arabella or Augustus, is now-a-days equally diffuse in laborious explanation of the reasons why the ugliness of his hero or heroine was not only bearable but attractive.

Physical ugliness has obtained for the nonce a theoretical victory, and lords it by reason of the intelligence or strength of character that is supposed to give it liberal excuse for existence. I do not mean for one instant to imply by this that an undue importance has been given to the mind at the expense of its physical vehicle. Mind is of course infinitely more important, since it is the more permanent force, while matter is transitory. But we have, I think, been led to mis-state ourselves in the matter; in fact modern immaterialism has here contradicted herself, and modern materialism has followed this time meekly enough in her wake.

To begin with, we are too often prone to substitute theories for actualities (if indeed there be any actuality), and to forget that while we postulate spirit as the only reality we are nevertheless chiefly concerned at present with its reflection. The day when it will fade back again into the Spirit that is reality is a very distant one to our finite conceptions, and while we are still bound to matter we must take every force working on the material plane into consideration. And it is to a very great force, to this physical beauty, that I would ask you to direct your attention for a moment.

Beauty itself must first be defined, crudely enough. What do we mean by qualifying anything as beautiful? We do not mean that the something, be it colour, sentiment, sound, or idea, gives us merely sensory satisfaction. Some form of purely animal gratification, upon which no æsthetic interpretation could be placed, might afford us sensory pleasure. The perception of beauty then does not lie primarily in the senses. Does it lie in the intellect? We find that we are unable to formulate any reason *why* a certain combination of sounds, contours, colours or words should give us pleasure. The fact that such a combination causes us to be aware of some pleasant affinity

between it and ourselves, while another combination jars upon our sense of harmony and so displeases us, seems absolutely arbitrary. There appears, for instance, no discoverable *reason* why the smell of garlic should be unpleasant to a person who feels pleasure at the perfume of a hyacinth. Both are healthy scents, probably that of garlic is the healthier; hence it is in no way an animal instinct which turns from the hurtful. It is that the sensory and mental natures of that person vibrate harmoniously, or in other words symmetrically, when they come into contact with the one, and inharmoniously or non-symmetrically when in contact with the other. The fact exists, and it appears inexplicable.

Hence the laws which govern the perception of the beautiful lie beyond reason, and have as their ultimate authority the super-conscious ego, or the soul. Suppose we take as an instance, the process by which a scheme of colour appears to our æsthetic faculty. The sense of sight receives the colour vibrations, and transmits them to the brain, like the unintelligent telegraph wires which bear a message of importance from the coast-line of communication to the heart of the capital city, without comprehending the significance of the words they are the means of communicating. The mind receives this impression of colour, transmuting it into an idea, and the ego, working upon the reason, declares it pleasurable. The mind telegraphs back, "Yes, this is good and satisfactory, therefore rejoice, oh my senses!" Thus the whole man vibrates in harmony.

Beauty, then, is an innate conception, a perception of harmony and order which belongs to the super-conscious self; and the more highly evolved the ego, the keener is the perception, and the greater the capacity of response to it by pleasure, *i.e.*, by sympathetic vibration. The super-conscious self, in fact, refers the impression it receives from the mind to some supreme law or perfection to which the mind has no access.

Now if we accept as truth that matter is the ultimate expression of a Force beyond intelligence, just as the spoken word is the expression of a thought, or a thought an expression of the ego; then must material beauty, or that quality in matter which thrills the *entire* man most effectually with answering intuitive

and harmonious vibration, be one of the most perfect expressions of this Force in matter, since it brings him most nearly into sympathy with itself. And because perfect, it must be essentially an aspect of Divinity, since that is the name we have given to perfection apart from its expression in matter.

This perception of beauty is so important because it is the first abstract conception that enters definitely into the human consciousness. Primitive man chooses his mate for her symmetry of form, for contour is the earliest recognition of the beautiful to awake in the savage; colour is the second step. Physical beauty, *i.e.*, that expression of beauty which comes nearest to him, that form of the beautiful with which he is able most directly to come into contact, is then the first dawning of the sense in him. More intangible forms, such as the colouring of a sunrise or the harmonious lines of a landscape, are too remote as yet to touch him. However, here we have the force plainly at work; thus touching humanity at all stages of evolution, and widening its receptivity at each higher stage of development.

Though the highly evolved man will put a higher and more abstract construction upon physical beauty, he does not cease to be moved by it. But when the man evolves into the stage of keener ethical perceptions, we see the old delusion of Manicheeism raising a conflict in his mind. Because physical beauty has been associated so long with animalism, with sex desire, he endeavours to ignore the pleasure that he naturally feels at the sight of a beautiful human body. In the artist, a grade higher, we discover that even association with such degrading traditions cannot hinder him from regarding beauty in the perfect form of a nude woman with appreciation that is impersonal and religious; whereas another man, less evolved, would turn from the sight in fear; and a third, lower still, would be dominated by feelings of lust, which is the desire for beauty soiled by its medium. Merely soiled, mind you, for the fact that it was beauty that attracted him, augurs a definite though blind sense of Divinity in him. But to the artist the white line of a woman's hip conveys no more exquisite meaning than the white line of a lily. Nevertheless all three are perfectly right, and the following out of their

several instincts as prompted by their inward development is a healthy and inevitable thing.

Then if we go a grade higher still we find those who, because they have no desire to express and reproduce their conception of beauty, cannot be called artists; but to these, harmonies of colours, sounds, or forms, are the subtle language of mysteries which lie in the glowing region beyond thought.

I sometimes wonder if we are not on the verge of a new art, in which such occulter combinations will be all in all—far removed from the art which is a mere representation more or less faithful of actual form and colour, or from the art which, usurping another province of the human mind, relies chiefly on the subject to awaken emotion and pleasure, combination of line and colour playing subservience to this more concrete end.

The reason why ancient Greece laid more stress on the importance of physical beauty than the nations of the present day has been, to a certain extent, mis-represented by modern thinkers, yet the occult reason is not far to seek. For instance, John Addington Symonds says, in speaking of Greek art, which to the Greek mind was synonymous with religion: "In ancient art those moral and spiritual qualities which the Greeks recognised as *truly human and therefore divine*, allowed themselves to be *incarnated in well-selected types of physical perfection*. . . . The passions and faculties of man analysed by unconscious psychology, and deified by religious fancy, were invested by sculpture with appropriate forms, *the tact of the artist selecting corporeal qualities fitted* to impersonate the special character of each divinity. . . . . At the same time the spirituality that gave its character to each Greek deity, was not such that even in thought it could be dissociated from corporeal form." (The italics are mine.)

The writer has here stated the truth, as it appears to me, inversely. He represents Hellas *as clothing various anthropomorphic conceptions of deity* ("the special character of each divinity") and "a spirituality" incapable of dissociation with corporeality *with appropriate forms*. Now it was in these very forms that primitive Greek thought discerned spirituality, the harmonious form suggesting the harmony, the concrete suggesting the ideal. It was the inspiration for which Greece above all other nations was

fitted. Hellenic thought recognised material beauty as divine—saw through the veil to the veiled. The story related by the historians of statues raised by the citizens of a certain Greek city to a young man possessed of extraordinary beauty, thus showing physical beauty as much reverence as moral or spiritual beauty, is a very significant one. It does not mean that Divinity appealed to them strongly through their æsthetic faculties; it means that they understood, as no people since have understood, the enormous force which this Divine power brings to bear upon mind, body, and soul—an aspect of Divinity exercising a more immediate influence on matter than any other, as it directly appeals to every plane of consciousness—and moreover recognised the unity of this force as expressed in either spirit, mind, or body. It was, in fact, a tacit confession of faith in the spirit of which matter is the subject and expression.

To return to modern nations, particularly those of Northern regions, we find that the cult of physical beauty, which regarded in this higher light should partake of the nature of religious worship, since it is the universal sacrament, has been largely relegated to women, whose motives are without doubt in many cases those of sex-attraction rather than any innate sense of the divinity of a beautiful body. Mean motives and low desires have come to be associated with the assiduous culture of form and colour in humanity, for the sensual side of the question has obscured its higher significance in the eyes of men.

For example, owing to this prejudice, we prefer a woman to be unconscious of her beauty; to wear it impersonally as she might a flower or a jewel. Even if she feels intelligent enjoyment in its possession, she may not confess it openly, while the presence of such a consciousness in a man, if perceptible to others, would raise a storm of laughter, as being even less permissible than in a member of the so-called weaker sex. Many women, however, in defiance of this convention, or rather in sheer inability to observe it, rely frankly enough upon their beauty as the only claim they would put forward prominently to admiration and liking, even sinking their whole personality into their appearance. Nor is this wholly unjustifiable. The woman who possesses beauty as a personal attribute, whether beauty of soul, mind or body, is for

a while custodian of revealed divinity, priestess of unrevealed mysteries. So that when one sees a young girl conscious of the perfectly-rounded lines of her limbs, perhaps intent on posing and anxious to display the exquisite turn of neck, chin or shoulders to the best advantage, we need not necessarily give the craving for admiration the hard name of vanity. It may be that she realises dimly that an excellence has been entrusted to her which is of strange importance, and, like a child who has picked up a pretty pebble, longs for sympathetic appreciation. "Behold and see," she cries, "for I am beautiful. Is not my beauty a wonderful thing? Love this treasure of mine, and rejoice with me that it is mine, that it is me." In thus identifying herself with her beauty, she is, in a childish way, identifying herself with God, and it is doubtful whether the Lords of Destiny who have entrusted her with such a sacred power, consider this vanity a very heinous fault. Perhaps they smile covert sympathy, as grown-ups might at the pretty follies of a child.

Thus unconsciously, it may be, and slighted by those who should know best how to honour it, physical beauty is still doing its divine work of attuning men's minds to the infinite; labouring among the lowest as effectually as among the highest of the sons of men. Even when it is but the dress of a petty mind, it is more than probable that the spirit that dwells behind that same mind is learning its mystic lesson from association with perfection of form, and is influenced by its divine trust in a subtle way of which the intellect cannot be cognisant.

May be, again, in some remote future the Spirit of Beauty will shake off the dishonourable robes that the lusts of man have cast upon her, a future when sex will belong to a past stage of evolution, and will emerge in the strength of her purity to assume openly the sceptre of divine right among men.

But meanwhile let us not forget that she is here in disguise leavening these very lusts with a foretaste of the ineffable, teaching man by Kindergarten methods that he was made in the image of God, though he would still fondly cling to the reverse of that old teaching, and whispering the deeper secrets into the ears of those who are ready to listen to her.

E. M. STEVENS.

BLACK MAGIC IN CEYLON

I.

In the West Indies Obiism is recognised by all races and classes and its practice merits condign punishment at the hands of the Government, British or otherwise. The Crown Colony of Ceylon, on the other hand, manifests its superiority by maintaining a dignified contempt for all such practices. Nevertheless, *coduvina* or *hooniyan* is practised, and (this I know for a certainty) not without direful results amongst the natives, mixed races, and occasionally the European community. This *hooniyan* is as a matter of fact the phase of magic the most prevalent, and at the same time the most pernicious, in the East. The moving spirit is of course the one incarnate, assisted as the natives believe by *yakkas* or low caste demons, who are said to revel in evil and to be earth-bound. These receive far more attention from the Sinhalese than the *dewatawa*, or spirits of the higher regions, who are to be worshipped, not propitiated. Sir Emerson Tennent has described these *dewatawa* as a "gentle and benevolent order of beings," they are the respectable heroes of the Buddhist Pâli legends.

The native of Ceylon, however, being a weak creature himself by reason of heredity and oppression, reveres strength and power. Buddhist by religion though he be, he has more respect and veneration for Reeri yakka, the Demon of Blood, the most cruel and powerful of all demons, than for Siddhartha, the Lord Buddha. Both the *dewatawaya* and the *yakseyo* are beings of spontaneous generation, although there are a few exceptions who have had human mothers. This spontaneous generation is called *oapapatika*, and even to this day such births are said to occur. Having been informed of one, one of the human mother order, I rested not until I had my curiosity satisfied.

A native woman living in a village a few miles from Colombo —one is soon out in the "wilds" there—had "given birth to a demon." A *kattadiya* (Devil-priest and charmer) had been summoned, and a Devil-dance held to propitiate the little new-comer, who being a *yakka* was a terror from his birth, according to the predictions of the village astronomer. Verily if appearance count, the babe justified such predictions! Black as coal and hideous to look upon, the ugliness of a monstrosity as we Europeans would call it, no wonder it was an object of dismay, even to its mother! At the moment of its birth *balli* offerings had been made by rich and poor, incense had been offered and gifts bestowed; the whole village was in awe—in awe of that weird ill-shapen little lump of flesh and bone. True, it had a marvellous cunning in its eye; Italians would have recognised the *jettatura*.

Looking on I was forcibly reminded of the law of compensation; for first my natural feeling was repulsion, then pity; then, observing the numerous altars already erected and laden with propitiatory presents, I deemed it not so bad, or rather sad, to be a *yakka* after all! Shunned although that infant was destined to be throughout life, there was a certain compensation in the fact of ruling his fellow creatures by fear if not by love. In the forthcoming years many an altar will be set up and dedicated to that misshapen piece of humanity, and on each occasion his *avatar* (or apparition) will be believed to be present and to preside. At such a birth there is always a special planetary conjunction discovered by an astrologer, and the mystical mind of the oriental weaves a reason as to why and wherefore the demon entered the womb of that particular woman. This invariably is the keynote of a romance as horrible as it is absurdly sensational.

The ancient graveyards of Ceylon, called *sohona*, are said to be the haunts of these *yakko*. Here they hold saturnalia at stated times on permission of their king Wessamony. The circumstances of the origin and birth of the *yakka* whose birth-rites I attended were the following.

Nona Hami, the mother, was the prettiest and most attractive girl in the village. She was, moreover, of the Velalah caste. Being of this caste she must go to her bridegroom a chaste and

an endowed bride. A suitable suitor, that is one of the same caste, was forthcoming, but no dowry, nor did the lover find favour in the maiden's eyes. According to the custom of the Velalah she had been well brought up and protected; nevertheless one day at the well near her parent's *cadjan* cot her glance had fallen on a Berawayo (one of the lowest caste, but remarkable for their beauty), and her heart went out to him. They met again and again, and the third time he gave her a charm called *vema*, composed of *navanilla*, a mixture of nine different herbs. She told him of the other suitor, at which he laughed and said: "I will manage that." Forthwith he set himself to work *hooniyan* on him, his rival, resorting first to the *jeewana* ceremony, which I shall later on describe. After a short time the rival, who hitherto was renowned for his good constitution, fell ill, his symptoms being frequent sudden and unaccountable attacks of anger of so violent a character as to presuppose madness. When under the influence of these attacks, strange to say, his fury was always directed mostly against the object of his normal affections. Marry her he would not, she was loathsome, she was vile! All looking on declared it an abnormal condition and that he must be the victim of *hooniyan*. Now instead of shedding an ocean of tears the maiden smiled, looked on her amulet (*yantra*) and sniffed it (the Sinhalese equivalent for kissing); then with some cunning excuse on her lips went to meet her Berawayo, the handsome tom-tom beater. The romance broke down, however, owing to the cupidity of this gay Lothario, whose fancy extended beyond this fair maid to her father's other possessions. Being caught one day red-handed, the Berawayo was given over to the police to spend a time in gaol, during which his rival entirely recovered his health and normal mind, and also another Velalah maiden equally as charming in his sight as Nona, and a *dot* coming opportunely on the scene, they married and no doubt lived happily ever after. But it is with Nona we are specially concerned.

Shortly after this hapless girl became *enciente*, and an astrologer being requisitioned the foregoing sorry prediction was made, and in due course the birth of the demon occurred. The misery depicted on the young mother's face I shall never forget. She was an

outcast for life, for not only had she disgraced her caste but furthermore no native would think of associating with one who gave birth to a *yakka*. All she has to love, all she has to live for, is that hideous deformity. True it is her offspring, but maternal instinct in such cases is lost, exterminated by a superstitious dread; the mother fears, indeed she is terrorised by, her own child, her invincible belief being that it is a demon, its birth *oapapatika*. No wonder then she looked at war with the whole world. I watched her deep ferocious eyes for some sign of softening when they turned on the babe; but no! only a chill sort of half fear, half reverence seemed to possess her when she hugged the infant to her bare brown breast.

Gruesome it was in the extreme, and such occurrences are by no means infrequent in His Majesty's First Crown Colony to-day—missionaries in their hundreds notwithstanding! Europeans come and go and know nothing of the people. Huge sums are collected for missions, yet within a stone's throw of Colombo this goes on. The few who by virtue of their sympathy and inquiring intelligence make themselves acquainted with such facts bring down upon themselves the jeers of the multitude. A fact nevertheless remains a fact; and though nine-tenths of such happenings may be disposed of as superstition, yet from my own experience I maintain there is a proportion worthy of serious study and investigation, apart altogether from the lamentable condition of the ignorant populace viewed from a religious aspect.

CAROLINE CORNER-OHLMÜS.

CHARACTER is a man's guardian divinity.

IT is not good for men to have what they want. Disease makes health sweet and good; hunger, satiety; toil, rest.

HERACLEITUS.

THE LATER HISTORY OF THE SIKH RELIGION*

With Guru Govind Singh the succession of the Sikh Gurus comes to a close. Other leaders they had after him, other chiefs came here and there to the front, until Ranjit Singh made himself practically their sole lord and ruler. But these were all purely secular leaders, war chiefs, sirdars, local potentates of more or less influence, chiefs of confederacies; none of them were or pretended to be *spiritual* leaders or teachers, with the partial exception of Bandâ, the next leader who came to the front after Guru Govind's death. But his attempts at change both in religion proper and in socio-religious practices failed, unanimously rejected by the Sikh community. Hence with Guru Govind Singh the religious history of Sikhism may be said to close so far as active, definite evolution goes, though of course the slower processes of attrition against, and gravitation towards, the mighty surrounding mass of the Hindu faith went on unceasingly, and are still continuing their work to-day. But there were no more Sikh Gurus after Govind, and under his powerful influence Sikhism received its definitive shaping as a distinct, self-recognising religion.

It is true that Guru Govind Singh failed to accomplish the immediate aim he had in view—the overthrow of the Mahommedan power. But as Cunningham observes:

"Success is not always the measure of greatness. The last apostle of the Sikhs did not live to see his own ends accomplished, but he effectually aroused the dormant energies of a vanquished people, and filled them with a lofty though fitful longing for social freedom and national ascendancy, the proper adjuncts of the purity of worship which had been preached by Nânak.

* See "The Sikh Gurus" in the last number.

Govind saw what was yet vital, and he relumed it with Promethean fire. A living spirit possesses the whole Sikh people, and the impress of Govind has not only elevated and altered the constitution of their minds, but has operated materially and given amplitude to their physical frames. The features and external form of a whole people have been modified, and a Sikh chief is not more distinguishable by his stately person and free and manly bearing than a minister of the faith is by a lofty thoughtfulness of look, which marks the fervour of his soul, and his persuasion of the near presence of the Divinity."

Though written in 1849 these words are not altogether inapplicable at the present day, and with them we will turn for a moment from the religious side of Sikhism in order to complete, however briefly, our outline of its external and political history.

It has already been pointed out that with the death of Guru Govind Singh we enter upon a new and different epoch in the history of the Sikhs. Having formed up to that time a united body of religious disciples under a Guru who, however warlike and outwardly secular, was still primarily and before all a *spiritual* guide and teacher, they now pass into a period of tumultuous and disorderly republicanism which finally gave place to the Sikh monarchy of Ranjit Singh.

For a short time the Sikhs were without a leader; but ere long a devoted and favoured disciple of Guru Govind, named Bandâ, came to the front. He had been a Hindu ascetic of the Bhairâgî order, and was by temperament a gloomy fanatic who seemed to have cast off all human feeling, though he was an energetic and bold man. He soon gathered round him a strong band of devoted Sikhs and waged petty warfare against the Mahommedans in the Punjâb with varying success, till at last he was conquered, captured and cruelly put to death. After his capture and death the Mahommedans carried on a regular crusade against the Sikhs, and every Sikh they could lay hands upon was killed out of hand. Many were forced to become outwardly Moslems, others conformed to Hinduism, and many more were forced to seek a refuge among the recesses of the hills or in the woods to the south of the Sutlej. So severe and keen was the persecution and so complete the dispersal of the Sikh

community, that the Sikhs were scarcely heard of again in history for the period of a generation. They practically disappeared from the country and their cause seemed lost.

Bandâ's death is assigned to about the year 1716 A.D., and the Sikhs remained crushed and in obscurity till after the conquest of Delhi by Nâdir Shâh in 1739, when they once more began to make themselves heard of. Taking advantage of the subsequent troubles and confusion, and of the utter feebleness of the government, the Sikhs grew bolder and bolder till at last they ventured to besiege the Governor of Sirhind in his own town. This roused Ahmad Shâh to undertake a sixth expedition to India, and near Ludhiâna he inflicted a decisive defeat upon the Sikhs, who are said to have lost over 25,000 of their bravest men in the battle. Ahmad Shâh then advanced to Amritsâr, captured it, and defiled its holy tank and temple with the blood of cows.

But Ahmad Shâh was soon recalled to Kabûl by troubles at home, and the Sikhs rapidly recovered from the blow he had struck them. They drove his governor out of Lahore and held the whole country between the Jhelam and the Sutlej. The leaders even assembled in Amritsâr, where they held a Gurumatâ—a general witan or assembly of the chiefs and people in council, first instituted it is said by Guru Govind himself—at which they declared the independence of the Khalsâ, and struck coins in its name.

The Sikhs had now become, *de facto*, a republic, though without any sort of legal machinery for the carrying on of a regular government. During the preceding time of persecution and confusion any man who happened to be specially daring and resolute, had gathered a band around him with which he plundered and conquered just as much of the country as he could hold or defend. For the most part these were men from the lower classes of the people, peasants and artisans. Loot and robbery furnished them with the means of keeping up a troop of armed followers, with which they attacked the rich Mahommedan landowners, plundered them and, where they could, drove them out and took possession of their estates for themselves. Thus there gradually grew up among the Sikhs twelve Misls or small confederations, each of which obeyed a single chief and formed

a sort of patriarchal state, linked to the remaining Misls only by the bond of religion.

So loose an organisation could not possibly last, and indeed as soon as ever the Sikhs had established their independence, and owing mainly to the internal decay of the Mahommedan power were no longer in dread of outside attack, they began to quarrel among themselves, the stronger striving to oppress the weaker, till there was no small danger of their mutually destroying one another.

From this danger the Sikhs were saved by the genius of Ranjit Singh, who gradually by his ability and insight made himself the virtual king or overlord of the whole Sikh community. Born in 1780, he died in 1839 as the ruler of a great Sikh empire, stretching from the Sutlej to Peshawar and including Kâshmîr—the garden of India. With his death, however, the structure which his genius had reared soon began to fall to pieces, and finally the Punjâb, the home of the Sikhs, was annexed by England in 1845-46.

With this event the political history of the Sikhs as a community comes to an end. Its religion now finds itself, on the one hand, absolutely relieved from all persecution, but, on the other, deprived of the motive power which the habit of fanatical warfare and of plundering expeditions under the sanction of religion has in all ages lent to similar movements. What its ultimate fate will be, it is difficult to foresee. At present the most prominent signs indicate a gradual re-absorption of the Sikh community into Hinduism as one of its many sectarian sub-divisions, rather than a continued life of distinctive activity. But the future alone can show whether or no Professor Trumpp is well founded in his opinion, that the time is not far distant when the Sikhs will be once more what they were under Guru Nânak, their founder, nothing more than one of the numerous forms of the Vaiṣhṇava aspect of Hinduism.

To complete our picture, it seems useful to add a few words describing the final form which Sikhism in its religious and social aspect assumed under Guru Govind Singh and in the years following his death.

Guru Govind Singh did not and could not make any essential

changes in the religious teaching of his predecessors. But in the ceremonial and social duties of his followers he either introduced or confirmed great alterations from the simplicity and freedom of the disciples of the early Gurus. His was essentially a political genius, not a religious one. Indeed the only verses of his composition which have been admitted into the *Âdi Granth*, are two lines forming a distich, which he composed as a reply to the stanzas which his father, Teg-Bâhadur, addressed to him from his prison in Lahore.

But Govind Singh was nevertheless a productive composer and compiled a bulky volume, called the *Granth of the Tenth Reign*, which he made the Bible of his own special followers. It is rather a collection of warlike and soul-stirring songs, a fighting Bible, than a religious work in any true sense. But precisely that spirit and tone was needed if Govind Singh was to succeed in his life's aim of building up a disciplined and inspired army of devoted disciples strong enough to overthrow the Moslem power.

In pursuance of this aim, he received men of all castes and creeds into the Khalsâ, or Sikh community, and to assist in welding them into a single united religious and political body he set up a number of new ordinances binding on all. These injunctions are now contained and laid down in a number of so-called *Rahit nâmâs*, or books of conduct, which all claim to be dictated by the Guru himself. None of them, however, are genuine, for they vary very greatly and were, as can easily be proved, all composed after the death of the Guru, some of them even as late as the end of the eighteenth century. But it seems worth while to give a brief analysis of these ordinances, some of which certainly did originate with Guru Govind, since they supply a good picture of what Sikhism has actually developed into.

The Sikh rite of initiation, or admission into the Khalsâ, is called the Pâhul, and has already been described. It is generally administered by five Sikhs and not before the attainment of years of discretion; its administration is considered very meritorious, and by instructing a disciple in the doctrines of the Guru, one will get emancipation even whilst living.

Every Sikh is enjoined to read the *Granth* for his devotions,

especially the Japji (prayers) of Nânak and the Japji of Govind Singh ; these two he should always read when taking his meals. In the morning he is to repeat some portion of the *Granth*, and when beginning any work he should say an Ardas (prayer or supplication). In the evening when taking his food he is to read the Rahirâs, consisting of selections from the *Âdi Granth*, to which in later times some portions from the *Granth* of Govind Singh were also added. As, however, these religious duties took up a good deal of time they seem seldom to be, or to have been, observed by the vulgar, and are now generally neglected, people mostly contenting themselves with pronouncing the root or base mantra.

Temples, shrines and burning-places are not to be worshipped, nor are other religions to be praised. The Vedas, Shâstras, Purâṇas and the Qurân are not to be heeded, neither the Paṇḍit nor the Mullâh. All Hindu and Mussulman rites are to be discontinued; the Hindu ceremonies at the time of birth, marriage and death should not be observed ; no Shrâddh should be performed ; or if it be performed, the words of the *Granth* should be used. No tilak should be applied to the forehead, nor should the sacred cord or a mâlâ be worn ; and circumcision should not be practised.

A Sikh is never to wear a cap, nor to shave his head or beard, nor wear red clothes. He should bathe in cold water, comb his hair twice a day and bind his turban after adjusting his tresses ; he is never to remove his turban when taking his food. He is to clean his teeth every day with a toothstick ; always to wear breeches (the Hindu dhoti being specifically forbidden); and to have steel about his person, especially a sword.

A Sikh should never buy meat from a butcher, but eat the flesh of such animals only as have been slaughtered by a Sikh with one stroke of a sword. To eat the leavings of another's meal entails the pain of death.

The disciple is strictly to obey the orders of the Guru and never to forsake him ; apostasy being visited with the severest punishment. He is to minister to his brother Sikhs, to pay taxes if demanded to the Guru, and he must consider the precepts of the Guru alone as true and all others as false.

With regard to his family the Sikh is enjoined to dispose suitably of his daughter (or sister) and not to take any money for her hand. The killing of daughters is strictly forbidden.

Among the moral duties truthfulness and kindness to the poor are specially inculcated; falsehood, dealing fraudulently, stealing, slandering and fornication are branded as deadly sins. A Sikh should earnestly strive to subdue the five passions: lust, wrath, greediness, infatuation and pride.

After Guru Govind Singh had forbidden the Sikhs to employ the Brâhmans in the performance of any religious rites or ceremonies, the Sikhs were left practically without any priests at all. Accordingly the need for them soon developed among the Sikhs a special class of readers of the *Granth* (called Grânthîs) who read or recite aloud appropriate passages from the *Granth* on the occasion of domestic festivities, when a child has been born, a marriage takes place, or a corpse is burnt. Anyone can become a Grânthî who has studied the holy scripture under a teacher at Amritsâr, Damdamâ or elsewhere, but whether or not he finds employment depends entirely upon the circumstances and his own personal qualifications.

The Sikhs have no temples with the exception of the Harimandar—or Golden Temple—in the middle of the sacred tank at Amritsâr, and that contains only a number of copies of the *Granth* lying on silken cushions and surrounded by a number of Grânthîs, who day and night chant sections from it to an accompaniment of stringed instruments.

But both in the country and the towns the Sikhs have so-called dharm-sâlâs (halls of religion), generally simple, undecorated buildings, where they hold their gatherings and where the *Granth* is read aloud by a Grânthî, who translates and explains it as well as he is able in the current vernacular of to-day.

The most solemn ceremony which is performed at these public gatherings is the preparation and handing round of the karâh prasâd, a rite which is in a certain sense analogous to that of the Holy Communion among Christians; for the karâh prasâd is hallowed or sanctified in the name of the Guru and offered to him, after which it is divided in his name in equal portions

among the assembled devotees. The very greatest care is exercised in the preparation of this karâh prasâd. It must be made of equal parts of ghî (clarified butter), meal and sugar. The place where it is cooked must be swept clean and then plastered with cow-dung (as the Hindus do in all their cooking places), and the utensils employed must also be scrupulously cleansed. The Sikh who is to prepare the karâh prasâd must enter the cooking place only after having bathed and purified himself, and as he enters it he must ejaculate: "Vâh Guru." He must use for the water a new pot and the water must have been drawn from a well in an iron bucket. When the karâh prasâd is ready he places it on a low stool, round which the people place themselves with the ejaculation: "Vâh Guru," after which the karâh prasâd is distributed among them.

The injunctions laid down by Guru Govind Singh regarding the intercourse with people of other creeds already evince deep and bitter hostility, which rapidly grew after his death into narrow-minded bigotry and deep fanatical hatred.

A Sikh is not even to salute one who is not a Sikh, otherwise he is an apostate and accursed by God. A true Sikh should always be engaged in war with the Mahommedans and slay them, fighting them face to face; it is his duty to destroy the enemies of his faith and to help in the diffusion of the Sikh religion.

Towards the Sikh sectarians the same implacable hatred is evinced. A true Sikh should abstain from all intercourse with the following people, who are accursed (excommunicated by the Guru): (1) the Mîne, the progeny of Prithimall; (2) Dhîrmallie, the progeny of Dhîrmall; (3) the Râmraie, the disciples of Râm-rai, the son of Guru Hâr-rai; (4) the Masands, the former deputies of the Guru; (5) the "head plucked ones," *i.e.*, the Jainas; and (6) those who kill their daughters.

There are some other curious injunctions, of little importance except for their strangeness, such as: Not to blow out a lamp with the mouth; not to extinguish fire with water from which one has been drinking; not to remain naked from the waist downwards at night; not to bathe without breeches; not to distribute food without being fully dressed, etc. From these minute ordinances it is obvious that the Sikh reformatory

movement, at first simple, wholesome, broad-minded, and liberal in spirit, soon ended again in a new bondage quite as burdensome as the old one; and as so often happens, the outer forms and customary socio-religious practices of its followers soon altogether obscured the original spirit and life of the Sikh religion.

Like all other creeds and faiths, the Sikh religion also developed within its fold various sects or denominations, which must be briefly mentioned to complete the picture of Sikhism in its concrete later religious aspect.

1. We have first the Udâsîs or the Indifferent. This body was founded by Sirî Chand, the eldest son of Guru Nânak. There are four subdivisions among them, who only differ from each other by some outward signs. They give up their household and turn Udâsîs, no longer living a married life. As they obstinately refused to submit to his authority Guru Amar Dâs eliminated them from the Sikh community, and they were thenceforward no longer acknowledged as Sikhs, though they themselves never gave up the claim to be so. The Udâsîs have set up a guruship of their own, and after the death of a Guru some disciple whom he has selected assumes the spiritual authority. Their devotional service is very simple: in the morning and evening they play a violin or rebeck and sing a song of praise to the Supreme Lord, which is mostly taken from the *Granth*, imitating in this way the simple worship of Guru Nânak.

They have always been a small body, and have nowadays very much departed from their former ascetic habits and taken to secular avocations.

(2) The Suthrî (the Pure). Their founder is said to have been a Brâhman, named Sûchâ, and they originated under Guru Hâr-rai. They are begging vagabonds, dissolute and corrupt, and are disavowed by the Sikhs.

(3) The Divanâ Sâdh (or Mad Saints). They wear a mâlâ of shells, and a large feather on their turbans, and consist mainly of Jâts and tanners.

(4) The Nirmale Sâdhû (the Pure Saints). These people were originally strict Sikhs and followed exclusively the *Granth* and the regulations of Govind Singh; they stood in high esteem

with the Sikh community and exercised great influence on the people. Formerly they used to wear white clothes and dwelt at Amritsâr, Muktsâr, and other places which are sacred to the Sikhs (as Damdamâ, etc.), but in course of time they gradually relapsed towards Hinduism by applying their mind to the Shâstras, and especially to the Vedânta. In consequence of this internal change of mind their outward habits also underwent some changes; they laid aside their white robes and adopted the common garb of the Hindu fakirs, consisting of reddish-yellow clothes. They also now visit the holy Tirthâs on the Gangâ and Jamnâ and conform to nearly all the Hindu rites. They are thus now in a state of transition, and can hardly be considered as regular Sikhs. They live mostly together in separate societies under a Guru and choose celibacy; there is some learning cultivated among them, and even Sanskrit studies are, to some extent, attended to. They do not beg, but live on the offerings of the people, and they receive men of all castes into their society, as within the brotherhood no caste is acknowledged. They have a large establishment at Amritsâr, where they are much respected by the people for the purity of their morals.

(5) The Akâlîs (the Worshippers of the Timeless Being). This body is said to have been instituted by Guru Govind Singh himself. They were the *z*ealots among the Sikhs, who watched over the purity of their religion and withstood firmly the innovations which the Bairâgî Bandâ, who after the death of Govind Singh assumed the leadership among the Sikhs in the Punjâb, endeavoured to introduce into Sikhism. They wear blue chequered clothes, and bangles or bracelets of steel round their wrists, and frequently also a discus of steel on their turbans. They established themselves in great numbers at Amritsâr, where they assumed the direction of the religious ceremonies and acted the parts of defenders of the faith in the days of Sikh interdependence, as they assumed the right of convoking a Gurmatâ (a national council, literally "Guru-advice") and directing its consultations. Thus they became a formidable body which was dreaded even by the Sikh chiefs, as they were always ripe for a fanatical outbreak. They lived on the offerings of the people, which, however, they often extorted by force. As they were in

fact more a political than a religious body, their influence ceased with the destruction of the Sikh community as a political organisation—nowadays they are hardly taken any notice of. Gradually, like Sikhism itself, they are dwindling away, for the ancient Hinduism from which the Sikh movement sprang as a reformation seems not unlikely in due time gradually to re-absorb the present-day Sikhs with their various sects once more into its bosom, as it has already done in so many other instances.

In concluding this brief and all too inadequate outline of the Sikh religion and of the socio-political movement to which it gave birth, it may be as well to say a word in justification of the admission of such a study to the pages of the REVIEW, and in explanation of the right which such studies have, in my opinion, to claim a place in general theosophical literature.

The second object of our Society includes the comparative study of religions, with the implied purpose of making clear the workings of the divine economy, in which religion plays so great a part in the training and evolution of the human race. And it seems to me that if we are at all to understand those workings, our first need is to lay hold of the facts, to grasp clearly with our minds the actual historical course of events on this outer physical plane, through which those workings manifest themselves. Now there are very few definite and well-defined movements, which can claim the dignity of distinct religions, in regard to which such clear historical tracing out as in the case of Sikhism is possible. Either the materials are too scanty or the growth of legend and the influences of prepossession or antagonism are so strong as almost hopelessly to cloud the mind's vision, and thus it becomes exceedingly difficult to arrive at even an approximate historical picture of the actual course of events. This is notably the case, for both the reasons given, with regard to Christianity on the one hand and Islâmism on the other; while the subject of Brâhmanism is too vast, and the materials too little prepared as yet, to make possible anything more than isolated preparatory studies of single moments in its history. The same thing is also true of the faiths of China and Japan.

But in Sikhism we can trace its growth from birth to the present day. Its sacred book has been translated into English,

and the time of its rise and growth lies near enough to us to be readily accessible to historical research, while, in the West at any rate, there is no special feeling either for or against it to cloud the mind. Sikhism therefore presents an exceptionally favourable opportunity for the historical study of a movement, which can assuredly claim to form a distinct religion, since it is even now the creed of over a million and a half of our fellow subjects in India, and because it created an empire, under Ranjit Singh, which, had it not been for the power of England, would most probably have become to a large extent predominant in Northern India.

In tracing out the birth, growth and crystallisation of Sikhism we are therefore in a special manner enabled to form for ourselves a clear conception of how a religion grows and forms. We can study and understand in detail how legend, exaggeration and the pursuit of pious edification on the one side, and socio-political needs and influences on the other, have overlaid, modified and altered the original teachings of its founder, and shaped the habits and customs of its followers. From a careful and sympathetic review of one religion under such favourable conditions, we can obtain at least some clue to guide us in the study of others, which may help us to disentangle the elements of its physical history from the accretions of legend and the accounts of events on other planes of being which so often become incorporated into its story as apparently historical statements. Thus our minds will become perceptive of the workings of the divine economy in the religious life of mankind, and while our reverence, our wonder, and our love for that sublime wisdom will ever increase, our minds will free themselves from the fetters alike of superstition and of scepticism, and our hearts from the trammels of intolerance, of prejudice and of vanity.

B. KEIGHTLEY.

THE ACID AND THE ALKALI

An Acid once met an Alkali. Said the Acid: "Do you believe in God?"

Now the Acid was very quick and peremptory, but the Alkali dubious and tolerant.

"What do you mean by God precisely?" demanded the Alkali.

"What do I *mean!*" cried the Acid. "I mean force—power—activity—the will that energises and achieves!"

"The will that energises," murmured the Alkali—"why that is the devil! It is he who breaks up all life and destroys all peace. But God is the unmoved, the great ocean of passivity holding all things in one great unity, and drawing all things together."

"Passivity is death," said the Acid. "It is eternal stagnation!"

"Death—stagnation," repeated the Alkali, "what do you *mean* by death? Stagnation is not a bad thing either."

"Oh! isn't it?" said the Acid, approaching.

"Oh! don't, you will be the death of me!" cried the Alkali.

"What do you *mean* by death?" screamed the Acid triumphantly.

"I mean *you*," said the Alkali softly, "for I perceive now that you are death and the devil in one."

"And you," said the Acid sarcastically, "are doubtless almighty god and everlasting life; then we had better fight."

"To all eternity," rejoined the Alkali.

And behind them stood Almighty God Himself, and smiled. For they had not fought for one minute before there was neither Acid nor Alkali left.

But what remained was verily God Himself as it had always been.

X^{n-1}.

FLOTSAM AND JETSAM

THE students of Theosophy who correlate its teachings with the speculations of the most advanced science, are gratified from time to time in finding the results of occult research more or less confirmed by the pioneers of orthodox investigation—nearly all of whom would reject with contumely the aid of any supernormal hint or guidance. Stepping into the silent realms of the supposed unknown, these explorers are too intent upon their quest to observe the half-obliterated footprints which tell of others who have trodden those paths before. A somewhat notable illustration of this priority of occultism in scientific discovery has just become available in regard to the two extra-Neptunian planets of which the existence is recorded in our Theosophic literature. Our readers may find it interesting in this connection to turn to Mr. A. P. Sinnett's book, *The Growth of the Soul*. In chapter x., which treats of "The System to which we belong," will be found (pp. 271-272), the statement that:

The Two Extra-Neptunian Planets of Occultism

> The life with which Neptune is concerned is not calculated to attain very high levels; but, on the other hand, this wonderful cosmic organism is especially interesting for an astronomical reason. Connected in evolution with Neptune there are in fact two other planets physically belonging to our system which have not yet fallen a prey to telescopic research. One of them may ultimately be discovered by ordinary means: the outermost lies far beyond the range of physical instruments, for not merely is its distance appalling to the imagination, but the light it would throw back to us by reflection from the sun is exceedingly feeble. . . . . At that distance the light of the sun would barely make darkness visible. And for any warmth the distant planet may require, it must be dependent chiefly on influences with which physical science on this earth at present is ill acquainted.

* * *

So much for the record of the occult research; now for the confir-

mation. This may be found in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* (vol. xxiii., p. 370), which report a paper recently read before the Society by Professor G. Forbes. In an abstract which appeared in *The Athenæum* of October 5th, it is stated that the Professor gave:

One now Mathematically discovered by Science

> The results of calculations which he considered to point to the existence of an unknown planet far exterior to Neptune, and moving at a mean distance from the sun equal to about one hundred times that of the earth. This is founded on the aphelion distances of a considerable number of comets whose orbits are supposed to have become elliptical by the perturbing action of the hypothetical planet. The fine comets observed in 1264 and 1556 were formerly thought to be identical, and another return was expected about 1848, which did not, however, occur. Prof. Forbes now suggests that the planet in question, which he thinks is really a large one, though it would of course be of feeble light at so great a distance, greatly altered the orbit of the comet of 1556, and that this comet is in fact identical with the third comet of 1844, discovered by Wilmot on the 19th of December in that year. This theory is derived from the assumed place of the supposed planet, which he considers to be now situated in about longitude 181°.

Whether the mathematical calculations will ever be confirmed by visual demonstration of the dark planet's existence is a nice point on which to speculate. Perhaps there is a remote chance of its occulting some bright star, and thus (if its position could be determined with precision) revealing itself objectively. But considerations of this sort may best be left to our astronomers.

These things should seem to thee, Asclepius, if thou dost understand them, true; but if thou dost not understand, things not to be believed. To understand is to believe, to not believe is not to understand.

Hermes the Thrice-Greatest.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

From the Theosophy of Jacob Böhme

Dialogues on the Supersensual Life. By Jacob Behmen. Edited by Bernard Holland. (London: Methuen & Co.; 1901.)

Second Notice

The editor of this small volume has done a great service to the many to whom Behmen is little more than a name. This can hardly be better expressed than in the words of his preface: "Behmen's language and way of thought are remote and strange, and in reading his thought one has often to pass it through a process of intellectual translation. This is chiefly true of his earlier work, the *Auvora* or *Morning Redness*. But among those works which he wrote during the last five years of his life, there are some written in a thought-language less difficult to be understood, yet containing the essential teaching of this humble Master of Divine Science. From these I have selected some which may, in a small volume, be useful."

In reading these selections and the exceedingly lucid and valuable summary of Behmen's doctrine prefixed by the editor, we cannot fail to remark the same thing which strikes us so forcibly in the Revelations attributed to the Catholic Saints and some holy souls, like Mother Juliana, who have not attained this title. To a Theosophist it is quite evident that they had before their mental vision the actual truth—that their eyes were gifted with the true vision; and yet their accounts of what they saw are so plainly mixed up with so much which belongs to their own personal mode of thought, the religion to which they belong, and the views and conceptions of the society in which they lived, that it is quite impossible for one who has not the clue which we possess, to learn anything of value from them. To take an example from one on a lower plane than Behmen, but of the same country and much the same surroundings; when Anne Catherine Emmerich beholds in vision the Passion of Christ, we understand that (as has been explained not long ago by one of our colleagues) what she is looking at is not the memory of an

actual occurrence, but the astral image which has been formed and shaped by the devout meditations of so many holy souls who have given the best of their lives to its maintenance and perfecting. So that we are neither astonished nor disgusted when we find that many of the details of her vision are obviously shaped from the pictures she was in the habit of seeing and the sermons and books which formed the materials of her spiritual life; and this recognition forms no hindrance to our acknowledgment of the deep symbolical significance of many things which are not only improbable but actually impossible if presented as real occurrences shown by Divine revelation. But the case of Jacob Behmen is far otherwise. Here we are dealing with a man before whose mental vision is set no astral image, but the Wisdom Itself. Does any one doubt this? The very first words of this book are enough to settle it. "A true Christian," says he, "hath no strife or contention with any man about religion. The Christendom that is in Babel striveth about the manner how men ought to serve and glorify him; also, how they are to know him, and what he is in his Essence and Will. And they preach positively that whosoever is not one and the same with them in every particular of knowledge and opinion is no Christian, but a heretic. *But a Christian is of no sect.* He can dwell in the midst of sects, and appear in their services, without being attached or bound to any." It is no wonder that one who lays this down as the foundation of all spirituality was persecuted by the ignorant Protestant clergy amongst whom he lived, as he would have been also amongst Catholics of that date, for this broad impartiality is *not* Christian (this is his sole error) but of the Wisdom. In Behmen's time and place it was not possible for him to rise through this to the higher generalisation which follows logically, that one who possesses the true Wisdom is of no "religion" and "can dwell in the midst of them all without being bound to any." A Theosophist, who has learned this also, will find in this book a vast amount which he will thoroughly enjoy, not because it is Jacob Behmen, not because it is Christian, but because it is the Wisdom which lived before Christianity and will survive it. Thus (for example) did ever any *exclusively* Christian theologian recognise the well-known higher teaching of the *Bhagavad Gîtá* as our author does in this passage?

"(Disciple:) O Master, the creatures which live in me do withhold me, so that I cannot so wholly yield and give myself up as I willingly would. What am I to do in this case? (Master:) Let

not this trouble thee. Doth thy *Will* go forth from the creatures? Then the creatures *are* forsaken in thee. They are in the world, and thy body, which is in the world, is with the creatures. But spiritually thou walkest with God, and conversest in Heaven. . . . And if thy Will thus leaveth the creatures, and goeth forth from them, even as the spirit goeth forth from the body at death; then are the creatures dead in it, and do live only in the body in the world. Since if thy Will do not bring itself into them, they cannot bring themselves into it, neither can they by any means touch the soul."

But for all this, Behmen's vision is marred, like Swedenborg's, by his education and the form of religion in which he was born. His temporary Christianity often raises a cloud between him and the eternal Wisdom; such popular and erring conceptions as Satan, the Fall of Man, and the like, every now and then come in with a painful jar on our susceptibilities. In the opening of the Fourth Dialogue we have this at its worst. In this the Angel of God meets the wandering soul, and teaches it to desire to know the creatures of the world in their essence and property, and not in their outside only, and to aim at being Master of Good and Evil. Finally the Angel "presents to the soul the Power that is in the fiery root of the Creature, that is the fiery Wheel of Essence in the form of a serpent." (Do you doubt *now* that Behmen *saw?*) But, alas, to our author this Angel is the Devil, and the desire to know is the breaking of the Will off from God, and this the Fall of Man. And yet if we set aside the blundering *interpretation* of the vision by Behmen's *lower* mind, how life-like is his story.

"The Devil said 'If thou dost break thy Will off from God, and bring it into this power and skill, then thy hidden ground will be manifested in thee, and thou mayest work in the same manner. But thou must eat of that Fruit, wherein each of the four elements in itself ruleth over the other, and is in strife. And then thou wilt be instantly as the fiery Wheel is, and so bring all things into thine own power, and possess them as thine own.' Now when the Soul broke its Will off thus from God, and brought it into the fiery Will (which is the Root of Life and Power) there presently arose in it a lust to eat of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil; and the Soul did eat thereof. Which as soon as it had done, instantly was kindled the fiery Wheel of its Essence, and thereupon all the properties of Nature awoke in the Soul, and exercised each its own desire."

I do not remember that any Occultist has ever so plainly expound-

ed the actual attainment of puberty in the race and the individual; the process whereby Humanity ceased to be mindless sheep under the crook of its Divine Rulers and became the existing body of living men, knowing at least somewhat of good and evil, and ever spurred into action and progress by the warring desires of Nature; in short, the Fall from a Heaven of amiable but hopeless imbecility to this Earth with its wholesome stirring Life. In the individual life the signification is the same; those who have followed the teaching of our books will know well when and why the fiery Wheel of Essence in the form of a Serpent is kindled, and how out of the chaos of warring desires the Divine Fire may be trusted to work out in the end the soul's deliverance.

To our Christian friends these Dialogues may be unreservedly commended. They cannot read them without having their ideas widened, their prejudices diminished, their love and aspiration enkindled and the weary common-place of the religion of their churches and chapels stirred with glimpses of a higher light and a deeper meaning. Those who know enough to feel the defects I have noted will, I venture to think, do well not to allow themselves to be repelled by them. There cannot be a more useful exercise for those who aim at doing something to enlighten the world around them than to learn from Behmen how much of the Truth can be conveyed in the Christian language and under the forms of thought familiar to those we desire to teach.

A. A. W.

A Critical Study on the Kabalah

Étude sur les Origines et la Nature du Zohar précédée d'une Étude sur l'Histoire de la Kabbale. Par S. Karppe, Docteur ès lettres. (Paris: Alcman, 108, Boulevard Saint-Germain; 1901. Prix *7fr.* 50.)

This is a work that deserves the attention of all who are interested in the history of the tradition of Jewish mysticism and especially in the problem of the mediæval Zoharitic collection of documents which contain the doctrines and methods designated by their adherents as *the* Tradition or Kabalah. Dr. Karppe writes with sympathy of the lofty mystical ideas which form the good and permanent element hidden in the general chaos of phantasy and puerility which has almost without exception obscured the Wisdom tradition along every line of descent. With these ideas our readers are generally familiar,

and a student of comparative theosophy will at once find himself at home in the better elements of the Kabalah and will hear on all sides echoes of what he has learned elsewhere. These ideas are common to all mystic tradition and, in our opinion, historic research as we understand it to-day is entirely inadequate to the task of tracing them to their source; their source lies not in the outer realm of things. History is competent only to trace the tradition of the *forms* in which they are handed down, and even this task is, owing to the imperfect record, for the most part beyond her. For this state of affairs the mystic himself is mostly to blame, or perhaps it would be more just to say that the editors and commentators on the mystic pronouncements and prophetic utterances are the chief sinners against history. These invariably claim that *their* tradition of the Wisdom is the original and only true one, and with a race so fanatic and particularist as the Jewish it is only to be expected that we should find it claimed by its adherents that the Kabalah was given by Yahweh to Adam in Paradise!—the Kabalah was the secret teaching of which the books of the Law were the outer covering. But the historical critic makes short work of this pious self-deception, and finds in the claim only a subterfuge whereby the authority of the Law (by means of a dexterous manipulation of texts and the most arbitrary letter-juggling) could be invoked for the reception of non-Jewish ideas into the strictly preserved precincts of Jewish exclusiveness. But the main difficulty with which the historian has to struggle is the fact that this mystic tradition was hedged about with an inviolable secrecy. It was in its beginning presumably entirely oral, and even when it developed a literature the documents were guarded with the greatest jealousy, and none of those which could throw any direct light on the characteristic forms of the Kabalah proper have survived.

Dr. Karppe rejects the conservative view that the Zohar-collection, or even its oldest deposit, can be ascribed, as tradition ascribes it, to the writing down of the old oral post-exilic tradition by Simeon ben Jochai about the middle of the second century A.D. That this is true of the heterogeneous collection of documents of various date and recension now known collectively as the Zohar is indubitably correct, as the researches of numerous scholars have demonstrated. But even when we have settled which of these documents can be legitimately ascribed to the ingenious industry of Moses de Leon himself in the thirteenth century, we have still to separate out his "sources" from their "over-working." It is, in our opinion, quite

beyond the limits of legitimate hypothesis to assume that he invented the whole of it; there is some deposit of ancient material on which he based his "translation." The question that arises is: how old is this deposit? Dr. Karppe appears to be unwilling to carry it back in any distinct form to an earlier date than three or four centuries prior to the thirteenth century; all earlier than this is left utterly vague, and we wander compassless in the unsatisfactory domain of "Tendenz" instead of steering a straight course to some surveyed point of historical certainty. Now, though we reserve any expression of opinion as to the qualified historicity of the Simeon ben Jochai tradition, it is remarkable that we have a striking piece of historical evidence which is to be dated at latest about 180 A.D., some thirty years after the *floruit* of the Jewish doctor. This convincing testimony to the antiquity of one element of the oldest deposit of the Zoharitic documents consists in a lofty and elaborate description of Macroprosopus or the Greater Countenance of Kabalistic tradition. It is not an outline or hint, not a germ or embryo of a doctrine, but an elaborate and finished exposition of the symbolic Head of the Heavenly Man. This will be found in the Untitled Apocalypse of the Coptic Gnostic Codex Brucianus, a document ascribed by Professor Carl Schmidt to about 180 A.D., and the idea-material of which may well be far earlier. Dr. Karppe (and so far no student of the Kabalah) has not noticed this passage,' a passage which, in our opinion, gives an entirely new point of departure in the historical criticism of Kabalistic tradition. Here we have a most intimate point of contact between the Kabalah and Gnosticism, and the ground for a belief that at any moment some new "find" may throw a startling light on this most obscure tradition of non-Jewish ideas engrafted on the intractable stem of Jewish legalism from the days of the Exile onward—a "golden bough" that served as passport to many a struggling soul emprisoned in the materialism of the Jewish law to the freedom of the unseen. This of course does not apply to anything but the really mystical elements in the tradition; the *tohu-bohu* of superstition and number-juggling and the rest were the chaotic elements which ever fought against the light and its ordered harmony of true reason.

But to conclude, Dr. Karppe has done his work well, and has made discriminating use of the painstaking labours of German Rabbins and scholars, especially those of Jellinek; he also refers us to the original texts and quotes the important passages in unpointed Hebrew.

It must, however, be remarked that if the Hebrew quotations are as carelessly printed as the Greek there is need of a careful revision. Finally, it is pleasant to pass so satisfactory a judgment on a book on the Kabalah in French, for since the work of Franck, the books on the subject in that language have been of little value to the student of history.

G. R. S. M.

A Palingenetic Fiction

The Dream-Woman. By Kythe Wylwynne. (London: Fisher Unwin; 1901. Price 6*s*.)

This is rather a chaotic conception, treated of by an author (or authoress?) possessed of a florid imagination. One wonders if there were perhaps some dream or series of dreams which suggested such a confused plot. There is a commonplace Mr. and Mrs. Merne who have an ordinary child, but they are told by a Dream-Woman, who is or was Mrs. Merne in her former life, that they are to call the child Orai, because it is the reincarnation of a god Orai. This god was worshipped in the olden times in a city called Oranix somewhere near Patagonia. In Oranix Mr. Merne suddenly remembers having been a king by name Astaphai, and Mrs. Merne was a priestess called Mercia, whom he fell in love with but for many reasons could not marry. He is told off by the priests to marry a certain lady called Agnai, but he breaks down in the middle of the marriage ceremony and postpones the happy event *sine die*, because the priestess Mercia appears and assists at the service. Upon this Agnai with many evil arts hunts Mercia to death; but the priestess reappears at once in a luminous form and explains that she is and was the god Orai himself and proceeds to devastate the city and the nation in general.

When Mr. Merne's child is born, the Dream-Woman appears to explain that this is Orai the god turned up again, though why such an extraordinary privilege should be conferred on the race we are left to imagine. She says to the child "All men again live in thee. Thou canst be all things to all men, Orai." The child, however, behaves like an ordinary infant, and there is a want of sequence in the plan of the book. One cannot, however, help feeling that the fabric of the dream is of rich material though badly arranged.

A. L. B. H.

MAGAZINES AND PAMPHLETS

THE *Theosophist*, September. "Old Diary Leaves" this month is mainly a record of travelling, which does not lend itself to précis-writing. I will only immortalise the Colonel's arrival at New York, where a drawing-room had been engaged at the Astor House, and small tables placed round the four sides for the convenience of the dozen reporters lying in wait. "Thither," says the Colonel, "I was taken, installed in a big armchair, allowed to remove my coat, as it was a very warm evening; and then subjected to a cross-questioning about my doings within the twelve years since my departure for India, and, generally, the condition and prospects of the Theosophical movement. Of course," he adds pathetically, "it was very late before I could get to bed." His journeyings end, for the time, with a very kindly reception in Japan. Miss Edger, in No. V. of her "Glimpses of Theosophical Christianity," speaks of Faith, and the efficacy of Prayer. Next we have a thoughtful article by J. C. Chakravarti, "On the Threshold of the Life Beyond." *Râma Gîtâ* is continued, and the number ends with a selection from Bowden's "Imitation of Buddha" and the conclusion of T. Banon's "Astrological Warnings."

Prasnottara, August, contains a notice of the formation of a new Union at Headquarters, entitled "Kâshi Sachchidânand Union." Its objects are thus stated: 1. *Sat.* To try to make the members realise the truth in nature, and to promote truth in life and character. 2. *Chit.* To understand the intelligence behind all phenomena, and to increase their own knowledge by the study of sacred and scientific books. 3. *Ânanda.* To feel that life is all joy, in spite of apparent misery, and to engender a feeling of love and brotherliness amongst the members, by avoiding all idle and spiteful talk against each other, and to renounce all criticism of each other's conduct behind his back. We cannot but wish success to such a Union, spite of a certain suggestion of the faith-healers' "Denial" in the opening of the third object. But we may love our brethren, even if by ill-luck "to feel that life is all joy" is for the time beyond us. The article on Sândhya is continued, and the treatise on Shrî Kṛishṇa is concluded. In the September number the space thus left vacant is filled by answers to questions, including an important reply as to the survival of the desires when the desire-body is disintegrated.

Central Hindu College Magazine, September, also devotes some space to the answering of questions. The remaining portion well keeps up the character of this very promising magazine.

Theosophic Gleaner, September, opens its eleventh year with good wishes for its fellow workers and all earnest seekers after Truth. K. E. Masani, M.A., gives an interesting parallel between the theories of immortality expounded by the Buddha and Spinoza, concluding that the difference, "if there is any beyond mere differences of terminology," lies in the exclusive attention of Spinoza to the intellectual nature whilst the Buddhist view mainly regards morality. Other articles are "The Study of Meteorology," "Poe's Glimpses into Cloudland," "Modern Mystics," by Dr. W. W. Westcott, from *Notes and Queries*, and Mrs. Leo on "Mercury and Jupiter."

Of the other Indian magazines we have *The Dawn*, containing amongst other things a vigorous castigation of Prof. Max Müller for his views on Durgâ, Shiva, and Kâlî; *The Ârya*, which has a letter from Tolstoy, who is of opinion that all the troubles of India would cease if there were no Indian soldiers; *The Brahmavâdin; San Mârga Bodhinî; Awakener of India; Indian Review*, September, which gives a long extract from the papers on Shrî Kṛishṇa in the *Hindu College Magazine*, but without comment; and the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October.

The Vâhan, September, contains the notice of the resignation of Dr. Wells, the General Secretary of the European Section, and the temporary filling of his place by Mr. B. Keightley, one of the Secretaries of the Indian Section. In addition to some correspondence upon previous answers, we have in the "Enquirer" answers as to the precise measure of worship a Theosophist may pay to Jesus Christ, as to the position of India as a land specially beloved by some of the Masters, and whether the stage of development, by which animals can no longer in this round enter the human kingdom, extends also to the lower orders of nature.

Revue Théosophique, September, opens with a translation of Mrs. Besant's "Some Problems of Religion." Dr. Pascal concludes his "Law of Reincarnation"; L. Revel continues his "Mysticism and the Mystics," a paper which promises to be well worth separate republication, and we have a further instalment of C. W. Leadbeater's "Ancient Peru."

Theosophia, September, consists mainly of translations from H. P. B., Mrs. Besant and Mr. Leadbeater. J. van Manen furnishes a translation of Rhys Davids' version of the Ketokhila Sutta, and there is a full account of the President's visit to the Hague on the 18th of August.

Théosophie, October, gives a vigorous reply to certain "Catholic and Masonic" Brussels newspapers who have ventured to speak disrespectfully of H. P. B. If only there were any chance of the readers of the attack getting sight of the refutation!

Der Vâhan, October, summarises the September number of this Review in its usual fashion, and gives the questions and answers from the October *Vâhan*. The rest of the number continues the Obituary Notices of H. P. B.'s death and C. W. L.'s *Clairvoyance*.

Teosofia, September, has only translations this time. We hope our Italian friends' literary activity is only suspended by the summer heat, and will revive when *villegiatura* is over.

Sophia, October, opens with the conclusion of Mrs. Besant's "Power of Thought"; then follows a portion of Dr. Pascal's Geneva Lectures; our own "Watch-Tower" furnishes several pages on the recent archæological discoveries in Crete; and amongst other matters the transformation of Gautama Buddha into Saint Josaphat is detailed. For our own part we can't see the joke. That the uninstructed Catholics who happened to read the life of Buddha, without a suspicion of the date at which he lived, should have recognised that he *was* a Saint, and worshipped him accordingly, seems to us equally creditable to their intuition and their religion; and if Dr. Welldon, the Anglican Bishop of Calcutta, had so much religion in him as to do the like, we should think much better of his Christianity than we do now.

The Theosophic Messenger for October opens a new volume, and the "Search Light" is once more in action after a long eclipse. From it we are glad to find that Mr. Leadbeater's plain speaking at the Convention has given no serious offence to our American friends' sensitive nerves, and the Editor prints two "points unfavourable to Americans" without the smallest outcry. Such a triumph of Theosophical principles must not pass unnoticed. The National Committee suggest that everyone should set apart five minutes daily, at noon, to wish for Peace and Harmony all the world over. C. W. L.'s lecture on the "Desire Elemental" we hope to have in English print The question of the survival of desires after the dissipation of the astral body, which has been frequently raised of late, is answered by a passage where, in describing the return of a man to a new incarnation, he says: "The new astral body which he gets will be practically the same kind of thing (as his last), capable of expressing the same kind of passion. *But there will be in it no desire*, for there will be

no desire left, but the man will have in his astral body matter which can be stirred up into a certain form of passion, if the desire should arise. He has made for himself this type of astral body, and he gets what he has made."

Theosophy in Australasia, August, is a pleasant number, the more substantial portions of which are "The Vedic Origin of Christianity," by H. A. Wilson and T. H. Martyn's "Vairâgya."

New Zealand Theosophical Magazine, September, is, as always, cheerful reading, and the two serious papers, Mrs. Judson's "Dharma" and Agnes Davidson's "Hill of Difficulty," are but a small part of the "Good Words" for grown-ups and children also, which it offers to its readers.

Also received: *Modern Astrology; Light; Notes and Queries; Monthly Record; Psycho-Therapeutic Journal*, an organ established as a journal of the proceedings of the lately founded London "Psycho-Therapeutic Society"; *Coming Events; Humanity;* and *Astrological Manuals*, No. I.: "Everybody's Astrology," by Alan Leo (price 1s.).

From the Free Age Press we have four tracts by Leo Tolstoy, "Popular Stories and Legends," 2 series, 4*d.* each; "The Relations of the Sexes," 4*d.*; and "The Only Means," 1*d.* A few lines from one of these may be of interest as a handy summary of the conclusions at which Tolstoy has arrived. He says: "There cannot be, and never has been, Christian marriage, any more than Christian worship, Christian teachers and fathers of the Church, nor Christian property, nor a Christian army, nor law courts, nor government!" I fear that we in England are hardly prepared for the new Tolstoyan Gospel of complete Anarchy. It is the old, old confusion. There *will* come a time when all these (yes—*all* these!) will be no longer needed; but their destruction is not, and never can be, the way to train humanity to that height of virtue which is implied. When mankind are *good* enough to do without the present institutions of society, the old forms will drop away of themselves. But we cannot go back to the savage life for a new start, as Tolstoy would have us.

W.

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