

THE QUEST

A Quarterly Review.

Edited by G. R. S. Mead.

Vol. XVI. OCTOBER, 1924. No. 1.

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JOHN M. WATKINS,

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Vol. XV.

JULY, 1924.

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THE QUEST

RELIGION AND THE SCIENTIFIC MIND.

The late Prof. ÉMILE BOUTROUX,
Membre de l'Académie.

WE find ourselves living in an age wholly given up to science and its applications. Everything now-a-days is matter for strictly scientific explanation and investigation. Religion is one of the subjects that largely attract the attention of seekers after truth. It is being studied from the historical, the psychological, the pathological and the sociological points of view; it is investigated as a thing given, a crude fact. But is it really no more than a thing, analogous to the other things that make up life? It is not enough for a question to give rise to various expositions in order that its object may be a really living one. There are many things, astrology and alchemy, for instance, which appeal to the curiosity of a scientist, but which are none the less dead and buried. Is religion simply a matter of erudition and science? Or is it still a living thing? Does it deserve to continue to live?

Our opinion may well be that religion, even at the present time when we are witnessing the apotheosis of

science, ought not to be regarded solely as a thing of the past—a matter of pure curiosity, that it still has its part to play in our life, whether social or individual, and that it has by no means ceased to be one of the forces that control the progress of the world.

We are then engaged in a useful, a necessary work, when we remind men that religion is a present reality, a problem which cannot be shirked. But in so doing we are imposing upon ourselves a far more difficult task than that of the scientist, who has his instruments of observation, and whose mind is in a state of perfect detachment as regards the issue. After all, the issue or result matters nothing to him; whatever it be, he will have satisfied his curiosity and effected his purpose if he has established some particular law he had in mind.

We, on the other hand, are working for a definite result. In a spirit of honesty and rectitude, both intellectual and moral, it is our desire that religion shall continue to mould our conduct. But, in order to live, it is not sufficient to desire life. We do not live altogether for ourselves; we live in accordance with the conditions of our environment. A thing can continue in existence only when there is a certain accord between itself and the rest of creation. The scientist may very well refuse to consider this problem: he does not investigate the future. But we cannot imitate him in this; we are bound to ask ourselves whether or not religion is compatible with the world in which we have to live.

This is a question that has always existed, though it is a far more burning one now than ever before. Indeed the one special characteristic of our period is the universal correlation of facts. In these days it is

no longer possible to remain apart and hold solitary communion with God. We are absolutely compelled to listen to what is being said in the world without; and, above all, to take science into account. And this gives rise to a special difficulty which the mind of a solitary individual is not called upon to face.

There is one virtue we desire to cultivate above all else, for which we have the greatest respect be it said to the credit of the age in which we are living. This virtue is sincerity. Sincerity is not an inert state; it does not simply consist in being what one is, in yielding to one's instinct or one's impulse. Sincerity is the harmony between our deeds, words and thoughts on the one hand and our deepest, truest, purest self on the other. In order to be genuinely sincere now-a-days, we must bring our desires, our wills and beliefs into harmony with the convictions imposed upon us by the conditions of our existence, and more particularly with modern science. For this reason it is no longer possible to consider religion purely and simply in itself. We must of necessity see to it whether our religious aspirations and convictions are compatible or not with the state of mind which science either has already created or must necessarily create in every reflecting individual.

This is the question I purpose to examine, or rather to broach, by enquiring into the methods which will enable us to study it to advantage.

I.

There is one method which seems to offer a ready response to the difficulties raised by the question; and that is the suppression of every point of contact between religion and science. Strife results from

friction ; conflicts are encounters. If it could be proved that religion exists, lives and grows in a region of the soul altogether distinct from the external world, no conflict would be possible. This solution is advocated by a considerable number of thinkers and philosophers and practised by many religious people.

But then is it as satisfying to the reflecting intellect as it is convenient for the individual who is satisfied with his own peace of mind ? The latter in certain environments may live in the imagination more than in the reason. Will the whole of mankind do the same ? Consider those families that remain enslaved by habit and custom and have no desire to become acquainted with what is taking place around them. Gradually they find themselves isolated ; their children, living as they do in the world, are influenced by the world, and finally a day comes when an open breach takes place between the past and the future.

The science of the present makes other claims than that of the past. Previous to the time of Claude Bernard certain domains of reality, such as life and more especially consciousness, were removed from the sphere of science strictly so called. But to-day science has discovered methods that enable it to investigate the most secret and intimate phenomena of life and consciousness.

Such is the method of correspondence, the method of the biassed standpoint, as it were, which, instead of approaching the phenomenon directly, consider it in certain of its signs and concomitants.

This indefinite extension of positive science has resulted in the fact that it has become impossible to mention a single phenomenon, a single mental state, which science does not claim as coming within its

sphere. Science, in theory if not in reality, regards itself as capable of bringing everything within its laws. It was with this idea in mind that Berthelot said: "To us nature has no longer any mysteries." He did not mean: "We have shed light upon all the mysteries of nature," but rather: "We know with the utmost certainty that those mysteries on which light has not yet been shed are analogous with those which we have explained."

Consequently it is not enough at present to trust to the distinction between the subjective and the objective and say: "Science is concerned with the objective, but we still have the subjective." This distinction, a real one no doubt, does not possess as regards science the character of absoluteness attributed to it. Between the subjective and the objective there are transitions; and science, both in fact and in theory, more and more encroaches upon domains once regarded as forbidden to it.

On the other hand, how can religion, if it becomes increasingly weakened, avoid contact with the encroachments of science? This is a situation which does not conform with religious traditions, with the ambition and hopes of the founders of religions. Can religion, which was to bring heaven down to earth, be afraid of the life and progress around it on every hand? Believing itself constantly hunted and hounded down, and knowing not where to fly for refuge, giving up everything that possesses apprehensible reality and form, to what straits has it been driven, if it confines itself within the domain of the indefinable, perhaps even of the imaginary?

Moreover, if we reflect on the matter, what is the worth of a purely individual faith, one that cannot

find confirmation in any sort of external proof, and which, it may be, is shared by no one? Such a faith no doubt will be of value for the individual; the individual may urge its certainty. There are two kinds of certainty, however, which must be distinguished from each other. On the one hand there is a distinctly felt certainty, which indeed is real, though of itself alone worthless. It is found in men of inferior intellect, who live wholly on error and illusion, and also in certain deranged persons who are convinced in the most absolute manner possible of the reality of the phantoms created by their indisposition. On the other hand for certainty to possess real value it must bear some relation to truth. Truth is not a function of certainty; it is certainty that is, or rather ought to be, a function of truth.

The method then which consists in claiming for religion a sphere inaccessible to science, is deceptive.

1. This sphere does not exist, since science claims to have a right over everything, to employ methods that enable it to examine and explain everything;

2. Religion thus finds itself degraded and disparaged, being no more than the shadow of itself, and unable to prove to itself its own value and reality.

We must therefore seek elsewhere. A reconciliation effected by separating the regions of enquiry may satisfy the individual; it cannot satisfy the human mind in this age. It by no means ensures the continuance of religion in the future; quite the contrary. Had religion no other guarantee of legitimacy, one does not see how, given the progress of science and of universal comparison, it could continue to be.

Still, might not this same reason which dualism

cannot satisfy, if we analyse its nature and the conditions of its development, supply us with the means of solving the problem more satisfactorily?

II.

The theories, alike religious and scientific, which I have just indicated, are based on a certain idea of reason which may not be the correct one. On both sides we see in reason nothing else than the faculty of combining or separating ideas in accordance with their relations of identity or contradiction alone. This strictly speaking is that abstract logical reason which reduces things to concepts, and compares these concepts from the standpoint of their mutual coincidence or exclusion. It forms the basis both of geometrical and of scientific reason generally.

Pascal, however, has taught us that this purely logical reason is not the whole of reason. It is one form only, abstract reason, drained of all its content. Our common reason is not that of the geometrician or the logician, which leaves realities out of account, and can only unite them by taking for granted an identity between them created by our understanding. Our common reason is a concrete and living faculty. When we say that a man is reasonable, we mean that he can adapt himself to things, or adapt things to his needs; and this while taking things as they are and at the same time remaining himself. Our concrete reason unites to one another, not concepts and abstractions, but beings regarded in their reality and their individual form.

This real living reason, distinct from purely logical reason, is after all the very soul and spring of philosophy. From the time of Plato more particularly

philosophy has been distinctly conscious of the attempt to discover between beings themselves, apart from simple and purely logical relations, those of identity and contradiction. To these relations Plato added what he called ideas, the principles of participation and community, enabling different beings to unite without destroying one another.

The entire history of philosophy is nothing else than an effort of reason to expand along these lines, and to understand beings. Its work is far from being at an end. Even in our society and in the relations of men to one another we are constantly witnessing the conflict between abstract reason which says: This will kill that, and concrete reason which aims at combining this with that in a higher reality.

France more particularly is accused of being too exclusively devoted to logical reason, too enamoured of uniformity, unity and mathematical regularity, too firmly convinced that the only lasting and rational form of things lies in a process of universal levelling. That is the standpoint of logical reason. But this reason is not the whole of reason, it is not true reason. It is neither popular reason nor the reason of the philosopher. The other reason, that which has to do with beings, endeavouring to understand them and to set them in harmony with one another without destroying or injuring them, is the true, living and productive reason in which we must trust.

I should like briefly to consider the meaning of science from the standpoint of this philosophical, this concrete living reason.

At present science is examined by numerous philosophers and scientists from that strictly philosophical point of view which men like Plato and Descartes have

taught us to distinguish from the purely scientific and the purely logical points of view. I will not analyse the great work of Henri Poincaré, so suddenly and lamentably broken off, though so decisive in character. He draws a distinction between science and reality. Science aims at formal perfection, which abstract and mathematical reason alone can attempt to realize. Now if we compare the results of science with the realities afforded us by intuition—the direct influence of things upon ourselves, which perhaps we cannot define and isolate, but which none the less imposes itself upon us as the initial fact, outside of which all the rest are but empty images—we see that it is unjust to regard science as coinciding exactly with reality.

Science is a system of concepts composed with reference to reality by means of elements which reality supplies, so that we may attempt to understand it, reduce it to thoughts and obtain possession of it. The laws of science point to a necessary relationship between two terms; they are reduced to concepts in such a way that we may include some in the rest; and thus, as the ideal aim of science, we glimpse one single law of which all particular laws would appear to be only applications. Can this unity, this absolute identity, be found in reality? Reality always offers us something new, and science cannot declare that everything capable of being already is.

That perfect science is the adequate representation of reality seems a simple matter to say. See, however, what this assertion signifies.

Science is the suppression of time,—another formula of Henri Poincaré. In the equation which expresses a curve, the whole of that curve is actually

present, even if it is infinite. According to science the new is such only in appearance. It is page 15 of a book read after page 14; page 15 was already in existence before it was read. All that was or will be, *is*; nothing else is possible. This is the dream of Parmenides realized,—the conception of the world according to science.

A very simple fact, however, the inevitable necessity of experience, shows that science cannot persuade itself that this conception is a faithful representation of the nature of things.

If we imagine we can affirm that at a given moment experience will be useless to the scientist, then we believe that science and reality exactly coincide and form one. If, however, we believe that experience will always be indispensable, that every theory will always have to be subjected to its control, susceptible of being revised, corrected and transformed, then we really do not know whether science is the measure of being or not.

Now, the first axiom of modern science is that experience is the basis of science. Of course it is allied to calculation. But, whereas there was once a tendency to believe that some day calculation would render experience useless, at present calculation is fundamentally tributary to experience. Calculation is an endless effort to render experience logically intelligible.

Such is the conception of science revealed by philosophical criticism.

III.

We will now consider religion from the standpoint of concrete living reason, and we will distinguish concept from idea, as Plato does.

Concept is the union of those features that are common to a certain number of different beings. Idea is the perfect form of a category of beings or even of a single one. We will take a very simple instance of this distinction. The concept of man is the sum total of such qualities as are necessary to denote a man, a being belonging to the human species. The idea of man is the most perfect form of humanity we can conceive. It is impossible to confuse these two notions. The English language, for instance, has two distinct words to express the concept and the idea of humanity. The word *human* corresponds to the concept of man; the word *humane* corresponds to the idea of man, to the notion of man as he ought to be.

To seek to determine the concept of religion, is to try to discover what all religions have in common; and, as there is an infinite number of religions, it implies gradually stripping the notion of almost the whole of its content, reducing it to an increasingly empty form. This concept is the object of science. But here it is our distinct purpose to consider religion, not only from the point of view of science, but also from that of life.

Now from the point of view of life, all the results which science can give, though assuredly not negligible, are still inadequate. What we need is not the concept of religion, nor even the knowledge of religion, as it has existed throughout the whole of the human race, alike in the most civilized and the most primitive of men, but rather the idea of the most perfect, living and firmly-grounded religion that man can conceive.

What we wish to realize is not the concept of a scholar, but the religion that a human soul requires. No doubt our conceptions are always far inferior to

truth ; still, it is most important to find out whether we simply intend to demand of science what it thinks of religion—an endless as well as an academic task ; or, appealing not only to knowledge but also to intellect and heart, to endeavour to find and to live as perfect, as complete and as lofty a religion as we can possibly conceive.

If, with this idea in mind, we try to find out what constitutes religion, we discover that it implies two main ideas : the idea of God and that of a relation between creature and God. Do not forget that we are only trying to see if man, without abdicating his reason, can admit the religious principle. Consequently we have no intention either of discussing or of criticizing anything that affects actual religions : these are the concrete means of realizing the idea of religion ; they are justified by results.

What is God ? How should he be conceived and how is he conceived by the religious soul ?

It is easy to say that the concept of God is infinitely vague and indefinable. It may be so, if we attempt to determine it scientifically by eliminating everything that is not to be found except in the given conceptions of divinity. This, strictly speaking, is the concept, not the idea, of God. The God of religion is something quite different. He is a living, concrete, personal being, endowed with the loftiest perfections. He is infinite, not in the old sense of the word, that he is lacking in qualities ; but rather in so far as he contains all perfections.

This definition seems a very simple one, because we are accustomed to it and repeat it mechanically. On reflection, however, we see that this idea is more paradoxical than any other, an idea that is scarcely

rational, but rather that is required, though not comprehended, by reason. Indeed our natural everyday life proves to us that the various perfections we may seek are extremely difficult to realize, to reconcile with one another. The very first example of the difficulty we experience in uniting all the perfections we can conceive, is physical life itself; for here we cannot possibly possess at the same time the qualities of youth, of middle life and of old age, though we are conscious that a union of them all would be a greater perfection. How often in this world have philosophers proved that evil is the condition of good! Rousseau said this in words of terrible import: "Certain men must serve in order that I may be free."

God: this is the absolutely paradoxical idea that no one perfection is excluded by other perfections; that to make a choice from amongst these perfections is an inferior point of view; that in perfect being they each have their full development and at the same time form but one. Whenever in the essence of God reason points to an antinomy, it is not formulating an objection but rather stating a problem. The religious soul requires that this problem shall be solved: it sees the solution.

The God of the religious soul, a living solution of the final problems of life, is a real, distinct, personal Being, a Being with whom one lives and is in substantial communion, and not simply, as Pascal phrases it, a proposition.

How can God be thus conceived? For, in a word, our reason is evidently bewildered by the affirmations we are induced to make regarding him. At the outset, he may seem a mass of contradictions, of irreconcilable propositions. On reflection, however, reason and the

religious consciousness gradually come to perceive, perhaps not the synthesis, the complete reconciliation of these apparently contradictory terms, but some method of combining them. There is one idea which enables us to grasp the possibility of uniting qualities logically contrary to each other: the idea of spirit.

IV.

What is meant by spirit, in ordinary language and in philosophical terminology alike? It is the faculty of uniting qualities whose external representations, both logical and material, are incompatible with one another. Whenever we consider perfections, things good in themselves, as irreconcilable, it is because we are thinking in terms of space, because our thought is spatial, because being for us is reduced to matter. It is in the material and external world that things are impenetrable, and that, when a certain place is occupied by an object, no other can find room therein.

Spirit is indeed the region containing qualities which cannot coëxist in visible external nature.

We said just now that it was impossible to be young, middle-aged and old simultaneously. This is impossible materially, and, if we are materialists, we declare the idea of reconciling these qualities with one another to be absurd. But any day we might happen to say regarding some person or other: "He was a remarkable man, for his spirit combined the qualities of youth with those of adult life and of old age." Spirit is the possibility of indefinite enrichment. The reason why God comprehends all possible and imaginable perfections, is that he is pure spirit.

Thus, when we say that the second element in religion is the relation between God and the world, as

expressed in these two phrases: "Thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven" and "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father, which is in heaven, is perfect,"—what do we mean, except that men must endeavour to be spiritual, to live in spirit? Spirit is the connecting link between nature and God. Within ourselves we bear witness to this possibility of transcending nature by spirit; and just in proportion as we develop this interior life, so do we make ourselves capable of the religious life. For the spirit of every man, which nature cannot explain and which is seeking itself, is manifestly not self-sufficing. It draws its being and power from that perfect Spirit which men call God.

Still, we must not therefore conclude that it is necessary to separate ourselves from the world. The world is the creation of God, who has assuredly set on it some mark of his perfection. And so by suitably using the world, by acquiring the greatest possible number of qualities, we shall become spirits increasingly ardent and pure, ever more and more worthy of uniting with God.

If such is the truly rational attitude to adopt regarding science and religion, then it is possible, intelligently and rationally, to reconcile these two powers.

The aim of science is the necessary, the single, the immutable; but then this dead absolute is not the nature of things themselves, it is an idea. It is permissible—it is even very philosophical to my mind—to consider reality, the laws of nature regarded in themselves, as contingent, even though the scientific laws, the formulæ found in scientific books, postulate universal necessity. Science is a language; but on

language is the simple reproduction of what it expresses. The words we utter are precise and fixed, ready-made articles so to speak ; whereas our thought is living and fluid, it is continually endeavouring to find such combinations of words as will interpret it with tolerable accuracy.

Because necessary connection, therefore, is taken for granted by science, it does not follow that necessity is inherent in things themselves, and that the latter exclude contingency altogether. In my opinion a close philosophical analysis of the relations of science to reality shows both the legitimacy of the determinist point of view of science and the contingency inherent in the nature of things.

Hence we have this problem : If the relations of things are contingent, what means this contingency ?

Two solutions are possible. Contingency may be the effect of hazard : this was the teaching of Epicurus. Another answer, however, is conceivable : this contingency may be the mark of the activity of a free being, a being that aims at certain ends alien to matter, a being that possesses certain super-natural qualities. It may be that the principle of the good, the beautiful and the true is not a simple abstraction, but a real living force, manifesting itself in this world.

This second solution—God as the author and originator of the world—could not be imposed upon us in the name of experience and reasoning alone. It is, however, possible we can choose it. This option is religion, which consists in saying : Yes, one might suppose that everything in the world is the product of chance ; but, as Kant said, “I will that God be.” This is, in the words of Pascal, a solution conformable with, though transcending, reason ; a solution required

by the whole of our being, which finds its satisfaction therein, a solution that carries us from the world of matter and necessity into that of grace and freedom.

Thus religion shows itself as both rational and super-natural, and reason forms the connecting link between religion and nature.

V.

It might appear that we had now solved, as well as we could, the question of the compatibility of religion with science. This choice in favour of God, however, and not of hazard, signifies belief in the possibility of the effective operation of the idea of good and of providence in this world of ours. It signifies belief in the possibility of communion between man and the principle of supreme goodness. Now, is this possibility only an intellectual one, or can it be realized?

Positive religions, based on facts, whether historical or actual, and on concrete realities, appear as the realization in this world of ours of the ideal conceived by religious thought. The question then of the efficacy of the ideal could only be truly solved by an examination of the effective *rôle* played by religions in human life.

Without entering upon this weighty problem we may, unless I am mistaken, assure ourselves that we can effectively give a religious form to our life and say what it is that constitutes the first outline of this form.

What is that attitude which sets us in the direction of God?

There is one word frequently used even now-a-days when speaking of religious beliefs, and that word is

tolerance. Tolerance towards our fellow-beings constitutes a minimum of regard or consideration, and with this I can find no fault: it is better to tolerate than to fight, to support than to kill one another. Tolerance is the first indication of a religious mental attitude. It is, however, so restricted, so inadequate a minimum, that we may regard it as nothing more than a purely negative condition. Very often to tolerate is to assume that, so far as we are concerned, truth is *our* own particular possession; it is a condescending to give others such time as may be necessary for them to abandon their erroneous views and become converted to our own ideas. We tolerate error, as we tolerate ignorance—*donec corrigatur*.

But if God is what we have said, *i.e.* union and reconciliation, the spiritual unity of all perfections, even of those which a vain or stubborn understanding of abstract logic might regard as contradictory, how could such a conception of our duty to the rest of mankind draw us nearer to him?

Jacob Boehme, the famous shoemaker philosopher of Görlitz, had a truer conception of the religious point of view, when he wrote in his *Aurora*: "Consider the birds in the forest. Each praises God in its own way, in the most diverse keys and modes. Do we find that God is offended by this diversity; does he impose silence on voices which you regard as discordant? All forms of being are dear to the One Infinite Being."

Of a surety no individual or group of individuals, no human society or even race, not even the whole of mankind, can attempt to equal divine perfection, can realize and reconcile, harmonize and unify the infinite perfections which constitute God.

Tolerance, then, is better than war; it may be

slightly better than open scorn, but in reality it is very little after all.

We owe our fellow-beings something better than tolerance, and that is respect. They do not differ from us as error differs from truth, ignorance from knowledge, dishonesty from sincerity. They are other than we are, not contrary. This difference enables them to contemplate and imitate such aspects of divine perfection as are less accessible to ourselves. We should respect those who are called as we are, though in different ways, to realize something of God in this world.

But respect alone is not sufficient. Men owe it to themselves to help one another, to bring into one common fund their ideas and qualities, their individual talents, thus correcting as far as possible their distinctive limitations. The opinion which regards this union as incapable of being effected except on the ground of uniformity and identity, proceeds from that geometrical mode of understanding, from that abstract reason which we are here attempting to transcend, and which conceives of the good and the true only as being one and the same. If we think we have sole possession of truth, and believe that truth consists only in a ready-made 'shut-in' kind of formula, all that our fellow-beings may think is a matter of indifference to us; or if we do trouble about their opinions, it will be because we wish to make them similar to our own. If, however, we believe that the spirit is the faculty of uniting the most diverse qualities, we shall regard as possible and fruitful the union of souls on the ground of diversity. We shall not believe that they are necessarily impermeable to each other, like two material bodies, but rather that

they are capable of harmonizing and blending together like flats and sharps in a musical chord, like love and geometry in the soul of a Pascal. We shall believe in the possible realization of that profound maxim of Swedenborg: *distincte unum*.

Let us consider that, in Christianity more particularly, the doctrine of the Trinity is based precisely on this idea of the one in the many and the many in the one. It is really along the lines of religion, and not only along those of philosophy, that reason directs us, provided we apply ourselves, not to abstract reason, for which $1=1$ and $3=3$, but to that more real and potent reason I have mentioned: concrete reason. It is in conformity with the spirit and the letter both of Christianity and of reason itself to regard the early rudiments and signs of specifically religious virtue as based not only on tolerance but on respect and brotherhood in our relations with other men, and to consider that religion begins in a common effort on the part of men to realize spirit to the utmost, that mysterious power which unites, reconciles and unifies the things that seem hostile and irreconcilable in the order of material realities.

ÉMILE BOUTROUX.

(Authorized Translation by FRED ROTHWELL.)

(In the next number we hope to contribute a paper entitled 'A Glance at the Scientific Approach to Religion,' the subject of the Conference of Modern Churchmen at Oxford, Aug. 25-Sept. 1.—ED.)

SOME ASPECTS OF THE LIFE OF COLERIDGE.

S. ELIZABETH HALL.

THE reasons why Coleridge is generally regarded as having made a failure of his life are mainly three: that his poetic gift had but a brief flowering season; that he appeared to lack strength of will, seldom carrying out a purpose to its fulfilment; and that he fell a victim to the habit of taking opium. The world has accepted without much difficulty the verdict given in sadness by Wordsworth, after years of devoted friendship: "He has no voluntary power of mind whatever, nor is he capable of acting under any constraint of duty or moral obligation." This, however, should be read side by side with the expression which the news of his death drew from the same lips,—that Coleridge was "the most *wonderful* man that he had ever known."

His many-sidedness was one of the things that made Coleridge wonderful. For about two-thirds of his life it was also a cause of weakness. Philosopher, poet, social reformer, theologian, leader-writer, and probably the greatest conversationalist on record, he was distracted by the multitude of calls that life made on him from every side. He was also distracted by the necessity he found in his own mind of recognizing the many sides of truth. He lived in a period of confused and contrary impulses. The new movement towards freedom in life and thought had been paralyzed

with horror at the spectacle of the French Revolution. The doctrines of Godwin and his circle were gaining an ever wider influence; uncompromising atheism was being taught by such fiery exponents as Holcroft and John Thelwall; while Shelley at the age of twenty set out from Keswick to redress the wrongs of Ireland, and Joseph Gerrald was dying in prison, a victim to the Government's panic-stricken precautions, which were imperilling the freedom of public speech. Among these various teachers the voice of Coleridge sounded a note of its own. Whether preaching in a Unitarian pulpit, discoursing in a London lecture hall, or writing in the *Morning Post*, he never adopted a label, political or religious, he never professed allegiance to any one system of thought. In the Preface to *The Constitution of Church and State*, he begs that he may not be suspected of predilection for any particular sect or party; "for wherever I look in religion or politics, I seem to see a world of power and talent wasted on the support of half-truths." Insight such as this does not spell effectiveness in public life. It was inevitable that metaphysical speculation should take the place of definite practical endeavour. Pantisocracy failed, but philosophy was there to minister to a mind diseased.

There is no doubt that Coleridge was at his best and happiest as a poet. In the exercise of the poetic gift alone could he find full satisfaction, and accordingly it is in verse only that he attains that simplicity of expression which shows an inward state of harmony. Outside poetry, he was apt to be involved and obscure, as witness the letter, full of the mists of metaphysical theology, written to Charles Lamb in his affliction. The tragedy was that 'the shaping spirit of imagination' was so often paralyzed by the powerful urge of

some other impulse. Wordsworth as well as Coleridge was possessed of the contemplative instinct; both sought a philosophic basis for the fabric of the poet's vision; both moreover were pioneers in that psychological enquiry which was destined in the future to affect so profoundly the spheres of religion, philosophy and ethics. But though their mental outlook was very similar, their intellectual methods were totally different. Wordsworth was the builder, Coleridge the seer. Wordsworth could unify and construct, while the vision of Coleridge flashed in an instant to the four corners of heaven. Wordsworth succeeded in effecting a harmony of philosophy and poetry, in which each element found its complement in the other. With Coleridge the two themes were set in different keys and operated to each other's detriment. Wordsworth built a house and dwelt in it. Coleridge was a homeless wanderer in the empyrean, where the storms beat on him and the sunlight flashed upon his wings.

Only for the two golden years at Nether Stowey—passed in the enjoyment of a perfect friendship, and daily inspiring intercourse with William and Dorothy Wordsworth—did Coleridge exercise freely the poetic gift that was his. During that short period, when “Life went a-maying with Nature, Hope and Poesy,” *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, Part I. of *Christabel*, *Kubla Khan*, *France*, and *Frost at Midnight*, were all produced—a rich and early harvest. In the first two of these the poet's intuition of the weird and fantastic is raised to its highest power. He waves his magic wand, and in place of that world to which custom and habit of thought have given the *imprimatur* of real, a new universe rises before our eyes: the world of

imagination realized. The truth of Coleridge's symbolism is shown by the fact that it cannot (like that of *The Faerie Queene*, for instance) be explained by a labelling of details. Only by feeling the poem, by making it an experience, can an understanding of it be gained.

But the magic casement closed. The true story of the break in Coleridge's life that occurred at the end of the Nether Stowey period will probably never be known; nor is it either necessary or reverent to inquire closely into it. The crisis appears in various aspects. After the residence at Keswick began, the attacks of illness, to which he had before been subject, grew worse, and were accompanied by paroxysms of pain of which the cause was never ascertained, even by *post mortem* examination. The trials of his domestic life increased, the imaginative power which had been 'the joy within him' was lost, while the habit of taking laudanum, applied to first for relief from mental suffering but which had come to be a necessity in physical pain, now attained such mastery over him that his will to resist it was paralyzed, while his mind all the while clearly perceived the ruin that was overtaking him. It would be unfair to impute the whole blame for the domestic difficulties to Mrs. Coleridge. The marriage, into which Coleridge had been hurried while still under the influence of his boyhood's hopeless passion for Mary Evans, was originally part of the Pantisocratic scheme, and was also to some extent due to ill-judged pressure from Southey. It appears to have been entered upon with real affection on both sides; but the two temperaments were fundamentally at variance. Mrs. Coleridge was by nature unable to enter into the interests and

purposes of her husband, who on the other hand, especially after the laudanum-habit had taken possession of him, could not have been a person to contribute much to the comfort of domestic life. Probably the sharing of the house at Keswick with the Southey's did not tend to improve matters, the brother-in-law being one who might have been designed by Providence as a living reproach to Coleridge, from the domestic point of view. The continual slight jars, the constant proofs of a lack of sympathy, were more than Coleridge, to whom sympathy was a necessity of life, could endure.

But though the troubles of his private life were an important element in the crisis, they do not seem fully to explain the entire break-up of the inner life, the paralysis of the poetic gift, and the refuge taken in those 'abstruse researches' which enabled him, as he says, "to steal From my own nature all the natural man." There is one other circumstance which cannot be omitted from the history of these critical years,—an attached friendship that arose about this time between Coleridge and Miss Sara Hutchinson, sister to Mrs. Wordsworth. For many years it exercised a deep influence on his life, and has indeed an importance from the literary point of view, as having inspired some of the most beautiful of his shorter poems. Those entitled *To Asra*, *The Second Birth*, and *Love's Sanctuary*, show us a man we have not known before, another of those differing personalities that go to make up the complex and baffling nature of the poet. The last of these shows how a point has been reached in which feeling, poetic vision and metaphysical thought combine together in the intuition of truth.

"This yearning heart (Love! witness what I say)
Enshrines thy form as purely as it may,

Round which, as to some spirit uttering bliss,
My thoughts all stand ministrant night and day,
Like saintly Priests, that dare not think amiss."

After an informal separation between Coleridge and his wife had been agreed upon, the Wordsworths' house became for a time his home. But it was not without reason that Lamb had described him as 'a stranger or a visitor in this world.' He who at nine years of age had been sent from his home in Devonshire to Christ's Hospital, where he had remained for several years without returning to his family—the 'poor, friendless boy' of Lamb's recollection—was still, though a husband and father, without a home of his own. During the two years spent with the Wordsworths at Allan Bank, when with the aid of his devoted amanuensis, Sara Hutchinson, the twenty-seven numbers of *The Friend* were with much difficulty and irregularity produced, there is little doubt that the household, though patiently putting up with the author's invalid habits and incalculable hours, found more and more trying the presence of an inmate who was apt to turn night into day and day into night. It was not long after that Wordsworth, on hearing that Coleridge was arranging to domesticate for a while with Basil Montagu in London, uttered, doubtless with the best intention, that warning about his difficult ways as the inmate of a household, which reaching Coleridge's ears, magnified and misquoted, caused him such intense pain, and changed for ever the friendship which for years had been so closely entwined with the lives of both. For though a reconciliation was brought about, and even after a fresh misunderstanding was renewed, and intercourse to some extent restored, the friendship had been far too vital for such patchings up.

“They stood aloof, the scars remaining, Like cliffs that had been rent asunder.” Sara Hutchinson seems to have taken the side of the Wordsworths in this unhappy difference, and for six years Coleridge drifted like a vessel that had lost its bearings, though still finding those ‘perpetual relays,’ which, as de Quincey says, were laid along his path in life. He took shelter for a considerable time with his old Bristol friends, the Morgans, a record of whose kindness is preserved in the poem entitled *A Wanderer’s Farewell*, which, addressed to Mrs. Morgan and her sister, draws a somewhat curious parallel between these two friends and the two sisters at Allan Bank. During these years he was occupied in sketching the outlines of various works, which mostly failed to reach completion, and spent much time over that which was to have been his *magnum opus*, a treatise to be entitled *Christianity the One True Philosophy*. It was during this period also that the Lectures on Poetry were given which contributed so much to placing Shakespeare in his true position in the history of our national literature.

But by his side through all these years still hovered the demon opium, paralyzing will-power and undermining health. Cottle, the Bristol publisher, was one day alarmed to see that he could not hold a glass of wine without spilling it, and learning from a friend the cause, wrote a letter of remonstrance to Coleridge on the subject. The clear analysis of his own condition given in Coleridge’s reply adds but a deeper note of tragedy to the story. His case, he says, is a species of madness, only that it is a derangement, an utter impotence, of the volition and not of the intellectual faculties. “You bid me rouse myself: go bid a man paralytic in both arms to rub them briskly

together and that will cure him. 'Alas!' he would reply, 'that I cannot move my arms is my complaint and my misery.' " The consciousness of guilt towards his Maker has, he says, been his greatest anguish these ten years. It is in this letter that he first speaks of placing himself under control as the only hope of cure: and some two years after, the man of whom his friend had said that "he was incapable of acting under any constraint of duty or obligation," showed that he had at least enough strength left voluntarily to submit to the compulsion of another's will. Under the advice of a London physician he entered the house of a doctor at Highgate, Mr. Gillman, which remained his home to the end of his life. Here he found the haven he had so long been seeking, regained a measure of health and shook off to a great extent his enslavement to opium. Here too were produced some of his most important prose writings, including *Aids to Reflection*, the most widely read of all; and here were held those celebrated gatherings of seekers and admirers, many of them leaders of thought at the time, who attended week after week to hear Coleridge discourse in a kind of conversational monologue on apparently whatever subject was uppermost in his thoughts.

For another thing that made Coleridge wonderful was the power of his personality. From the time that the 'inspired charity boy' used to draw a crowd of listeners around him in the cloisters of Christ's Hospital, while he expounded to his wondering companions the *Mysteries* of Iamblichus, or declaimed his own English version of the *Hymns* of Synesius, to these last scenes at Highgate when the sage, his wanderings over, would give out his thoughts in inexhaustible talk to listeners of many sorts, views and callings, who

made pilgrimage to the house in the Grove that they might drink in wisdom from the oracle there,—throughout his life there was in the discourse of Coleridge a quality which made it not only an intellectual satisfaction to hear him, but still more an experience.

The poet vitalized the prose discourse, and Coleridge's poetic gift was almost as much shown indirectly by the magical effect of his words on whatever subject he might be speaking, as in actual versification. So, for instance, Hazlitt relates that when Coleridge was criticizing Berkeley for attempting to establish the immortality of man without (as he said) knowing what death was or what life was, "the tone in which he pronounced these two words seemed to convey a complete image of both"; and again Charles Lamb speaks of his reciting the vision of *Kubla Khan* "so enchantingly that it irradiates and brings heaven and Elysian bowers into my parlour when he sings or says it." A rather strange story, moreover, may perhaps be told here of the respective experiences of Dr. Chalmers and of his little girl, who were present at one of the gatherings at Highgate. While Dr. Chalmers heard Coleridge talk for three hours, without, he says, getting more than an occasional glimpse of what he would be at, his little girl sat literally entranced by the mellifluous flow of the discourse, of which she did not understand a word. When it ceased, her overwrought feelings found relief in tears. This sort of effect was relentlessly set down by Carlyle as 'animal magnetism,' though now-a-days, considered in relation to other gifts and experiences of Coleridge, it would probably be traced to a deeper source and described as psychic. Glimpses of something in the nature of prophecy, apparently unconscious, are seen here and

there in his writings. The poet destined to years of homeless wandering exclaims at the age of 18: "Say, is this hollow eye, this heartless pain, Fated to rove through Life's wide, cheerless plain, Nor father, brother, sister, meet its ken, My woes, my joys, unshared!" A few years after, writing on the death of a friend, the son of the Vicar of Ottery, whose naturally good qualities had been rendered ineffectual by weakness and indolence, he utters the following remarkable words of prophetic self-analysis:

"As oft at twilight gloom thy grave I pass,
And sit me down upon its recent grass,
With introverted eye I contemplate
Similitude of soul, perhaps of Fate!
To me hath Heaven with bounteous hand assigned
Energic reason and a shaping mind,
The daring ken of Truth, the Patriot's part,
And Pity's sigh, that breathes the gentle heart—
Sloth jaundiced all! and from my graspless hand
Drop Friendship's precious pearls, like hour-glass
sand.
I weep, yet stoop not! The faint anguish flows,
A dreamy pang in morning's feverish doze."

Better known probably is the remarkably accurate prophecy of his child's future, contained in *Frost at Midnight*; while the account of the quarrel between Lord Roland and Sir Leoline in Part II. of *Christabel* is a vivid description of the true inwardness of the difference that was to arise ten years later between himself and 'his heart's best brother,' Wordsworth. An experience of a mystical nature, moreover, is described in the sonnet written on receiving the news of the birth of his first-born.

“Oft o’er my brain does that strange fancy roll
Which makes the present (while the flash doth last)
Seem a mere semblance of some unknown past.”

Of this in a letter to Poole he says that the opening lines “express a feeling which I have often had—the present has appeared like a vivid dream or exact similitude of some past circumstance.”

In connection with this aspect of Coleridge’s nature it may be well to give his own account of the effect upon him of a solitary mountain walk.

“I never find myself,” he says, “alone within the embracement of rocks and hills, a traveller up an Alpine road, but my spirit careers, drives and eddies, like a leaf in Autumn. A wild activity of thoughts, imaginations, feelings and impulses of motion rises up from within me; a sort of bottom wind that blows to no point of the compass, comes from I know not whence, but agitates the whole of me. My whole being is filled with waves that roll and stumble, one this way and one that way, like things that have no common master. . . . The further I ascend from animated nature, from men and cattle, and the common birds of the woods and fields, the greater becomes in me the intensity of the feeling of life. Life seems to me then a universal spirit, that neither has nor can have an opposite. ‘God is everywhere,’ I have exclaimed, and works everywhere, and where is there room for death?’ ”

Such psychic sensitiveness, combined with the poet’s ‘shaping mind,’ opens indeed the casement on ‘faery lands forlorn.’ We recognize one who might have added a shrine of new beauty to the temple of English literature, had not the gods willed otherwise. In the pathetic poem *To William Wordsworth*, the retrospect of loss and sorrow—too sacred to quote—is

followed by words prophetic of the evening sunshine of the poet's life.

“The tumult rose and ceased ; for Peace is nigh
Where Wisdom's voice has found a listening heart.
Amid the howl of more than wintry storms,
The Halcyon hears the voice of vernal hours
Already on the wing.”

In truth complete failure was never the lot of Coleridge. The struggle to recover the lost power of volition was never given up, as is clear from the letter to Cottle quoted above. The final step, the surrender of outward liberty, resulted in the rehabilitation of the inner life. The beautiful *Ode to Tranquillity*, though written some years before, is a true expression of the last phase in Coleridge's life ; and its final stanza, while containing a curious prophecy in regard to the race, was also a prophetic description of his existence at Highgate.

“The feeling heart, the searching soul,
To thee I dedicate the whole !
And while within myself I trace
The greatness of some future race,
Aloof with hermit eye I scan
The present works of present man—
A wild and dream-life trade of blood and guile,
Too foolish for a tear, too wicked for a smile.”

Had Carlyle these lines in his mind, when he wrote his well-known description of the poet, who “sat on the brow of Highgate Hill . . . looking down on London and its smoke-tumult, like a sage escaped from the inanity of life's battle, attracting towards him the thoughts of innumerable brave souls engaged there.”

Coleridge in his later years at Highgate lives before

us in two slight but vivid sketches, the witness of two widely different minds to his outward habit on the one hand and to the more intimate spell of his character on the other. The poet, in company with his friend, Mr. J. H. Green, was walking one April day in Hampstead Lane, when his companion was accosted by a good-looking young man, whose appearance however showed evident signs of ill-health. Keats was introduced, and has left the following record of the meeting, written in a letter a few days afterwards: "Last Sunday I took a walk towards Highgate, and in the lane that winds by the side of Lord Mansfield's park, I met Mr. Green, our demonstrator at Guy's, in conversation with Coleridge. I joined them after inquiring by a look whether it would be agreeable. I walked with him at his alderman-after-dinner pace, for near two miles, I suppose. In those two miles he broached a thousand things. Let me see if I can give you a list—nightingales, poetry, on poetical sensation, metaphysics, different genera and species of dreams, nightmare, a dream accompanied by a sense of touch, single and double touch, a dream related, first and second consciousness, the difference explained between will and volition, so say metaphysicians from a want of smoking the second consciousness, monsters, the Kraken, mermaids, Southey believes in them, Southey's belief too much diluted, a ghost story—good morning. I heard his voice as he came towards me, I heard it as he moved away, I had heard it all the interval—if it may be called so."

Let us place beside this account the words of Charles Lamb, written in a letter to Wordsworth during the first year of Coleridge's residence at Highgate. "He (Coleridge) is at present under the

medical care of a Mr. Gillman, a Highgate apothecary, where he plays at leaving off laud--m. I think his essentials not touched; he is very bad; but then he wonderfully picks up another day, and his face when he repeats his verses hath its ancient glory; an archangel a little damaged. Will Miss H. (Hutchinson) pardon our not replying at length to her kind letter? We are not quiet enough. Morgan is with us every day, going between Highgate and the Temple, Coleridge is absent but four miles, and the neighbourhood of such a man is as exciting as the presence of fifty ordinary persons. 'Tis enough to be within the whiff and wind of his genius for us not to possess ourselves in quiet." "An archangel a little damaged." Lamb with his playful and exquisite touch seems to give at a stroke the picture of his friend without and within.

The end did not come to Coleridge till peace had been won. The sense of unity behind the multiplicity of conflicting truths, of tranquillity amidst 'the wild and dream-like trade of blood and guile' in human life, took shape at last as an intellectual vision that satisfied his whole being. In spite of ever-increasing bodily pain and weakness, his mind during his last illness, according to the witness of many friends, was as clear and strong as ever. "His countenance," we are told, "was pervaded by a most remarkable serenity"; and he told one of his friends that "all things were seen by him reconciled and harmonised." On the last evening of his life he was dictating to J. H. Green part of his uncompleted work on Christian philosophy, with great difficulty of articulation, but with a mind still 'clear and powerful.' None of his oldest friends were with him at the end. But some knowledge we have of what his death meant to those who knew him best.

Wordsworth's voice broke on reading the news. The lips of the man of 'inaccessible mind' remained closed on the personal loss; but he uttered—not for the first time—his opinion that Coleridge was "the most wonderful man that he had ever known." Lamb's days were already numbered when Coleridge died, and he never recovered from the loss. The thought "Coleridge is dead" (we are told) was always with him. Five weeks before his own death he wrote: "His great and dear spirit haunts me. Never saw I his likeness, nor probably the world can see again."

The work of Coleridge is not to be accounted for by a list of the subjects with which he dealt, or of the movements he supported or opposed. It has the stamp of universality. He places himself, as it were, at the centre of the circle, whence he can treat at his ease any point that arises on the circumference. Hence it is that his influence was felt in many directions, rather than identified with any special aim. He was a philosopher who could lay it down that a philosophical *idea* (or truth-power of the reason, as he called it) was always and necessarily a contradiction in terms. He was a theologian who could assert that religion is not the 'essential constitutive end' of a national church. In the ferment of new ideas that marked the period in which he lived, while old foundations of social life were breaking up on every side, his voice was heard as of one afar, who seeing with other eyes beheld the things of this world in a different proportion. Such men as John Sterling, Edward Irving and F. D. Maurice studied his *Aids to Reflection* with the emotion called forth by regenerative thought, and felt that to this book they "owed even their own souls"; while Julius

Hare pronounced the author to be "the true sovereign of English modern thought."

The indirect effects of Coleridge's work were probably as important as those more easily recognized. His influence is to be traced in the development of both the High Church and Broad Church movements. Carlyle indeed, whose rugged pragmatism had but little sympathy with the abstracted thought of the poet, does "clearly think that had there been no Coleridge neither . . . had English Puseyism or some other strange portents been." But whether this were so or not, Coleridge doubtless created an atmosphere favourable to a wider as well as more mystical view of the aim of the Church's existence, and did much to save it from being overwhelmed in the fast-rising tide of materialism. His equally great influence on the study of English Literature arises from the same intuitive power, which enabled him to go straight to the core of a work of genius and bring the soul of it to light. Not only, as we have said, did his creative insight help to bring the genius of Shakespeare into the full daylight of popular recognition, but his interpretative notes on individual dramas are like the touch of life.

Whether as poet, as philosopher, or as seer, he is one whose thoughts have helped to create the atmosphere in which that posterity lives to many of whom he is little more than a name.

S. ELIZABETH HALL.

THE BUDDHIST VIEW OF EXISTENCE.

ITS THREE DISTINGUISHING MARKS.

THE EDITOR.

THE BUDDHA persistently refused to discuss the ultimate problems of existence. The understanding of such enigmas as whence and why the universe arose, he averred, was beyond the competence of his hearers, and speculating about them was of no practical moral or spiritual value. The immediate concrete fact all men had to face here and now was that their way of living spelt 'suffering.' The work of the Perfectly Enlightened, the function of the Teacher of the Law, was not to discuss metaphysics, but to disclose the cause of this world-wide 'evil,' to affirm the possibility of its removal and to prescribe the means of cure. That, however, so radical a mental and moral self-cure as was prescribed could be carried out without the thought of the patient being continually brought up against the ultimate problems of origination and consummation is inconceivable. And as a matter of fact the whole history of the development of Buddhist thinking shows that the exponents of this Way fell short of few, if any, other theologians and philosophers in busying themselves about a number of questions which the Buddha himself would have presumably ruled out of discussion. Indeed the great master, though to the end he kept silence about ultimate profundities,

was compelled in his long teaching life of some five-and-forty years, to widen his survey and deal with much that was profoundly fundamental. He was believed to know all, and is reported to have declared that he held back nothing with the 'closed fist of a teacher' of progressive mysteries; there was nothing artificially esoteric in his way of instruction. How then to explain this apparent inconsistency in the mode of teaching? The reason was in all probability quite simple and elementary. We may reasonably believe that the Buddha declared to his hearers with the frankness of true wisdom: It is no good your trying to find out for yourselves about ultimates in your present state; it cannot be done. On the other hand, for me to tell you about them, if it were possible in any way adequately to do so, would be simply to invite you to believe on blind faith in my word. You must first become radically changed. Heart and mind must be purified and enlightened. You must give up first of all willingly the false feelings and false notions you have about the world and yourselves, if you would come to know what is the pure unsullied truth.

False feelings went deeper than false notions. The correction of the errors of intellectual theory about the experience of existence came within the competence of reason, and this many could compass if properly instructed. But the real work lay beneath in the making right of the will. False feeling rather than false thinking lay at the root of mis-living. Until this passion-ground were purged right living could not flourish freely. Still even while the life of feeling was impure the relative or conditional truths of the nature of existence could be so apprehended by the intellect that right belief could arise in the aspirant

THE BUDDHIST VIEW OF EXISTENCE

for wisdom, if only these truths were adequately set forth before him.

Now there are three fundamental propositions concerning the nature of things on which Buddhism has consistently insisted throughout its long history. It is difficult adequately to translate them, for they are given traditionally in exceedingly concentrated form. Provisionally and roughly we may state them as follows, it being premised that they have no logical order:

All is impermanent.

All is suffering.

All is self-less.

It is plain that these judgments require much leading up to and much explanation before their underlying purport can be understood. They are certainly not self-evident propositions for the average intelligence, and are far from palatable to the ordinary man of the world; not only so, but philosophers and saints also may very well question such sweeping generalities. Doubtless when the Buddha enunciated them with all the authority of his spiritual presence, he carried conviction to the majority of his hearers. They felt in that presence that it must be so, even if they did not understand. Was he not the Perfectly Enlightened? Did he not know all? And it may be that something other of deep spiritual certitude was conveyed by him to them that more than made up for the loss of what they had hitherto believed. Yet at the same time he was ever urging his hearers not to believe because he said so; it was for them by their own work on themselves to come to first-hand conviction concerning the reasonableness and truth of such revolutionary doctrine.

The probable reasonableness of the propositions depends fundamentally, it seems to me, on the meaning we consent to give to the general notion of existence. We must try to appreciate the perspective, allow for the standpoint, in which and from which the judgments were first made, and compare it with the scheme of reference we habitually use in evaluating experience. They are statements said to be made from the point of view of a Buddha and not from that of an ordinary mortal ; that is from that of an experience which was believed to have transcended the phenomenal process, and not from the standpoint of an experient within the process and regarding it from some special empirical phase of becoming. Can we reasonably believe in such transcendental experience? Here the testimony of the greatest mystics throughout the centuries must be our standby for the fact if not for inferences based on it. But Buddhism further taught that some measure of the knowing element which in its perfection made this achievement possible, was present at every moment of human consciousness. We are then supposed to be capable, however dimly and though it be only at our very best moments, of responding to or welcoming the burden of this report. Our belief in such wide-spread testimony may thus be held to be reasonably founded. Meantime, we who have had no such experience, must do the best we can to view the matter from the most impersonal standpoint we can each severally reach in our universe of discourse. We are asked then by Buddhism to accept these three propositions as setting forth the chief distinctive marks or characteristics of existence ; and we find on enquiry that we are expected to conceive of 'existence' as connoting the total of all phenomena known to us,—that is, of all objects of sense

and objects of thought. The 'all' of the propositions is apparently to be equated with existence in this sense.

First then it is asserted that all phenomena, every event of every kind, physical or mental, are impermanent. They appear and disappear, come and go, are in passage. There is no arrest to the process; it for ever flows on. All existence is thus characterized by the fact that it is through and through, everywhere, always changing, becoming, coming to be and ceasing to be. All is change; there is no self-identity to be found in phenomena; nothing of them is eternal, everlasting, immortal. Phenomena were gradually distinguished by Buddhist thinkers into certain types or kinds listed according to various schemes of classification. These distinctions were treated as the elements, reals or components of which existence was thought to be constituted.¹

Further, all phenomena or events could be analyzed out as being aggregates or congeries of minima not only of the spatial but also of the temporal order.

¹ These basic elements are called *dharma's*. *Dharma* (Pali, *dhamma*) is a term of very wide meaning, and in its highest sense is used for the Good Law, the Supreme Real of Buddhism. For the latest and fullest discussion of the subject see *The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word 'Dharma,'* by Dr. Th. Stcherbatsky, Professor in the University of Petrograd (London, Royal Asiatic Society, 1923). To give the reader some notion of the technical significance of the term in Buddhism we may mention a few of these (72-75) 'elements,' which are always viewed dynamically and psychologically as forces, energies. Thus: the senses and their classes of objects; non-sensuous mind and its classes of objects; the components of gross matter manifesting as repulsion-stuff, attraction-stuff, temperature-stuff, motion-stuff, and of subtle or translucent matter, manifesting as visual stuff, etc.; mental faculties or functions and forces—sensations, feelings, conceptions, volitions, desiring, understanding, remembering, etc.; moral forces—(good) modesty, courage, equanimity, etc., (obscured) ignorance, sloth, carelessness, etc., (bad) anger, hypocrisy, deceit, etc. Prof. Stcherbatsky is generally very helpful and he seeks for the developed philosophical meaning of the technical terms and deprecates that subservience to dictionary-philology which has hitherto so largely hampered our understanding of Buddhism. There is a very able review of this treatise by Dr. C. A. F. Rhys Davids in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (vol. iii., pt. ii.).

Buddhist thinkers were the staunch upholders, if not the originators, both of atomic theory and of the doctrine of momentariness. Physical and mental states were, in fine, collectivities, assemblages, co-existences, sequences, successions, series, of inconceivably minute units—atoms, moments, points, instants. They hence concluded that in existence there was a coming to be and a ceasing to be—perpetual change—at every point of space and moment of time. The latest phase of scientific philosophical theory in our own day with its point-instant units cannot legitimately refuse to admire the intellectual acuteness of its most ancient forerunners.¹

For them these atomic and momentary minima were inconceivably minute and they left it at that. They had of course not reached the precision of modern theories about infinitesimals, and had not supposed that no matter how close together any two points or moments might be thought to be, a third could be inserted between them, and so on *ad infinitum*. If they had not broken up their atoms into electronic systems, they had started confidently on this path of

¹ Buddhist thinkers were neither realists nor idealists in our modern sense of the words, but as their main effort was to rule the idea of a subject out of the whole field of discussion they were thorough-going objectivists. If again, their ultimate 'stuff' of existence was not space-time, as it is for some thinkers to-day, they apparently had a permanent ground in which all temporal and spatial change took place. They called it *ākāśa*. This term is generally translated by 'space,' to distinguish it from the discrete fifth element, 'æther,' which in non-Buddhist Indian philosophy bears the same name. But it should probably be rendered by some other term, for the Buddhist supposed that this ground subsumes all phenomena *not only of sense but also of mind*. Now as the term *ākāśa* is an intensified form from a root meaning to shine, in its most general connotation as apart from its denotation of the æther-element, it connects not only with the notion of light but also (metaphorically) with that of consciousness. If to-day the velocity of light can be treated by relativists as the constant *par excellence* of measurement, and indeed the maximum of velocity, and if the appreciation of time can be shown by psychologists to vary with the emotional tension of the consciousness of the individual, it is evident that Buddhist thinkers were not altogether beating the air in their analysis of experience.

quest, for they had an order of subtle, one might even call them infra-atomic, minima. They had perforce to think both atoms and moments as mutually external to one another, and as they persisted in believing, as most scientists do to-day, that phenomena as scientific objects were made up of such minima, the setting forth of their philosophy of existence could not fail to be mechanistic to a large extent.

But here we must remember that the impulse to their developed theorizing on the atomic and momentary nature of existence was given, as they believed, by one who had enjoyed an experience of a totally different order from that of ordinary folk; from the point of view of that experience all normal temporal and spatial limitations could become transcended. By one possessed of such transcendental vision what might be reckoned as millions of years by a consciousness confined to earth clock-time, might well be embraced instantaneously in an immediate intuition. For such vision maxima were as 'momentary' as minima.¹

But what this analytic treatment of the phenomena of consciousness could not do, was to break up the homogeneity or wholeness of life. And one of the most striking facts, as it seems to me, is that in all these tables of *dharma's* life is not once mentioned. Mind and matter, physical and mental forces, energies, activities, could be analyzed by scrutiny or introspection; but life remained intractable to such methods. Life ever escaped from the net of phenomena, no matter how minute the meshes of which it was woven might be conceived to be. If Buddhist thinkers do not make this formally explicit, it is implicit all

¹ Buddhism, however, refused to give permanency to time in the way that it did to space; it would not speak of 'time' but only of 'times.'

through their deliberations. In making the law of mutual externality rule throughout the whole realm of visible and invisible nature and the domain of phenomenal thinking they had to treat all objects of sense and thought quantitatively as extensive manifolds—aggregates, summations. As far as I can see, they were so keen on establishing this position that they neglected the complementary notion of intensive manifolds,¹ which affords a middle ground or mediating link between material and mental multiplicity on the one hand and the unity of life on the other.

Buddhist thought is distinctly lacking in this respect. It was so keen to get rid of the belief that any series of phenomena of any kind could constitute a perduring self, that it ran perilously near to throwing away the child with the bath-water, and refusing to consider noumenal distinctions and perfectionings of life altogether. Nevertheless in the course of its development Buddhism had to find room in its theory for progressive states or stages in what might be called the 'superphenomenal,' though these states were still technically held to be within the domain of existence.²

¹ By 'intensive manifolds' is meant some such notion as Bergson of late in the West has begun to make us familiar with in postulating that life at every moment takes up its past into itself. We thus are permitted to conceive of distinct lives of every degree, while at the same time holding to the ground-thought of the unity of life. The lives are distinct, but not separated as they appear to be when we view their activities from outside through the medium of bodies; theirs is a qualitative and not a quantitative otherness. In some incomprehensible manner, lives are within one another. The true nature and purpose and value of these vital distinctions, we may believe, is revealed only when the eye of spiritual consciousness is opened. It is then given in the immediate intuition of a state in which each perfected life is all and all is each—a notion which it is the chief glory of Plotinus to have first brought to clear expression.

² It is to be noted that the varieties of consciousness dealt with by the Buddha in his general discourses exist only in the ordinary passion-stained planes or phases of existence (*kāma-dhātu*). "In higher worlds (*rūpa-dhātu*) sense-consciousness gradually disappears; in the immaterial worlds (*arūpa-dhātu*) only non-sensuous consciousness is left. A division of consciousness

But this concerned the fruition of path-consciousness, and lay outside the scope of those from whom the acceptance of the three marks of existence as normally experienced was already demanded. And so we find that what may be termed the dogmatism of the ancient catechetical instruction remained unmodified in every school.

How then, we ask, were these phenomena of the flux, moments of the stream, or events of passage, linked together for what common persuasion regarded as the individual, and how were these distinguishable concatenations or streams, these so-called individuals, in general related to the rest of existence? I have never been able to get a really clear idea of the doctrine in this respect. Buddhism refused to use the language of continuing 'essences' or 'substances' in the sense of self-existences. It preferred to talk of sequences, series, successions of ever-changing moments of becoming; these sequences are referred to metaphorically as streams and currents, waves and wavelets of the ever restless ocean of existence. What precisely held them together, inter-connected them, or rather how they were correlated, was hotly disputed in the schools, but never really clarified. It was held that nothing could be regarded as truly fixed, stable, permanent save possibly 'space' and certainly the Law. The Law then somehow in last resort was the ultimate. There was consequently an inter-relatedness through and through of all existential fact and factors of fact, conditioned by immutable Law. How the universe of fact arose as a whole, however, was an otiose question; it was beginningless and endless. Final causation as

into [further] various kinds is thus made necessary for the composition of formulas of elements corresponding to the denizens of various [higher] worlds" (*op. cit.*, p. 10).

a single somewhat was held to be inconceivable. But every existent thing, and every phase or moment of existence, could be found to be dependent on some other thing, phase or moment, and this on another, and so on in infinite regress. Indeed in final analysis everything depended on everything else. Causation, in the sense not only of the cause-effect relation but also of its reciprocal the effect-cause relation, in other words mutual conditioning, ruled throughout. Everything in this way could be regarded as both cause and effect. At the same time the Law, the Norm, the Truth, could be held to be everywhere present at every moment, correlating all things, holding all things together.

The simplest formulation of the notion of causal concomitance was: On this arising that comes to be. Though absolute causation was unthinkable, certain habitual sequences or laws of causation could be discovered; some notion of the way of the going of the Law could be had. One such typical guiding notion the Buddha is said to have discerned when illumination came to him. We have thus the formulation of a scheme of what is termed Dependent Origination or Conditioned Generation—that is to say, the combined origination of some elements of existence with regard to other elements. It is a recurring series of conditions conceived of as a chain of causes and effects. Each effect-condition becomes a cause-condition in its turn, and the last 'effect' as 'cause' is conceived as originating the first 'cause' postulated, which now becomes an 'effect' in its turn. Thus the last link is joined up with the first; the concatenation enters into itself and so the process is recurrent. The links, moments, bases, of this famous Wheel of Becom-

ing are generally given as twelve, but sometimes as ten, consecutive stages in the ever-revolving life-process; this shows that it was not very consistently thought through.¹ The scheme is difficult to state concisely in English because we have no precise equivalents for these very technical terms of Buddhist psychology. I do not therefore propose to do more than venture a rough paraphrase and a few remarks.²

Buddhist theory will have it that as death succeeds birth, so birth succeeds death; pre-existence and post-existence, and thus recurrent existence, are presupposed. There is an endless chain of birthings and deceasings for every grade of 'existent.' The formula of Dependent Origination usually runs: "Depending on ignorance (1) arise the conformations; depending on the conformations (2) arises consciousness, etc."³ But it may be more understandable if we begin the other way round, starting from what we experience here and now most acutely—namely 'suffering,' and trying to trace its genesis in logical stages.

We find ourselves subject to sickness, decay, death and countless other ills—in brief in a general condition of suffering (12). We are patient of these ills

¹ The sequence has generally been a great puzzle to Western scholars, perhaps mainly because of the tendency to view it as an equal-staged scheme of evolution, each member by itself producing the next. But all the elements are somehow conceived as present at every stage throughout. It is the prominence given to one element at a time that serves to characterize each phase as a discrete stage.

² The most convenient 'evolutionary' setting-forth of the subject to suit the views of Western general habits of thought that I have lately come across, is to be found in Prof. Paul Oltramare's *La Théosophie Buddhique* (Paris, 1923), pp. 185ff.—in one of the last volumes of the *Annales du Musée Guimet* series. I shall follow his method of exposition by considering the sequence first in the reversed order of the traditional statement.

³ In this order of sequence the first two stages indicate the relative origination of a present life-stream, in other words refer to a former life, the next eight concern the present life and the last two envisage a future life. The first and last terms are condensed, the middle one expanded.

because we are born (11). We are born because we belong to the world of becoming (10). We become because we seize on, grasp, appropriate the objects of existence, feed as it were on the food it affords (9). We thus feed because we have appetites—craving (8). We crave because we have sensations (7). We have sensations because we are in contact with an external world (6). This contact is conditioned by or because of the functioning of the (six) senses (5). The senses function because of an apparent individual existence in which self is opposed to non-self (4). We regard ourselves as individualized streams, because of the quality of our consciousness (3). This consciousness is primarily conditioned or specially qualified by past intentional (as distinguished from natural or automatic) actions reacting as present character-determinants from the prior state of existence—in accordance with the moral law (2). These determining forces have arisen and continue to arise because we are ignorant (1).

Let us now reverse the sequence and view it the other way round. And first of all let it be understood that by ignorance in Buddhism is meant what was regarded specially as the root of moral evil; it is no negation, but that by which are set alight what are termed the three 'fires' of lust, hate and delusion or, when less fiercely flaming, desire, aversion and error. Its converse is not simply knowledge, but path-knowledge or wisdom.

(1) In general, human action is infected by, stained with, or at any rate influenced by, ignorance. If acts are intentional, or willed in the sense of being preceded by mental effort, they leave their 'moral' imprints, tracks or traces (to use metaphorical terms) as tendencies, dispositions, habits, character-

modifications. How this precisely comes about is as obscure in Buddhist as in any other psychology. This character-complex is frequently represented by its chief component—the ‘will,’ which is then defined as that which ‘arranges’ the future elements in the ‘streams.’

(2) These influencing forces from the past are called the ‘conformations’—that is, the conformings, conditionings, modifying forces, the determinants of all future experience. They constitute what is generally known as *karma* (Sk.) or *kamma* (Pal.). The technical definition runs: “*Karma* is will and voluntary action.”¹ Acts are material (of body and speech) and mental. They are threefold also in quality—good, bad and neutral. The neutral do not count as moral determinants. These kārmic forces are regarded as the influencing factors of that which produces the manifestation of the future combining elements.

(3) This complex of conforming determinants referable to past existence is thus regarded as it were a moulding system of forces, as a matrix, so to say, together with which the consciousness of a new existence arises. Consciousness means here the sheer capacity of receptivity, of awareing, of sensating, without any distinction of content. It is regarded as coincident with the first pre-natal moment of a new life, the moment of conception, at first arising without the support of cognition.

(4) It is on consciousness determined or qualified (that is favoured or hindered) by past moral actions, that the future flow of the stream of separate existence depends—in other words individuality re-arises. This individualized stream is termed by Buddhist psychology

¹ Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

technically 'mind-body' (literally 'name-form').¹ Body or form stands for the class of material elements or aggregations, and mind or name covers the four mental classes — roughly listed as sensations, affections, conceptions, volitions.

(5) Once the mind-body human existent comes to be, that is once there is, as some would say, incarnation in earthly conditions, there is the coming together of a cognitive arrangement of a certain kind. The six bases that support or admit of modes of specialized awareing arise. The technical term used (*āyatana*) is very difficult to explain. It is said to derive from the crude notion of 'opening,' 'entrance,' 'gate,' 'door.' Consciousness in this reference, as we have seen, is supposed to be pure capacity for awareing without any distinct content. It is now supported by six cognitive means and six objective (external and internal) fields of existence: the five senses for correlation with sense-data (visual, audile, etc.), and the mind for correlation with mental or non-sensuous objects. With regard to mind as a cognitive means of mental phenomena there is a difficulty, for it is now consciousness, now content, apparently. Buddhism refuses to regard mind as an entity. The *cruz* of a transcendental subject has to be avoided, and this is done by supposing that the preceding moment of consciousness acts as a means for apprehending the object of the present moment.²

(6) When in consciousness organ and object engage together there is co-operation; this engagement

¹ There is an interesting discussion of the meaning of *nāma-rūpa* in the little volume of essays called *Māhāyāna Doctrines of Salvation*, by Dr. Stanislaw Schayer, recently translated from the German (London, Probsthain, 1923), pp. 8-13.

² One would be inclined to argue, however, that it is rather the present, unseizable, moment of consciousness which apprehends the past moment.

is generally called in the widest sense 'contact' (*sparsha*); but Buddhist psychology refused to believe that there was anything more intimate in this than co-ordination of the two—that is, they were found simply to arise together.

(7) Through this contact definite sensations of all kinds and feelings in general were experienced.

(8) On these arising, thirst, desire, craving supervenes; in the more precise overworking of the scheme this stage is particularized as the awakening of sexual instinct, and thereupon the arising of new *karma*. Psycho-analysts may here begin to be interested. But it certainly should be taken in a wider sense.

(9) On this craving arising, there is naturally striving, conation, to satisfy the need. There is a 'grasping' after the objects craved for, or in less strong measure an attachment to the objects desired. In the more sublimated form of this attachment the stage is said to cover various pursuits in life.

(10) This grasping binds us to 'existence,' the usual existence of ordinary folk; that is, our conscious activities fall within the regulative re-adjustment of *karma*.

(11) This kind of life necessitates re-birth; and thus once more (12) we have repeated existence in a state hedged in by birth, decay and death, and therewith fundamentally conditioned by 'suffering.'

The last phase has thus been traced back to its prime origin—namely ignorance or nescience. If this unknowing can be made to cease, it follows logically that the whole series has no further *raison d'être* as a limit to consciousness. It was the mission of the Buddha to give assurance that 'suffering' could be brought to an end, and to show how this consummation

devoutly to be wished could be effected. This was to be accomplished by the schooling of path-discipline, whereby understanding, discriminative knowledge, reason, could develop into gnosis, wisdom.

Reviewing what has been brought forward, it seems to me that as to the first distinguishing mark postulated, the impermanent character of existence as defined has been reasonably established. This, however, as I understand it, does not mean to say that there is no Permanent, no Immutable, no Absolute Real; it means that this 'suchness' cannot be found in the nature of existence; for the existential is the sum of phenomena, of existents and events, all objects of sense or thought, things presented to a consciousness beclouded by ignorance.

The second fundamental characteristic or mark of existence is, that it involves the experient in 'suffering.' Crudely stated: All is suffering. It is by no means easy to find a satisfactory equivalent for the very technical term *duḥka* (Pal. *dukkha*). Originally and uncritically in vulgar speech it meant the general notion underlying such concepts as ill, unhappiness, sorrow, grief, misery, dis-ease. But the extended use of the term seems to cover all those states of body and mind occasioned by the pleasure-pain reaction resulting from the contact of the senses and mind with their objects. To translate the formula, as is frequently done: All is sorrow or misery, is to present it in a form which is naturally very repugnant to Western minds. It then seems to be not only an erroneous analysis of 'existence,' but a desolating and utterly pessimistic view of 'life.' The Buddha evidently meant a good deal more by the term than sorrow. Doubtless the pain, sorrow, misery aspect of 'suffering' was chiefly

stressed in the general teaching; and indeed it is only too abundantly manifest that no one is exempt from ill,—even a Buddha, for did he not die of dysentery? Granting the so-called pleasures of life, it is argued, these are no compensations for birth, decay, old-age and death. A man may possess for a time vigour of health of body and mind, but at any moment he may be struck down by a loathsome physical disease or some devastating alienation of mind; decay or old-age creeps on and his powers diminish and atrophy; and throughout life at every moment death stalks at his elbow. He lives ever on suffrance.

‘Suffering,’ ‘passion,’ however, in its wider sense, by no means excludes ‘enjoying.’ We badly need some common term to include both meanings. On sensing, experiencing,—feeling arises. The latter reaction is broadly speaking of a twofold quality—pleasurable and unpleasurable. In the case of the ordinary man, if we carefully analyze the reaction, it is rarely found to be really indifferent or neutral, though this is postulated as a third class of reaction. It is normally dominantly painful or dominantly pleasurable. The Buddhist view seems to be that no matter what pleasure a man might have in existence, such pleasure necessarily involved pain; indeed the greater the pleasure experienced the greater intensity did it give to a pain-alternation. The whole might then be characterized as suffering; the cause of it was craving for and clinging to objects of sense or mind. If there was a moment of indifference, a neutral state, it was latent and not patent for the ordinary person; it was for ‘ignorance’ the unnoticed. In Indian self-discipline, however, great attention was paid to the cultivation of the conscious virtue of what was called ‘indifference.’

But this meant something very different from a state of dullness and hebetude, the negative neutral, the unnoticed through ignorance; it was a positive virtue developed energetically in full consciousness. Indifference to heat and cold and the rest did not mean loss of sensitivity, otherwise stocks and stones would be *yogins*. It meant rather that, while the power of sensitivity was enormously increased, there arose a new power of inhibiting at will the natural reactions, the power of remaining at the centre undisturbed and undistracted. What the ordinary man called pleasure, could by the means of self-discipline, by developing the powers of spiritual will and wisdom which destroyed the instincts of craving and grasping, be overpassed, or sublimated into an order of moral realization characterized by such terms as zest and joy or blessedness. This ignorant 'craving' is presumably the 'libido' of modern psycho-analysts; and they might with advantage study how the Buddhist sages strove to 'sublimate' it, for they went far in this. The joy or blessedness of which they speak, was a virtue of the path and was conceived as far other than even the blissful or enhanced super-terrene pleasurable states. For they admitted a wealth of paradises and heavens, states popularly referred to as the abodes of what were called the 'luminous ones' (*deva's*), reaching up to the highest 'gods' called *brahmā's*, who were said to be capable of 'creating' their own worlds, just as the *Brahmā* of popular Hindu religion was supposed to do for the universe. But path-consciousness or spiritual joy transcended all such bliss. In these bliss-swamping, ecstatic conditions, co-ordinate with these states, to which it was possible for the disciple here and now to attain by contemplative means, it was imperative

for the treader of the path to increase the zest for reality if he would keep in the calm of joy. He must ever be watchful, awake to the knowledge that even these most blissful states were characterized by the same marks as all the rest of existence. This brings us to consider whether the term 'suffering,' even in its most extended sense, is an adequate translation of the root meaning of *duḥka*, and whether it should not be revised. For 'suffering' is a term the general reference of which is to an individual or self who suffers, and here we are using it as a characterization of existence rather than of an existent. We therefore welcome the suggestive rendering of Prof. Stcherbatsky, who gives it as 'turmoil' or 'unrest,' better perhaps 'unpeace'; for the ideal peace of Buddhism is precisely the ceasing of this 'turmoil,'—the Arhat state.

The joy of Bodhi then was said to be of a self-less, spiritual order. It was the imperturbable certainty of equanimity, serenity, poise, calm,—peace passing all understanding. It can be experienced here and now amid the restlessness of all existence. It transcended bliss; for even the most ecstatic conditions were impermanent, grounded on restlessness. To this abiding state of peace, we are told, many of the brethren attained in the days of the Buddha. It was called by a name which is philologically a negation. The Buddha refused to say what lay within or beyond this state of peace in turmoil; he referred to it simply as 'the extinguishing' (Sk. *nirvāṇa*, Pal. *nibbāna*)—that is to say, the extinction of craving, in other words of attachment to a separate stream of existence. Once this was achieved, there was no longer any bondage by self-regarding action to the wheel of becoming; there was no longer any breaking on the wheel of suffering so to

say, no more crucifixion on the cross of existence. If this is negatively expressed, it nevertheless means anything but annihilation. On the contrary, the ideal of liberation into peace was so rich and rare that it made beggarly all desire of becoming a *deva* or even playing the part of a 'creative' god; the strivers for buddhahood did not want to become angels or arch-angels or even lords of creation. Whether indeed many brethren did thus attain and how far they were right in their estimate of the attainment, is not for an ignoramus like myself to judge; but at any rate they were not spiritual *bourgeois* in their ideas. It is not that they denied such blissful rewards to merit; that, they admitted, was part of the natural working of the Good Law. Good deeds done for the sake of reward, in hope of a happy rebirth, quite lawfully guaranteed birth into such states after death; but these were still states of desire or of clinging, no matter how sublimated, and fell short of the joy of true path-consciousness. These blissful states were indeed heroically regarded as soporific rather than stimulating; in any case, they were judged less favourable for the intensification of energy for treading the path to the end than a birth here again in human earthly conditions. All this was thought out and practised some 2,400 years ago; and whatever else we may think of it, it cannot be dismissed incontinently as a fool-theory or as the advocacy of a lotus-eating existence, no matter how contradictory it may be to the frantic speeding-up of the rush that characterizes every activity of our modern egoistic civilization. Nothing to which the Buddha lent his authority can be lightly set aside in this cavalier fashion except by bigots—religious, philosophical or scientific. And surely in the West also,

though the wording may be very different, self-less love and the doing of good for the sake of good *without hope of reward* have been preached and practised by many. The *innocentia bonorum operum* means this, if it means anything. Nevertheless, even if this feature of Buddhist practice be allowed to be blameless, it will be objected that the theory in general gives no reason for the process of existence, but leaves it purposeless, insisting as it does on the desirability of fleeing from it or of bringing it to an end. But it should be remembered in the first place, that with regard to theory as to ultimates, such as the *raison d'être* of existence, we are rowing in the same boat to-day as Buddhists rowed 2,400 years ago. In the second it must be stated that as a matter of fact they did not postulate any bringing of the process of existence to an end. What was brought to an end was the bondage of the individual existent,—in other words the ignorance whereby one is kept bound within the process as part of the process. For the *nirvāṇī* there was liberation; but for all others existence in general continues according to its perpetual going as ordered by the Law. The gospel of the Buddha taught that the supreme consummation was to be at one with the Law which ruled the process,—in other words, to become wise with Perfect Wisdom, fulfilled in the Truth, the Norm, the Must-Be of things, of which the whole universe was the embodiment, and which was also the very essence of the Buddha (*Dharma-kāya*).

But it will be objected by most men of religion in the West and also by no few in the East: We do not want to become one with the Law; we would rather live in the hope of personal perfection and of the joy of the eternal worship of the Ordainer of the Law, the

Supreme Divine Person. This brings us to the consideration of the third and last fundamental characteristic of existence according to the doctrine of the Buddha: All is self-less. This short sentence paves the way for calling into question the whole doctrine of personality and assigning the notion to man's own conceit of himself rooted in the ground of the instinctive struggle for self-preservation—that is, in his animal nature. But note well the formula does not say there is no immortality; it does not say there is no everlasting reality. It states simply that in existence this is not to be found. I may be mistaken, but I think it is possible so to read the fundamental meaning of the doctrine in all its implications as worked out in the development of the manifold phases of Buddhist thought. It is clear enough, if we accept 'existence' as meaning simply the whole phenomena of sense and thought. If this be so, the formula then states what seems to be a manifold truism: Search as you may amid these showings of sense and thought, and you will find there neither any thing in itself, nor any self, that is, any permanent self-existing reality. If this is the right reference, there is nothing so startling in the statement for the philosopher, psychologist or scientist in the West to-day. Search deeply in your mind for the 'searcher,' and what you 'find' even in this willing, this intending attitude, is the activity of an ever-changing Proteus which you fail to apprehend in itself. What then? Is there no possibility of realizing 'things as they are' in truth immediately? no true self-dom even, impossible though it be for analysis to find it? Are we to be condemned for ever at best to infer that such reals may be, and then only if we have *à priori* faith that they *must be*—

a vicious circle; or are we to abandon the quest and remain in the hopeless condition of radical scepticism? Buddhism is positive we can get beyond these extreme stages of naïve faith and utter doubt. In our present state of unknowing we are conditioned by the uncriticized notion of 'I' and 'mine.' So long as we cling to the instinctive feeling: This is *my* body; this is *my* mind—the universe remains ego-centric for us, and can be viewed only in that perspective of prejudice, judged only according to that single scheme of reference. Such egoism vitiates all our judgments and valuations. What is this 'I' that persists in clinging to its own self-limitations? Search for it and you will never seize it as it is; what you find when you reflect on what you call your Self, is an increasing series of images and notions and states which you erroneously label as yours, but which, according to Buddhism, all arise from the general process of existence and are illegitimately appropriated. The 'I'-notion is thus found to be not a self-existing permanent reality, but an habitual attitude of the unreflecting towards an ever-changing flux. But if this is all that can be achieved, it would be a hopeless outlook indeed. There must then be, and indeed it is asserted that there is, a mode of quest for reality other than this reflective analysis which is found to yield nothing but continual externalization. You turn on yourself, reflect, seek to grasp what is the apparent willer of the action; but the moment you are conscious of so energizing, you have something other than what you sought for, presented. A realization of the vicious circle nature of this way of reflection, useful though it be as a preliminary discipline, leads to the adoption of another method of quest for reality. We abandon analysis and even

meditation, which is still discursive, and therewith thinking in the I-mode, and try to cultivate what Buddhism calls right contemplation. For those who are skilled in this virtue, there supervenes, it is declared, a marvellous deep and calm consciousness of an 'I'-transcending order—'I'-transcending, for, if I understand its nature, in any small measure, the poetical Western gloss 'The universe grows I' utterly mis-states the essence of this virtue. On the contrary, it seems to me that one who has experienced the great calm of what may be called at long last truly social consciousness, would hold that dwelling on such a false notion as our poet's phrase suggests, would lead to megalomania rather than liberation. Right contemplation rather opens up an order of conscious being from which the 'I'-consciousness falls back unable to reach it. Can this spiritual consciousness be called personality? Buddhism will use no such term concerning it; for Buddhism personality and egoity are practically synonymous terms. To call this super-consciousness annihilation or extinction in the ordinary sense of the words is sheer nonsense. I speak as a fool maybe in giving it any name, for the Buddha refused to define it. But my folly is wisdom compared with the annihilationist nonsense. Our Western habitual preferences or prejudices for certain terms are hard to change; but a compromise for the sake of a better understanding might be found by considering the notion as covering a perfectioning of personality from the restrictions of 'I'-ness into a super-personal potency of consciousness and being that is both life itself as a whole and has all life's potentialities freely open before it. Is it legitimate here to speak of a self and a not-self? Buddhism prefers to think of this state as incapable of

description by any such terms as call up associations with the limitations of 'I'-ness it seeks to overpass. Therefore the Buddha refused to discuss the nature of that which transcended empirical consciousness. He most solemnly and emphatically affirmed transcendence, but denied that it could be described in any terms taken from the vocabulary of common discursive speech without grave danger of misunderstanding. This, however, by no means prevented reason from assuring itself of the truth concerning the nature of existence as he defined it and its three basic distinguishing marks.

Finally, if the Buddhist choice of the idea of the Law as the highest category is unpleasing, it should be remembered that this Dharma of dharma's, viewed as the Supreme Good which orders the way of going of all things, cannot easily be displaced in any evaluation of the Divine Mystery. Law is at least on a par with such terms as Love, Life and Light. All four terms have been used by one great religion or another as master-metaphors for suggesting the most characteristic feature of the Supreme Reality; and they are all fair and good. If it gives us greater satisfaction, we are at liberty to choose any one of them as the most significant. But it is highly probable that when we get there, we shall find that Truth smilingly regards all our theological and philosophical preferences as the prejudices of a misconceived loyalty to itself, and we shall be only too joyful to concur in so beneficent and wise a judgment.

G. R. S. MEAD.

WILLIAM BLAKE: FURTHER OBSERVATIONS.

JOSEPH WICKSTEED, M.A.

THE stream of Blake manuscripts and originals which has for some years steadily flowed across the Atlantic until American students are as well if not better placed than those of Blake's own land, has now been repaid in something more lasting than dollars. An astonishingly complete clue to Blake's submarine caverns has come to us in Mr. Damon's study of his philosophy and symbolism.¹ And it is scarcely too much to say that a reader of moderate persistence may now, for the first time, take up any of Blake's works and, with Mr. Damon's help, understand them.

More than thirty years ago Messrs. Ellis and Yeats attempted a like service. But, though they showed immense industry, devotion and resourcefulness, and unquestionably laid bare very much of Blake's system and symbolism, their work suffered from two grave defects. They took Blake's system too seriously and his genius not seriously enough. Much of his most beautiful poetry was re-written by them and his system elaborated in a way which was at least speculative, while some of his symbols were regarded as having a kind of objective reality by which Blake would have been either mortally offended or mortally amused. But Ellis and Yeats' faith was so implicit, their

¹ *William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols*, by S. Foster Damon. London (Constable); pp. xiv. + 487.

labours so enthusiastic and their errors so patent that they have ever since acted in a double capacity. They are the beacons that guide ships out to sea and mark the shoals with warning wreckage. Mr. Damon has escaped every rock and shallow and reached the deep. His equipment is, in the first place, his enthusiasm, his excellent and readable style and his enormous industry. He seems to have read everything that Blake knew or was likely to know or even to have heard spoken of by his friends. A poet himself, he has made an illuminating study of Blake's prosody, and lastly he is successful in combining the parts of interpreter, advocate and judge. He never imagines that, because he can explain Blake, what Blake says is necessarily either true or beautiful, and yet he is constantly successful in steering the reader past all doubts and difficulties into the full splendour of Blake's genius.

It will be many years before a final estimate of Mr. Damon's achievement is reached, and I cannot pretend to anything approaching an exhaustive treatment here. I must content myself with two things. In the first place I wish to make two small criticisms on his admirable chapter on the *Job* illustrations, the part of his work which I am best able to estimate, and secondly to set down the new conception of Blake's work and message which I find in my mind as a result of reading Mr. Damon's most stimulating study.

In the *Job* (and I suspect elsewhere) Mr. Damon is occasionally tempted (as we are all tempted) to think that the most remotely hidden clue is the most important. We all like to think that the gems from the deepest mine are the most precious, and to forget that a first-violin part which everyone can hear may be

as important as a wood-wind note which only a musician detects.

It is perhaps a merely personal impression of my own that he attaches too much importance to Blake's sevenfold system in the *Job* inventions. He clearly shows that it is there, a thing which no one else has done and which is certainly very interesting. When, however, the matter is closely examined, it seems to be rather a vestigial feature and only of occasional importance in the understanding of the designs,—of interest, in fact, mainly to students. But his treatment of Plate iii. seems to me more important and illustrates the danger I speak of somewhat more critically.

He says (and has convinced me) that Satan destroying Job's sons represents Job's accusing thought, which suggests that if only he had not accused them all might have been well. This is not a point of view which would occur to anyone who was not steeped in Blake's earlier thought, and I do not wish for a moment to deny that it is an important contribution to the understanding of the *Job*. But there is in my opinion a still more important point of view, which is also more obvious and which it must not be allowed to supersede. Blake himself is (I hold) unmistakably castigating certain forms of sensuality in this design, as he is castigating certain forms of materialism in all Job's own disasters. Job's error is not in seeing his sons' lives as disastrous, but in failing to see their Divine-Humanity as the essential fact, and *their* error as belonging to his *own*. Error has got to be seen. We cannot get rid of it, Blake holds, until we do see it. Even the Friends are agents of redemption in seeing Job's error though not their own. But error is its own punishment. The sinner is of all men to be pitied and

forgiven. In attacking him we "punish the already punished: O whom should I pity if I pity not the sinner who is gone astray?" (*Jerusalem*, p. 31, ll. 34, 35.)

Now Mr. Damon of course knows all this. But he seems to me to make a mistake of emphasis due to his approach. We must first (or last) make the *Job* illustrations tell their own tale. It would be a great loss if we failed to recognize Blake's unique power of showing the contrast between the terribleness of misled life and loveliness of the redeemed life because of our determination to 'distinguish between the Man and his present State.' (*Jerusalem*, p. 52.)

And because Blake refuses to castigate the *Men* (Job's sons), we must not forget how terribly and vigorously he is castigating their *State*. Job was wrong in judging *them* but right in his vision of their condition.

As I lay down Mr. Damon's book a new survey of Blake's work as a whole rises in my mind and I find myself thinking how fundamental a feature of his gospel is fidelity to his own inspiration. Blake seems to say:

"Don't tell me that this or that is good or beautiful or true. My own vision and experience of goodness, of truth and of beauty is infinitely more living than anything that can be shown me by another." It was vain to tell him that prince or priest or public could dictate in matters upon which his own soul was hourly eloquent. "You tell me," he says in effect, "that God is good with the same breath that you declare it was he who sent the Devil to everlasting perdition and with him more than half humanity. If such a God exists at all (which God forbid) that God is himself a devil. You say that the nakedness

of woman is evil and dangerous when all a man's most poetic passions cry out that it is good and redemptive. No wonder that your whole minds and lives are tangled up in unutterable confusion and hypocrisy, bringing down in their ruin the very things you seek to protect. So long as you listen to the fatuities of outward dictation your life will be a welter of conflicting purposes, until, for want of higher guidance, the purely selfish motive always becomes triumphant. Fasten your faith on what your human heart declares good, and not only will the jangle in your own life work through to harmony, but you will ultimately find yourself one with mankind itself—not Man indeed as he exists around us to-day, full of darkness and self-seeking, but as he might exist even to-day, and as he once (at least) actually appeared in that man you profess to worship, but who of all others defied the conventions and authorities you live by, and who based his life upon those divine impulses and perceptions which are the reality of every human spirit. In Jesus, who approximately *lived* as we all at our deepest *feel*, we find the unity of the race, so that he has become symbol and vision of the Divine-Humanity in each of us, that Essence of the Universe which, despite all accidents and wanderings, makes us eternally one with one another."

Now here is a faith which, whatever one may think of some of its aspects, is surely splendid enough to make a poet of almost any man, and in its essentials simple and even convincing. How is it that a hundred years after Blake's death men are still digging with unutterable toil to discover what he said and whether it was worth saying?

The trouble is deeper than appears. Blake was

no more exempt than the rest of us from having a religion which he professed and another which he believed. The religion he professed was constructed in reaction against those of other people, and is liable to be either a perverse contradiction or a violent exaggeration. His symbolism was sometimes intentionally obscure. But his system became obscure because it was forged in the heat of his emotions. It represents passionate desires and indignant reactions and is often the opposite in form from his deepest faith.

Even, therefore, when we have unravelled his symbolism we are not at the end of our interpretive difficulties. At root Blake's faith is in the Here and the Now. Nothing that is not first-hand and immediate can stand. But though for a few years after his marriage his own here and now were sufficiently delightful to seem nearly what they ought ideally to be, he had only to step outside his door to find himself in a city and a century utterly alien to his whole mode of being. In kicking against this ugly and uncongenial world, however, he sometimes destroys his own footing. He makes this life, which ought to have been and, in all his most splendid moments, is the foundation-stone of paradise, a mere fall from eternity, a dream-tossed sleep, a very death. Knowing as he did that if heaven exists at all it is to be found on earth, and that there is no certainly Divine but in the mind of man, he crowds his canvas with a wild phantasmagoria of heavens and hells, of gods and devils. Believing in the absolute unity of 'the Good' he invents innumerable dualities and trinities and quaternities and multipluralities to expound its nature and triumph. Inspired, as only the prophets and apostles have been

inspired, with power to castigate evil and to sweeten and idealize goodness, he declares that good and evil are misleading and degrading illusions. Knowing, as none have better known, that in the life-love of one man and one woman lies impregnable peace and happiness, he denied that marriage has any claims of loyalty and declared that woman ceases to exist in paradise.

And yet, if we understand—as Mr. Damon gives us a new chance to understand—what it really is that Blake is at, we may see that his method was not altogether accidental or unfortunate. We can only see the Divine that really dwells *in* life, if we have pictured it as something apart from life. We can only reject life's mistakes when they have come to stand out for us as independent realities. Though the Divine is always here, it is realized only as it emerges. So Blake, like Browning, though with an extraordinarily different medium, attempts to make Art “do the thing shall breed the thought, nor wrong the thought, missing the mediate word.” And out of the weird and often wearying confusion of his prophetic books the finale rises with a serenity greater and more satisfying for the confusion, darkness and storm it has survived and resolved. The whole thing is unreal, but it is splendid in itself, and ends by bringing us nearer to the reality within ourselves.

Blake's awakening in his garden at the end of the *Milton* to find his wife by his side; his completed city of art on earth, giving access to heaven, which he engraved on the final page of the *Jerusalem*; the last illustration in the *Job*, where the patriarch, after all his visions and trials, gathers his family to sing the songs of paradise upon this very earth; and the very

last effort of Blake's hand, the portrait made on his death-bed of his wife;—all speak the seat of his deepest loyalty in unmistakable language made only the more eloquent by his gorgeous effort to give reality to things he knew were real only because the artist himself is still more real.

And yet his method at its best is more than this. It is the method not of statement, either directly or indirectly true, it is the method of ineffable suggestion by query. The questions of Innocence are answered: "Little Lamb, who made thee?" "Can a mother sit and hear an infant groan, an infant fear?" But the questions of Experience lead only to further questions that remain unanswered.

"Tiger, Tiger, burning bright
Through the forests of the night,
What immortal hand or eye
Could frame thy fearful symmetry?"

is only answered by the further question:

"Did he smile his work to see,
Did he who made the lamb make thee?"

and finally:

"What immortal hand or eye
Dare frame thy fearful symmetry?"

Then, in the great song that is surely destined to become his country's national anthem, he asks:

"And did those feet in ancient time
Walk upon England's pastures green?"

Neither he nor his reader thinks that, in any literal sense, they did. But he carries us into a world of visionary suggestion that wakes in our minds the thought of England's eternal and indestructible beauty

and holiness, a vision as far from the *fact* of 'these dark Satanic Mills' as it is inherent to eternal truth. Yet when, at last, out of his splendour of imagery he comes to his triumphant finale, there is no doubt about the reality of the earth he is treading. It is in the Here and the Now that man is to be blessed, and it is on this very land of our fathers and our children that the dreams of poets—nay, the dreams of his own particular soul—shall achieve the city of God.

“ I will not cease from Mental Fight,
Nor shall my Sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant Land.”

No prouder boast ever fell from the lips of bard or prophet. But it is as big with creative truth as it is with daring, because it relies upon nothing but the here and now in the individual to redeem the Here and Now for the race.

JOSEPH WICKSTEED.

ON SOME REFLECTIONS OF KIERKEGAARD.

PAUL LEVERTOFF, M.Litt.

SÖREN AABYE KIERKEGAARD, the greatest Scandinavian philosopher and mystic, in whose writings we are in touch 'with a nature of unwonted intensity, with an inner life at white heat,' is not represented by any of his works in the English language. With the exception of Baron v. Hügel, as far as I know, no other writer on Mysticism or Religious Philosophy even mentions him. This loss to English readers I am privileged to remedy, for I hope to bring out a volume of some of his philosophic works. Meanwhile I content myself with introducing him to the readers of **THE QUEST** by this little paper based on scattered fragments drawn from his semi-philosophical, semi-devotional reflections on the Sermon on the Mount. It might be called: 'Consider the Lilies'—a Pessimist's Reflections on the Greatness of Man.

Kierkegaard's great ideal was to become contemporaneous with Christ. All his life he was deeply impressed by the categorical imperative of Christianity and his failure to realize it.

The passages concerning the lilies and the birds in the Sermon on the Mount are generally looked upon, even by the best of us, as beautiful, but impracticable poetry. Kierkegaard was not of this mind. He analyses these passages almost word by word in his own quaint

style. These words, he says, make a special appeal to those whose souls are heavy-laden and whose hearts are burdened with cares.

There are times when the man who is weary under his load of care and sorrow is inclined to refuse human comfort. Rightly or wrongly, it seems to him that no human being could really enter into his sorrow. At such a time he would do well to seek comforters and teachers whose speech is not open to misunderstanding, whose exhortation is free from any secret reproach, whose glance does not condemn, whose comforting, in a word, does not irritate, but soothe. In the field, where the lily flourishes in all its glory, with the radiant sky above it where the bird soars in freedom, there is comfort for the heavy heart, alone with God, the lilies and the birds.

Here in the sunshine is spread a carpet more beautiful than that of any king. While the eyes are ravished by its wonderful pattern and the soul quickened and refreshed by the spectacle, the heart is not troubled by the thought of all the toil it has cost to make it. It is only with productions of human skill that the eyes fill with tears for the toiler, while they are being dazzled with the riot of colour and fineness of the work.

The heavy-laden one stoops over one of the exquisite lilies, and the more carefully he looks at it, the more he marvels at its beauty and ingenious formation. Looking thus carefully at productions of human skill the more are defects discovered; with the aid of a magnifying glass how clumsy are the threads of the finest tapestry. Alas, it is as though man invents only to be humiliated. That which humiliates man honours God; for who, with the aid of a magnifying

glass ever found a lily less beautiful, less ingeniously formed? Such 'invention' truly honours God. Compared with God what is the greatest human artist? For the Artist who weaves the field's carpet and produces the beauty of the lily, admiration increases and adoration grows the nearer we come to Him.

So, he who carries his heavy burden out to the lilies stands among them in the field and marvels. He takes a lily and contemplates it. He does not choose; he takes the first to hand. It does not enter his mind that of *one* lily alone it could be said: "Even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these"; he knows it could be said of each and all of them. Suppose the lily could speak, would it not say to him who plucked it: "Why do you marvel so at me? Is it not *as* glorious to be a man?"

Constant intercourse with our fellowmen and the comparisons that are made between man and man make us forget what it means to be a *man*. But, in the field with the lilies, the wide sky overspreading the broad earth, where vast spaces filled with wonder and beauty scare away all pettiness, the burden grows less and, alone with God and the lilies, man learns that which no human soul can teach him.

The burdened heart goes to the lilies, and they respect his sorrows. They do not speak of sorrow at all, of his or of that of any other man.

Consider, too, the birds. "Behold the fowls of the air, they sow not, nor do they reap, nor gather into barns, yet your Heavenly Father feedeth them."

Jesus takes us into the field, into that environment that would, as it were, interweave us into the great universal Life, that would win us for Life's great fellowship.

The hold which sorrow takes upon a man's soul might best be compared with the fascinated staring of the eye. When the eye stares, thus looks, it sees constantly one and the same thing, and yet sees nothing, because it sees its own sight. The physician would say: "Avert the eye!" And so says Jesus: "Avert the eye, the mind, and look down at the lilies and up to the birds, and cease from staring at your own sorrow!" If now the tears stop running while the eyes look downward to the lilies, is it not as though the lilies dried the tears? When the wind dried the tears from the eyes that looked up to the birds, is it not as though the birds dried those tears?

In the everyday life of comparisons one forgets more and more, perhaps altogether, these great sublime simple first thoughts. One man compares himself with another, one generation with another, and so the piled up mass of comparisons perplex men more and more. "If God so clothe the lily . . ."; but the lily's existence is not one thing and its clothes another, its clothing is the very lily. Is not then man, in this sense, even more gloriously clothed?

To rule How continuously man fights for that, be it to rule over empires or over one human being! But out in the field among the lilies no-one wishes to be the ruler. To be considered something out-of-the-common, something wonderful . . . , what efforts are made in order to reach such happiness, while envy strives to hinder those who strive thus! But out among the lilies, where every man is what God made him, Creation's wonder, no-one thinks of striving to be wonderful.

Kierkegaard explains *Ecclesiastes* iii. 12, as meaning: "God has put man apart in order to see if he will think

himself equal to a beast." For he who, being separated, is not calmed, comforted, edified and exalted by these first thoughts about himself, but wants to give himself up entirely to the vain service of comparisons—such a one thinks himself equal to a beast, no matter on which rung of the ladder of comparison he stands, high or low. The single animal is not separated, is not an unconditioned individuality. It is one of a number and belongs to the multitude.

Being a man,—that is man's clothing. "It is the soul that like a weaver weaves the body, which body is man's clothing." Is it not glorious to be so clothed? In praise of the lily the Gospel says that it exceeds Solomon in all his glory. Is it not more glorious to resemble God?

When a man looks into water he sees his own image mirrored, but the water is not man's image, and when he is gone the image is gone too.

Just as the bodily presence makes it impossible for man to be omnipresent, so is the visible form through its visibility limited and powerless. But God is Spirit. He is invisible. The image of invisibility is invisibility. So the Creator reflects himself into invisibility. To be spirit,—that is man's invisible glory. When then the care-laden one is out in the fields among the lilies, where every flower says to him, "Think of God," and he replies: "I shall certainly do so, dear little ones! I shall worship Him; you cannot do that, poor little ones!" Erect man is a worshipper. Man's upright form is certainly a distinction; but to be able to fall down at will and worship, that is more glorious, and all Nature is like a servant that reminds man, the ruler, to worship God.

The fearlessness of faith is, to Kierkegaard, a *soaring*,

the beautiful, though imperfect, figure of which is the bird's flight. Therefore we speak of being 'lifted up on faith's wings'; and this 'winging aloft' is, in the divine sense, the perfect soaring, of which the bird's flight is only a feeble and figurative suggestion. Even the proudest flight of the boldest bird appears to us only as an earthly and temporal falling short; and in comparison with the high restful soaring of faith, it seems as uncountable when we see how lightly faith soars up to Heaven itself.

Why has the bird no cares? Because it lives only for the moment. How then arises the possibility of having cares? It arises in the meeting of the Eternal with the temporal in our human consciousness. In this consciousness man is far above the moment; no bird can fly so far. Just by this is man's attention drawn to the danger of which the bird has no foreboding. Through being conscious of Eternity, man is also conscious of to-morrow. Through consciousness man discovered a world which even the most experienced bird cannot possibly know,—namely the Future. And when this Future is brought back into relation to the Present, anxiety shows itself. This the bird does not know; for be the bird's flying powers ever so great, it could never reach the Future, and has therefore never returned therefrom. It is true that the bird as being without care is held up as man's pattern; and yet man by being able to have cares is far more perfect than his pattern.

Man, as having consciousness, is a centre where the Eternal and the temporal constantly touch one another. In a mysterious manner the temporal and the Eternal touch one another painfully through the human consciousness. One of the contacts of which

man is specially sensible is the care for livelihood. In times of such preoccupation one does not think of filling up the time with some glorious deed, some great thought, some sublime feeling, as in the hours of which one says that they are 'lived for eternity.' One thinks then only of the paltry work done, in hours that are lived entirely for time, of the paltry work of finding means for temporal existence. And yet the fact that it is possible for man to have cares proves his high origin and destiny. It is merely another expression of man's exaltation; for highly as God exalts, so deeply can He humiliate. And to be deeply humiliated means also to be greatly exalted. As God by making man a conscious being, exalted him above the bird; so, also, has He brought him down, as it were, below it, by making it possible for him to be burdened with cares for a livelihood, with that earthly petty anxiety which the bird does not have.

Jesus sends the sorrowful one out into the fields; where he who thought himself proof against all the consolations of his fellowmen finds himself at once in a different environment.

"Consider the grass, to-day it is, and tomorrow is cast into the oven." What a pitiful existence! What vain nothingness! Even if it is not cast into the oven, the sun rises and the grass withers and no-one knows its place any more. Miserable existence indeed, to be so utterly forgotten!

Consider the bird. "Are not two sparrows sold for one farthing?" One sparrow has no value at all; there must be two in order that the buyer should give a farthing for them. What a change! A while ago so gay, so happy—and now, not worth even a farthing!

So dies the bird. With the Spring the first swallow

comes back; all greet it joyfully. But whether it is the same swallow that was first last year, no-one knows.

Indeed there is beauty and youth and charm in Nature; indeed there is manifold and swarming life and joy and jubilation. But there is also a deep unfathomableness which none of these creatures feel; and it is just the fact that not one of them feels it, that fills *us* with sadness. To be so beautiful, so to blossom like the lily, so to fly about, so to build his nest with his beloved like the bird, so to live . . . and yet to die so miserably. Is it life or is it death? So one asks about a patient when the crisis of the illness has come. Then one sees the danger clearly, and one sees it with terror. In Nature, on the other hand, where everything looks so inviting and so smiling and far from danger, why also here the anxious question: Is it life or is it death? Nature's life is always in such tension. Is it life which, eternally young, renews itself, in order not to be recognized as that which it really is? Yes, the charm of the lily, the gaiety of the bird, are only masks of the transitoriness which lurks secretly so as to catch its prey. So life in Nature is short, rich in song, flourishing, but at every moment a spoil of death.

So contemplating, the sorrowful one sinks into sadness. It grows dark before his eyes; the beauty of Nature pales, the singing of the birds is hushed—like the stillness of the grave. Transitoriness threatens to swallow all things. Yet he cannot forget the bird and the lily. It is as if by his recollections of them he would like to save them from the death that threatens them at every moment. That is just the saddening part of it. Death utters the awful word: "It is

finished.” But more touching is the anxious question of sadness: Is it life or is it death? The figure of Death—the pale Scythe-man—is terrible; but it is more pathetic when Death clothes itself in the beauty of the lily. Among such sad contemplations the sorrowful one grows weak as a woman, defenceless as a defeated fortification, and comfort finds an entrance.

PAUL LEVERTOFF.

A PECULIAR PEOPLE—THE MANDÆANS.

E. S. DROWER.¹

I HAVE been asked to give some account of my dealings with that strange nation known in Mesopotamia as Subbis, also Christians of St. John, but called by themselves Mandaï, or Gnostics, on account of the knowledge which they account peculiarly theirs. The second title, however, is erroneous, for they certainly are not Christians. Readers of *THE QUEST* have already been made acquainted with some of the documents and doctrines of the Mandaïtes by the Editor's three recent articles; they may be therefore specially interested in hearing something of the actual people who profess the faith, and are heirs to a wisdom and philosophy which perhaps they are scarcely able to understand themselves. It must, sooner or later, disappear, for their number is dwindling, and their days as a separate nation slowly but surely running out.

There is a small colony or group of Subbis in almost every town of size in Mesopotamia—Najafa and Karbala perhaps excepted. The Subbis herd together of course, for in Iraq each trade keeps by itself—shoemakers in one street, bakers in another, butchers in another; and the trade professed by the Subbi of the towns is always that of silversmith or goldsmith. The Iraqi in

¹ Mrs. Drower, as Miss E. S. Stevens, is the authoress of *By the Tigris and Euphrates*, a charming travel-book, published by Hurst and Blackett, London, 1923.

general is an inartistic fellow and a poor craftsman, but the Subbi, producing work peculiar to himself, is both an artist and a good workman. Sometimes quite an artist, as in the case of Zahrūn, the famous silversmith of Amarah.

There is yet another trade professed almost exclusively by our peculiar people, that of making *mash-hufs*. These are the boats used in the marshes by the marsh-Arabs, and are probably of a pattern similar to that used in the days of Babylon. They are long, low and shallow, with lengthy beak-like prows, and are poled along like punts. Outside they are daubed with bitumen to make them water-tight, and they are the only means of getting from place to place in the marshes, since the streets and roads are all of water. All transport is by means of *mash-hufs*, and one sees *mash-hufs* used as shops by itinerant water-pedlars, who go from reed-village to reed-village. The life of the dwellers in the marshes, as far as one can judge, is precisely the same as that they led in the days of Abraham—indeed the impression of matting found in temples during recent excavations at Ur of the Chaldees is exactly the same as that woven now-a-days, and one wonders how and when the Subbis came to acquire a monopoly, or what amounts to a monopoly, of *mash-huf* building. The principal centre for this trade is Suq-esh-Shuyukh, where there is a large colony of Subbis, and also a Subbi temple. As I have not yet been to Suq-esh-Shuyukh, I am unable to describe it, though I have heard that running water courses through it, as one would expect, for ceremonial uses. The Subbis of Amarah have no temple; but of course they have the river for their baptisms and purifications, their religion being essentially one of constant purifi-

cation. I asked the Subbis of Baghdad why they were never seen being baptized in the Tigris there, and they replied that in Baghdad they had no priest, so that for marriages (which can be performed only by a bishop), for special purifications, baptisms and so forth, they must go to Amarah, where their Ganzowro,¹ or bishop, lives.

Then as to personal appearance. The Subbis are a fine race, finer than any other in Iraq. They are tall, well-built, and usually handsome. With their long, silky black hair, fine white skins, dark eyes, beards, and thoughtful, melancholy expression, each one of them might serve as a model for St. John the Baptist, whom they claim to be the founder and inspirer of their religion. The women are often beautiful, and this is, unfortunately, one of the causes of their disappearance as a race, since Moslems often fall in love with them, and marry them either by persuasion or compulsion.

I was curious to find out more about these people, and resolved to pay a visit to Amarah, first applying to my old friend, Père Anastase, a learned Carmelite father of Baghdad, for any information he might be able to give me concerning the Mandæans. He complied and also gave me a pamphlet written by the French Consul at Mosul, a Monsieur Siouffi, in 1880; and this was extremely useful to me, as I was able to make it a basis for questioning the bishop about his faith. I found that Siouffi's little study was on the whole correct, though there were several errors, notably in connection with the sacrament and the ceremony of the *massakhto*, also as regards baptism. Siouffi got

¹ The Mandæan terms are spelled phonetically as heard. Siouffi's and Mrs. Drower's accounts are very valuable for giving us the present-day pronunciation.—Ed.

his information from a Subbi convert to the Roman Catholic faith, and did not personally witness a baptism, as I had the opportunity of doing.

I applied to Zahrūn, the celebrated Subbi silver-smith at Amarah, who went with me to visit the bishop, or Ganzowro, and recommend me to him. The bishop's house was near his own, in fact the artist is related in some way to the prelate. The bishop's house was built of mud, like that of his neighbours, and was of the usual type—a door admitting to the courtyard, around which were the buildings which composed the house. The bishop was sitting cross-legged on a strip of matting under the shade of a wooden balcony, his stool-table furnished with writing materials before him, and a box containing the sacred books at hand. His pastoral staff—a long wooden stick without a crook—was propped up against the mud wall behind him, and his ceremonial vestments—the *rasta* of which I shall speak later—hung on a nail. The courtyard was inhabited by a variety of dumb friends. An open cowshed occupied one corner, in which a cow lay chewing the cud and watching reflectively as the old man talked to us. A long-haired sheep wandered at will. Fowls scratched and clucked about, even invading the mat on which the bishop sat. Geese stared at us, and a cat, evidently a friend, licked herself placidly near by. An out-door kitchen occupied another corner, and in a third was a rough tent rigged up for a female visitor, possibly a girl come to get married. I was kindly received and bidden to sit down. The Subbis have experienced nothing but good from the British occupation of Iraq, and to be British is in itself a recommendation.

The bishop's sister sat near him, and talked with

us freely ; nor, later on, when he was at his prayers, did she let this interfere with her conversation. In the middle of the prayers she talked as unconcernedly as before and rolled herself cigarettes. Or if there were any household task to be performed, it was the same ; she did not lower her voice or let her brother's devotions stand in the way of her industry. I rather fancy that it was she, rather than the young wife (a second wife), who ruled the good man's household, which was simple, homely and friendly. On each occasion when I visited the Bishop she did the honours for him.

My first question was about the *rasta*, which hung on the wall. They took it down, and described it to me piece by piece, and the following day I saw it in actual use. The *rasta* is a ceremonial dress put on at baptism, marriage, or any other ceremony. Officiating clergy always wear it ; bride and bridegroom must don it during the wedding service, and it is the last garment of a dead man.

The *rasta* is a series of garments—or more properly speaking, I should say, the *rasta* consists of several pieces. It represents the white garments of holiness ; but truth compels me to say that the *rasta* worn by the bishop was clean only in the ceremonial sense, since the river was cloudy with the mud borne down by the swift flood-water, and the clothes were stained brown from immersion in it.

The first piece is the *shalualo*. This is a wide pair of drawers, drawn in at the waist by a cotton sash, one end of which must be left unsewn. Second comes the *sadro*, a long white cotton shirt. Third, the *deysh-sho*, a couple of pieces of cotton material sewn on the *sadro* over the right breast. Fourth, a turban, which,

when unrolled, measures about four and a half yards. Part of this is left unwound, and falls over the shoulder on to the breast. Fifth, a belt, or *himiano*, woven of sixty strands of wool, confining the *sadro* at the waist. Sixth, a long strip of cotton cloth, like a bandage, worn like a clergyman's stole round the neck—called *gabu'a*, or *kinzala*. This is much used in ritual, and usually looped or drawn through the belt. The seventh piece is the *tagha*—a piece of coarsely woven cotton tape, about an inch and a half wide, and half a yard long, joined together so as to form a ring, placed under the turban on the head. The bishop also wore a gold ring on the little finger of his right hand (the *isakhto*) and when officiating invariably carried the pastoral staff which I described above.

I told the bishop that I was writing a book about the customs of Mesopotamia, and that I should be grateful if he could give me a little instruction as to the Mandæan customs and religion. He replied that he would be glad to answer any questions that I cared to put him. This is briefly what I gathered from him :

The Subbis believe in and worship one God over all, Alaha, like the Christians, Jews and Moslems ; but I am bound to say that their conception of this over-God seems a more spiritual one than that of their neighbours. Over all, and above all, impersonal and eternal, their First Cause deposes to lesser beings the governance of the visible world. These lesser beings are not gods, and they are not angels. The bishop called them *melki* ; and spirits of power would not be a bad translation. These beings live in a celestial world, of light and purity, called *Olmi Danhuro*. This world is eternal. The *melki* are male and female, and have orders and degrees of importance, though they

are passionless, holy beings with divine powers and gifts. They, like men, pray to Alaha, the One Supreme God, and are subject to his decrees. There are three hundred and sixty *melki*, and these are all named by the Subbis. The bishop enumerated a few of the more important of them. Moro-Eddarbutho, king and lord of all the *melki*; Awather Muzania, who lives in the Polar Star—or behind it—and is the judge of men's souls after they have passed through Purgatory. If the fires and pains of Purgatory have not purified them sufficiently, the souls are sent back for further purification. Another of the *melki* is Hivel-Zivo, who made a journey into the world of material things in order to seek out a woman called Ruhaya, a creature of celestial birth; from whom great things were to come, since through her the material world came into being. The return of Hivel-Zivo with Ruhaya is celebrated once a year at a feast—Dehvo Hnino.

This Ruhaya, according to them, bore a colossal giant called Ur or Oor. Ur was a kind of Atlas, and bore upon his back the weight of the physical worlds, from their construction until now, and will bear them until the Last Day, when all things material shall pass away. Zahrin, who was listening as we discussed these things, interrupted at this point to say that he, for one, doubted the credibility of this tale. "How could a small woman like Ruhaya produce such a monster!" The bishop did not seem much disturbed by his friend's scepticism, and accepted my suggestion to Zahrin that of course it was only an allegory. Ruhaya was the spirit which produced Ur, the physical universe. Ur, the monster of materialism, has an enormous mouth, and to be 'eaten by Ur' is the awful fate held over obdurate evil-doers. His

burning breath as he breathes it forth will scorch them, and the air that he draws into his lungs from without freezes them. It is said by Siouffi that Gentiles, such as you and I, are destined to be eaten by Ur; but when I said so to the bishop, he was polite enough to deny it utterly. If we are good—we Gentiles—we may hope to go to a place of reward, a place which *sounded* like *Bish kinotha Nauf shaihun*.

Ur's mouth is Hell. Purgatory, or Mataratho, is not unlike the Purgatory of the Christians. It must be endured by every soul; for no soul, even that of the best, is pure enough to go straight into the realms of light without a preliminary purification. Saints sojourn only for a short time amid its shades; sinners wander for long centuries through its vales of woe. Once Hivel-Zivo was the governor of Purgatory; but he was so severe in demanding absolute perfection of purity in the souls which presented themselves after purification, that not one ever reached the abodes of bliss.

Therefore Paradise, or Olmi Danhuro, had no fresh recruits to glory, and its inhabitants complained. It was judged wiser therefore by Moro Eddarbutho, to replace him by a more tolerant examiner, and Awather Muzania was appointed, he who dwells in the North Star. Apparently he was less exacting, for the righteous have gone forth in a steady stream to Paradise ever since. Purgatory will disappear at the Last Day. Paradise remains, and is eternal—when the last sinner has passed into the realms of the blest.

The most curious idea which the Subbis possess is one entirely foreign to either the Christian or Moslem faith. They hold that there is another world, co-existent with our own, but far less material. It is

invisible. Like our own, it will disappear at the end of all things. But the people who inhabit this world, which they call Mshuni-Koshto, are not of the same gross clay as ourselves, though they buy, sell, marry, have children, pray, sleep, baptize, wear clothing and also the sacred dress of the *rasta*. They are unlike us, in that they have no passions, no emotions, no fears. Life for them is a perfect expression of perfect purity. They know no tears, no laughter. They are never angry. If they love, they love with no alloy of passion. They are sinless and unsinching. They dress in nothing but the most dazzling white. There is no necessity for them to pass through Purgatory when they die—for they too die, lightly and easily, and with no regret—since they are already perfectly pure ; they simply lose what little materiality they possess and pass straight into Paradise.

The people of our earth—Arad Tivel—spring from Adam and Eve. But the people of Mshuni-Koshto also had an Adam and Eve, of spiritual nature. The Adam and Eve of this world had a daughter, so also had the Adam and Eve of Mshuni-Koshto. The daughter of this world was fair to look upon ; the daughter of the purer super-world was fairer still. The spiritual Adam took the daughter of the earthly Adam to wife, and from their union resulted the Subbi or Mandæan race. The earthly Adam was allowed to take the daughter of the spiritual Adam to wife as well ; but she bore him no children, since he had not the power to create by a word, like the beings who inhabit Mshuni-Koshto. So it will be seen that the Mandæans are not like the other children of Adam, since they have a spiritual heritage from their other-world father.

This abode of semi-spiritual beings seems without parallel in the religion of Christian and Sunni; but I gather that there is something which resembles it in the traditions of the Shiah Moslems. They have a legend amongst themselves of just such another realm as Mshuni-Koshto. They call it Jazirat-al-Khadhra, the Green Island, and say that it is inhabited by people of semi-spiritual nature, who know not what sin is, buy and sell but without money, and live in purity, peace and happiness. In this Green Island the Mahdi, the twelfth Imam who so mysteriously disappeared, lies hidden, awaiting the moment of return to the earth. A learned sheikh has written a book about this island, pretending that he was shipwrecked upon it, and borne ashore on a plank from the sunken ship.

I asked the bishop about his own history. He was the son of a priest, for the priesthood is practically hereditary. There are priestesses as well as priests, but I was not able to find out whether their functions included baptisms and so forth or whether they entered the higher orders of priesthood, because at the time of my visit I knew nothing of women-priests. The bishop, then, was of a priestly family, and this was as good as to say of a healthy family, since a priest must be physically sound, without bodily defect or imperfection. Priests must also abstain from wine, tobacco and stimulants of all sorts, so that it is not surprising that the priests I saw were tall, strong-looking, healthy men. The bishop is a very old man, but he is still a fine specimen of humanity. He began to learn the prayers almost as soon as he could speak, and then to recite the sacred books. Both prayers and sacred books are of course in the Mandaïtic language. The

bishop opened his box and spread out before me some of the sacred scriptures and prayer-books,—the *Dravshod Yahya*, or Life of St. John, the *Nian er Rahani*, the *Kitab el Qulasta* and *En-Nishethra*, lastly the *Ginza Rabba*, which is written in two parts on each page, one being written upside down. The bishop told me that the reversed part was written 'for the dead'; but when I got back to Baghdad, Père Anastase said I must have mistaken him about this, as it was not so, but written reversed so that two priests could read at the same time. I must ask again when I get back.

The writing was very exquisite, and of course was in the Mandæan character. The transcribing of the books is one of the main sources of income for the priesthood; and I have no doubt that if anyone desired to commission a copy of the *Dravshod Yahya* he would duly receive one from the bishop, as he made no difficulty about allowing me to examine the book which they are supposed to keep so secret.

Getting the very lengthy prayers by heart is part of the education of the boy destined to the priesthood; he must also learn the sacred books and writing. The bishop was a deacon while still in his boyhood. Then came his initiation into the priesthood, a very significant and arduous rite. No evil-minded person, no person of bad character or faulty morals, is admitted into the priesthood, and the assent of the whole community is asked before his consecration. The principal rite is the following. Two huts are built of reeds, like the houses of the marshes, which are all built of reeds,—the easiest available material that is to say. One hut is slightly removed from the other. The candidate for the priesthood spends one night in the first, which, I take it, represents the earthly side of his nature,

spending the entire time in prayer and meditation. The next morning, the hut is set on fire and allowed to burn to the ground. He then passes to the second reed hut, and in this he spends six days and nights in constant vigil and prayer. Not once must his eyelids close in sleep, for a dream might sully the purity of his meditations and invalidate all his former preparations. I asked the bishop if it were not a physical impossibility to keep awake for a whole week. He assured me that it was done, and unless it were successfully done, the candidate could not enter the priesthood. The young deacon often resorts to self-torture in order to keep his weary eyelids from falling. Perhaps there is a certain leniency over nodding heads,—but the bishop did not admit it. Priests may come to visit him in the hut and pray with him, and he may eat certain purified foods. Each day a new *rasta* must be put on, and food and alms given by the candidate to the poor.

The eighth day, Sunday, the exhausted man, I should imagine barely conscious of what is going on around him, is taken out, funeral ceremonies are performed over him, and he is baptized in the river by four priests. During the sixty days which follow, he must bathe three times a day in the river, returning to the house in his wet clothes, and remaining in them until he has said the necessary prayers. He must be very careful to suffer no contamination during this period, for any chance event, such as the eating anything not ceremonially pure or the touch of one in a state of uncleanness, would make it necessary to start the sixty days all over again from the very beginning. It is so easy for this to happen, that it is very rarely the 'sixty days' are got through in sixty.

The food that the priest eats is specially purified, and he must make his own bread, just as he does for the 'sacrament.'

At the end of the sixty days the priest and his household, male and female, are baptized in the river again. The next day is a feast-day, and a day of great rejoicing, and henceforth he is a full priest with all the privileges and responsibilities of his calling.

E. S. DROWER.

(In the next number there will follow accounts of the consecration of a bishop and of a baptism-ceremony, which latter Mrs. Drower was privileged to see from beginning to end.—ED.)

THE NEW ANCHORITES.

II.¹

“CLOTHING?” I echoed, in amazement, with an involuntary glance at the beautiful, strange, garments they were wearing, which looked more than ever like suits of the lightest, finest, and most flexible of golden chain-mail.

“Eve! This is your show. I thought of the house, but you invented the clothing.”

“But we did everything together!”

“Of course. We always do, and generally it isn’t easy to say which is your thought and which is mine. But I have the clearest memory of that evening when we moved into the sleeping-hut and folded up our old tent for good, and slung it to the rafters of the garden-hut, and stretched ourselves out on the two big banks of dried grass and clover we had cut and carried in for our beds. And, as we lay there luxuriously listening to the birds with all the doors and shutters wide open, I said: ‘We’ve got the perfect house, and we’ve got the perfect food. Now we’ve only got to find the perfect clothing, and we’ve downed the double-headed demon called “Capital and Labour.”’ And you said: ‘I’ve been wondering about it for weeks. Wool and flax are both far too laborious; but I believe those oak-eating silk-worms that we used to keep when we were kids will solve the problem for us. You remember what

¹ Concluded from the last number.

lovely silk they used to spin, and all the trouble your Dad took to find out how to soften the cocoons enough to reel them. I can see us now, all three in his room messing about for hours over the fire with soda and glycerine and potash till we got the right proportions. We can write to Charlie Grantham at Mukden to send us a fresh lot of eggs: there is any amount of oak coppice here to feed them; and we will try steeping the cocoons in hot rain-water to melt them. We won't bother about spinning-wheels or looms, but just knit or crochet all our garments by the light of our wood-fire in winter evenings. I'll soon show you how to do it. It is as easy as winking. As for foot-gear: of course we shall be bare-foot in summer, and in winter we will wear thick silk stockings and sandals of plaited straw like the Italian peasants in the hills. They are easy enough to make, and we shall have heaps of long, tough, straw from our hand-grown wheat.'

"Well, Sir," he continued, turning to me, "you know the whole story now, and I only hope I have not tired you with so much talking!"

"So far from being tired," I said, "I feel we have only just begun, and I have a hundred questions longing to be asked: How do you manage for matches, and soap, and toothbrushes, and things like that, if you live without money?"

"Oh," said Adam, "we make our toothbrushes out of wood, and as to matches and soap, we learnt how to do without them from an old pal of ours,—Aidan Vaughan, the Tramp King, who has lived with us for ages. I'll bring him in."

He darted out of the hut, and returned almost at once with a book which he placed in my hands; saying: "We keep him in the sleeping-hut with a few other

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treasures. You'll find him the best of friends for a winter evening by the fire or a summer morning out of doors. But perhaps you know him as well as we do."

"I read him years ago, but did not think much of him. A make-shift sort of fellow he seemed to me."

"A make-shift fellow!" echoed Lady Eve in dismay. "Then you *can't* have read him!"

"I beg your pardon," I said meekly, "I will re-read him,—through your eyes."

"Yes *do*!" she urged: "He is a great friend of ours."

"Happy man! I must indeed correct my judgment."

"We have never met him in the flesh but we couldn't love him better if we had."

"We heard that he lived like a hermit, so we never tried for an introduction," said Adam on his way out to fill the wood-basket.

"But you owned that he taught you a make-shift for soap and matches?" I queried in a forlorn hope of retrieving the many feet I had dropped in my hostess' estimation.

"We do not call it a 'make-shift' to cover the fire with damp clay to preserve it till the morning, when we know we can fan it to a flame without condemning any girl to slave for us in a match-factory. It was Aidan Vaughan who taught us to look deeply into all the common things of every day and see what they cost in human suffering, instead of being content to drift along on the surface with the unthinking crowd and take everything for granted as if we had no responsibility for the state of the world."

"Did he offer any substitute for stamps and railway tickets?"

“ No, but he made us see that in a really civilized community, all means of travel and communication would be free as a matter of course.”

“ And meanwhile, what do you do in our imperfect civilization ? ”

“ We haven’t wanted to travel yet, perhaps because we’ve done so much of it ; but if we did, I suppose we should sell a picture, or some of our surplus produce instead of giving it away to the old and ailing ; and as to stamps, we find we are learning a better way of reaching our friends than by writing to them ; and so, except for business, we send few letters.”

“ And even here, in your new Eden, there is that old serpent—‘ business ’ ? ”

“ He is quite a nice serpent now,—you wouldn’t know him, he is so changed. He is only a National Trust which we hope will help everybody to enjoy the life we find so delightful. It is very happy ‘ business ’ and does not take much time, or even many stamps. We have nearly settled it all now, and very soon it will run along by itself.”

She had taken up a basket while talking, and now showed me on a half-made garment, of the kind they were wearing, the peculiar stitch I had so much admired for its likeness to rare old metal work. As she worked beside me, I ventured on another of my many questions.

“ What proportion of the acre is allowed to the silkworms, to produce the clothing of one person ? ”

“ We give one quarter to the silkworms, another quarter to the nut-trees, and the remaining half to wheat, fruit, vegetables, herbs and roots.”

“ It seems remarkably little for wheat.”

“ It would be, on the usual methods of culture : but as we grow it, the yield is at the rate of 100 bushels

to the acre, which reduces the area required for one person eating about one pound of bread a day, to one-twentieth of an acre."

"Most farmers are content with 30 bushels to the acre."

"Yes: because they have more land than they know what to do with, and keep to the old-fashioned methods of cultivation. A thousand years hence people will stare at the history of agriculture in these days and wonder why we were so stupid as to allow such waste."

"And I imagine that you get your results without fertilisers of any kind, natural or artificial, since you keep no animals and spend no money."

"Yes: we are 'clean culturists' of course. But we feed our land as generously as it feeds us. All the waste produce of leaves, rinds, prunings, stems and stalks go back to it, all the straw that we do not use for sandals and floor-mats and mulching, and even that goes back in the end, and for minerals we collect oyster shells and cuttle fish, and stones on the beach, and grind them up into fine dust. This with hand-tillage, wood-ash, burnt clay and liberal space and air, is all that we use, and the results are really astonishing. We get far more than we can eat out of our garden and have plenty to give away after paying our ground-rent. And very soon we shall have surplus silk, for these clothes seem as if they would wear for a life-time, and when we have made all we can possibly use both for summer and winter, we shall have garments to give away to the invalids and the children who can't work for themselves."

"But how do you keep yourselves warm in winter? Your dress seems very open in texture."

"We make our winter garments in a close stitch, quite different from this one, and out-of-doors when we are walking, we wear a big cloak, rather like a Mexican *serape*, which is simplicity itself to crochet, and comfort itself to wear, for it has no fastenings, and the harder the wind blows, the closer it clings. I'll show it to you!"

She ran out into the porch which led into the sleeping-hut and came back in less than a minute, wrapped in a long cloak of many folds, which slipped over the head, and looked as comfortable as it was graceful and dignified. On her head she had a plain close-fitting cap made in the same stitch.

As I looked attentively at both, I said: "It interests me to see how entirely this dress obliterates the usual distinctions of sex, which most women seem to emphasize rather than suppress."

"Ah, that is because they do not yet understand the true meaning and purpose of the body. If they did, they would like this dress as much as we do, because it is as becoming for men as for women."

"I am afraid it will be a very long time before the world of average people will see the beauty of your way of living. The poor, whose troubles it would banish, will be the last to like it."

This suggestion did not appear to surprise or disappoint her, for she instantly replied:

"Can one wonder, when one remembers that the rich have, for ages, set them the example of spending their money,—and often *borrowed* money too,—on more food than they can eat, more clothes than they can wear, more houses than they can live in, and more land than they can use, to say nothing of all the complicated paraphernalia of possessions which they accumulate as

if for the tragic purpose of pushing themselves out of existence. Of course the poor will follow the foolish lead of those who are supposed to be 'above' them. For if the few who have for centuries had every advantage of birth, breeding and education to develop intelligence, can show the many nothing better than they do, what can the masses do but pay them the sorry homage of imitation. The only people who *may* be attracted to our way of living are the studious, the sensitive, the thoughtful, whose imagination is quick and big enough to make them suffer acutely from the ugliness of things as they are, and who long to escape from the modern labyrinth and possess their own souls and bodies in peace for the sake of preparing both for a higher life."

"Ah! It is then as I guessed. You have an even deeper motive than solving the problems of Capital and Labour by living happily on nothing a year?"

Her husband entered as I spoke, and looking up to greet him as he took his seat beside her, she said: "Adam, our guest has already divined a deeper reason in our life than we have shown him."

"Is it not enough, Sir, to prove how rich and sweet a thing poverty can be?"

"Not enough, I venture to think, for those who are too clear-sighted to suppose that the poor will recognize the proof now any more than they did in the days of 'the blessed poor man of Assisi.' Such a life as yours would be impossible for them, for the simple reason that they would not know what to do with their leisure."

"Just what a shrewd old fisherman said to me when I was talking to him on the beach the other day. His way of putting it was: 'Wot 'ud us do wi all our

time, if us didn't *work*? Clar to goodness us don't know wot to do wi ourselves o' Sundays. Thar ain't nuthen *to* do 'cept lounge roun' on they cliffs an' smoke 'baccy' nough to turn us inter kippers.' It never seems to occur to anyone that there are infinite worlds yet waiting for man to explore,—infinite possibilities in life for those who will learn how to use their minds and their bodies in new ways. Anybody would suppose, to hear people talk, that we knew all there was to know about everything, and that there were no undiscovered powers of mind and body for us to develop. The whole world is so busy 'making a living' that it has no time or energy left to devote to the mystery of mysteries called 'God.'"

"You seem to me to represent a new order of Anchorite which differs from the old in *not* despising and maltreating the body as evil, but in using it as the invaluable means of entering into possession of a spiritual heritage hitherto unattained and considered unattainable on earth?"

"Yes, Sir, the heritage of a regenerate body in place of the natural and mortal. Since you have penetrated, by intuition, so far into our aims, we confess that the development of the spiritual and immortal nature is our innermost reason for living in this way. It is a secondary consideration to have got rid of all thought for money and property, to have proved in our own experience that even the poorest can live gloriously; but we find our freedom from 'the cares of this world' so great a help to the real business of 'seeking the kingdom,' that we can only wish everyone a share in it."

"Here, at least, is one who will put in a petition to build himself a hut on the shore as quickly as he

can set his affairs in order and be free to learn how to become a happy pauper. My only query now is how best to dispose of the little property I do possess. I wonder if I might ask how you solved the question?"

"We debated it for nearly two years and at last decided to turn all our possessions into a National Trust for the Regeneration of the Land. We thought that was impersonal enough to hurt nobody's feelings. We spent six months in drawing up the clauses of the Deed of Trust to safeguard it as best we could from misinterpretation, and for the last six months it has been working. We owned a lot of land in different parts of the country and we are turning the existing buildings into communal places—like schools, clubs, lecture halls, sanatoria, churches and chapels, and the land is let at the rate of an acre a head to people who are willing to learn and practise the new method of cultivation for their own maintenance. The rent they pay goes to the upkeep of the communal buildings.

"On each estate we've got a Hostel which takes in the destitute and looks after them in special ways until they have outgrown their need of stimulants and can live and work happily without the whip of alcohol, or tea or coffee. It is too soon yet to say how it will turn out, but so far the results are as good as even we could hope for, and we are a greedy pair, as you may have noticed."

"I see, with relief, that my mite can be dropped into the same box as your great possessions, for I can think of no better destiny for it."

They exchanged a look as if each needed the other's approval of what they had heard, and Adam said: "We knew you 'belonged' as soon as we set eyes on you, but we didn't dream that you would recognize us

so soon as your kith and kin. To think that three hours ago we had never met, and even now, don't know each other's names!"

"Names only represent all that we are leaving behind us," said Eve; "but I can't help feeling that we have met before, somehow and somewhere. We both feel as if we had always known you, although we haven't even tried to guess who you are in the world."

It had to come at last. Reluctantly I owned: "Out there, they call me Aidan Vaughan, but here, I hope I may always be 'Old Pal.'"

"Oh!" they both exclaimed in the same breath, as they sprang to their feet and held out their hands like eager children, and went on talking both at once.

"No wonder we felt so much at home with you. It was *you* who wrote *A Tramp's Log*! That book has journeyed with us everywhere, and how often we have wished its author could walk in on us unawares and share our camp. Could anything more delightful have happened than to meet you like this! Why, you were an intimate friend long before we married!"

"It was indeed high time we met!" I said, rising to clasp a hand of each, "and having found you, I ask leave to count myself, from to-day, a humble candidate for admission into the joyful company of the New Anchorites."

AIDAN VAUGHAN.

POPPIES IN THE CORN.

A. R. HORWOOD, F.L.S.

THE AMBER SEA.

“Till gold flashed out from the wheat ear brown
And flame from the poppy's flag.”

COOK.

BEFORE man first tilled the soil and grew corn was there any sight in Nature so beautiful as a field of golden corn?

It is not because this corn, this grain, supplies our staple food that the amber sea creates so joyous a feeling in our minds, but by its very beauty, its innate loveliness from a hillside glowing with colour. How rich a prospect does a rippling, gleaming cornfield, dappled with colour, with blood-red poppies, blue cornflowers, and other gay wildings, afford!

Daily, almost hourly, one may watch it change in hue, at first, in the ear, white, then pale straw or primrose, then richer colour of gold, until it becomes a very field of the cloth of gold,—an amber sea.

WIND IN THE CORN.

“Through the dancing poppies stole,
A breeze most softly lulling to my soul.”

KEATS.

THREE notes in the whole music of Nature that are played by the wind fall on the ear of her lover with that sweet harmony that tells him intuitively they are

tunes of the infinite. In the whole symphony of Nature these wind-instruments are richer in tone and cadence than ought else. I mean the notes struck by the wind in the aspen and the willow tree, the whisper of the sea, as the gentle ocean wavelets are lightly touched by the soft summer breeze, and not least, the wind in the corn or in the hay. As the tall cornstalks bend in the breeze and with the light motion of the warm air jostle each other, a low murmur, as of shingle on shore drawn downwards with the back-wash of the retreating waves, comes across the moving surface of the golden sea. Just, too, as the incoming tide rolls the waves upon the shore, and next moment they are again drawn back, until another wave pitches them forward once more, so do the cornstalks bend now one way, now the other. So, as with the waves, is there a backward and forward motion. And in this ceaseless wave-play there is born a rhythm, which, played on by the tireless breeze, imparts a music that no human instrument can imitate, no art, save Nature's, can perform. I love to hear the music of the wind in the corn. It has something impressive, something of grandeur in its simple, but soul-stirring message.

POPPIES.

“ Summer set lip to earth's bosom bare,
And left the flushed print in a poppy there :
Like a yawn of fire from the grass it came
And the fanning wind puffed it to flapping flame.

“ With burnt mouth red like a lion's it drank
The blood of the sun as he slaughtered sank,
And dipped its cup in the purpurate shine
When the eastern conduits ran with wine.”

FRANCIS THOMPSON.

POPPYLAND is a dream, a mirage. There is no poppyland. No Eastern cornfields are so scarlet with the red poppy as fancy would have us think. But every cornfield is enriched with streamers of red, with scattered poppy-favours. How gloriously red, too, is the poppy! Against the amber setting the ruby and the bloodstone are not so rich in contrast as poppies are. Deep crimson red as the rose do they stain the cornfield's golden sheet as with blood. Heavy odour of opiate drugs mingles with the scent of the wheat where poppies show their scarlet coats. So soon the petals drop, yet other poppies as quickly unfold.

“ And far and wide in a scarlet tide
The poppy's bonfire spread.”

BAYARD TAYLOR.

The lines, however, speak of the fields of oriental poppies grown for narcotic products.

OTHER CORNFIELD FLOWERS: DISAPPEARING CORNFLOWERS.

BUT upon the golden bodice of the corn other adornments besides the ruby favours of the poppy are hung. Gay weeds hide amongst the waving corn. Once, I remember, in my boyhood, walking through cornfields in Northamptonshire where corn-cockles and cornflowers and succory were as numberless as the poppies. You cannot do that to-day, not even in the home of the cornflower and the wild larkspur, that paradise of choice wildflowers,—East Anglia. But once, so far from its source as the East Midlands, I saw as in a flash from a fast-travelling motor-car a gleam of blue in a cornfield. I knew before I had stopped the car

that I had seen the larkspur in its native surroundings, in its most western range. Only now and then do such delightful moments come to the lover of the open, in the quest of the ideal. Those are among his (or her) most treasured memories. A cornfield, a flash of blue, the wild larkspur in its native haunt. What more could one desire, what more happy moment could one recall?

THE GLORY OF COLOUR.

THERE is a monotony in the verdure of the fields, all green and fresh, or in the dense foliage of the endless woods. Nestled among the fields and woods where cornfields glow, how welcome indeed are their sheets of burnished gold. Contrast is all that is needed to make monotony appeal to us with added beauty. The rich yellow fields of corn next verdant meadows make each appear of livelier tint. Amongst the greenness of the fields, it is the red clover and the buttercups that give the meadow its depths of colour, of green and gold. So amongst the golden grain, with its crocate hue, it is the reds, the blues, of poppies and cornflowers and other many-coloured gems that add to the glory of colour in the cornfield.

“ One simple hue the plant portrays
Of glowing radiance rare ;
Fresh as the roseate morn displays,
And seeming sweet and fair.”

CYNTHIA TAGGART.

EARTH-TREASURE.

WITH what expectancy is the progress of the growing grain daily watched! How anxious is the farmer for its welfare ; how general is the interest in the harvest-

time ! Long ago rich local custom grew up around the gathering in of the corn, and some of it—too little methinks—lingers to-day. What a vast responsibility rests upon the soil to deliver up her riches ; and by the willing industry of man how wonderful is the result, how mysterious is the power, and yet how simple, whereby the earth-treasure is yielded to those who know how to seek it ! What a dividend, what a dowry, what a gift ! With all our power and all our ingenuity we cannot produce a harvest. It is an art of Nature ; a gift of Nature. We anticipate it thus :

“ Fancy with prophetic glance
 Sees the teaming months advance ;
 The field, the forest, green and gay ;
 The dappled slope, the tedded hay ;
 Sees the reddening orchard blow,
 The harvest wave, the vintage flow.”

WARTON.

Expecting it from long experience, what if it failed, if the power of fruitage failed ! Could we restore it of our own effort ? No !

A. R. HORWOOD.

THE CONCERTINA DREAM.

I DO not remember ever previously having dreamt a complete and finished story—incident following incident in logical sequence. The following dream is, I think, worth putting on record, not only by reason of its peculiar perfection as a dream, but, to a lesser degree, because it is an intensely dramatic episode. In the dream I am a boy of nine or ten years of age, my brother is twelve, and there is a younger sister who does not appear. The incidents occur in the house of my father in the Barbadoes where he is governor. (I have never been to the Barbadoes; I have never had a young sister, my father has, of course, never been governor of the Barbadoes—I do not know if there be such a post.) The other people present are: Dick, the commander of a small warship calling at frequent intervals at the Barbadoes, who is a welcome guest at our house and a great favourite with us children—we call him simply Dick; and another officer of the ship, a friend of Dick's. My brother and I were apparently allowed to stop up to dinner when Dick was the guest. All these facts I knew during the dream and remembered on waking. The dream now begins.

We were at dinner; the meal was drawing to a close and Dick was telling us about an old sailor on his ship whose hobby, indeed his one passion, was playing the concertina. He had a very fine old instrument which he claimed to have possessed since his first

day at sea. All the time he was off duty he would sit with his head bent, his eyes half closed, the concertina between his knees, playing strange old melodies, or improvising new ones. He was a very taciturn old chap, and would only occasionally play at sing-songs; while any attempt to borrow the instrument met with an abrupt refusal.

I asked Dick whether he would not bring the old man to dinner, and ask him to play; but he only shook his head, looking over to my father with a smile.

My father leant over the table towards Dick and, speaking very seriously, said: "Can you take the Chaplain on board tomorrow? I am rather concerned about his health. He is very much run down, and his nerves are all to pieces. If you can take him as far as Pambo (?) he can catch the P. & O. boat there. You get away again on Friday?"

Dick nodded, and the matter being agreed upon the conversation drifted to things of which I have no recollection.

(The first part of the dream ends here. As I dreamt it the second part continued immediately, but in the interim—about three days—the following incidents had occurred. The sick chaplain had gone on board Dick's ship, and had been given the other officer's cabin for the time being. On the afternoon of his arrival on board he had gone mad, and had killed the old concertina-playing sailor. The chaplain was now in the care of the ship's surgeon, and the old sailor had been buried the previous morning *at sea*. Dick and his friend had come round in the evening after we two boys had gone to bed. Dick had brought the old man's concertina with him. My brother and I had come downstairs in

our nightshirts, and had been allowed in. We were sitting on a couch near the fire. The dream now goes on.)

Dick was standing up facing us with his back to the window. His friend was sitting on the couch, and I was leaning against his shoulder. My father was not in the room. Dick was smiling. He was playing the concertina softly, with his hands stretched downwards in front of him to their full extent. It was a large instrument in red leather with very shining metal parts. Presently Dick ceased playing, and began to push in, with considerable effort, some slides or valves (?) in the concertina. He said: "I really ought to have buried this with the old chap, I suppose." After a while he went on playing. The music was now very loud. Suddenly the officer against whom I was leaning rose to his feet, and walked over to the window. The window opened at each side, and swung inwards, like doors, on a middle hinge. The right hand side was slightly ajar. Dick stopped playing and looked towards the window. My brother and I followed the direction of his gaze. Entering the open window was a beam of white light which made a circle about as large as a plate on the wall at the side. The officer at the window said something which I did not understand. Dick strode to the window and flung it wide. Instantly there was an immense blaze of white light from outside, and in the middle of it I felt, rather than saw, the form of a great white sailor.

Dick cried out in a terrible voice; and then, with the room in sudden darkness, we were all struggling to get out of the door.

The others in their struggles blocked my exit, and

I knew the sailor was coming in by the front door. I heard the footsteps of the three running up the stairs. I was filled with indescribable terror. I could not move. And then the white apparition came through the front door, and moved towards me. I dropped to the ground and hid my face between my knees. How long I remained so I do not know; but presently the room is again full of people, the lamps are all alight, and Dick is smiling whitely and saying: "He's got the concertina!"

Here the dream ends, but when I woke—as I did at this point—I was crying out over and over again, "He's got the concertina!" The psychological value of this dream rests on its authenticity. It is impossible *to prove* that I dreamt it. I can merely give my bare word that it occurred about 6 a.m. on Sunday, January 30th, 1921.

I have no clue in my conscious mind that will throw any light whatsoever upon it.

STEPHEN SOUTHWOLD.

THE WALLS.

THERE is a Spirit

That is akin to the whole Universe,
The Spirit of the Innermost within us.
Thick are the walls around it and about,
Built with the bricks of circumstance
Mortared with clay of senses and desires.
It waits apart in patience for the hour,
That cataclysmic moment of a life,
When these strong walls shall break, the barriers burst
asunder,
And we shall find we have imprisoned God.

SYDNEY SNELL.

CHRISTOS-LOGOS.

δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας.

HEART of the world beyond the gleams of day,
O ardent sense, deep, deep in the life of things,
Deeper than day and night,
Deeper than flesh and all time's shadowy rings,
Deeper than death, thou core of all, thou stay
In the eternal night!

Thou corner-stone of the uranian nave,
Axis and centre of wide being's girth,
Thou polar star of souls !
O cross pitched at the navel of the earth,
O spectacle this side, that side the grave,
O cynosure of souls !

O flaming heart from whom all kindlings start,
Impassioned dreamer of the universe
Whose splendid impulse runs
In crimson floods of glory to immerse
And fill the ocean-reaches of the heart
Under its setting suns !

Spirit that moves in the unfathomed pit
Of thought, thou ghost in the aghast abyss,
Haunter of mystery!
Conception darkens in us thence, and this
Thy mind is dark imagination's seat
That broods on verity.

One life thou art in splendour and in love ;
The face of nature takes its veil of dreams
From heaven's holiness.

An effluent tide of beauty sets and streams
Athwart the world from pity pierced above,
Whence every loveliness.

Through Thee the worlds were made. It is enough :
One heart gives utterance in many forms,
Or in the firmaments,
Or in the face of man, or in the storms
Of earth's successions and the laws thereof,
Or reason's governments.

AMOS NIVEN WILDER, M.A.

THE CATHEDRAL.

FROM the white glare and quivering heat
And the interminable roar
Of traffic, from the restless mass
Of hurrying humanity,
Each on some fleeting purpose bent—
As some vast, busy heap of ants—
I pass into the grateful shade
Of the cathedral's dim quietude.

Within, the traffic from without,
Like a low-roaring, distant sea,
Murmurs, and croons, and fades away
Into cool silence. There, a peace
Enwraps my tired spirit, and I know
The swiftly flowing, changing world,
Hot with desire, black with hate,

And seething with men's lusts and loves,
Is but a transient, human tide
That swirls, and sweeps, and spends itself
Upon Eternity's unchanging shore.

Across great glooms and darker shadows
Rich, jewelled shafts of sunlight fall,
Dyeing the dusk of pillared aisles
With traceries of blue and gold,
While softer greens and purple blend
With scarlet, flame-rimmed, orange hues.

Pale mists of music float around
The sombre splendour of the pendent stone
Which hangs, like frozen icicles
Serenely poised, never to fall
Or drip to nothingness upon
The solid pavement far below.

The sanctity, the holy calm,
The strange, unearthly hush that falls
When the last notes of music die,
Speak of a presence mystical,
Unseen—yet closer than the air.
My flesh-bound spirit reaches up
And, struggling to perceive its God,
Passes within into a formless world
Beyond the silence, as though a bird
That rising soars, but to return
To the familiar earth again.

IRENE PETCH.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF 'AS IF.'

A System of Theoretical, Practical and Religious Fictions of Mankind. By H. Vaihinger. Translated by C. K. Ogden. London (Kegan Paul); pp. xlviii.+870; 25s. net.

THOUGH written thirty years previously, this remarkable work did not see the light of print till 1911 when it was presented to the International Congress of Philosophy at Bologna. Next year Dr. Schiller devoted a careful twelve-paged review to it in *Mind*, and in the April number of *THE QUEST* for 1918 (pp. 459-483) we endeavoured to set forth its main purport in a lengthy article. These, as far as we are aware, have been the only substantive accounts of Hans Vaihinger's radical criticism of human knowledge that have appeared in this country. Meantime in Germany the work has reached its sixth definitive edition, and it is from this, as abbreviated by Prof. Vaihinger himself for the special purpose of an English edition, that Mr. Ogden has made his very competent version. The amount of compression is considerable; for the first German edition contained xxxv.+804 pages, in size quite as large as the English. The parts and passages omitted are, however, we are assured, not substantive but only such as are "of purely historical interest or otherwise superfluous in an English version." Hans Vaihinger of Halle is famous as perhaps the profoundest knower of Kant we have,—the founder of the *Kantgesellschaft* and *Kantstudien*. The English edition contains a most interesting account (27 pp.), written by the veteran thinker himself, of his philosophical life and the origin of his 'As If' doctrine on a basis of idealistic or critical positivism or positivist idealism. As we have already reviewed the work at length from the first German edition, we think it will be of greater service to the reader, instead of repeating ourselves, to reproduce from this last utterance of the philosopher himself his own most matured summary of all the conclusions which are expressed in or form the basis of the 'As If' philosophy.

"(1) Philosophical analysis leads eventually, from an epistemological standpoint, to sensational contents and from a psychological to sensuous, feelings and strivings or actions. Scientific analysis leads to another concept of reality, to matter and the

smallest constituents and motions of matter. Naturally it is impossible for the mind as such to bring these two spheres of reality into a rational relation, although in intuition and experience they form a harmonious unity.

“(2) The strivings which probably exist in the most elementary physical processes develop in organic beings into impulses. In man, who has sprung from the animal (and to a certain extent in all the higher animals) these impulses have evolved into will and action, which is expressed in movements and caused by stimuli or by the sensations arising from stimuli.

“(3) Ideas, judgments and conclusions, that is to say thought, act as a means in the service of the Will to Live and dominate. Thought is originally only a means in the struggle for existence and to this extent only a biological function.

“(4) It is a universal phenomenon of nature that means which serve a purpose often undergo a more complete development than is necessary for the attainment of that purpose. In this case, the means, according to the completeness of its self-development, can emancipate itself partly or wholly and become established as an end in itself (Law of the Preponderance of the Means over the End).

“(5) This Preponderance of the Means over the End has also taken place in thought, which in the course of time has gradually lost sight of its original practical purpose and is finally practised for its own sake as theoretical thought.

“(6) As a result, this thought which [? then] appears to be independent and theoretical in its origins, sets itself problems which are impossible, not only to human thought, but to every form of thought [surely this alternative is an unnecessary bit of dogmatism, and might with advantage be omitted?]; for instance, the problems of the origin and meaning of the universe. To this category belongs the relation between sensation and motion, popularly known as mind and matter.

“(7) These endless, and, strictly speaking, senseless questions cannot be answered by looking forward but only by looking backwards, by showing how they arose psychologically within us. Many of these questions are just as meaningless as, for instance, the problem of $\sqrt{-1}$.

“(8) If intellectualism or rationalism be identified with the assumption of an original theoretical reason as an inherent human faculty with certain problems to be determined by it, then my exposition must be termed anti-rationalism or even irrationalism,

in the same sense in which histories of modern philosophy, for instance that of Windelband, speak of 'idealistic irrationalism.'

"(9) From this standpoint all thought-processes and thought-constructs appear *a priori* to be not essentially rationalistic, but biological phenomena.

"(10) In this light many thought-processes and thought-constructs appear to be consciously false assumptions, which either contradict reality or are even contradictory in themselves, but which are intentionally thus formed in order to overcome difficulties of thought by this artificial deviation and reach the goal of thought by roundabout ways and by-paths. These artificial thought-constructs are called scientific Fictions, and distinguished as conscious creations by their 'As If' character.

"(11) The 'As If' world, which is formed in this manner, the world of the 'unreal' is just as important as the world of the so-called real or actual (in the ordinary sense of the word); indeed it is far more important for ethics and æsthetics. This æsthetic and ethical world of 'As If,' the world of the unreal, becomes finally for us the world of values which, particularly in the form of religion, must be sharply distinguished in our mind from the world of becoming.

"(12) What we usually term reality consists of our sensational contents which press forcibly upon us with greater or lesser irresistibility and as 'given' can generally not be avoided.

"(13) In these given sensational contents (which include what we call our body) there is an abundance of regularity in co-existence and succession, investigation of which forms the content of science. By means of the sensational contents which we call our body, we can exercise greater or lesser influence on the rich world of the other sensational contents.

"(14) In this world we find on the one hand a very great number of relations of fitness, on the other hand much that is not fitting. We have to take this as we find it, for there is little that we can alter. It is a satisfying Fiction for many to regard the world as if a more perfect Higher Spirit had created or at least regulated it. But this implies the supplementary Fiction of regarding a world of this sort as if the order created by the Higher Divine Spirit had been destroyed by some hostile force.

"(15) It is senseless to question the meaning of the universe, and this is the idea expressed in Schiller's words: 'Know this, a mind sublime puts greatness into life, yet seeks it not therein.' This is positivist idealism."

This very convenient final summary of the intention of the author seems to us somehow to lay greater stress on the positive value of 'fictionism' than we previously gleaned from a first perusal of Vaihinger's work, in which by far most of the space is given to establish the fictional nature of thought, and therefore conveys the general impression of an inferior order not only of reality but of activity. In the general sense of the term, as used by Vaihinger, fictions are well-nigh all-embracing. Not only all concepts, not only every manner of method, not only the whole of discursive thought, but the entire world of ideas is for critical positivism fiction. All methods are fictitious, such as generalization, abstraction, transference; all conceptual formulæ are fictions. Atoms, space, time, causality, the infinite and infinitesimal, the absolute, and thing-in-itself are fictions: God is a fiction. Thus we read of classes of fictions of every kind—*e.g.*, abstract, schematic, paradigmatic (or imagined cases), utopian (such as primal religion, golden age), typical (or imagined original forms), symbolical, analogical, juristic, poetic (similes and myths), personificatory (or hypostasizing of phenomena—soul, power, faculty), summatory (expressions in which a sum of phenomena is combined according to their chief characteristics), practical, ethical, religious, idealistic, etc. It cannot be denied that the critical investigation is exceedingly acute; but the whole is based on the supposition that reality is given in sensations and apparently sensations alone. Vaihinger makes no effort to show that these are not equally classifiable as fictions; he assumes them as real, and so finally we are left with this root-fiction of fictionism. He, however, draws a distinction between full and semi-fictions; the latter are hypotheses, and a hypothesis is distinguished as being a fiction which is directed towards reality (*i.e.*, the sensible, as V. would have it). This means that the ideational construct contained in the hypothesis claims, or hopes, to coincide with some perception in the future. Full fictions can only be *justified* by their value in practical life; semi-fictions alone stand any chance of being *verified*. But in the latter case we find nowhere the slightest indication that the perception of the sense-world can possibly be extended beyond its present everyday normal limits. But that is for some no longer a possibility but an actuality; and this would make the present sense-limitations on which Vaihinger founds, a too fictional basis to serve as a criterion, to say the least of it.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE ROSY CROSS.

Being Records of the House of the Holy Spirit in its Inward and Outward History. By Arthur Edward Waite. With sixteen full-page plates. London (Rider); pp. 649; 80s. net.

EVER since 1887, when Mr. Waite devoted one of his first literary efforts to the subject with no little ability, our author in his wide-flung researches into allied contemporary literature has been alert to note every indication that might directly or indirectly throw further light on the history and symbolism of the complex Rosicrucian tangle. The result is now given us in this stout and handsome volume, which is not so much a revised edition as a new production well deserving of being considered the standard work on the subject. Mr. Waite writes in a twofold capacity: first as a historian whose chief duty is to treat his subject-matter with rigorous objectivity and to refrain from all temptation to romance, and second as a student of mysticism and mystical symbolism, where he can allow himself greater freedom of movement; nevertheless here also he has to exercise discreet sobriety and keep within the measures of reasonable probability if he would win the confidence of instructed readers. Taking all this into consideration, Mr. Waite has carried out his double task quite praiseworthily; he has got into a clear focus no little that was previously blurred or which was viewed from a perspective that presented an incomprehensible jumble. The subject, like all others connected with secret societies or occult associations, is one of very great difficulty, its origins being overplastered with legends and lofty claims and subterfuges, which for the most part cannot be directly dealt with or unmasked owing to lack of documentary evidence. The general historian is thus severely handicapped, and no one but a specialist long familiar with this peculiar kind of subject-matter can orient himself even as to reasonable probabilities without prejudice. Now Mr. Waite has had perhaps a more thorough apprenticeship in this baffling job, as far as late Middle Age and Modern Europe is concerned, than any other writer with whom we are acquainted, and is therefore exceedingly well schooled in what is an essential propædæutic for an historian of Rosicrucianism. Into the details of his highly instructive and well-documented volume we do not propose to enter, for space must be economized; a few general remarks must

suffice. It is on the historical side of the subject that we are in most cordial agreement with our author. Here he has done yeoman service, seeing that few 'occult traditions' have been more exploited by ill-informed pretenders than that which has been pre-supposed under the Rose and Cross symbolism. Mr. Waite is in the light of his researches justly severe when exposing this state of affairs and in our judgment his hope is richly deserving of fulfilment when he writes: "I cherish an honourable hope that I have put to flight a great cohort of fantastic shapes, bodied forth by the false imagination of those who have used the Rosicrucian Mystery as a wand to conjure with, or have conceived false notions concerning it which they have rendered in terms of certitude, without knowing their subject. Perhaps there has never been a realm of inquiry which has been colonized to such an extent by fools and knaves of speculation." We fear, however, that these folk are incurable; they flourish on exposure.

The main point to determine is whether there was an organized Brotherhood behind the first two anonymous propagandist pamphlets, *Fama Fraternitatis R. :. C. :* and the closely following *Confessio*, which suddenly appeared with their stupendous claims in Germany about 1614. Mr. Waite makes out a very good case for referring them to the activities of a militantly Protestant secret society, founded in Germany by a certain 'Simon Studion' towards the end of the sixteenth century; in connection with which type of origin it is of interest to note that the symbols of the Rose and the Cross are to be found in Martin Luther's seal. It was a sort of Second Adventist apocalyptic association for whom the Pope was 'the man of sin.' The anonymous appeal, filled with hints of the possession of profound knowledge and reformatory ideals, made an immense sensation among a public, and even a learned public, all agog over alchemical hopes and mysteries. A welter of pamphlets followed for and against the claims of the programme enunciated, many writers placing themselves at the disposition of the 'hidden sages' in hopes they would be taken notice of by 'occult means.' A document which was held to issue from the same authoritative source, and made perhaps even more stir than the *Fama* and *Confessio*, was *The Chemical Nuptials of Christian Rosencreutz*. This appeared in 1616, and was a gorgeous alchemical allegory that gave the impression of profound knowledge of the inmost mysteries of the evasive Brotherhood. But in this case we come on a most astounding but precise piece of evidence as to its origin.

Johann Valentin Andreæ, who held a number of appointments in the Lutheran Church, confesses in his autobiography that this primary document of Rosicrucianism was written by himself at the early age of 16/17 years (about 1602/03) as a jest (*ludibrium*) and was palmed off on a credulous public at the beginning of the boom. It would be unfair to infer too widely from this valuable piece of inner history; but it gives us furiously to think. If a youth of 17 can fabricate a *jeu d'esprit* which under the cover of anonymity wins the approval of the 'occultly' learned of the time and subsequently, as a work of highest significance, the value of much similar literature stands at a discount. Nevertheless Mr. Waite points to the acknowledged works of the great alchemists and mystics, Michael Maier (1568-1622) in Germany and Robert Fludd (1574-1637) in England, who raised their voices in defence of Rosicrucianism, as setting forth a more reliable and genuine side of what the anonymous writers professed to be championing. In 1710 there are indications of an organized body in Germany called 'The Brotherhood of the Rosy and Golden Cross,' which claimed to be in possession of the major secrets of alchemy. But all is obscure until we come to 1777 when we find Rosicrucian degrees tacked on to Craft Masonry, though nothing definite is apparently known as to their precise derivation. In so far as the best of them are concerned, seeing that they are ceremonial aids leading up to a better comprehension of the Christian mystery, Mr. Waite holds they are of value, and indeed hints at things of great beauty and edification in them. This is in keeping with his general belief that Craft Masonry has its proper term in Christian mysticism, whereas its chief virtue seems to be that it can unite all theists in a common bond, whatever may be the special form of their dogmatic religion. Of Rosicrucian claimants and pretenders, orders and societies, in the nineteenth century and up to date our author gives an informative and discriminating review and so brings his learned and painstaking volume to a serviceable end. In spite, however, of the long chapters in which Mr. Waite has been disclosing so much historically and otherwise of an unsatisfactory nature that the reader is left in doubt as to whether any good thing can come out of this Nazareth, he avers at the end that hidden in the mass and mixture of it there is "something which belongs to the Holy Assembly"; but that it "is reserved thereto and can be found by those who are without only when he who is now a Stranger at the Gate receives that call which takes him across the

threshold. But," he adds, "this is of the spirit, is indeed the inward life, and not matter of history." This may explain the intention of our author's sub-title: 'Being Records of the House of the Holy Spirit in its Inward and Outward History'—otherwise we should say that the records he so excellently lays before us are for the most part by no means to be so described.

L'ECTOPLASMIE ET LA CLAIRVOYANCE.

Observations et Expériences personnelles. Par Dr. Gustave Geley, Directeur de l'Institut Métapsychique International. Avec 51 Planches hors texte et 103 Figures. Paris (Alcan); pp. 445; frs. 35 net.

THIS is a very serviceable volume. It is practically a summary of the main experimental work which has been conducted by the Institut Métapsychique International of Paris since its foundation a few years ago, under the direction of its late able and enthusiastic chief, Dr. Gustave Geley, whose recent death in an aeroplane accident deprives psychic science of a most capable worker and brilliant exponent. Most of the material has already appeared in the pages of the bi-monthly publication of the Institut—*La Revue Métapsychique*, which has rapidly won its way to being one of the most valuable periodicals devoted to psychical research. It is, however, a great advantage to have these reports and studies collected and bound up in a single volume, the careful reading of which cannot fail to make an impression on even the dourest sceptic. The policy of the Direction of the I.M.I. has been to work on strictly scientific lines, to pursue the methodical investigation of the paranormal phenomena of psychical research under the severest test conditions. The primary aim throughout has thus been to establish the facts in circumstances from which every chance of fraud and deception has been eliminated by taking the most careful preliminary precautions, and devising new and very ingenious means of control and even chemical laboratory tests where such could be employed. Attention has been chiefly bestowed on the objective physical phenomena, which are now proved to be due mainly to the agency of the biophysical 'substance' called ectoplasm. It is this class of 'metapsychical' phenomena which connects most closely with normal biological, physiological and physical events, and the first victory for the new science over against conservative scientific scepticism must necessarily be won on this restricted field. The policy of the

Institut is thus to establish the objective facts beyond the most cavelling question—to be able to say these things, unheard-of in normal conditions, do actually take place in the presence of certain peculiarly constituted individuals. The ‘explanation’ of the facts is a task quite apart from their reality; what is claimed, and what for our own part we accept fully from many years of study and personal experience, is that this class of psychical phenomena—the physically objective—cannot be ascribed to subjective hallucination. What the investigators of the Institut are further most anxious to insist upon is that in the interest of scientific methodology the acceptance of the facts should be kept free from the assumption so generally associated with them previously and which has given rise to so much prejudice—*viz.*, that they are due to the agency of spirits. Every other hypothesis must be tried out exhaustively before so revolutionary a supposal can be made in the soulless—or shall we say impersonal?—world of empirical science.

These detailed ectoplasmic researches which are treated in the second part of the volume (thus reversing the order of the title) were carried out with the help of three now famous mediums—‘Eva Carrière,’ Franek Kluski and Jean Guzik. The sittings with ‘Eva’ fully confirm the well-known and now classical detailed accounts, furnished with a wealth of photographs, of Dr. Schrenck-Notzing and Mme. Juliette Bisson published just before the War. M. Franek Kluski of Warsaw is a gentleman of some 50 years of age, exercising a liberal profession, a writer and a poet, highly intelligent, well-educated and master of a number of languages. With self-sacrificing devotion he placed himself at the disposal of the investigators of the Institut, without fee, as was also the case with ‘Eva,’ in the interests of science. In addition to the ‘materialization’ of human limbs and faces and of animal forms and luminous phenomena, the speciality of Kluski’s mediumship was the production of a series of paraffin-wax moulds of hands and feet, which were most ingeniously guaranteed from the slightest suspicion of fraud, and pronounced by experts to be beyond their power to duplicate by any known means. In the case of M. Jean Guzik, also a Pole, the phenomena were not of so startling a nature, but were witnessed by a large number of distinguished persons who for the most part were profoundly sceptical, among them being thirty men of science and well-known writers who subsequently signed a declaration of their conviction that “the phenomena obtained with Jean Guzik cannot be explained either by illusions or hallucinations, individual or collective, or by any fraud.”

The first part of the volume is devoted to the more difficult subject of clairvoyance. The first long series of experiments deal with the clairvoyance of objects. Here the investigators were very fortunate in obtaining the services of a highly gifted psychic, an engineer of distinction, and again a Pole, M. Stéphan Ossowiecki of Warsaw, who placed himself freely at their disposal without any remuneration. Every precaution was taken to exclude telepathy, thought-transference or what the French scientists prefer to call 'mento-mental communication,' yet there was a large percentage of success, some of the evidence being very remarkable, showing that M. Ossowiecki is a powerful 'psychometrist' and reader of concealed writing. The other medium experimented with was a certain Mme. B. of Paris, who was tested for what is called '*la lucidité à objectif humain*.' She also worked for nothing, and was kept in ignorance of the names and persons of the investigators (some twenty-four in number) sent unexpectedly by Dr. Geley from time to time to interview her. Mme. B. is a spiritist, and worked on lines familiar to students of such matters; she certainly was good of her kind, *i.e.* a clairvoyante who does not go into trance, and scored a 70 per cent. of successes. But the subjective phenomena are notoriously by far the more difficult to deal with, and the Institut at present is content to rest its case on the objective facts.

The whole is set forth in a very workmanlike manner by Dr. Geley, who makes many brilliant analyses and suggestive remarks, describing the conditions of investigation and pointing out the absurdity of inexperienced scientists imagining that they are competent to experiment without the faintest notion of the subject beforehand.

There are a number of points of special interest in the volume under notice. Among them we note a discussion on the nature of the light that may best be employed in experiments where darkness generally gives the best results. Actinic light seems to be a great handicap or deterrent with most mediums; phosphorescence and moonlight have been experimented with and the latter is claimed to be most helpful. In discussing the question of the very small number of mediums available for physical phenomena as compared with sensitives of the more subjective class, Dr. Geley puts forward the suggestion that the lack of them in West and Central Europe is owing to the hundreds of thousands of mediums so barbarously done to death in the epidemics of 'witch-trials.' He holds that mediumship of this nature is hereditary, and that investigation

sustains this contention. It is a matter that requires to be more widely surveyed before there can be any satisfactory inference drawn. One of the facts that has no little surprised us in this connection, is that though there are some 12,000,000 negroes in the U.S.A., among whom on the score of heredity we might expect to find many 'materializing' mediums, there seems to be very little of such distinctive phenomena among them.

In concluding this notice we would add that our account necessarily presents nothing but the barest outlines and generalities. The chief value of the volume lies in the full descriptions of the 'cases.' For the 'flesh and blood' presentation of these valuable experiments we must refer the reader to the 445 pages of Dr. Geley's remarkable record, where he will find a store-house of facts highly inconvenient for negative 'scientific' dogmatism. The volume is also of special service to students in this country, seeing that for the most part the voluminous Transactions of our own Society for Psychical Research have preferred to concentrate on the more subjective phenomena.

RATIONAL MYSTICISM.

A Development of Scientific Idealism. By William Kingsland.
London (Allen & Unwin); pp. 482; 16s. net.

OUR old colleague's *Scientific Idealism*, published in 1909, and his more recent work *Our Infinite Life* (1922) may both be considered as introductory to the present far-reaching survey and courageous attempt to set forth and classify the vast problems which have to be considered in treating a subject whose understanding demands a combination of all disciplines, in the effort to reach the longed-for goal of a vital synthesis of science, philosophy and religion. Every effort to clear the way in this direction, to win towards an apprehension of the spiritual, whole-making reality immanent in every human life, is very welcome. By *Rational Mysticism* Mr. Kingsland does not mean rationalism of any kind; far from it. He means by the phrase a view of spiritual knowledge which looks to the harmonious blending of the deepest experiences of the affections with the highest activities of reason. The two must go together and no account of mysticism which stresses one at the expense of the other can be considered as satisfactory. Nay more, spiritual knowledge to be really synthetic must take up into itself all that is best in the scientific, philo-

sophical, religious and artistic interests of mankind. Mr. Kingsland endeavours throughout his interesting survey, which is on a catholic scale, to lead up along all these lines to the heart of the matter as he apprehends it; and he is sustained throughout by his conviction that, if rightly understood, life here and now in spite of all its seeming contradictions and irrationalities is the working out of the natural processes of the divinest wisdom. His world-view, which he develops at length, is largely influenced by the most grandiose vistas of Indian thought; but he tries at the same time to show that no system by itself is adequate and that the true purpose of religion is not to breed dogmas but to produce a higher 'quality of life' in the worshipper. These general remarks, we fear, give little indication of the detailed treatment of the subject, in which the author deals critically with, sympathetically reviews or enthusiastically brings forward a host of witnesses from the past or of our own day, exemplifying and illustrating the pros and cons of the many phases of thought and endeavour that directly or indirectly connect up with mysticism, when approached by the comparative method and with the intention of making reason go as far as may be in justifying it as revealing the highest excellencies known to man. Mr. Kingsland's concluding paragraphs may be fittingly quoted to give the reader some notion of what he mainly contends for in the 482 pages of what is the best book he has written:

"At present the divine spark burns dim within our hearts—or seems to us to burn dim: for we only regard it through veil upon veil of the matter in which we have involved ourselves, and the grossness of our personal desires and passions. But in that inner sanctuary of our being which can never be defiled—however much the outer courts may be given over to the money-changers—the Divine Flame of Love burns in its pure intensity, and by its very nature guards its own abode. In the scorching heat of that Eternal Flame, anything of *self* which endeavours to approach falls dead and utterly disintegrated. And so only the pure in heart can approach that sanctuary; only those who have learned to *be* the Flame can enter therein; or pass freely in and out in that perfection of knowledge which gives to them the Freedom of the Universe in all its heights and depths—Messengers of the Divine, and Redeemers of the Human.

"We have gone out from our Divine Source, and we return thereto—that is the World-Process: the History of MAN. That is also the beginning and the end of Religion.

“ We have gone out from our Divine Source in consciousness only ; in *fact* we have never departed therefrom—for how can anything really be separated from the all-inclusive ONE ? Therefore is our return accomplished by freeing ourselves from the false sense of separation.

“ Whatever we may appear to be in outward relation and proportion to other individual lives, or to other things, in this Great Universe which is the *manifestation* of the Infinite ONE, we, and they, and all things, are life of the ONE LIFE, and substance of the ONE SUBSTANCE.

“ The mystic is one who has realised this in a degree which for the ordinary man is unreachable, and even unintelligible. And now and again in ecstatic consciousness, in the depths of his own nature, the mystic enters into union and unison with that all-pervading LIFE, and realises in a superlative degree the Glory, the Beauty, the Harmony, and the Love, which are its very Essence, Substance and Being.

“ Thus the supreme FACT of our life and consciousness is, that in any final analysis the *individual life* and the ONE LIFE are identical.

“ ‘ THAT ART THOU.’ ”

THE BABYLONIAN EPIC OF CREATION.

Restored from the recently recovered Tablets of Aššur. Transcription, Translation and Commentary by S. Langdon, M.A. Oxford (The Clarendon Press); pp. 227; 16s. net.

THE famous Babylonian Epic of Creation is known almost exclusively from Assyrian copies of the six Babylonian tablets which compose it, and to which is appended as a seventh a hymn on the titles of Marduk. The Babylonian original can be shown to date back to about 2,000 B.C.; but this in its turn is based on an earlier Sumerian type. Continued finds and the patient labour of decipherment have now restored the text almost completely, with the exception of that of the astronomical poem (Book V.), which is still a highly regrettable *lacuna*, seeing that from what little we know of it, it must have been a prototype of the famous classical poem of Manilius, called *Astronomica*. The tradition of the text is exceedingly good: the scribes were very faithful workmen. Professor Langdon's text and translation utilizes the labours of the many distinguished scholars who have

preceded him, and presents us with the most complete edition up to date. Upwards of half a century has rolled away since the publication of George Smith's *Chaldaean Account of Genesis*, the *editio princeps* of the then known fragments, since when they have been steadily added to and their decipherment gradually perfected by the genial industry of Sayce, Zimmern, Delitzsch, Jensen, King, Dhorme, Ungnad, Roger, Winckler and Ebeling. Professor Langdon's work confines itself strictly to the subject-matter in its own setting and the majority of his notes are necessarily philological. The publishers' 'jacket,' however, states that: "The volume treats fully of the Epic's profound influence upon ancient Hebrew and Greek religion. In the Introduction the discussion of the myth of the Death and Resurrection of Bêl-Marduk has a vital bearing upon the beliefs and rituals of early gnosticism and the origins of Christianity."

That other scholars have treated the Epic from these points of view is true, and it is especially the hope that it may be found to throw light on these subjects which makes its study of such great interest to students of comparative religion. But Professor Langdon does not deal with these questions. There is next to nothing about Hebrew and Greek religion, and when our learned author in his Introduction treats of the extraordinarily interesting New Year's Feast tablet describing the public mystery-play of the Death and Resurrection of Bêl-Marduk, during which the Epic was recited, but which apparently has little to do with the Epic, he expressly excuses himself from discussing the N.T. parallels so strikingly brought forward by Zimmern when he first translated it into German. Prof. Langdon, after giving a transliterated text of this tablet and an English version, and some comments, writes:

"In the discussion of this mysterious ritual of the wounding and imprisonment of Bêl, I have written in the conviction that the Assyriologist should confine himself strictly to his sources. His labour must be bestowed primarily upon a correct edition and interpretation of the text. The place of this ritual in the intricate system of Babylonian religion is within his province, and he is bound to undertake to explain its implications in that aspect. But writing now as an Assyriologist with severe conception of his restrictions, the author refrains from entering into any discussion of the New Testament. In fact, he is not quite convinced that these sources, as presently known, warrant a discussion of those problems which at first thought seem to demand explanation. So many apparent analogies in the history of religion have proven

themselves fallacious, and so many scholars have broken their strength upon the impregnable rock of truth, that the maxim *ne sutor supra (sic) crepidam* is particularly applicable here. The wider application of these texts is the affair of theologians. The above edition of the Bêl ritual aims at giving a dependable source."

With this explicit statement before us we cannot quite understand that 'jacket' pronouncement, to say the least of it. We think that Prof. Langdon is well advised not to have discussed all these secondary problems, no matter how important they may be; for to have done so would have required several volumes. His chief task has been to give a reliable text and translation of the Epic and of the Ritual, and of the latter a version for the first time in English from the original; and though only his colleagues can pronounce on the details of his labours, non-Assyriologists like ourselves are very glad to have his versions both of the Epic and of this special tablet; for in the one case he has had to try to better the readings of many predecessors and in the latter the version of Zimmern. With regard to this latter it may be mentioned that already a rendering of Zimmern's German translation has appeared in *THE QUEST* (Jan., 1922) together with an exposition and discussion of his views, under the title: 'New-found Fragments of a Babylonian Mystery Play and the Passion Story.'

MUDRĀS.

The Ritual Hand-poses of the Buddha Priests and the Shiva Priests of Bali. By Tyra de Kleen. With an Introduction by A. J. D. Campbell, Assistant-keeper in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum. With 60 full-page Drawings by the Author. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 42; 15s. net.

MISS TYRA DE KLEEN is already known to our readers by her exceedingly interesting account of 'An Island of Magic and Mystery' (Oct. No., 1923). Bali is a little known island laying off the coast of Java; and there in 1920 Miss de Kleen, the Swedish artist and traveller, landed with the intention of studying the religious customs of the people and especially their ceremonial dances and (what chiefly fascinated her) the mago-mystical hand-gestures of the priests. The story of how she was first imposed upon by the very suspicious *pedendas* before she obtained sketches of the genuine gestures is one of perseverance, determination,

courage and tact—an adventurous undertaking. The resulting illustrations are not only artistically quite remarkable, but of very great value as pioneer work on first-hand material, laying the foundations of research into a subject of which we at present scarcely know anything. Miss de Kleen's draughtmanship is quite exceptional; the hands literally speak and create a most eerie impression. The exhibition of her water-colour drawings of the dances and dance-costumes as well as of the ritual hand-poses at the Victoria and Albert Museum in the spring of 1923 was of extraordinary interest not only to artists but to students of religious symbolism; and the present volume is an excellently turned-out album of reproductions of the *mudrā*-series. The decadent Buddhism and Shaivism superimposed on the primitive animism of the Balinese are of the *tāntric* order, and it is not likely that the *pedendas*, even if they were utterly unreserved in communicating their ideas on the subject, would be able to give any really lofty interpretation of the gestures. They move in an atmosphere of magic and mystery and not in the clean air of spiritual religion. The genesis of the complicated technique of these intriguing hand-poses, of this bizarre language of the hands, will be got at only by comparative study. India and Tibet, China and Japan can all, doubtless, yield a rich mass of material. *Mudrās* apparently always go with *mantras*, and in Bali they seem to be considered to reinforce them. In a few cases Miss de Kleen gives the meaning of the gestures as it was imparted to her by the priests; but these meanings are very general and do not take us far in conjecturing the significance of what has all the appearance of a highly complex system. The talented authoress is anxious to continue her studies in India and elsewhere of these strange *māntric* ritual hand-accompaniments. Camera-records might be attempted by other investigators, if they could succeed in persuading the *mudrā*-folk to submit their rites to such mechanical registration. But in our opinion no camera could make the hands 'speak' as Miss de Kleen has so remarkably succeeded in doing. The artist in her has given them life.

DYING LIGHTS AND DAWNING.

The Martha Upton Lectures given in Manchester College, Oxford, 1923. By Edmond Holmes. London (Dent); pp. 222; 6s. net.

OUR readers are so familiar with the high quality and mystical insight of which our distinguished colleague has given evidence in

many a book, that they need no recommendation from us to peruse with care these lectures. The thesis that the author develops in the present volume is "that the idea of the supernatural, which still dominates the religious beliefs of the West and the Near East, no longer suffices for our spiritual needs, and that the idea of spiritual evolution must take its place, if religion, now decadent, is to renew its strength." The idea of the supernatural which Mr. Holmes combats is that of orthodox 'dogmatic theology' as most rigorously laid down by the theologians of the Latin Church; with this he is at tilts throughout the volume. He expressly states that it is the idea of the supernatural defined as "that which is above the essence and exigency of created nature" which he calls into question. At the end of his Introduction he states his own position positively as follows:

"I need scarcely add that I mean by the word *Nature* much more—ininitely more, I might almost say—than what the supernaturalist means by that ambiguous and much abused word. Relieved of the pressure imposed on it by the idea of the supernatural, or rather of the gulf of separation which drains into itself the infinitude of both worlds, the idea of Nature undergoes in my thought limitless expansion in every conceivable direction. The supernaturalist is apt to assume that those who deny the supernatural mean by Nature no more than he means by it; and he sometimes goes so far as to confound 'naturalism' with materialism. It must be clearly understood that I enter an emphatic protest against this question-begging assumption. What is inward and spiritual is for me to the full as natural as what is outward and visible. If anything, the former is more truly natural than the latter, in that it belongs to Nature's higher and therefore more genuine self."

From this standpoint Mr. Holmes writes seven chapters, contrasting the two notions, vigorously criticising the supernatural of orthodoxy, and eloquently pleading for what he calls 'The Gospel of Spiritual Evolution' and exemplifying this by the development of the thoughts he first put forward in his two early and widely-read books, *The Creed of Buddha* and *The Creed of the Christ*. The volume ends with the fine passage:

"And how shall we best serve God? By carrying on in our own selves the work of creation, which is his life-work, so to speak; by evolving our own limitless potentialities of life, and by stimulating as best we may the outgrowth of life in others. The Spirit of God is essentially and eternally creative. Evolution is

the way of creation, the way of the emergence of order out of chaos, of the light of life out of the darkness which is death. Resistance to evolution, resistance to the creative activity of the Holy Spirit, is the sin which is its own punishment and for which, therefore, there is no forgiveness. Instead of resisting the Spirit of God, let us ally ourselves with it, let us serve it, let us do its will. We have seen that spiritual evolution is the way of preparation for service. We can now see that it is the way of service, the way of salvation, the way of eternal life. Let us walk in it with resolute will and unfaltering faith, and follow it whithersoever it may lead us."

BUDDHIST PSYCHOLOGY.

An Inquiry into the Analysis and Theory of Mind in Pali Literature. By Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A., Lecturer on Pali and Buddhism, School for Oriental Studies, President Pali Text Society. Published in the Quest Series, London, 1914. Second Edition with Supplementary Chapters. London (Luzac); pp. 802; paper 2s. 6d., cloth 4s. net.

WE are delighted to welcome this second and enlarged edition of Dr. C. A. F. Rhys Davids' most capable and valuable exposition of Buddhist Psychology, based on many years of first-hand and pioneer study of the Pali Literature which contains the earliest tradition and its most conservative developments—that of the Theravādins. There is a number of reasons why this highly instructive forth-setting, of which Dr. Rhys Davids herself speaks so very modestly, is a memorable volume. In the first place the subject itself is of extraordinary importance and interest. Psychologists in the West are woefully ignorant of any form whatever of Eastern psychology, and as the Buddhist tradition is unquestionably the most thorough-going that has been thought out in the Orient, it is very suitable as an introduction. Moreover the Pali tradition is a corporate development and not a collection of the speculations of isolated individuals, and is therefore a useful contrast to the modern medley of methods in the West. Though introspectional, it is positive, and though 'pre-scientific' in our sense of the word, it is scientifically founded and has much in it to attract the lover of keen analysis and careful description. Some of its positions are astonishingly like modern points of view, and in general there is nothing as far as the normal side of the subject

is concerned to estrange the scientific mind. But apart from the fact that abnormal states are allowed for—a recommendation rather than otherwise for some of us—there is a fundamental difference from modern scientific psychologizing. Throughout values are taken into account; the ethical element stands as fundamental. Here again, we would venture to think, Buddhist psychology is on right lines and is deserving of respectful attention. Finally, the volume is of special value as a methodical survey based on the texts and commentaries in the chronological order of development and amply documented. Mrs. Rhys Davids is an admirable *cicerone*, and her method is praiseworthy. She invariably refuses to read back modern views into her subject-matter, and is specially helpful in giving the contemporary meanings of the terms. It is quite an outstanding piece of work in what is for the West largely a pioneer field of labour, and it remains as true to-day as it was when we wrote it in an editorial note to the first edition in 1914, that our distinguished colleague is still “acknowledged to be the most competent student of the subject in the West.”

In the supplementary chapters and Epilogue Mrs. Rhys Davids deals with ‘The Buddhist Principle of Change,’ ‘The Buddhist Doctrine of Rebirth’ and ‘The Development of the Anti-Soul Attitude’ (the first two of which appeared in *THE QUEST* in 1917 and 1921 and are now emended). Here she allows herself to go beyond the limitations of the careful exponent and exegete simply, and permits us to share her own matured views and criticisms on these most important topics. She leaves all her readers in her debt, and most of all the fortunate editor for whom she has so worthily carried out, beyond expectation, this so valuable introduction to the study of Buddhist Psychology. The call for a second edition shows that interest has already been created, and let us hope that many of the copies distributed have not only reached the hands of psychologists but penetrated their minds. The astonishingly small price charged places the book within the reach of all.

TOWARDS THE STARS.

By H. Dennis Bradley, Author of ‘The Eternal Masquerade,’ etc.
London (Werner Laurie); pp. 331; 7s. 6d. net.

THIS is an account of spiritualistic phenomena witnessed by Mr. Bradley from June 16, 1923, to March 1, 1924, in a setting of

highly-coloured impressionist opinions, criticisms and conclusions of a writer who abhors conventionality and lashes the views and behaviour of those of whom he does not approve, with the scourge of bitter denunciation. What he would have said of spiritualism, were it not for the good fortune that his first acquaintance with the phenomena was so startling that it bowled him over, we cannot imagine. Probably he would have written of it as he now writes of those who pass it by, belittle or reject it: "My words are to the new and virile generation. I despise the decadence of worn-out minds. To them I concede only the spittle of my scorn." This is hardly calculated to placate the sceptic or to impress those who for many years have studied the subject, and have learned by long experience that they must hasten slowly in making generalizations on so complex and contradictory a subject-matter from whatever standpoint it is regarded. Certainly Mr. Bradley has been fortunate in much that he has seen, and we are glad to get his report; but he would have strengthened it immensely had he exercised more discretion in expressing his views and opinions and curbed the exuberance of his pen. However, there it is; he dashes into the subject and slashes into it, coruscates and explodes, rises to ecstatic declarations and packs off critics to hell. It is decidedly a sensational production, and will doubtless attract more attention than the soberer expositions that are pegging away with the spade-work. The general public love full-blooded opinions one way or the other, and have little patience with the careful weigher of pros and cons. They will certainly get their fill in *Towards the Stars*, and be duly impressed by the man whose last words are: "I no longer rely on beliefs, I *know*."

THE SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO PHILOSOPHY.

Selected Essays and Reviews. By H. Wildon Carr, Hon. D.Litt.
Durham, Professor of Philosophy in the University of
London. London (Macmillan); pp. 278; 12s. net.

THIS is a collection of seventeen instructive and stimulating papers by Professor Wildon Carr to whom the Aristotelian Society in particular owes so much for his genial and enthusiastic devotion to its interests. It is not too much to say that it is chiefly to the organizing ability of Wildon Carr that the Society owes its present state of liveliness and wide-spread influence. Of late much of his thought has been directed to bringing out the philosophic implica-

tions in the latest discoveries of science and the scientific theories based upon them. We have most immediately in this connection no less than four essays on Einstein's revolutionary theory in physics and the metaphysical aspects of the question. For as Dr. Carr well observes at the end of his first introductory paper on the Scientific Approach: "The new principle of relativity is the recognition that the factors observed cannot be understood in their purely objective existence without taking into account, not only the objective conditions of observation, but also the subjective conditions of the observer's mind in observing. The leaders in the scientific revolution are men of science who have not been dismayed when they have found their discoveries leading them to philosophy." This is indeed a matter of high moment, for hitherto science has striven its hardest to exclude the observer. There are also four penetrating papers on Bergson's philosophy which is so largely concerned with a brilliant criticism of scientific facts. Especially instructing is the Professor's Inaugural Address at King's College, London, on the New Idealism, which he delivered on the occasion of entering on his duties, and in which he sets forth what he conceives to be the proper task and function of philosophy. In the interests of this Idealism he shows very ably 'Why the Mind seems to be and yet cannot be produced by the Brain,' and follows this with two papers on the New Idealism of Benedetto Croce. Of the remaining subjects the most striking is perhaps the paper on 'The Tercentenary of Pascal' to whose scientific and philosophic genius our author pays high tribute, yet with a note of regret as when writing: "In science and philosophy he (Pascal) showed an intellectual power and incentive which place him on a level with Descartes and Galileo, yet he stands alone, grand but solitary, in the great intellectual movement of humanity. It was more than a religious act, it was typical of his whole intellectual position when he joined the *solitaires* of Port Royal. We may count his unworldliness as loss or gain, but he sacrificed for it alike scientific and philosophic leadership. The tragedy is that the Christian Church did not value what he gave to her when he renounced the world."

In these 'Selected Essays and Reviews' we have very good examples of Dr. Carr's quality and the volume sustains its interest all through. The modern Idealist should have little fault to find with it, for no matter how idealistic he may be, he must pay most serious attention to science unless he would have philosophy for ever hanging in the air.

IMMORTALITY.

By Sir Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., Litt.D., Ph.D., F. M. Cornford, M.A., Prof. A. A. Macdonell, Ph.D., Prof. Adam C. Welch, D.D., Prof. R. G. Macintyre, D.D., Principal G. Galloway, D.Phil., D.D., Rudolph Eucken, D.D., Ph.D., Rev. Canon E. W. Barnes, Sc.D., F.R.S., Maurice H. Hewlett. With an Introduction by the Right Honble. Lord Ernle. Edited by Sir James Marchant, K.B.E., LL.D. London (Putnam's); pp. 194; 7s. 6d. net.

WE have here a distinguished company of talented writers co-operating in a symposium on a subject of prime interest and importance. The authors, as above listed, treat in turn respectively of the following aspects: 'Egyptian Conceptions'; 'Greek Views'; 'Indian Thought'; 'Hebrew and Apocalyptic Conceptions'; 'The Christian Idea'; 'The Philosophy of Immortality'; its 'Ethical Basis'; 'Science and Immortality'; 'Immortality in the Poets.' It is a good book, but not quite what we were hoping for. It is sober, judicious and informative for those who have not made a special study of any of its aspects; but throughout it keeps to the beaten track so to say and scrupulously avoids the one subject that in any way can tend to bridge the chasm between materialistic negationism and faith supported by a metaphysical and ethical probabilism. Lord Ernle begins his 'Introduction' with the question: "If men die, shall they cease to live?" Evidently the first thing to be discussed is the minor problem of the possibility of establishing 'survival.' But in the pages which follow not a word is breathed on this preliminary problem except a line or two of reference by Canon Barnes, who dismisses psychical research with ill-concealed contempt. Certainly 'survival' is not 'immortality'; but it is a concrete and factual stage to start with, and rescues the subject from what for the most part must confine it to the abstractionism of metaphysics on the one hand and the high hopes of faith or the presuppositions of ethical theodicism on the other. After writing the above we find that we have not been fair to the intention of the editor, as will be seen from the notice of the following booklet; but no hint of this intention is given in the volume under notice.

THE HEART OF A FATHER.

By a Well-known Public Man. With a Preface by Sir James Marchant, LL.D. London (Allen & Unwin); pp. 82; 2s. net.

HERE Sir James tells us that he is gathering material for a companion volume on 'Survival' to the above work on 'Immortality.' While so doing, he writes: "My mind not infrequently turned towards the author of the following pages, an old and valued friend, who last summer had lost his son under tragic circumstances and whose letters continued to sound the note of mourning. One morning his letter, even as I opened it, revealed, in the firmness of its handwriting and in its first words, evidence of a welcome change. As I read I realized that life, for the author, had again become song. And the cause was obvious—the conviction that his dead son was alive again, the lost was found. A fuller account of this startling change came later and, after reading it and knowing that the author is a trusted public man whose testimony would be received with respect, I invited a number of friends to meet and hear it from his own lips. Those whose names appear below were so impressed by it that they spontaneously suggested that I should associate them with this declaration of our belief in the author's irreproachable honesty, and of our conviction that what he here relates he believes actually happened." There follows an impressive list of names of clergy and ministers: Rev. Canon Vernon Storr, M.A., Rev. R. F. Horton, D.D., Rev. Principal W. E. Blomfield, D.D., Rev. F. Fielding-Ould, M.A., Rev. J. G. Henderson, Rev. J. Marshall Robertson, Rev. F. Richardson, A.T.S., Rev. Thos. Nightingale (Secretary of the Free Church Council), Rev. C. Drayton Thomas. The narrative is the highly moving story of the loss of an exceptionally brilliant and loveable young son by drowning and of how *post mortem* communication was established with such good evidence and intimate feeling of reality as to leave no doubt whatever in the heart of the bereaved father. The outstanding importance of the little volume is the list of signatures which accept the testimony with respect. It is significant of a great change for the better in the attitude of the clergy towards the experimental side of the 'survival question,' and we shall look forward with great interest to the companion volume which Sir James Marchant promises us. The name of the writer has since been disclosed as that of the Rev. F. C. Spurr.

BENGALI RELIGIOUS LYRICS: ŚĀKTA.

Selected and translated by Edward J. Thompson, Lecturer in Bengali, University of Oxford, and Arthur Marshman Spencer. London (Oxford University Press); pp. 103; 2s. 6d. net.

SHĀKTISM, or the worship of the Great Mother, is perhaps more firmly rooted in Bengal than anywhere else in India. Shākta hymns and poems are sung with delight in well-nigh every village. We of the West are grossly ignorant of this popular religious poetry, and therefore Messrs. Thompson and Spencer are to be thanked for making a selection from its rich store of lyrics accessible to us in translation. The most popular of these singers of songs of the Mother is Rām Prasād Sen, who flourished in the 18th century (1718-1775), and most of the poems in this volume of the 'Heritage of India' series are either certainly by him or popularly ascribed to him. Tantrism or Shāktism is involved in so much that is strange and distasteful to the Western mind, that until quite recently detailed enquiry into it, or even the discussion of its principles, has been practically taboo among Orientalists. Our translators in their Introduction say just sufficient to give a very general setting to the selected lyrics; but, whether intentionally or no, they have omitted all reference to the only really instructive studies we have on the Tāntric tradition, its scriptures, doctrines, ceremonies and practices. We refer to the numerous publications of Sir John Woodroffe, who for the last fifteen years has laboured so strenuously to bring to light what has hitherto been for the West the most obscure phase of Hindu religion. Yet without some knowledge of its nature, it is impossible to have any conception of the complex of 'occult' notions—and even of the philosophy—underlying most of the rites and ceremonies of popular Hinduism. It is true that the best thinkers and most deeply religious minds of modern India view Tantrism with aversion. But political agitation exploits this wide-spread popular devotion to the Mother—Mahā Shakti, the Great Power—under her many names, the best known of which are Devī, Durgā and Kālī. Indeed the hymn 'Bande Mataram' has become the rallying cry of national political discontent. Few in the West who read these lyrics will be able to comprehend how the Great Power of Destruction can at the same time be worshipped as the supreme

means of Salvation. But the Mother of the gods and worlds and men is the source and end and renewer of all of them, and more mysterious even than the Trimūrti of Brahmā, Vishnu and Shiva.

REALITY AND RELIGION.

Meditations on God, Man and Nature. By Sadhu Sundar Singh. With an Introduction by Canon Streeter. London (Macmillan); pp. 88; 2s. 6d. net.

THE interesting sketch of the Sadhu,—his conversion, mystical experience and evangelical fervour,—published four years ago by Canon Streeter and Dr. Appasamy has been widely read; it has run into seven editions and been translated into six European and two Indian languages. Sundar Singh has now a large public and an exceedingly good press, and many will turn with interest to Dr. Appasamy's rendering of his brief meditations on great subjects written originally in Urdu. It is very simple and at times naïve, and edifying within the measures of evangelical Christianity; but, we must confess, we had looked for something more distinctive. The Sadhu's *forte* lies evidently in activities other than writing.

THE WORLD OF SOULS.

By Wincenty Lutoslawski, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Wilno, in Poland. With a Preface by William James. London (Allen & Unwin); pp. 224; 10s. 6d.

THIS book was written 25 years ago just after Prof. Lutoslawski had published his masterpiece on *Plato's Logic*. It was written in English rapidly and in happy freedom from all books of reference as a 'holiday task,' so to say, after the strenuous ten years' scholarly labour on the *Logic*. Dr. Lutoslawski, who writes currently in half a dozen modern languages, brought out a German edition; but the English MS., in spite of the favourable reception of the *Logic* and of a very enthusiastic preface written by William James, went wandering from publisher to publisher and had to be laid aside. During these 25 years Lutoslawski has read much, thought much, experienced much; in fact his most fundamental position as to the nature of deity has entirely changed. He has, now that a publisher at long last has come forward, cut out some chapters, for one of which he promises shortly to sing a palinode,—namely on 'Divine Rule,' which he wrote in ignorance of 'the

true nature of my Maker,'—but considers that the rest still represents his present views. We cannot but think that he would have been better advised to have rewritten the whole exposition instead of slightly revising what he put forth so long ago. The theory of monadism which he favours, is beginning to be re-viewed and revived, and it would have been of advantage to have had his most matured reflections upon it as a whole and not a partial treatment. The book is marked with all that frankness of self-revelation which made Prof. Lutoslawski's 'Autobiography of a Psychologist,' in a recent number of the *Hibbert Journal*, so human a document.

THE BOOK OF THE LOVER AND THE BELOVED.

Translated from the Catalan of Ramón Lull with an Introductory Essay by E. Allison Peers. London (S.P.C.K.); pp. 106; 8s. 6d. net.

THIS is the first English rendering of the Majorcan Raymond Lully's little mystical classic. To Ramón Lull (1235-1315) has been ascribed a prodigious output of writings, mainly alchemical, of which he was most probably not the author. Distinguished scholastic philosopher, the discoverer of the famous *Ars Lulliana*, pioneer orientalist and enthusiastic missionary among the Moslems in Africa where he met with a martyr's death, Lull was the first of the great Spanish Mystics. The piece before us, extracted from one of his most important works, *Blanquerna*, is of the Canticles type of Christian mysticism; but it seems to us to have a special interest in that it is clearly influenced by the Sûfi models of religious love-poetry with which Ramón was familiar. Frankly, the repetition of the words 'the Beloved' and 'the Lover' in practically every verse of the 366 reads somewhat monotonously; but this may be a special mark of beauty in the original. That Lull the Mystic could not have been an alchemist is almost certain from his very unfavourable attitude to astrology, which was inextricably bound up with alchemy.

Addressing an astrologer, the Lover declares (345): "It is no science but one falsely so-called. It is necromancy, or the black art, in disguise, and the science of deceiving and lying prophets which dishonour (*sic*) the work of the sovereign Master." Mr. Peers is to be thanked for making this utterance known to us and we hope he will be able to carry out his intention of translating the more important mystical works of the great Majorcan.

SOME PERMANENT VALUES IN JUDAISM.

Four Lectures by Israel Abrahams, Reader in Talmudic, University of Cambridge, Visiting Lecturer, Jewish Institute of Religion, New York. Oxford (The Clarendon Press): pp. 86; 3s. 6d. net.

SO cultured and liberal a Jewish scholar as Dr. Abrahams cannot fail to be not only instructive but interesting to his many readers; and these lectures, though addressed in the first instance to a Jewish audience, are more than usually suitable for a more general public, for they present the results of his wide and deep learning in a guise of commendable simplicity which too few scholars have the gift of doing. The permanent values which our lecturer brings out or contends for are such as are to be found in a sensible estimate of Primitive Ideas, of Apocalypse, Philo and the Talmud. In all these topics Dr. Abrahams is dealing with subjects which are of immediate concern to students of early Christianity. Our lecturer thinks that Jewish scholars should pay more attention to Apocalyptic and Philonean research; in this respect they fall short of the work done by their Christian *confrères*. But in all he has to say his main purpose is to estimate the value of such study for to-day, and to find a balanced point of view that may bring what is most spiritually and religiously essential in them into clear focus. It is a useful little volume and we have read it with pleasure and profit.

ST. ANTONY THE HERMIT.

By St. Athanasius. Translated from Migne's Greek Text by Dom J. B. McLaughlin, O.S.B. London (Burns, Oates & Washbourne); pp. 122; 3s. net.

THIS is simply a translation of Athanasius' 'Life' of Anthony (? 251-356 A.D.); there is no introduction or notes of any kind. For those who know no more of the famous monk and visionary than is to be gleaned from the innumerable pictures of his 'temptation'—depicting as a rule one episode only out of many—it will be a service to remove their ignorance. For students of mysticism and psychical research it provides material for critical reflection in spite of the *naïveté* of much of the narrative; for the general Catholic reader it will supply appropriate edification as

a typical and classical life of ascetic sanctity. It may be that it is published just now in popular form to emphasize for the benefit of the faithful the demonic theory—the subtlety of the wiles of the arch-deceiver in psychic matters of which the saint had so rich and continuous an experience, and to show how Antony discriminated the ‘spirits’—for it is the *fons et origo* of dogmatism on the subject. It is thus of course guaranteed by the ‘Nihil Obstat’ and ‘Licet imprimi’ of Father McLaughlin’s superiors, though one would have thought that so impeccably an orthodox production might have been allowed to stand on its own feet at this late date.

PROLEGOMENA TO AN IDEALIST THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE.

By Norman Kemp Smith, D.Phil., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. London (Macmillan); pp. 240; 10s. 6d. net.

IN this acute critical survey and moderating essay Prof. Kemp Smith endeavours to formulate an idealist theory of knowledge on realist lines. The author of the most recent and illuminating commentary on Kant’s *magnum opus*, *The Critique of Pure Reason*, here leaves the too subjectivist ground of Kantian idealism and takes up a midway position between it and the realistic view, verging to some of the notions of the recent Neo-realist or Critical Realist schools, and finding himself in this respect in large sympathy with the general views of Professors Alexander and Stout. Much attention is paid to the highly controversial subject of *sensa* or sense-data and the problems it raises are brought out very clearly. But naturally all the main elements and supposals of the various theories of knowledge are discussed. Professor Kemp Smith shows an intimate acquaintance with the pertinent and recent literature on the subject, though we venture to think in this respect he has not paid sufficient attention to the powerful Italian Neo-idealistic school.

There is no doubt that in many ways Neo-realism and Neo-idealism are drawing closer together, and the present able contribution to revised philosophical thinking is noteworthy in this respect. Though we find ourselves held up on some points, we nevertheless feel ourselves thoroughly in sympathy with what is apparently Prof. Kemp Smith’s main view, when he writes: “Knowledge . . . is *knowledge*; its function is to reveal; it is not creative, but contemplative.”

MEDICINE, MAGIC AND RELIGION.

By W. H. R. Rivers, M.D., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S. With
a Preface by G. Elliot Smith, F.R.S. London (Kegan Paul);
pp. 147; 10s. 6d. net.

THIS instructive volume consists of a reprint of five lectures: the first four are the Fitz Patrick Lectures delivered at the Royal College of Physicians in 1915/16 and the last a lecture on 'Mind and Medicine' given at the John Rylands Library, Manchester, in 1919. They were printed originally in *The Lancet* and in the *Bulletin* of the famous Library respectively. It is a very great advantage to have them in book-form; for though had Rivers lived to carry out his intention, he would have added greatly to them from the rich material he had collected, they are as they stand essays of considerable value, and make us realize the great loss that science has sustained in the passing of this admirably equipped, keenly observant and soundly judging worker. Rivers was specially gifted to treat of the beginnings of medicine and its relation to magic and religion. Not only was he a distinguished anthropologist who had done field-work in India and especially in Melanesia, and as a doctor had paid special attention to primitive leechcraft, but he was also a very capable psychologist and had acquaintance with the phenomena of psychical research. We have consequently a highly informative treatise, which has the further advantage of being written with a clarity and simplicity that makes it very readable and easily understandable for the layman. Some may think that Rivers was somewhat over-cautious; but his object was, as he says himself, to move forward step by step and consolidate the gains rather than to make broad generalisations.

THE LIGHT ETERNAL.

By Upendra Nath Mukerji. Published by the Author. Ananda
Math, Puralia, India; pp. 212.

A BOOK in verse-form of over a thousand four-lined stanzas. We wish we could praise it; but it is not poetry and cannot be read without irritation. Mr. Mukerji has some ideas of interest, but they are entirely obscured by the medium he has chosen in which to set them forth.

SPINOZA, DESCARTES AND MAIMONIDES.

By Leon Roth, M.A., D.Phil., John Locke Scholar in Mental Philosophy in the University of Oxford, and Lecturer in Philosophy in the University of Manchester. Oxford (Clarendon Press); pp. 148.

SPINOZA is certainly coming into his own of late, as may be seen from several of our recent reviews. Dr. Leon Roth is one of our younger writers on philosophy, and is well schooled to treat his present theme, not only from his knowledge of modern philosophy but by his close study of Maimonides and insight into the Hebrew philosophic mind. The generally received view that there was one unitary development of European modern philosophizing from Descartes through Spinoza and Leibniz to Kant, he thinks should be revised. Descartes and Spinoza represent the two typical antipodal positions in spiritualistic philosophical thought. If the characteristic doctrine of Descartes was enunciated centuries before by the Arabian thinkers, this was due to a similarity of intellectual needs and not to a transference of ideas. The case lies otherwise with Baruch d'Espinoza, according to Dr. Roth, whose main thesis is to establish that "the essential conflict between Descartes and Spinoza is found already clearly and definitely developed in the *Guide to the Perplexed*, and where Spinoza rejected the lead of Descartes, he not only followed that of Maimonides but based his rejection on Maimonides' arguments, often, indeed, on his own words." We think that the writer has made out a good case for his latter contention, while by no means discounting the independence of Spinoza's presentation of his great theme. It is indeed impossible to establish sheer originality for the system of any thinker; there is always some measure of dependency, for there is no private property in thought. The philosophical influence of Maimonides was far-reaching beyond the ranks of his co-religionists; and it is a remarkable fact that in the twelfth century three contemporaneous out-standing efforts were made to reconcile the claims of Reason and Religion, in Jewry, Islam and Christianity, by Maimonides, Averroes and Alanus de Insulis, as has been so ably shown in a recent article in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (Philadelphia, April).

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A GLANCE AT THE SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO RELIGION.

THE EDITOR.

THIS phrase, 'The Scientific Approach to Religion,' is the title of a recent Conference of Modern Churchmen. Modern science and the traditional orthodoxy of the Churches have, as everyone knows, for long been at loggerheads. The Modernists desire with all their hearts to remedy this disastrous state of affairs. They hold that true religion has nothing to fear from genuine science, and that Christianity, as the religion of the eternally Living Christ, is possessed of an inexhaustible spiritual vitality that can sublimate and perfect all human knowledge. Let us first consider the import of this title apart from the proceedings of the Conference.

From what we know of its organizers, the subject was chosen with a courageous determination to face the facts, and the conviction that the more profound and accurate scientific knowledge of nature becomes, the more is it found to justify a reasonable religious faith in its worship of the Divine Source of the marvellous life whose activities we see displayed on

all sides through countless inimitable organisms of every order and degree. Even where we can detect no life, the more intimately the substrate and structure of matter becomes known, the more patient of guiding principles does the inorganic realm of nature prove to be. It is ever found to keep the way of going of its orderings, ever presents an increasing wealth of uniformities which are recognized by reason as intelligible laws. Man does not invent these laws; he discovers them.

It is by the progressive exactitude of the observation of natural phenomena and the scrupulous carefulness of their description, that has been built up that ordered knowledge of physical nature and of the relations between its events and objects which we most distinctively call Science. Modern 'exact' science owes its astonishing development to this accuracy of observation, and its experimental progress has been furthered mainly by the invention of sight-extending and other instruments of marvellous precision, such as the telescope, microscope and spectroscope. Its business, then, is to get at the facts of external nature and establish the truth about them within the measures of sensible and objective reality, where alone it can win to positive demonstration. Its truth is pragmatic; scientific theory or hypothesis is valid in proportion as it enables us to deal more effectively with the facts of material nature and to foretell more precisely what will happen in a given collocation of such facts. Its method depends on abstraction, perfectly legitimate as far as it goes, but incapable of dealing with problems referable to the universe as a concrete living whole. Indeed it has been unkindly said that 'Science' must first kill before it can know. Living nature is inacces-

sible to this externalizing method. The vastly more difficult task of appreciating life must be approached by way of the philosophical disciplines. Here, too, philosophy may legitimately abstract for greater convenience in considering certain aspects of inner reality; but it fails of its high avocation as the culminating, co-ordinating and synthetic endeavour of reason, if it forgets that the full concrete whole is the reality with which it has finally to deal, and which constitutes the ground and goal of its speculation, meditation and contemplation.

We can use the term 'scientific' in its strict sense, therefore, only as applying to sensible phenomena and their proximate conditioning. And this is so chiefly because mathematics and the physical sciences here join hands and co-operate ever more effectively. The former is a purely abstract mental discipline, though by far the most marvellous logical construct of the human mind; the latter are empirical methods of research that owe the precision of their operations to measurement. The strictly scientific is the measurable. Measurement applies only to things of quantity, to the extended, the material. You cannot measure life, feeling, consciousness. In its strictest sense, then, 'the scientific approach to religion' should mean that the vast body of such measurable facts presented to us by the natural sciences is consistent with a spiritual interpretation of the universe; and here we have no choice but to advance by way of philosophy towards the special problems of religion.

It is very difficult to say what the most essential characteristic of religion in its higher forms is, for the philosophers and the theologians are by no means agreed, and offer us a wide selection of definitions to

choose from. But whatever else it may be, it is assuredly bound up with that deepest life of the heart of man, that is more ancient far than his intellect and yet for ever young. Religion, therefore, in so far as it is bound up with this depth of life, cannot be treated 'scientifically' in the above sense; for, as we have seen, science has won its distinctive meaning and pre-eminence in its own territory by strenuously insisting on a devitalizing, so to say, of its operations, a depersonalizing of its thought and above all an exclusion from its logic of the faintest traces of feeling, emotion or sentiment. Indeed its special aversion is what it holds to be the deformation of truth by the affections. 'The scientific approach to religion' is, therefore, for the man of religion largely a seeking to fill up what falls short. And here there is much preparatory work by way of criticism of illegitimate inferences to be done; the way must be cleared by showing how inadequate any philosophic theories, put forward in the name of science, with the aim of discrediting or negating the fundamentals of religion are to explain the very facts on which they are claimed to be based. It is a question in the first place of what is the more reasonable type of a general philosophy of nature.

The crude naïve materialism which paraded itself in the latter half of the 19th century has passed away for all but the teachers of Bolshevistic 'sunday-schools.' But the latest theories of the electronic constitution of matter, where we are permitted to conceive the dazzling thought of a 'solar system' in every atom, are so subtle and mathematically entrancing, that the hope is still with many minds of great intellectual acumen that thence can be deduced all that is necessary for deriving life and consciousness

from the sole mystery of matter, whose fundamental nature is the mutual externality of all its parts.

Their 'preposterous' task, however, is to show that it is a *reasonable* faith to believe it possible that the genius of a Shakespeare can in any sense be thought to be derivable from a constellation or even a universe of electrons. Philosophically this is unthinkable, unless 'matter' is conceived as living and conscious reality from the start. But if so, the whole question falls, and becomes a vain battle of words. It is far truer, however, to say that electrons are mind-products, mental entities; they are not producers of intelligence, but trans-sensible devices of our thinking. If, again, for convenience in considering the evolutionary view of development, we abstract and posit the appearances of the physical, vital and rational orders as preceding one another in external temporal sequence, it does not guarantee that this is the actual order of dignity and worth in their inner genesis. Those of highest dignity and power come last in the procession even in our earthly pageants. Again, to-day in philosophy we begin immediately with where, when and how we are, and regard with mistrust the old-time 'in the beginning' mythology of abstract imaginary ontologies. In so doing we face the inescapable fact of human nature and concrete existence that conscious mind is found to be logically prior in every act of critical knowledge. If the universe is to be explained in any way, it must be interpreted in terms of the highest powers with which we are acquainted, and not in those of the less significant.

In philosophical theory the concept of a matter-dependent universe excludes every possibility, not only of validating, but even of justifying religion in

any sense. The concept of a mind-dependent universe has its difficulties, it is true, but with it the rights of religion can be safeguarded. The concept of a life-dependent universe is vaguer perchance; yet life most abundantly of all shews forth the inexhaustible excellence of that ultimate spiritual reality which subsumes and integrates mind, life and matter as we distinguish them in our finitude, and leaves the way open for the play of the highest activities of religion which are ever bound up with the elevation, widening and deepening of the evolving life of man into a conscious sharing with the Creative Life of the Divine Source of his being. Thus the Logos-Christ of the mystical writer of the fourth gospel proclaims in spiritual discourse: "I have come that ye may have life"—life abundant; and it might be shewn that 'more of life' in spiritual degree, as the integration and fulfilment of human existence, is the aim, under a great variety of forms, of the efforts of all that is best in the great faiths of the world. If this is true for men of higher religious experience, it follows that, while welcoming every *fact* established by science with gratitude, they can regard only such *theories* as help towards a deeper realization of life as constituting a genuinely scientific approach to religion. In the domain of the natural sciences, therefore, they cannot view with equanimity the still widespread tendency of psychologists to hand over their proper problems to physiologists, and of biologists to despair of their peculiar subject-matter and shift their responsibilities on to the shoulders of specialists in physics and chemistry.

But the term 'science' has in general use passed beyond the strict limits in which we have been so far

regarding it. The scientific method has proved so successful and makes such a popular appeal in its application to the vast utilitarian undertakings of this industrial, technical and inventive age, that a veritable passion for treating 'scientifically' every department of knowledge has seized on the modern mind; in this extended sense 'science' deeply affects all our interests and concerns. This intensive spirit of systematic research, of reviewing and revising our whole inheritance of civilization and culture, it goes without saying, is confronted with its most far-reaching problems in the domains of philosophy and religion.

Modern philosophy is more and more penetrated, if not dominated, by this scientific spirit. Indeed in the most recent dictionary of the subject¹ we are asked, not only to accept 'philosophy' as the distinctive designation of a certain group of 'sciences'—more properly we should say disciplines—but further to treat it over against the special sciences as the science of sciences, as a general or universal science. This is highly complimentary to philosophy; but we are very doubtful that any philosopher would dare to claim so much for his distinctive discipline. We surely have to draw the line strongly between a discipline and a science. Science, as we have seen, demands a measurable exactitude to which no discipline can attain; it thus moves within definite limits, and it is the task of philosophy to make these limits ever more clear. In so doing it will prove itself a most salutary discipline as a critical corrective, but will not call itself a science, precisely because it would be loyal to the best in the scientific spirit.

¹ Clauberg and Dubislav, *Systematisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* (Leipzig, 1928).

In these many lines of research and enquiry, which I would call disciplines, we have to be content with an increasing measure of correctness; here much valuable work of criticism, or the correction of past errors of fact and view, has been accomplished. The extension of the scientific spirit in this direction has led to an amazing industry of research into the manifold forms and phases of the phenomena of religion in their world-wide distribution. To-day we know vastly more about 'religion' in this sense than even the greatest religious geniuses of the past give any indications of being acquainted with. All this is assuredly a scientifically inspired approach to religion and is clarifying immensely our general notions on the subject. '*The scientific approach to religion*' ought then to mean far more for students of religion who desire to serve its best interests, than simply the interpretation of the facts of natural science in a religious sense.

This extended scientific development, which is the characteristic mark of the modern age, is primarily and pre-eminently a Western achievement. It has, unfortunately, at every stage of its growth been in struggle with the very powerful forces of traditional dogmatic Christian orthodoxy. This antagonism has been mainly due to the fact that the Bible had been exalted by unquestioning faith into a record of infallible truth in all its parts and details, inerrantly inspired to be a supernatural instrument of revelation, an immediate work of God himself,—in brief, the supremely authoritative criterion by which to decide every question that human science and philosophy could possibly raise.

The conflict, however, has not been really between

science and religion, or even between science and theology, in the best meaning of these terms as complementary activities in the perfectioning of human nature, but between the contradictory conceptions of the progressive evolution of natural knowledge on the one hand and of the presumed fixed for all time revelation of truth concerning man, the universe and deity in a special library of ancient documents on the other,—the idea of a static, miraculous ‘word of God,’ set up in place of the living book of nature which manifests ever anew the inexhaustible riches of the divine creative purpose.¹

Modern views on the nature of biblical inspiration are conditioned by an entirely different thought-world, not in degree but in kind, from that of the writers of the ancient documents and of the mediæval dogmatists whose bibliolatry has officially enslaved all the Churches of Christendom even to the present day. For where can be found any corporate decree of any Christian community that freely and frankly gives liberty to its members in this respect? As every one who thinks is well aware, the present state of affairs owing to this violent repression of common sense and reason is one of extremely painful inner tension and most dangerous disquiet; the hearts of many millions of the faithful, frequently the best of their type, are kept in torture, racked between loyalty to their Church and fidelity to truth. In truth there can be no dualism; there cannot be two truths or even two orders of truth. A religion that fears to accept the proved facts of science has no

¹ We want more precise terms in which to define the question at issue and also a new survey of the history of the great controversy, bringing it up to date. For neither J. W. Draper's *History of the Conflict between Science and Religion* (1875) nor Andrew Dickson White's *History of the Warfare of Science and Theology* (1896) has a twentieth-century perspective.

real faith in itself; for these facts are part and parcel of the revelation of truth to mankind.

To-day the narrowly restricted world-view of the biblical writers, when compared with our present mathematically demonstrated knowledge of the immensities of the stellar universe, seems puerile and parochial in the extreme. Here it is no longer a question of faith, but of the actual facts of the gigantic reality of physical nature, to which the highest flights of the imagination of seers and prophets in the past have never even approximated. And this applies not only to the unphilosophic semitism of the 'people of the Book'—Jews, Christians and Mohammedans—but also to the most philosophic of the other great faiths.¹ For the ancients in general the Earth was not only the centre of the universe, but the half of sensible reality; Heaven and Earth were a complementary pair. The discovery of the axial rotation of our planet and its revolution round the sun was a new revelation that brought with it the most profound revolution of thought concerning man's place in the universe that the human mind has ever experienced. A world-view of ever more and more dazzling vistas was opened up before the amazed intellect of earth-dwellers. Their once-thought so vast a habitat, the fixed foundation of the universe itself, contracted to the almost negligible dimensions of a subordinate planet of the sun, and the sun itself sank to the low dignity of a very inferior member of a countless host of giant glories radiating in the boundless fields of stellar space. Earth in the scale of quantitative existence comes very low down

¹ The best of the Indian religions, for instance, think in terms of immense distances and periods of time, but it is all *à priori* and subjective speculation and not actual observation.

as the dwarf planet of a dwarf sun. To-day the astronomer and the mathematician have to cope with distances and magnitudes the units of whose measurements can be gauged only in light-years, thousands and millions of them,—calculable but inconceivable immensities, seeing that in earth clock-time light travels 186,000 miles a second. And now the heliocentric theory itself is found to be but the first step in an endless series of mind-baffling relativities. What more marvellous spectacle to rouse the admiration and the sense of worship of the contemplator! Here science by the overwhelming pressure of the vastness of its facts compels religion to re-orient itself to physical reality. This stupendous and grandiose outlook necessitates a complete revision of the cosmic thought-frame in terms of which the biblical story of creation is set forth. What but infantilism can any longer believe that these immensities were created ready-made 4,000 years B.C.? But science has not only set forth in proveable actuality this 'side of majesty' of divine creative reality in terms of the maxima of greatness, but in complement to this vastitude has brought within the apprehension of the mind the infinitude of minima approximating continuously to the infinitesimal, and for the moment envisaged in the electronic stage of ultra-minute, intra-atomic systems. With this positive knowledge of the material universe, which is doubtless but a beginning, it needs must be that man's notion of deity should be proportionately sublimated; and this for the man in the street is doing more than anything else probably to render all prior notions of God on the side of the divine majesty unworthy of him.

Again, in its busy searching into natural phenomena

of every order, science has been compelled to recognize a guiding principle of apparently universal application. By means of this principle the plotting out of classes of facts in serial orders has been enormously facilitated. This holds good not only in the organic but also in the inorganic kingdom. For instance in chemistry, the elements as measured by their atomic weights have been plotted out into a spiral of recurrent octaves; and so accurate is the scheme that a number of blanks which Mendeleef had to leave in his original mapping, have since been filled in by experimental research. But it is the biological evidence of the evolutionary principle that has proved so revolutionary. The fossil records of the physical encasements of organic life testify to a vast number of extinct species. The gaps in the records are continually being filled up; and in a number of cases there are unbroken series with no missing links—such as for instance in the developmental history of the camel and horse. Moreover in human embryology there is no doubt whatever that the man-germ passes through all the typical phases of lower animal life in its development. As to body then and animal heredity, there is no escape from the fact that there is an ascent of man from the lowest organism upwards; man sums up the whole animal kingdom in his cellular development, and his biological lineage extends backwards to unknown ages. This comprehensive notion of evolution through minimal variations brilliantly illuminates the ‘how’ of the process of organic development viewed from without, though it leaves the still deeper problem of ‘why’ there are stabilized types in the welter of minimal changes unsettled. In any case the principle of modal evolution is accepted by all men of science, it is taught in

every text-book and exemplified in every museum. For such a development of life on this planet at least 100,000,000 years of earth-time is required. It is manifest on all sides then that this evolutionary view of life-history and of anthropogenesis is the antipodes of the naïve notions of the makers of the myths of Genesis, and of the ecclesiastical dogma based upon them, which asserts the instantaneity of a vast host of special creations operated by the God of the Hebrews some few thousand years ago. The Christian doctrine of original sin due to the fall of man and the scheme of salvation based upon it are either unmeaning for the evolutionist or demand a drastic reformulation. The modern view requires the man of religion to believe that the divine economy inheres in nature, is indeed one with nature, and that therefore nature brings forth according to the inworking of creative laws, and is not being continually interfered with from without by a magically conceived of God, who is for ever revising the processes of his original purposes, repenting of and being angry with his creatures. In welcoming the principle of evolution, however, we are not justified in confining it to a unilateral mode; the recent doctrine of emergent evolution, worked out so suggestively by Professor Lloyd Morgan in his Gifford Lectures, confirms the philosophical and religious conviction that at certain great moments of the main evolutionary development entirely new root-factors of reality emerge—*e.g.* life in the inorganic series, and in the organic vegetable, animal and self-conscious life. Whence come they? They emerge, but are not generated directly from the lower stages. It follows then that man has a spiritual lineage as well as an animal heredity. This is where religion comes into its own,

and its task is to throw light on this, the profoundest mystery of man's being. As to the principle of evolution then, it is the means towards an end and a perfecting, but is not that end. We should further remember that the general doctrine of development is no new discovery; it was clearly enunciated and worked out, together with the atomic theory, in the oldest attempt at systematic thinking in India prior to 500 B.C. The Sāṃkhya doctrine of evolutes underlies well-nigh the whole of Indian religio-philosophy. The notion of a gradual coming to be, ordered by laws inherent in the divine economy, is a profoundly religious concept, and there is nothing in it, when reasonably apprehended, which prevents us taking a higher and profounder view of the mystery of wisdom which in the West is theologically termed creationism. The primitive anthropomorphism of Semitic mythology is crude stuff even in its own order; allegorize it as you will and with an apologetic fervour greater even than that of a Philo or an Origen, yet it leaves the modern mind with the impression of illegitimately reading back into it what it could never possibly have contained or intended.

But these scientific cosmological and anthropogonical considerations are by no means the only ones which have made the old attitude to the Bible untenable. For upwards of a century, and owing chiefly to the ever more intensive work of Christian scholars themselves, the library of documents known as the Bible has been submitted in detail to well-nigh microscopic scrutiny, both as to text and content. This scientific treatment of the biblical literature, which for so long was regarded as untouchable and so sacred that comparison of it with any other scripture was deemed a blasphemy, is known as the Lower and

Higher Criticism. Text and content have been found to be gravely erroneous in a host of particulars. Literal inspiration is proved to be an absurdity, and the general inerrancy dogma is manifestly false. And this is the case not only with the Old Testament; in the New as well very numerous inner contradictions both of historical and doctrinal statement are revealed, and that too in the very gospel-documents themselves. 'The scientific approach to religion' in the wider sense must then, for all instructed and genuinely liberal Christians, include this extension of scientific or critical research into the documents on which the faith is doctrinally founded. Personally I have always regarded this courageous work of Christian scholars, for the most part men of exemplary piety, as a sign of exceptional vitality and high virtue. A religion that can criticize itself, correct itself, has reached the stage of self-conscious reflection; it is adolescent, it is entering on its manhood. Let the bigoted conservatism that would repress the faith back into its infantile stage and keep it there, observe that no other great religion has shown this virile energy. Whatever doctrinal superiority Christianity claims, however arrogantly it may assert itself over against the other great faiths,—this counts for little compared with so indubitable a sign of manhood. The hour has struck to put away childish things and enter on the adult responsibilities of the life of the spirit.

The infantile phrasing and crudity of thought of many of the traditional dogmas are repugnant to ever-increasing numbers of the intelligent laity, and there is also an alarming shortage of candidates for the ministry. Men have now to be accepted who previously would have been unhesitatingly rejected as unfit, and

the clergy of the future are now mainly recruited from ill-trained and ill-qualified aspirants unsuited to a calling which is difficult enough even for the most highly endowed. Nor is any improvement possible until there is official recognition of the principle of progressive interpretation. Not only so, but a frank restatement of much in the ancient formularies must be made, if the majority of intelligent Christians are to be relieved of the intolerable burden of being forced to repeat with their lips what they no longer really believe in their hearts. But whenever any suggestion of reform in this direction is proposed, the authorities become hysterical and lay hold of every irrational excuse to avoid the issue, unmanned by the subconscious fear that if change of any kind in the wording of the creeds is attempted, no one can foresee where it will end. And yet it is an indubitable fact of history that Christianity, as a spiritual force in the world, was far more alive before the creeds were systematized than at any subsequent period; so that there is every reason to believe and have high confidence that it would gain an enormous intensification of life if it returned to the freedom of the earlier days, wisely adapted itself to its present-day environment, and so regained its spiritual health and vigour.

So much then for 'the scientific approach to religion' in two of its aspects. But there is yet another to be considered, and it is the most important. For it connects up with what is the very heart of religion and its highest inspiration. Apart from general religious experience, such as the vague emotional satisfaction offered by institutional forms of worship, there is in the highest ranges of personal religion an inmost knowing side of overwhelming intensity, sublimity and

profundity, evidences of which the great faiths of the world bring forward in profusion. To elucidate this self-conscious contact with spiritual reality, this self-transcendence in which mortal man tastes the joy of immortality and here and now experiences the beatitude of Eternal Life, to bring the assurance of its actuality home to the hearts of men of all conditions, is the great religious task of the future. Call it what you will, spiritual knowledge, the wisdom of the spirit, whole-making reality, mystic consciousness, transcendental realization, it is ever indicative of the highest achievement human nature has reached on this planet. This most sublime order of religious experience, this hallowing and perfecting of manhood through union with the Divine Spirit, has to be discriminated and distinguished from out of innumerable phases of extensions of consciousness and psychical developments which are observable in religion from its lowliest beginnings. These manifold phenomena of the religious consciousness, which in the West have been too generally confused with genuinely transcendental experience, are beginning to be systematically studied and elucidated. Here comes in the psychological and psychical mode of the scientific approach to religion ; this is still in its embryonic stage and struggling against the very powerful prejudice and opposition of both scientific and religious orthodoxy. Judged by the work already accomplished, however, the young sciences of psychology and psychical research and their accompaniments are tending to help man to know himself by numerous methods of self-discipline. We seem indeed to be witnessing the dawn of a new scientific age, an application of the scientific method to the phenomena of life and consciousness which

promises to yield more far-reaching and astonishing results than have marked the achievements of physical science. I have not the slightest doubt that progressive discovery in this direction will gradually transform the whole general scientific outlook and perspective, and centre attention ever more and more on the inwardness of Living Nature and its infinite potentialities instead of on externals; and especially on the still deeper life of man which is the guarantee of his being able, not only to share in that inwardness in all its plenitude, but to win to a perfection which transcends the highest notion we at present have of knowledge, not to speak of what we to-day call science. Take an example of what is being done in this direction. The ground presupposition of all religions from the lowest upwards is continuance of life after death; without this, religion of any kind would be vanity. Now the establishing of survival as an experimental fact, though not in itself religious, is the greatest service that can be rendered to religion, unless it be supposed that the highest virtue is utterly blind faith. This is being done on systematic lines, has for very large numbers already been accomplished, and deserves to stand as perhaps the most important undertaking to be met with in considering the scientific approach to religion. Religion can only at its peril remain indifferent to the incursion of the scientific method into what it has for so long considered its own special and exclusive province of faith. It must adapt itself, re-orient itself, to all these new avenues of knowledge, and in so doing, it goes without saying that it must purify itself from a mass of traditional unessentials. Religion should lead; at present it is lagging behind in great confusion and so losing respect on all sides.

In conclusion, a word may be said on the proceedings of the Conference of Modern Churchmen which met to discuss these vital questions at Oxford from August 25 to September 1. The quality of the readers of papers and speakers was high, and sometimes of outstanding excellence. Dr. Inge, Dean of St. Paul's, presided. Biology in particular was very strongly represented by Professors E. W. MacBride, J. S. Haldane and C. Lloyd Morgan,—all Fellows of the Royal Society. Among the clergy themselves there was a number of men of science, the most distinguished of whom was Canon E. W. Barnes (now Bishop of Birmingham). The most striking feature of the gathering was the unanimous goodwill with which all readers of papers and speakers pleaded for mutual respect and friendly co-operation between men of science and teachers of religion. There was no jarring note, no sign of hostility, nothing but profound regret for the intolerable state of affairs that has hitherto kept science and religion apart, and a yearning desire to do all that is humanly possible to bring them together and remove the scandal. Not that there was any attempt to minimize the difficulties or obscure the issues; on the contrary, on all sides were manifest a genuine spirit of open-mindedness eager to be informed as to the facts and a sincere determination to face them. It was distinctly the most remarkable gathering of its kind ever held in this country, and perhaps could not have been held in any other. If good-will could bring about a genuine *entente cordiale* between science and religion, reason and theology, there was no lack of it.

On the whole, however, the Conference kept too strictly to the 'scientific approach' in the narrower

sense of the adjective. If the above estimate of its full range is in any way correct, the survey by no means covered the whole ground. Physical science and biology came in for the greatest share of attention, and therewith, over against mechanistic determinism, the autonomy of life and mind was very ably and earnestly defended. But psychology proper should have had far fuller treatment. Out of all proportion to its importance one paper only was assigned to it. In it Dr. J. A. Hadfield (Lecturer in Psychology, King's College, London) discussed the bearing of psycho-analytic method and theory on the psychology of religious experience. Assuredly the latter all-important link-subject should have been dealt with from other standpoints as well, and a general survey presented of all that widespread striving of to-day to learn to know more of man's psychical constitution, and above all the seeking to be instructed practically how best this psyche can be purified, regulated and disciplined, so that the spiritual reality latent in man's inmost nature may emerge and come to conscious birth, and he become truly integrated and his whole life be lived completely. Again, though there was discussion of the question as to whether immortality was absolute or conditional, no word was breathed of continuance in intermediate probationary states of progressive development. And if the formal doctrine of purgatory was omitted, it is hardly necessary to say that the hither hereafter of psychical communication was entirely ignored. Under the arresting title 'Creative Prayer,' Canon Streeter touched on a fundamental practice and a subject which calls for greater reform than any other in religious education; for practically no instruction in prayer worthy of attention is

attempted. Vain repetition of formal phrases or petitionary begging is not praying. It should be the most earnest and vital thing in the religious life. From childhood onwards all should be taught how really to pray, so as gradually to get the habit of inner communion, of giving whole-hearted attention, devotion and selfless service to the Divine in the shrine of the heart. The present neglect in this respect is simply ruinous, for with the vast majority life fails to be spiritually sweetened and upheld, and all is unknowing in what counts most instead of wisdom being about us in our goings and our doings. Seeing again that science founds finally on unitary law, the miraculous element that bulks so largely in the biblical records, naturally came in for consideration; and it was courageously urged that the prescientific supernatural belief in arbitrary interference with natural law from without should make way for the more faithful view of the immanent in-working of the Creative Spirit throughout the whole, in such wise that all events, though we are as yet ignorant of the laws of many exceptional happenings, should be judged to fall within the regulation of the wisdom of inherent law. Increasing knowledge had proved that law obtained in so many cases where previously ignorance had supposed arbitrary intervention, that there was every reason to believe the universe was intelligible throughout; indeed on no other hypothesis could science be possible. Nevertheless no attempt was made to show how much in the scriptures that nineteenth-century dogmatic rationalism rejected as impossible, could now be viewed in a quite different perspective owing to recent scientific study of psychical phenomena and allied supernormal happenings. Further, the com-

parative study of religions, a discipline without which one remains religiously uncultured, and without which the problems of general religion cannot even be formulated understandingly, was unfortunately not even outlined. And so 'the scientific approach to religion' was treated exclusively in respect to Christianity alone, and therewith the special difficulties of personal incarnational theism had no gradations from other forms of religion to help break the sharp contrast between the scientific position and the traditional faith of the West. For had religion been considered as a whole, it could have been shown how some of its high forms could be more easily assimilated to and conciliated with the general trend of scientific theory. Buddhism and certain forms of Hinduism, for instance, have no doctrinal barriers to remove in this respect, especially the former with its fundamental insistence on the use of right reason and the rejection by its founder of the authority of scripture (sc. the Vedas).

Now the full title of the Society that convened and organized the Conference is 'The Churchmen's Union for the Advancement of Liberal Religious Thought'; as such one of its chief interests is biblical research, or criticism as it is called, with the help of what is best in the scientific method. Doubtless this most important phase of 'approach' was present in the minds of all, but it formed no immediate part of the proceedings; but perhaps this was specially reserved for a future Conference. For it is imperative, if religion is to be honest, that the people should be instructed in this basic matter, and given a reasonable view of the documents of the faith and the very human history of the evolution of its dogmas. The present ignorance is pitiable. In a leading article, headed

‘Ignorance of Religion,’ *The Times* recently (Sept. 18) dwelt on this grave scandal, basing its remarks on a message of the Bishop of Liverpool to his diocesan clergy, in which the prelate averred that “our national ignorance in religious matters is profound and appalling.” The people will no longer listen to Victorian sermonizing; and it is such clergy as those animated by the spirit of the Churchmen’s Union who are best qualified to carry out the reforms that are so imperatively needed. *The Times* did but summarize part of the programme that the Modern Churchmen are labouring so courageously in the face of very great difficulty and misrepresentation to carry out, when it said: “The laity desire to know how to read the Bible in the light of the assured results of modern study, to have explanations of the Church’s creeds in terms of modern thought, and to possess such knowledge of ecclesiastical order and worship as shall enable them to understand their origin, development, and present value.”

But it may be said: The Christ did not come to teach men modern science and the higher criticism. It is true that there is no hint in our gospel-records that the Prophet of Galilee had any interest even in the philosophy of his age. But the Divine Spirit that taught and wrought so plenteously and powerfully in Jesus the Nazarene in the little out-of-the-world Palestinian Jewry of 1900 years ago, had worked from the beginning otherwise elsewhere through many seers and sages and men of busy searching and seeking, in its administration of the world-wide economy of the education of the human race, so that it might be gradually equipped at all points for the fulfilment of its destiny. Christian tradition indeed preserves the promise from its begin-

nings that this Spirit should lead men into all truth. And what Christian of reasonable faith can doubt but that this includes the truths of natural knowledge and the accomplishments of all the arts and sciences and disciplines? Surely we cannot but believe that they are all part and parcel of the ordered gradual perfecting of human kind. To hold that the Creative Spirit is confined to spiritual matters divorced from all secular concerns is to assert an intolerable dualism, and to forget that this Spirit of Love and Wisdom, of Creative Power and Supreme Reason, is indeed the very Life of God that is the ground-being of every man and the source of the Light that illumines his self-consciousness and his conscience, and so perfects his science and religion.

G. R. S. MEAD.

(The papers of the Conference are printed *in extenso* in the triple number of *The Modern Churchman* for last September, published by Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 8s. 6d. net.)

A POET PHILOSOPHER—HERBERT TRENCH.¹

CLOUDESLEY BRERETON, M.A., L.-ès-Lettres.

POETRY according to Milton should possess three qualities or characteristics. It should in fact be simple, sensuous and passionate. Probably however there is more in these terms than meets the eye at first sight.

Take for instance the term 'simple.' Does simple mean straightforward and unartificial? If so, can Virgil be said to conform to this canon, and all that numerous band of poets with whom the *curiosa felicitas* is a feature, a foible or a fetish? Surely such a narrow interpretation would rule out many of the greatest artists in expression, not excluding Milton himself in certain passages and poems. Again does simple mean easy to grasp and comprehend? If so, a vast deal of Browning must go by the board, and the profound be bracketed with the obscure in a common condemnation. And there is clearly obscurity and obscurity. The new is very often obscure, yet the obscurity in this case lies in ourselves and comes from our own lack of vision. Invention being pre-eminently part of the poet's outfit, it is plain that Milton was in no way thinking of obscurity of this particular type. If we may venture on a guess, we would say that simple to Milton meant above all clearness of idea and expression. The idea

¹ *The Collected Works of Herbert Trench*, edited by Harold Williams, 8 vols. London (Cape), 1924; 25s. net.

may be an eternal verity or one of those fugitive and volatile impressions which seem to the ordinary mortal impossible to capture or record, yet if the poet's snapshot of such has been successful, the expression is clear and simple. Simple for Milton, meant in fact *lucid*, connoting no doubt all that is characteristic of the best classical and French traditions, being either the product of that supreme emotion which is always *clairvoyant*, or of that 'fundamental brainwork' which wrestles with the eternal spirit till it has wrested from it the truth it seeks. And this simplicity means not only clearness in the meaning of each detail, though some details will only be clear through reference to others, but simplicity in the poem as a whole, arising in fact from some underlying unity of aim and purpose that pervades the whole poem, making it a complete and self-consistent work of art; and not a mere collection and assortment of beautiful things loosely strung together.

'Sensuous' again is probably a term that needs analysis and definition. At first the idea of a many-sided appeal to the senses with its multiplicity and variety would appear to be incompatible with the idea of simplicity. There seems to be between the two as deep a difference as between the endless reflections of the dome of many coloured glass and the simple beam of white light it has split up and disintegrated. But this incompatibility is only apparent. The disintegration of the white light is not a reduction to chaos but rather a natural evolution and transformation, an unfolding of its beauties and potentialities, and so the very reverse of the process of annihilation. The sensuous in this signification is as it were but the natural body created by the poet to express his thoughts and emotions. It is really an appeal through the senses to the unseen

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A FEW PRESS NOTICES.

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The Quest.

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Edited by G. R. S. MEAD.

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and invisible, an attempt to bring the Eternal into the world of here and now, to render it so to say visible. For all creation proceeds on the lines of the Word or idea being made flesh or at least living matter. This use of the sensuous or concrete is a practice that has always specially commended itself to the mystics, the most professional and thorough-going of all poets—since they live perpetually in a world of their own creation, ever striving to body forth the deepest instincts of their being in the most palpable and realistic imagery.

‘Passionate’ again is a word that seems to require consideration. It appears to be a sort of complex or ‘*carréfour*’ of meanings, implying on the part of the poet a sense of sincerity and conviction which can only be described as burning, and as such capable of setting fire to or inflaming the emotions of others by a sort of natural contagion. But one must be careful to point out that this definition does not merely mean on the part of the poet and his audience a striving after what seems to be the True and the Good. The results of such a striving may reveal themselves as actually the reverse.¹ Such a definition must above all pre-suppose an appeal to the sense of beauty, the third supreme passion of the human soul, and in the case of most poets the predominant factor. Without the appeal to beauty a man may be a good philosopher but not a poet, though if in addition to a mastery over beauty he can appeal to the forces of truth and goodness, he possesses

¹ Most people will admit that the poet seeks truth, *i.e.* he is sincere, even if he does not ensue it. Sincerity is in fact a purely *personal* matter. Far more disputable will seem the statement that he also seeks goodness. Yet the two processes are absolutely parallel. The murderer for instance seeks what he believes is a good thing, as far as he is concerned, in the murder of his victim. From the purely *personal subjective* standpoint it really does seem to him a good thing or he would not risk his life. The man who is said to do evil for the sake of evil, does so from a similar conviction of personal good, and the devil-worshipper acts for precisely the same motive.

additional strings to his bow. Beauty of course in this sense may mean an appeal to the outward and visible or to the inward and unseen. There is a beauty in ideas as well as in waves, skies or flowers. The external setting of this inward beauty may at times be defective, yet, if sufficient to give the reader a true glimpse of what the author felt, the passage or line attains the 'flash-point' of poetry, more especially if it is the first to attempt the new revelation. There is no hard and fast line. It is all a question of degree. Shakespeare has shown how the prose of Holinshed can be transmuted with often but trifling changes into real poetry. Even in the commonest flint the divine spark is latent. In fact it is everywhere.

Of the making of categories there is to the subtle mind no end, but between the philosopher properly speaking and the poet pure and simple it seems to us possible to suggest two intermediate categories, that of the poetical philosopher and that of the poet who has a definite philosophy of life, or in other words a writer in whom philosophy is the dominant factor, and one in whom the poetic factor is predominant. These four categories of writers are of course by no means to be regarded as occupying water-tight compartments. Even such a dry writer as Kant in his passage on the beauty of the starry sky and of the moral world passes for a moment into the category of the poetical philosopher. But here we are dealing with those who write in the poetic form. Of such, a poet like Lucretius falls predominantly into the category of poetical philosophers, while much of Browning may be classed under the same rubric. In the third category would fall those poets like Shelley whose philosophy of life so largely colours their work; while in the fourth one might place most

of Keats and Swinburne, and the general run of poets who are more or less intuitive in their work.

Judged by these standards, the bulk of the poetry of Herbert Trench should fall into the category either of the poetical philosopher or of the poet who has a definite philosophy of life. It would indeed appear that he himself regards his work as predominantly written for those who are willing to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest it. Thus in the dedication prefixed to the first volume of the 1918 edition, he says :

Art in haste ? Self-sure ? Wholly rational ?
Pass by. This book has little in thy vein.
The brief verse fashion'd for a pedestal,
Not for thy foot-stool, may no less remain.
What though I fail, and the pedestal be bare,
Ye who have known the God will set him there.

But this does not apply to that first of his published works *Deidre Wedded*, which as a matter of fact is an excellent instance of the work of the poet pure and simple. Here the supreme, one might say the sole, aim of the poet is the pursuit and presentment of beauty. Sensuous and passionate it certainly is to a high degree ; but as regards simplicity in the ordinary sense we can only say that hardly any poem with which we are acquainted better illustrates the theme that the new is apt to present itself in the guise of the obscure. There is no doubt (*experto crede*) that to the ordinary reader the first reading may prove to be disconcerting. The language seems twisted, not to say tortured, in the most approved Meredithian fashion. Here and there however a powerful phrase catches the eye and fires the imagination, while irresistibly, if gradually, the *vivida vis* of the various rhythms in which the different cantos are composed,

communicates itself to the reader. One becomes accustomed, then reconciled to the poet's style. One even begins to admire it, and so, on arriving at the end of this miniature Epic, one turns back to re-read the poem. Little by little like a puzzling piece of Latin unseen the meanings of the lines emerge. The several cantos take form and shape, and the obscure is seen after all to be due to the originality of the poet, a discovery which closer acquaintance confirms. What seemed to be far-fetched conceits, now appear not as mere efforts at verbal gymnastics, but rather genuine attempts to record the results of acute personal vision. Poetical conceits are as a rule due to the desire that produces variations of 'God save the King,' torturing the trite and the commonplace into a semblance of paradox. But quite different in nature is an author's honest attempt to give you his own particular view of the common vision, realizing thereby one of the supreme aims of the poet—'*communia propria dicere*,' as Horace puts it, or in other words to express the Universal in his own language. One would not say there are no conceits in *Deidre Wedded*, nor that all the verbal experiments therein contained are equally successful. But it must be remembered that most poets, like most artists, begin by primarily experimenting in the capabilities of the medium in which they work, and love to explore its possibilities. The intoxication of fine words is almost a necessarily preliminary stage in the initiation of most poets. Only he who has been drunk can speak with authority on the strength of the wine. Or putting it in other words, the flowering must precede the fruiting season.

Even with great poets like Milton the sumptuous *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* precede the severe *Samson*

Agonistes. The youthful poet's quest is above all a pursuit of external beauty, of colour rather than line, and it is specially the bright colours that attract and detain his fancy at the outset. *Deidre Wedded* is a poem we have read many times and each time with a new delight. It is saturated with a strange beauty. Perhaps the following lines may help to illustrate alike the power and peculiarity of the style.

In the high pastures of that boundless place
 Their feet wist not if they should soar or run ;
 They turned, at earth astonished, face to face
 Deeming unearthly blessedness begun.
 And slow, 'mid nests of running larks, they pace
 Drinking from the recesses of the sun
 Tremble of those wings that beat light into music.
 There the world's ends lay open ; open wide
 The body's windows. What shall them divide
 Who have walk'd once that country side by side ?

Even as the great gull dives

From Muilréa's moon-glittering peak when the sky is bare,
 Scraped naked by nine-days' wind, and sweepingly drives
 Over night-blurred gulfs and the long glens of air.

His heart was a forge, his onset enkindled space,

He shook off the gusty leagues like locks from his brow.

But this Keats-like stage was not to be repeated. His next considerable poem, *Apollo and the Seaman*, definitely marks his entry into the category of philosopher-poets. While worthy, with its sea-music and its wealth of imagery, to be ranked with that magnificent piece of pure imagination, *The Ancient Mariner*, *Apollo and the Seaman* reveals a deeper aim. In it the quest of the imagination and the beautiful is united with that of the idea. The beauty sought is not merely

pictorial; it is designed to set off the beauty of the thought. Like the yet unabbreviated symbol in the Egyptian pictorial writing, the language has acquired a hidden and universal meaning. Apart from its magnificent treatment, which lack of space will not allow us to illustrate, the allegory is comparatively simple. Apollo the God of Life, whose 'trade is to bring light to all from the East into the West,' meets at an Inn the Seaman, who symbolizes man. From the latter he learns that the sailor's ship, the good ship Immortality, with her triple tier of Heaven, Earth and Hell, has gone down. Apollo himself explains that it was the mutiny of the lower deck or Hell that has destroyed the ship, typifying no doubt the modern revolt against the idea of Hell, which has thereby brought about, in some minds at least, a collapse of the existing conception, which in turn has involved the ruin of the idea of any personal immortality. Nay, Apollo claims to have destroyed with his own hands the ship of which he himself had been the builder. Furious at his loss the Seaman turns on the God of Life and taunts him with having created a mere lie. But Apollo, revealing himself, declares that this was but a phase; that the Seaman is but a fragment of his soul 'invented to utter mind,' one of those innumerable selves beneath which lies his own; that Immortality, like Truth, Justice and Liberty, which men look on as symbols, is really one of the driving powers that rule or have ruled the race, 'organs in fact of the invisible.' Though acquiescing in part, the Seaman is still unsatisfied and returns again to question. "But must we, ever living one," he asks, "go out when we are dead?" To which the God replies: Voyage after voyage must be thy destiny

—ever greater and wiser from every voyage shalt thou return. “Earth is thy ship and thou shalt have time to find the Earth thy friend,” and so shalt thou go from strength to strength. I, Apollo, shall stream into thy life, waking sense after sense, till joy in the Will that moves the world shall “make thee divine, perhaps at the last wholly deliver thee.” Yet still the sailor demurs, protesting “I am a man and not a race.” To which Apollo replies in words that have a Bergsonian ring in their limitations of future prevision, for even to Apollo “light is mystery and the greater light half given.” “Hast thou not a son?”—“Between all that live runs no gulf wide or deep but a sheen’d veil”—“thin as the veil of sleep.” Once the Seaman shall grasp this, then earth shall appear no “strait rock-hewn sepulchre,” but rather glowing through and through, “alive with a god’s breath.” Thus speaking the God departs, and in a peaceful epilogue, Greek in its tranquillizing effect after the storm and stress that preceded, the Seaman goes back to his home, passing on the way the ‘spired cathedral’ that “widely seemed to sway, like earth upon her pilgrimage buffeting on from age to age,” and on reaching home he finds the explanation of Apollo’s words in the sight of his little son embarking a faëry ship on the runnel that flows past his door, symbol no doubt of the ever-recurring quest of the race.

In conjunction with this poem may perhaps also be read *The Rock of Cloud*, which possesses the same unmistakable tang and savour of the sea, and is instinct with the feeling after the life that lies behind natural phenomena, the hankerings of the human soul to return to its elemental origins in Nature, while it seems to hint at the rehabilitation of that mythology

of Sirens, Naiads and Nereids, which some of us think may yet return one day.

As most of the poems are undated and are obviously not arranged in their order of conception, it is not always certain in all cases what has been the particular line of advance in the poet's thought; but it is more than probable that such an advance has been as irregular and circuitous as that of an incoming tide which, held up here and there by opposing shoals and sandbanks, turns their flanks by invading the network of creeks and depressions with which they are intersected, till the interposing obstacles are isolated and overwhelmed. Thus idea tends to flow into and unite with idea till a coherent and definite expanse of thought is evolved.

One of the most enlightening and definite landmarks in the evolution of the poet's thought is the poem entitled *Stanzas to Tolstoy*. Here the challenge to existing ideas and creeds, if somewhat defiant, is also clear.

The man upraised on the Judæan crag
Captains for us the war with death no more.
His kingdom hangs as hangs the tattered flag
Over the tomb of a great night of yore;
Not shall one law to unity restore
Races or souls—no staff of thine can urge
Nor knotted clubs compel them to converge,
Nor any backward summit lead them up:
The world-spring wherein hides
Formless the God who forms us, bursts its cup—
Is seen a Fountain—breaking like a flower
High into light—that at its height divides;
Changelessly scattering forth—in blaze and shower
In drops of a trembling diaphaneity—
Dreams the God-breathings momentarily up-buoy
To melt a myriad ways. These dreams we are,
Chanted from some unfathomable joy.

What! Wouldst to *one* conception mould mankind?
Hast thou not felt on thy lone mountain track
Seeing, from some ridge of forest-rushing wind
Where the oak-boughs overhead wrestle and crack,
Night-plains be-starred with cities mirror back
The naked deeps of stars—hast thou not felt
The whole high scheme wherein we move and melt
With the swift world—that its last secret is
Not Good nor Immortality,
But Beauty,—once to behold the immensities
Filled with one soul, then to make room and die?
Hence the true faith—to the uttermost to be
Thyself—to follow up that ecstasy
Compelling—to let being take its course,
Rise like a song and like a dream be free,
Poised on the breath of its own soul and source:
Enough—the Fountain will re-gather thee!

Here then we have a more or less frank abandonment of existing creeds and a return to the old-world idea, repopularized by Feuerbach, of the Fountain of Perpetual Youth. One conception cannot save mankind. Yet by what seems almost a contradiction, the poet proclaims that Beauty alone is the last word of the Universe. Hence for him the beautiful and heroic life is the natural sequence of such a creed.

The phrase in the above poem—‘to the uttermost to be thyself’—is interesting because, as far as one has noted, this is the only passage in which individuality is stressed. In a few other places, it is true, the individual receives a certain amount of recognition. Thus in the remarkable ode entitled *Fraternity*, in which all nations and peoples are described as coming together to form a single choir and congregation in the Temple of earth dedicated to the worship of the ‘One, the All,’ *each* is said to find fulfilled the innermost wishes of his heart. And again in the splendid ode on the battle

of the Marne the value of individual life, so strongly emphasized by French thought, is indicated by the lines :

His grave religions to the labourer call

“Thou art required, Infinitesimal ! ”

Again there is in *Milo* a passage which is possibly to the point, but unfortunately it is obscure and therefore susceptible of various interpretations. Therein the poet speaks of the centres of universal movement being ‘neither in men themselves,’ but in ‘little glowing cores’ that ‘alone change force to love.’ If this refers to what Claudel calls the *étincelle vitale*, or embryonic soul, then it may be used to support the claims of Individuality, but it may well have other meanings; and this latter interpretation is indeed rendered more probable by the fact that in the piece ‘I seek thee in the Heart alone’ the poet speaks distinctly of ‘the Illusion—Personality.’ In any case in the problem of the One and the Many, or rather, as we would put it, of the One, the Many and the ONE, it is clear that it is the two last in the series which really pre-occupy his attention. His Pantheism comes out even in his nature-poems in which, to quote his own words, “everywhere infinity is hinted.” And again in his colloquy with the Muse (a distant reminiscence, maybe, of the practice of Alfred de Musset) the latter says the whole aim is “to become attuned to the Universal chord, wherein all life makes answer to its Lord”; while further to indicate the interdependence and oneness of Humanity she finely says: “In thee Man’s choir assembles and finds tongue.” And then she goes on to explain, speaking of the sages who have gone before, that there is no external revelation, using terms that once more recall the doctrine of the *élan vital* and its limitations:

There is no light except the light they saw,
There is no song except that song of awe,
The slow-unscrolling palimpsest of Law.

But this Law as it unrolls does reveal definite realities which strangely resemble the archetypes of Plato:

Love, courage, truth, these *are*, and while they stand
Who can say gods inhabit not this land?

And she adds that the 'soul regnant' in the poet reigns everywhere, which is but a restatement of the mystic doctrine that he who thinks of a star, is also in the star, as the star is in him, which again is illustrated by the text that where one's treasure is, there is one's heart also. Thanks to this overlapping sympathy one can even hear with certitude 'transcendent harmony and transcendent Good.' The Gods themselves (? the Platonic ideas indicated above) are but instruments and pipes of this great organic music, and even "were they mute, such music is eternal."

The idea of the intermittent function of these archetypes is again taken up in the superb *Requiem of Archangels for the World*. "Sleep now, oh sleepless gods of men," sings the poet and he adds, as he describes the final phase of earth's evolution:

They strove, the Many and the One,
And all their strivings intervolved
Enlarged Thy Self-dominion;
Absolute, let them be absolved!
Fount of the time-embranching fire,
O wane-less One, that art the core
Of every heart's unknown desire,
Take back the hearts that beat no more!

Here we seem to reach what for some thinkers are the very confines of knowledge, the *Anagkē* behind the

Olympians, the *summum bonum* behind the Aristotelian categories, the Ineffable behind the Trinity, that "Formless Form the All-spirit the Unnameable, yet in our ignorance and knowledge united, with awe named God."¹

But the poet naturally does not always remain on these giddy heights. In the *Chant sung in Darkness*, a poem described in a footnote as early, though printed after those already analysed, the poet asks the old-world question: Why do sorrow and dole fall on the just as well as the unjust,—and the answer seems to be that man must work out his own salvation by his own lights. In one of the remarkable fables at the end of the second volume (1918 ed.) is an extraordinarily pregnant saying: "Fully to comprehend is to shelter others, but merely to be intelligent is to fear for thyself." Knowledge in fact is power; perfect knowledge casts out fear, perfect knowledge reveals again that all men are one. In another of the fables the Nebula asks the Whirlwind, Shell, Nation and Cell, how do they differ from her 'in whose bosom in the beginning they slept'; and the answer comes "Little, Little. In all of us the same endeavour, A mind's in the heart of us," and our own enemies are "our bad selves that knew us no more." This would seem to hint at some belief on the part of the poet in transmigration; and this is borne out by the following remarkable verses from *An Epitaph on an Infant*, when the child is made to say:

Many æons did I wait
For admission to the gate
Of the Living . . .

ending with

I stood once more
With the Dreams outside the door.

¹ B. Branford, *Janus and Vesta*, p. 174.

No poet, unless he lives in a '*tour d'ivoire*,' can be entirely indifferent to the questions of his day, especially in the midst of a great war. In the *Prelude to a Masque*, written before the present outbreak, the poet showed himself sensitive to the break-up of our present system of civilization that had already begun before the War. He asks: "Who can with fulness of tongue utter this widening world to-day with its old completeness?" "The whole wide world to-day is a Rehearsal" for something to follow; only a fragment can the poet present. In *Milo*, or *Lines to certain Aggressors*, the poet represents Milo as "one who thought that force was all and all force his," while his capture by the oak represents the stranglehold of outraged humanity. It is however in *The Battle of the Marne* that Herbert Trench gives us at full length his views on the War and especially on France. To the question what is France he replies:

'Tis she who since Rome's wane
Hath been Man's leader, these two thousand years.
She always first to bear the throe
Each must after undergo,
Who beneath the centralising touch of pain
Winces into control by brain—
Her very hurts become for her an eye—
Who first among the nations seems to attain
Most near to conscious personality;
Until her rudest sea-washt frontier part
Is yet repeated at her heart,
And something of her wingèd whole
Glassed upon every Pyrenean herdboy's soul.

And he goes on to add that she believes in the noble Roman theory of 'conquest by compassion fortified,' acquiring the wings of thought from Greece, and tempering the liberty she prizes with law inspired from

Roman and Christian sources, and while preserving the cult of the family has brought into one conscious community Gascon, Burgundian, Breton and Provençal. Thus "by gift of the life communal she reigned who never yet to Christendom played false," preaching liberty, equality and fraternity, while seeking still yet wider destinies. Leader to the world because a divine discontent with herself leads her ever onward. The invasion has restored to France her unity of soul. Her wisdom savours of continuity. Continuity is the life-breath of her 'noble reason.' It is the phalanx of her many thinking souls that upholds the world. Though the cannon roars,

Still in its dark abode,
In the branches of God,
The soul sings on alone.
You may blow the dead from their crypt—
Not the dream from its throne.

And so the poet sums up:

We are not last, we are not highest
Upon the topmost scale of being.

Above us are "forms of half-seen sacred Families bearing, and yet unborn," a future in which, as it were reincarnated, we live, move and have our being. Around us is a narrow circle of light, but from out the deep penumbra around, hidden oracles of beauty, speaks the Will that makes for higher things. "Tis the race that creates" the soul and the land that makes it break forth into song. And the language of that song is Beauty, a tongue in which "with utter selflessness of mood, into the daring instant of time and place the small immediate life is flung with that careless gesture of infinitude." *Ave, Kaiser, morituri te salutamus!*

And the end of the War,—what does it mean to the poet? Here the answer must be sought in that massive poem entitled *Night under Monte Rosa*, a poem which seems in its very language and structure to have caught in a miraculous way the very soul and ponderous rhythm of the mountain. Then the mood slowly changes, the “Dark Heavens that take no part in all our stir” pass away, and the Walpurgis twilight of broken mists gradually yields to the assaults of the sunrise. Briefly the lesson of the mountains is this. The torn and twisted strata upheaved in fiercest conflict from the core of Earth have ended by embracing, “each fierce antagonist takes in the other’s virtue”; thus “the granite forges the lime to marble,” and now the mountains themselves survive to slake the thirst through their glaciers of the “divided nations,” which shall yet come together in one heavenly city, “a new acropolis of morning rosed,” “an Absolute but of our strifes composed.”

But toward the building of this New Jerusalem Herbert Trench was destined to contribute but little more. A remarkable drama on Napoleon (which rather falls outside our scheme) and a few stray lyrics represent the sum total of his subsequent work, which came to an end a year and a half ago, when he suddenly fell ill in Boulogne and died there in a nursing home. In his will since published he made the significant remark: “I am pretty bad, but all right in the head.” That I think one may take as a motto for his own outlook on life,—his aims were right, whatever the results, since his master-passion was to see life and discover its beauties, beauties to which in our desire to disentangle his philosophy we have done but the scantiest justice, giving the barest summary of the

many glorious passages in which he clothed his thought.

Time after time, to use Shelley's phrase, we have had to put the violet into the crucible, and we can only hope that some faint perfume of its presence remains, even if its beauties have been hopelessly calcined in the process. For Beauty is indeed the dominant note of our author's poetry. The gift of opening sudden vistas on the sublime and beautiful so marked in *Deidre Wedded* never deserted the poet. He was apocalyptic even in the most philosophical passages. Even our sketch of his philosophy cannot be considered complete. You cannot dissect a poem like a scientific treatise. For the central thoughts in poetry are not rigid definitions, but nodal points or rather living ganglia at which a thousand subsidiary thoughts combine, centre and corruscate. But yet, just as a bad map is better than none, so we hope this imperfect sketch may help some to a better understanding of one of the major poets of our times who has at least a message to deliver, as well as a gift for the sublime and beautiful that should help to bring that message home to those who will give themselves up to studying him.

To sum up. It would appear that, starting with a purely æsthetic type of poetry like *Deidre Wedded*, in which the glorious capabilities of his medium and material seem to have been the chief attraction, he appeared, possibly under the influence of Meredith, to have passed through a sort of Vitalism of the Bergsonian type, without however losing any of his passionate devotion to Beauty. Thence he seemed to have been slowly feeling his way towards a higher spiritualism, which recalls at times the thought of some of the greatest of the world's thinkers. What appears most

to have up to this point interested him, was the vast and changing pageant of the universe and the future of humanity as a 'collectivity,' the 'multi-verse fountain of souls' as he calls it in one passage. In fact, as we have already hinted in the problem of the One, the Many and the ONE, he seemed to have concentrated rather on the two latter aspects. Had he been spared, we venture to think that, like another modern philosophical poet, Auguste Angellier, he would have devoted more attention to the first, and ended by realizing that Personality is not an illusion (assuming of course that identification does not mean loss of identity, even when applied to God and man), and so some of those deeper verities of the Christian religion, which are also common to all the great religions, might possibly have claimed his attention, not to mention those specially Christian virtues of love and pity, which are the hall-mark of the great Russian masters like Tolstoy and Dostoievski, and indeed of all the greatest writers in world-literature.

CLAUDESLEY BRERETON.

QUAKERISM FROM WITHIN.

EDWARD GRUBB, M.A.

I HAVE been invited to tell you something about “the ideals, principles, and above all the nature and method of the spiritual experience of the ‘Friends’.” I am glad that the request was worded as it was. Had a more ambitious title been suggested, such as ‘The Philosophy of Quakerism,’ I should certainly have had to decline, for I cannot go far in philosophy without getting quite out of my depth; and I have a strong sense that Quakerism is not a ‘philosophy’—that it has not even *got* a philosophy, unless subconsciously. Quakerism, like Judaism, is an ethic rather than a philosophy, a way of living rather than a way of thinking. George Fox, its founder, who began his public work about the middle of the seventeenth century, was an uneducated shepherd-lad who had read few books except the Bible, and was quite incapable of philosophic thought. He may, I think, without exaggeration be regarded as in the line of the earlier Hebrew prophets, coming forward like Amos (and probably Hosea) from the ranks of the peasantry, with what he felt to be a burning Divine message. And, as in their case, the message was one that ran counter to most of the dominant religion of his time. In both ages, apparently, religious ideas and practices were the chief interest that held the minds of men; but, in both, these ideas and practices were too much divorced from the daily life of righteousness and justice.

The sins of his people (*not his own sins*) lay as heavy on the heart of young Fox as on the heart of Hosea or Jeremiah. In the England of his day the vital religion, which Luther (with all his extravagances and inconsistencies) had undoubtedly re-discovered, had hardened into a Protestant Scholasticism; the water of life had well-nigh evaporated in clouds of theological disputation. The Bible had been erected into an infallible external authority, the only 'rule' of belief and practice; God the Father had become an oriental despot, whose will was mere caprice, and whose favour extended only to 'the elect'; the doctrines of Election and Reprobation were being so taught as to shake the very foundations of right living. To the ardent soul of Fox all this preaching seemed hollow and unsatisfying. "The hungry sheep," as Milton wrote, "looked up and were not fed."

After wandering for years, in agony of soul, about the midland counties in search of someone who could minister to his troubled mind, but in vain, Fox declares that at last he heard a voice which said: "There is one, even Jesus Christ, that can speak to thy condition"; "and when I heard it," he continues, "my heart did leap for joy." The light and comfort that he had sought in vain from man came to him, as he believed, direct from God Himself. (He uses the words 'God' and 'Christ' naïvely, and without any evidence that he consciously distinguished their meaning.) He goes on to describe some of the 'openings,' as he calls them, that accompanied this personal discovery of an inward Light—truths that opened on his inward vision, and which he regarded as direct revelations. He was no doubt psychically sensitive to ideas that were vibrating (so to say) in the spiritual atmosphere round about him,

especially among the 'Seekers,' who, not content with the prevailing forms of religion, were looking for a prophet "able in the spirit to give visible demonstration of being sent."¹ Many of his thoughts had been held by the Mystics of earlier days, but Fox seems to have known nothing of this; to him they came with assurance as words from God. And, as he had himself found the Light at last, he was able to convince many of the 'Seekers' that here was the prophet they had been looking for, and to turn many of them into 'Finders' like himself.

Attentive readers of the writings of Fox and his friends will find abundant evidence that what they believed themselves to have discovered, was not a new theology but a new *experience*—new to the religion of their day, but as old as, in essence much older than, Christianity itself—and that real religion was not a scheme of beliefs but a *way of life* founded on that experience. 'Theology' is a word hardly to be found in their writings, at any rate till we come to Penn and Barclay. They believed themselves to be just as truly inspired by God as they, in common with other professing Christians, supposed the Biblical writers to have been; and that what they were, all men might be. God was no far-off Ruler of the world, but a present Spirit, whose Light was always ready to shine in the souls of men, if only they would turn to it and obey it. The last condition is constantly insisted on. When brought before the magistrates at Derby, in 1649, on a charge of blasphemy, Fox says that his opponents "ran into many words; but I told them they were not to dispute of God and Christ, but to obey Him."²

¹ John Saltmarsh, an early 'Seeker.'

² *Journal*, i. 50.

It was this ethical sanity and sobriety that chiefly distinguished Fox and his followers from the 'Ranters' of their day, who also believed in immediate revelation, and with whom they were often confounded. It is at first sight amazing that a religious society could be built up, and could endure, upon the basis of the belief that each one of its members might be the recipient of infallible oracles from God. The presumption would be that any such vessel must inevitably go to pieces, dashed upon the rocks of competing infallibilities. The explanation is, I believe, to be found in Fox's character: the strength and sanity of his ethical convictions, and the skill he showed during his maturer years in framing an organization which should be proof, on the one hand against the malice of the persecutors, and on the other against the anarchic tendencies of a system that recognized no ultimate authority but the Light Within.

Quakerism may perhaps be best described as a great experiment in Practical Mysticism. It was, as William Penn wrote after Fox's death, a revival of Primitive Christianity—the attempt to recover, and to live by, the freshness and warmth and light of that personal intuition of God which Jesus had brought to his followers. What Prof. Harnack has said of Jesus may be truly said of Fox: "Individual religious life was what he wanted to kindle and what he did kindle; it is his peculiar greatness to have led men to God, so that they may thenceforth live their own life with Him."¹ The constant burden of Fox's preaching was, as he tells us in the Journal, that "God [or Christ] is come to teach his people *Himself*," and that they therefore have no need to look for help to organized institu-

¹ *What is Christianity?* pp. 11, 12.

tions or learned preachers. All that is needed for the highest life of man may be found in personal intercourse with the Spirit of God.

Now, what are we to make of the central affirmation of the Inward Light, and is it a satisfactory basis for the religious life of man? In the first place it is clear that it removed the final seat of Authority from without man's soul to within it, and therefore came into direct and inevitable conflict with the dominant 'Religions of Authority,' both Catholic and Protestant. The finally true and right was not that which was pronounced to be so by some infallible outward oracle, whether Church or Bible, but that which found a witness in man's inmost consciousness that it *was* true and right.

It is, I suppose, needless to spend time here in slaying the outward infallibilities that men have set up to guide and control their thoughts and conduct. For most of us, I imagine, they are already dead. We shall probably agree that the final seat of Authority is within man himself—either in his Reason or in some deeper faculty of spiritual Intuition. I venture to suggest that, if we interpret the word 'Reason' in a large enough sense, we need not demand any special faculty for the reception of religious truth. We must, I think, distinguish Reason in the widest meaning of the word, as the power by which we assent to truth of any kind, from the narrower meaning of the word in which it denotes the method of arriving at truth by argument or *reasoning*, which is not the way in which we arrive at our primary intuitions. 'Truth' in its turn may be broadly described as whatever rightly wins our assent—whether in the intellectual sphere, as truth of fact, in the æsthetic, as true beauty, or in the ethical,

as true goodness or moral worth. We distinguish *true* beauty and goodness from those qualities that may appeal to an imperfectly developed capacity of appreciation. In all cases of ultimate Values we depend on Intuition: we cannot *prove* by logical processes that a poem is beautiful or a personal character lovely, if we ourselves do not perceive it to be so; nor, I believe, can we prove the fundamental postulates which underlie the pursuit of knowledge, such as that of the unity of the world or 'the uniformity of nature.' In all cases there is *an objective standard* of truth and real worth, though we ourselves may be as yet incapable of appreciating it—as I myself am in the case at least of music.

This may serve to show that in appealing to a Light within the souls of men the Quakers were not asking for mere subjectivism, or for an intellectual and moral anarchism in which each person would think and do that which was right in his own eyes. They were faced with this danger, and it nearly wrecked their movement even in Fox's days, but they largely overcame it. Two words, I think, saved them—or rather the meaning they attached to two words—'Truth' and 'Christ.' They often said that the Light in their souls was the Light of '*Truth*,' and they knew that Truth is *one*, is much more than mere opinion, and is not a matter of private fancy. Further, they constantly and quite sincerely called the Light the Light of '*Christ*,' and it was this that preserved their fundamental orthodoxy, marking them off (for example) from the Socinians. What is much more important, it gave them an objective ethical standard: *true* goodness had been manifested in the world in the character of their Master. They accepted implicitly the Johannine

doctrine of the incarnate Logos, and consequently believed that this standard had been virtually operative in the souls of men even before Christ came in the flesh, and among those who had never heard of Jesus. The Quakers also understood, better than the Puritans of their day, the Pauline mysticism, which regarded the risen and exalted Christ as reproducing his own life in the lives of his followers. "Christ liveth in me" meant that for them, as for St. Paul, their religious and moral life was of a definite type—was of the kind that had been exhibited in the personal character and experience of Jesus. Thus they found a place for outward authority, but never gave it the *first* place: for the authority of the Church, in the sense of the witness of the Christian consciousness all down the ages; of the Bible, as the work of men really inspired by God; and of Jesus of Nazareth as One who lived ever in His Light.

Yet there was, it must be frankly admitted, a very serious weakness in the account they gave of the Light that shone in their souls. Hardly any of them until Barclay (his *Apology* is dated about 1675, made any attempt to set it forth in reasoned terms; and his attempt cannot be regarded as satisfactory. The 'Light' he represents as a purely Divine principle implanted in the soul of man, but no more a part of his real nature than a candle is part of the lantern that holds it (the simile is his own). The truth is that they were victims of the dualism almost universal in the seventeenth century (we may perhaps except the Cambridge Platonists) which sharply divided the Divine from the human, the supernatural from the natural. What they had recovered was a glimpse of the Divine immanence; but they had no words in which to express

it. For them the Light must be one thing or the other—either human and natural, or else Divine and supernatural. The first alternative would have meant to them that man could save himself without need of God or Christ; hence they were driven to the second. But this shut them up to the conclusion that each man who followed the Light became, so far, an infallible oracle of divine truth. They tried, in fact, to do with the Spirit what their co-religionists did with the Church and the Bible: to make it a final ‘rule’ of belief and practice.

The consequences were serious for the Society of Friends. Most of the internal troubles it has encountered have been due to this initial imperfection. The dangers of extravagance were soon brought home to the first generation of Quakers by the lapse from sobriety of James Nayler, as early as 1656, and much care was taken to guard against the recurrence of such follies. It is not that kind of thing that has been our chief difficulty. The worst source of trouble has been that the Inward Light, being interpreted as purely Divine and infallible, has meant the disparagement of human Reason. Speaking broadly, the ‘Friends’ have been afraid to use their minds freely in spiritual matters, lest the intrusion of human reasoning should obstruct the shining of the Divine Light. This is why we have been, as a people, so weak on the side of Thought. Along with this went a neglect of religious education, and the prevalence of a ministry which, believing itself to be inspired, was often in fact rambling, incoherent and unedifying. And the Quietism which settled down on the Society during the eighteenth century has been traced by Dr. Rufus Jones, especially in the introduction to Braithwaite’s book *The Second*

Period of Quakerism, to the same cause. Any movement in religious service which was not due to a conscious supernatural prompting was denounced as 'creaturely activity,' with the result that such service was very largely confined to persons of a special 'psychical' quality, who were subject to uprushes from the subconscious, while those whose minds were active were discouraged. The Society became content to be 'a peculiar people,' its sense of a mission to the world as a whole was largely lost, and it gave itself to the self-centred effort of maintaining its own 'testimonies' and guarding itself from defilement.

The period of Quietism was broken up by the great Evangelical movement which marked the closing years of the eighteenth century. This, as might be expected, was late in affecting a body so exclusive as the Society had become, but eventually the whole face of the Society was changed. The Bible was once more eagerly read and taught in the schools, and evangelistic zeal in foreign and home missions took the place of the old passivity. But this partial recovery of a sense of duty to humanity was only achieved at the cost of a loss of the central principle of the Inward Light, and the Quakers very nearly adopted a theology hardly distinguishable from that of other Evangelical sects.

This danger was happily averted, so far at least as this country is concerned, by the uprising, in the later years of the nineteenth century, of an intellectual movement which, while preserving the foundation of the Inward Light, has sought to restate it in such a way as not to bar out the right use of Reason, and to provide means of adequate religious instruction for all the members who are willing to receive it. The most

noteworthy fruit of this movement is to be seen in the seven fine volumes containing the history of the Society and of its antecedents, written chiefly by Dr. Rufus Jones and the late Wm. C. Braithwaite. This history was planned by John Wilhelm Rowntree, the chief pioneer of the new movement, but his untimely death in 1905, at the age of only 36, cut short his plans. It is a worthy memorial to his memory, and the volumes should be studied by all who wish to understand the Quaker movement.

You will probably wish to hear something about the way in which the central affirmation and experience of the Inward Light moulded the constitution and work of the Society of Friends. The constitution remains, in this country at least, very much where George Fox left it. It is a very simple organization, designed to give as free play as possible to the sense of spiritual guidance in the mind of each member, while controlling him (or her) in the interest of the whole body and its work for the world. It also aims at combining local autonomy with central unifying control. A number of congregations is grouped as a 'Monthly Meeting,' which has full powers of admitting and (if needful) of expelling members, and of caring for their physical and spiritual needs. A number of contiguous Monthly Meetings forms the 'Quarterly Meeting,' and the eighteen Quarterly Meetings in Great Britain form the 'Yearly Meeting,' which is the legislative body and the only one that can alter the constitution. All members, male and female, have the right to attend and speak at these meetings. They gather in an atmosphere of worship, and no vote is ever taken. The meeting is presided over by a 'Clerk,' who is at once chairman and secretary. He brings any subject that

needs decision before the meeting, and notes the drift of the discussion. When he thinks the time has come, he offers a minute recording the decision of the meeting, and this is rarely challenged, though frequently altered in the wording. In the rare cases in which opinions seem almost equally divided, it is not unusual to ask for a time of silent prayer for guidance, after which some way out of the difficulty is often found. If not, the matter is simply left to come up again, perhaps at a later time when further thought has been given to it. In this way, tedious as it may perhaps seem, party spirit is almost entirely avoided, harmony is experienced, minorities (as a rule) cheerfully acquiesce in a decision that is against their wishes, and the sense of corporate as well as individual 'guidance' is preserved.

The conduct of public worship is the feature in which Quaker life differs most from that of other Christian bodies. We have no separated class of ministers, no singing of hymns (on Sunday mornings at any rate) and no set order of worship. (This applies to the British islands and to the more conservative bodies in America.) The practice of gathering in silent worship and fellowship, waiting for the sense of an inward 'call,' before anyone offers words of prayer or of preaching, is (so far as I know) unique, and it is by most of us cherished as a priceless blessing. Every member, man or woman, is free to 'take vocal part' in such a meeting, if he or she believes there is an inward call to do so, and if the congregation thinks so too. Their judgment on the matter may be expressed through the 'Elders,' who are officers appointed by the Monthly Meeting specially for the help of the ministry. It is their business to encourage those who are helpful to the congregation, and if necessary to

control or repress any who are not. It might easily be supposed that the method would lead either to vacuous musing, to slumber, or (in cases) to floods of mere talk from people who like to hear their own voices or wish to air their views. As a matter of fact, though our 'meetings for worship' are not all maintained at a high level, many of them are—and in these most of us get more spiritual help for worthy living than from any other form of worship. All the meetings for worship are open to the public.

Along with the disuse of a separated ministry and an ordered 'service' goes the non-observance of outward sacraments. We should not deny the sacramental principle, that material acts may be symbols of spiritual realities; but we see no reason why Baptism and the Supper should be the only acts so ennobled. The usual answer, that they were explicitly ordered by Jesus, we simply do not accept. To us his whole religious position (with that of the prophets before him) makes it incredible that he can have instituted, or attached any importance to, formal ceremonies. What we should say, is that we desire to keep them in the spirit apart from the letter—"The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."

So far, the constitution and methods of the Quaker fellowship are based on that aspect of the Inward Light which is concerned with spiritual *guidance*, both individual and corporate. I mentioned before that the one and only condition George Fox laid down for the experience and shining of the Light was that of *obedience*. Hence a spirit of sincerity and reality, the earnest desire to avoid all shams and make-believes, to be entirely truthful and consistent, has always marked the Quaker character when at its best.

We now pass on to consider the work of the Quakers in its wider aspect—in reference not to themselves, but to humanity at large. It is well known that Friends have generally been philanthropic, and have been strong opponents of Slavery and War, but the source of these sympathies and activities is less obvious and has often been overlooked. ‘Philanthropy’ in the present day is not a popular word. But to do it justice we should take it in its true meaning of ‘a love of mankind,’ as including the sense of human brotherhood that seeks to abolish all barriers between man and man, whether those of class or nationality or race or creed. In this sense it obviously lies very near to the heart of genuine Christianity; and the Quaker interpretation of Christianity brought it to the surface. Philanthropy was the natural expression of the deep conviction that there was in all men without distinction, at least potentially, a Divine Light—a ‘Seed of God’ which ought to have free scope for growth and development. Unjust and oppressive conditions which choked and distorted the growth of the Divine Image in the human soul were abhorrent, and must be struggled with and removed. George Fox was in many ways the most ardent ‘social reformer’ of his day; among the many abuses that prevailed, few came home to him and his friends more acutely than the barbarous criminal code and the inhuman prison system of the day, and against these they continually protested. In later times Elizabeth Fry took up the cause of female prisoners; and such reforms as were introduced during the nineteenth century were largely due to her initiative.

The work of the Friends in regard to *Slavery* deserves special attention, as a particularly instructive

example of the slow growth of a Christian conscience in such matters. George Fox paid a visit to the West Indies about 1671, and was deeply impressed by the evils of negro slavery as he found it there. He exhorted his friends, if they held slaves, to treat them well, to train them in religion, and to set them free as soon as possible. He does not seem to have perceived that the system was wrong in itself; but a few years later his companion, William Edmundson, saw the matter more clearly, remonstrated against the practice as contrary to Christianity, and was promptly brought before the Governor of Barbadoes on a charge of inciting the negroes to rebel. Unhappily it was another hundred years before the consciences even of the Quaker planters in the West Indies and America were fully awakened to the injustice of Slavery. Thanks mainly to the labours of John Woolman, a Quaker tailor of the Colony of New Jersey, this awakening was at last effected, and in 1784, just after Independence had been won by the American colonists, the Society was free from the stain of slave-holding—the first of the Christian bodies there to achieve this aim. In this country our Friends were among the most ardent supporters of Clarkson and Wilberforce (both Evangelical Churchmen of the broader type) in their long agitation against the Slave Trade (abolished in 1807), and they took a leading part in the subsequent movement for the abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies, which was achieved, in name at least, in 1833.

The 'Testimony for Peace' is perhaps the most widely known of the Society's special convictions. Fox held, along with many of the Mystics who had preceded him, that War is an impossible occupation for the

Christian. In 1650, during his imprisonment at Derby, he was offered a captaincy in the Parliamentary Army, but he refused it. "I told them," he says, "that I knew from whence all wars arose, even from the lust, according to James's doctrine, and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars."¹ A little later, shortly before the battle of Worcester (1651), he was pressed for a soldier, and imprisoned again for refusing to serve.² A considerable number of soldiers of the Parliamentary Army joined the Quakers, but Fox was in no hurry to make them change their occupation. He preferred to leave them to find the Light for themselves. By the time of the Restoration most of them had either been expelled from the Army or had left it of their own accord. A fierce persecution broke out in 1660, because the Quakers were suspected of complicity with the 'Fifth Monarchy Men' who were scheming an armed revolt. To clear themselves they issued a formal Declaration to show that they had, and could have, no part or lot in political intrigues against the King. "We utterly deny all outward wars and strife, and fightings with outward weapons, for any end, or under any pretence whatsoever; this is our testimony to the whole world."³ From that time onwards this has been the official position of the Society in regard to War.

The history of our 'Peace Testimony' has recently been written with ability and thoroughness by Margaret E. Hirst, in her book *The Quakers in Peace and War*. She deals quite frankly with the many difficulties that have been found in maintaining the Testimony with faithfulness, especially in time of war—of reaching agreement as to what it precisely involves

¹ *Journal*, i. 68.

² *Ib.* p. 72.

³ Fox's *Journal*, i. 494-499.

in the way of refusing services auxiliary to war, like supplying food and clothing for the army, of accepting armed protection in the merchant service, and so on. Differences and inconsistencies there have been, of course, but the general principle has been maintained as vital to the whole Quaker position. It is seen, I believe with increasing clearness, that the Testimony follows inevitably from belief in the Inward Light: first, because since that Light is potentially in the souls of other men they are our brothers and we cannot kill them; second, because it is the Light of 'Christ,' and must lead us into his way of life, which was a way of love to the uttermost; and third, because the Spirit of Christ being the final authority for the Christian, we cannot promise obedience to the orders of any human superior, which military discipline requires.

Before touching on the sharp testing of our principles which came on us with the Great War and the Conscription Acts, there is another cognate matter that needs brief attention—the position Friends have taken in regard to *Politics and the State*. The general tendency of the Mystical sects has been to regard Government as a thing of 'this world,' with which the Christian has no concern beyond obedience to the laws of the State—or such laws as do not invade the region of conscience. The Quakers from the first held a different view. As early as 1656 a 'General Meeting' of Friends in the North of England, held at Balby, issued this advice to the members: "That if any be called to serve the Commonwealth in any public service which is for the public wealth and good, with cheerfulness it be undertaken and in faithfulness discharged unto God." In this country, especially after the Restoration, very little scope was allowed to Friends to

take part in public life ; the Test Acts, and their refusal to take an oath, effectually barred them out. But in some of the Colonies of the New World there was more freedom ; and here Friends took a large share in the actual work of Government. In Rhode Island, Carolina, New Jersey and Pennsylvania they were often in office, and frequently held the post of Governor. In this work they acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of the electorate, who returned them again and again to the Assemblies. Their chief difficulty was that of armed defence, for here two great principles, which they held equally dear, seemed to be in conflict. They believed that armed defence was wrong, and that if the Government pursued a policy of justice to all it was needless ; but they also believed in freedom of conscience, and were not willing to force their way of life on others who did not believe in it. Their usual solution of the difficulty was to remain in office as long as their people wished for their services, but to leave actual responsibility for warlike measures to be borne by colleagues who had no scruple against it.

Their most noteworthy success was in Pennsylvania, where for over 70 years (from the founding of the Colony in 1682 to the outbreak of war with France in 1756) they maintained friendly relations with various tribes of Indians, and were perfectly safe from attack though without armed defence—while some of the other Colonies were frequently raided, and massacres were common. Finally, on the outbreak of war with France they were compelled, by pressure at home and from the British Government, to retire from office ; and from that time it became a settled policy of the Quakers to take no part in political life. In Great Britain this aloofness from politics was gradually

broken down by the election in 1833 of Joseph Pease to the House of Commons, and by the part taken by John Bright and others in the great agitation against the Corn Laws. In the last House of Commons there were five Friends—two being Liberals and three members of the Labour Party.

When the Great War broke out, nearly ten years ago, Friends (like other people) were divided in opinion. Some thought with the vast majority of the population that the War had been forced by the German Government on an unwilling world, and that duty to the country and to humanity required that aggression should be resisted. As nearly as can be ascertained, about one-third of our young men of military age were at some time or other in the army, either voluntarily or under conscription, and about half refused service on conscientious grounds. The Friends' Ambulance Unit was organized for such as were willing to help, but not under military control. The Friends were very far from thinking that their whole duty was discharged by refusing military service; they understood that their Testimony for Peace required expression on the positive side. Hence, immediately on the outbreak of War, an 'Emergency Committee' was formed to protect the interests and relieve the sufferings of German and other aliens in this country; and later this example was followed by the institution of a similar organization in Germany (not under the auspices of Friends) for the help of British and other aliens in that country. Also a War Victims Relief Committee was set up for the help of non-combatant victims of the War, and much was done in Belgium and northern France, even during the War-years, by building temporary houses and re-starting agriculture. As soon as the War was over

these activities were extended to Germany and Austria, Poland and Russia, and other parts of Eastern Europe. In 1919, when a large part of the German people were faced with starvation through the blockade, the Washington Government entrusted the American Friends' Service Committee with the task of feeding German children, nearly a million of whom were during the next year saved from starvation. At the present time, when vast numbers in that country are still suffering terribly through the collapse of the currency, American Friends are again called to this work, and, with funds raised in America, about one million German children are this year receiving sustenance.

These simple works of love have had wide-reaching effects in the countries where they have been carried on; a message of peace, good-will and reconciliation has been given in a practical way; and there is abundant evidence of interest in the Quakers and desire to understand their thoughts and ways of life. This has led to the formation of the Friends' Council for International Service, which has for some years been helping to spread the spiritual message of the Society in various countries of Europe, by the translation and distribution of literature and by personal contact. Centres of Quaker life have been established at Paris and Geneva, at Vienna and Berlin, and other cities in Germany, and frequent conferences have been held. A considerable number of people have joined the Society in these countries, and meetings for worship are held. Such wide interest in spiritual Christianity, as held and taught by Friends, even in Catholic countries like Italy, has hardly been known before, at least since the time of early Quaker fervour in the seventeenth century. I mention these things, not in

any spirit of complacency, but simply to show that, insignificant as the Quakers are in numbers, and comparatively feeble in thought, there are evidences that we have still a work to do for this harassed and suffering world. And it is my conviction that any power we have to do such work, arises mainly from the quiet communion with the unseen which has been provided in our meetings for worship.

Throughout these remarks I have been obliged to take for granted certain underlying beliefs, such as the reality of God, and the historic quality of the Gospel-picture of Jesus. To attempt to discuss these questions would have carried me far beyond my subject. I can only say in conclusion that I believe an acquaintance with Quakerism yields some valid evidence of the reality of the spiritual world which Christianity assumes. Whether or not we take at its face-value the testimony to direct and personal revelation from God, which Friends have claimed as the 'Inward Light,' the fact that a society has been built up on this belief, and has done some useful work for the world, is not without significance. "It is one thing for an individual to claim immediate Divine inspiration; it is quite another for a religious community to survive in harmony and usefulness when each member may put forth a similar claim. . . . The chief or only test we can apply, to gauge the worth of a claim to inspiration, when made by an individual, is that of *fruitfulness*—the spiritual, moral and intellectual value to the world of that which he achieves. But in the case of a community, the fact that it holds together, not only producing strong and beautiful characters but achieving some measure of corporate usefulness, is a much stronger evidence of the reality of a guiding

and inspiring Spirit; for such fruitfulness can only mean that human wills have really been brought into harmony by submission to a Higher Will—through which submission, with no loss of individuality, they have found a deeper unity."¹

EDWARD GRUBB.

(Read before the Quest Society, February 7, 1924.)

¹ *The Unity of Faith*, chapter on the Society of Friends by Edward Grubb.

THE USE OF PARABLES IN HASIDIC LITERATURE.

PAUL P. LEVERTOFF, M.Litt.

THAT in the enormous mass of Rabbinic parables many treat of trivialities in a trivial fashion, is acknowledged even by I. Abrahams.¹ But it is different with the rough jewels found in the Jewish mystical literature. Most of the Hasidic parables, like those in the gospels, deal with sin and forgiveness, law and love, prayer and worship, fatherhood and sonship.

A few of those used in this study the writer has already treated in his books on Hasidism.² But he has since collected a vast number of parables from obscure Kabbalistic and Hasidic writings, some of which may in the future be published for the first time in THE QUEST.

The two forms of the knowledge of God which we may call the static (*i.e.* the rational) and the dynamic (*i.e.* the mystic, productive of the Messianic Age) are contrasted in Hasidic writings by means of illustrations. The picture is not the artist, nor is the voice of a singer the personality of the man. We may admire the artist because of the picture, the singer because of the voice; but we do not really know either man. The essence of a man's personality is given to the world in the form of holiness and love. In an

¹ *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, p. 91.

² *Die rel. D. der Chassidim*, Leipzig, 1918, and *Studies in Jewish and Christian Piety*, London, 1928.

infinitely higher degree all this is true of God. Creation is but his picture. It is in knowledge of him that true knowledge consists. We know God best when we know him in his holiness and wisdom and love, apart from his creation.¹

These mystic writers do not pretend that the outlook which they commend is easy of attainment. In this respect they stand on the same ground as Philo: "There is nothing better than to search after the true God even if the finding of him should escape human capacity, seeing that even eagerness of desire to understand him in itself produces unspeakable pleasure and delight."² Here is a Hasid illustration: There is a difference between him who is eager to see the king and him who is not. The first wanders through the king's palace and realizes its beauty and rejoices in it, even though his wish to see the king himself remains unsatisfied. The other is deprived even of the vision of the palace.

It is, however, characteristic of him who longs to see God the King and to be received by him, that he keeps himself undefiled and walks in his way.³

It should further be understood that the knowledge of God which the Hasid thus seeks to cultivate, is strictly speaking that knowledge of him which belongs to the Messianic world-to-be. Much of their thought revolves round the Messianic Age which the Hasids endeavour to anticipate as far as may be. In that Age the knowledge of God will no longer be intellectual apprehension, but actual realization in experience.⁴

¹ *Likkute Thora*, 59.

² *De Spec. Leg.* i. 36.

³ *Shomer emunim*, 15; cp. *I. John*, iii. 2-4.

⁴ Similarly in *II. Peter* 1-8 this immediate realization (*epignōsis*) is regarded both as the root and the end of spiritual progress.

The present is a time of pregnancy. The child (the People of God) is in the mother's womb; its breathing organs (organs for the reception of God's spirit) are still without function. This embryonic life is the period of Israel's exile. The Messianic Age will be a time of spiritual birth and growth.¹ The Messianic days are days in which all creation, even the animal world, will know God as in days before the Fall. The Messianic revelation will be more perfect than that on Sinai. Then it was but momentary—a glimpse; in the New Age it will be permanent and continuous. All we see now is the mirrored reflection;² then it will be the reality that we see. The least in that Age shall be greater than the greatest of these days.³

The knowledge which these writers seek to inculcate is therefore the knowledge of God's inner essence. It is not attained by processes of rational thinking, but by cultivation of immediate fellowship with God under discipline to his Spirit. Though we see but the mirrored reflection, we already appreciate the salient fact that God loves us; and it is upon this basis that knowledge of the inner being of God is built. The history of the Divine dealings with Israel signifies this one thing. God knows and loves his people. Great must be the love of the King who stoops to a poor man, freeing him from his misery and bringing him to the palace and there manifesting to him love and friendship. Thus God deals with Israel. Israel is God's poor man. Out of this little world he has chosen

¹ *Thora or on Ex.*, p. 139f.; cp. *Zohar*, iii. 20.

² The same metaphor is used as in *I. Cor.* xiii. 12. Philo also uses this figure, in the sense that in the mirror we see not the thing itself but only a reflection; cp. *De Abr.* 153.

³ *Shne ha-meoroth*, 11; *Thora or on Ex.*, p. 106; *Share ha-teshuba*, 8b.

the people of Israel and united himself with them.¹ It is Divine love which runs like a golden thread through history from the very creation of the world itself. God in his relations with man on earth has shown himself a king who desires to make his abode with us here below. The higher his being the lower is he able to condescend. God willed to be among the small and despised, not as a sultan ruling in his palace, hidden and ruling only by power, but as a good and wise king whose one desire is to draw his subjects to himself,—a king who also out of love for his own forsakes his palace and dwells among his people in order to unite himself with them, that they may see more of his glory and learn more of his character.²

Creation is indeed significant of God's perfection. In creation God has, by an act of self-limitation, created conscious beings in order that they may have the joy first of realizing their self-hood and then of realizing their creator, and of receiving him into their innermost life as their Father and King. The proof of God's love lies less in the fact that he raises creatures to himself than in that he stoops to have his tabernacle among men, and thus reveal himself to them. A beautiful simile illustrates this point. It is as though a man, accompanied by his young son, were climbing a mountain. As the father reaches the summit he turns to find that the son is far below. But they can still see one another. The son longs to reach the father; but the higher he rises the more strenuous becomes the task. What does the father do when he sees the intense desire on the part of the son to come to him? He can restrain himself no longer, but comes down to

¹ *Kether shem tob*, p. 8; *Tanya*, 117, 122 and often.

² Cp. *Midrash on Num.* x. 1; on *Cant.* xvi.

meet him. Even so God, in answer to the strivings of the mystic soul. In this connexion *Is. liii. 7* is interpreted as a figure of God's condescending love.¹

The two types of knowledge are further illustrated by a reference to the fact that the prophets always compare the ideal wonders of the Messianic Age with the wonders of Divine Providence in the deliverance of Israel from Egypt rather than with the wonders of Divine Power in creation. The great significance of the redemption from Egypt is not the revelation of God's power, but of his condescending love to Israel. Of this we have an illustration as follows: A king invited the representative men of his land to a royal banquet. The rarest dishes were provided and the guests might help themselves at will. One among the guests there was, however, for whom the king cherished feelings of especial love. For this guest the king selected a portion from one of the simplest dishes and placing it on a golden platter carried it himself to his friend. God's dealings with Israel have been ever so.²

The 'fathers,' Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, are called the chariots of God.³ Hence every Israelite is supposed to possess two souls:⁴ a 'divine' soul, which comes directly from God himself; and a 'natural' or 'animal' soul, which comes from the 'other side' of God.⁵ Israel is called the 'son of God'; for even as the toes of the child have their origin in the parents, so has the 'divine' soul, even of a sinner, its origin in

¹ Cp. *Lik. t.*, p. 76.

² *Shne ha-meoroth*, 89. A similar parable in *Mekilta on Ex. xiv. 7*.

³ *Gen. i. 82*; cp. Ignatius, *Ep. to Ephesians ix.*: "So ye are all God-bearers."

⁴ "And the souls which I have made" (*Is. lvi. 15*) is interpreted in this sense, as being applied to every individual.

⁵ *Ex. xxxiii. 23*: "And thou shalt see my back."

God; it emanates from God and unites itself with his 'natural' soul, in order to spiritualize it. It descends from the heights of Heaven, in order to ascend, after having changed the natural into the divine, the material into the spiritual.¹ The metaphor of the grain of wheat is often used to illustrate the energizing of this divine soul. As the grain must enter into the earth, in order to bring forth fruit, so must the divine soul enter into man's innermost nature and be quite absorbed by it, if it is to bring forth spiritual fruit.

A king lost a costly pearl. He sent out his three sons to find it. The first set out, glad to be free from the restraint of his father's presence. He cared neither for the pearl, nor for his father. He never returned, but spent his life in following his own pleasure. The second set forth, made a hasty search and quickly returned to his father's house, not because he so greatly loved his father, but because he was loath to be away so long from the comforts of his home. Now the third set out full of sorrow at leaving his home and his beloved father, but determined, notwithstanding all his own suffering and separation, to stay away and make diligent search until he should find the pearl, because he knew what great joy the finding of it would give to his father.

One man is altogether absorbed in the things of this world; another is eager to please God, not out of love to him, but because he is afraid to lose the future bliss in Paradise. But there are some men who love God for his own sake and search for the 'divine sparks'

¹ For the double entity of the soul cp. also Aphraates, *Hom.* vi. 18. The idea of man possessing several spirits is suggested in *The Test. of the XII. Patriarchs*,—cp. *T.R.* 8, *T.S.* 2ff., *T.Y.* 14, also *Ex. h.* 50, 2; *Sh. haked* 111, 2; *Tanya* 10-12. *Dt.* xxxii. 9, "For the Lord's portion is his people," is thus interpreted: "The divine soul of an Israelite is a part of God himself"; cp. *Reshith hokma*, § 'Fear,' 9 and 10.

which are scattered in this world in man and nature, and try to bring them back to their source.¹

Man has been created by God in order that he may finish what God has deliberately left unfinished. Not that God needs the help of his creatures; but it is his love which causes him to impart his own nature to the work of his hands, in order that man should have the privilege and joy of becoming his fellow-worker in this world, in natural as well as in spiritual life.

Moreover, in a certain sense God does need man, in order to exercise his kingship. A king needs a people that accepts his rule *voluntarily*. God, by virtue of his character, needs a being to whom he can reveal himself, whom he can love and through whom he can shed abroad his light and life.

The ultimate issues of this truth are of the most vital and cosmic significance, for God himself is affected by our life. When a mother suckles her child, the amount of her milk is increased in proportion to the vigour with which the child sucks. In like manner the reservoirs of God are increased the more we draw from them for holiness, grace and love.² On the other hand, "if Israel neglects the will of God, the higher powers wax feeble."³ There is a reciprocal giving and receiving.

We must try our best to become a vessel for God's love, guard our hearts wherein dwells the divine spark and preserve it undimmed and entire, and flee from 'Egypt' in order to experience God's revelation on 'Sinai.' We must first try to clear away the thorns and weeds—hatred, jealousy and lust—from the vineyard of the soul, so that the good in us may be separated

¹ *Kethoneth*, *passim* p. 8.

² *Shomer emunim*, p. 55; cp. *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer*, iii.; *Ex. r.*, xxiii. 1.

³ An old Jewish conception; cp. *Sifre on Dt.*, pp. 186b and 187a, P.K. (ed. Buber), 186b.

from the evil. Then only can he fill us with his love, and we can celebrate the final Sabbath of the soul. When God is sanctified by Israel, then he fulfils his promise: "I the Lord will sanctify you."¹

The following parable describes the Divine love which is revealed in the relation of soul to body. This relationship is called "the descent of the soul to inhabit a material tabernacle."²

A king had an only son, who was pure, wise and good, having never known evil. The father delighted in these qualities of his son and the son gloried in the wisdom of his father, and the harmony between them was perfect. One day the wise king called his son to him and commanded him to prepare himself for a long journey into a far country. The son was loath to leave his father, but never doubting the wisdom of the command, he obeyed. Often as he wandered far from his father's home, he was sad and lonely. Horrible sights and sounds made him shudder. Temptations assailed him on all sides. What a struggle was his to keep himself unspotted! In this way every day, unconsciously, he grew in strength of character. Meanwhile the father longed unceasingly for the return of his son. His heart ached for the wanderer and suffered silently with him in each suffering. But how he rejoiced, even more than the conqueror, over each victory over temptation! For that wise old king had sent him out for this. How his soul was filled with gladness, as he saw his son grow strong and self-reliant and fully developed, like gold tried by fire!

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¹ *Lik. Thora*, 65, 81, 95; *Zohar*, iii. 93a.

² The doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul, which is fully developed in the Kabbala, is also to be found in *II. En.* 234 and *Sap.* 820. It is suggested in *IV. E.* 4-12 and *B.A.*, p. 8, 1; cp. also Fr. Ch. Porter, 'The Pre-existence of the Soul in the Book of Wisdom' (*Old Test. and Semitic Studies*, i. 205-270).

A MANDÆAN BAPTISM.

Mrs. E. S. DROWER.

IN the last number, under the title 'A Peculiar People: The Mandæans,' I gave an account of how I made friends with the Bishop of the Amarah community of the Mesopotamian Subbis or Baptists who claim to derive their origin from John the Baptizer. I shall now describe a baptism which I was privileged to see from start to finish, and of which there has been hitherto no account by any eye-witness, prefacing it with a few words on the consecration of a bishop and the *massakhto*-ceremony.

The consecration of a bishop is less strenuous, though not less interesting, than that of the making of a priest. He is chosen on account of his suitability, and is obliged to prove to the community as well as the priesthood his ability to expound the scriptures and perform the duties of the office. Then he undergoes a curious ceremony called the *massakhto*, which is supposed to turn him entirely from the world and detach him from all earthly things. After this, he separates from his wife for two months. There are a few other ceremonies, which I need not describe, and then the candidate is baptized and proclaimed bishop.

This ceremony of the *massakhto* is very extraordinary. I will not go into the details, though they are most significant to the student of mysticism. In the case of the making of a 'perfect,' after it is performed he is separated entirely from the land of the

living. He continues to live the outward life of a layman as before. He carries on his trade, lives in the same house as his wife and children, and is outwardly the same as other men, but in reality he is surrounded by the closest of tabus. He may not eat any food that is not prepared by himself, and must lead an entirely separate life from the rest of the household. He may not weep if troubles come upon him, or be angry if he is wronged. He must give no order, and express no desire. He is supposed to have no desires. Though seeing his wife every day, she is to him an absolute stranger. The idea is, that he has become half-spiritualized, like the strange people of Mshuni-Koshto, that invisible other-world whose inhabitants are absolutely pure. Purity is at all times the ideal of the Subbi. To be pure is the object of his religion,—clean in heart, soul and body. It is not simply ritual cleanliness, but the cleansing of the heart, the death of bodily desire, the impulse towards spirituality.

All priests marry, and must marry. The only celibate is the *massakhto*, and even he is nominally married. My friend the bishop has married several times. Women go unveiled. Divorce is known though not common. Marriage is honoured amongst the Subbis, and they represent John as being ordered to marry by the heavenly powers. Christ was reprimanded, they say, by John, because he was advocating celibacy, which was an unnatural and undesirable state for humanity.

I must return to the bishop. He tried to explain the baptism-service to me; but finally said that, as seeing was better than telling, I had better come to a baptism. A woman was to be baptized on the Sunday for purification after childbirth, and if I would be at

his house at twelve o'clock, I should see everything from start to finish, including the sacrament, which was part of the baptism-service. Accordingly, I went to the bishop's house on Sunday, the day which with the Subbis is dedicated to Shamash, the ancient Babylonian sun-god.

Shortly after my arrival, before twelve, the bishop went to put on his *rasta*-dress, which I described in the last paper, after placing ready the wood for burning and various other objects which he would require during the ceremony. I noticed that over his white *rasta*, when he had put it on, he wore the usual light summer *aba* or cloak of the Mesopotamians, of brown camel-hair cloth; but later on this was removed. He allowed me to photograph him when he was ready to begin the service. He and his sister showed me the flour which would be later used for the sacramental wafers, also the myrtle-twigs, the little earthen brazier with saucer and stand, and the small pot of incense, made of terracotta, which was placed in the lip of the saucer. The bishop kindled the fire of wood and charcoal, and then the service began. He first went out of the house to perform his ablutions in running water near by, and on his return, clothed in the *rasta*, he took his stand on a square of matting with his back to the sun, facing the North Star, behind which Muzania Awather, judge of men, is supposed to have his dwelling.

I don't think that I ever heard a human being gabble as fast as the bishop did during the service. He spoke so fast and so continuously, that he had to draw in his breath in a kind of gasp. At times he would turn his eyes on me, as if bidding me notice this, that or the other thing he was doing. And, indeed,

the ritual was so complicated, that it needed one's entire attention, and even the act of making notes would make one miss occasionally a movement or gesture. Each piece of the *rasta* was first blessed, bit by bit; and, as far as I could judge, the four pieces of incense-apparatus were also blessed. Genuflections, postures, incense-burning,—all had their proper places in the ritual. The first part of the service being ended, he disappeared again, bearing a little meal in a small brass bowl; for the next step in the service was the sacrament, which he was to administer to himself. The sacramental wafer is made and baked for each celebration by the celebrant himself, and is called the *peytho*. It is about the size of a small round biscuit. He brought back the uncooked *peytho*, took it in his right hand, and began to pray again, continuing his voluble prayers while he cooked the wafer on the brazier. During his absence his sister had dressed the bishop's little boy, a child of about ten, in a *rasta* which was the complete facsimile of his father's, for the child was already a deacon, and was to help in the service. She made it a little difficult for me to follow what was going on, because she kept on conversing—telling me scraps of their family history and so on.

When the *peytho* was baked, the bishop ate it, and drank water from the brass bowl, never once stopping his prayers. This, apparently, finished the sacramental part of the preparation-service.

He disappeared again to the river, returning with more water in the bowl. Resuming his prayers, he then threw water over the end of his staff, repeating a formula sixty-one times, holding the end of the stole in his hand and marking off the number with his fingers. The words sounded like *Kantara Kadmon*.

Further ceremonies followed ; and then the boy-deacon picked up the sprigs of myrtle, and the bishop, taking the incense, brazier and other paraphernalia, walked out of the courtyard, followed by myself. We went along the street, under the curious and unsympathetic gaze of Moslem passers-by. It was only a short distance to the river-bank, upon which stood the house in which the woman to be baptized was awaiting us. It was quite a clean house, of the usual type, and in the pleasant courtyard plants and trees were growing. Some priests and laymen and women were there awaiting us.

I need not go into the full ritual—I have given it in an appendix at the end of my book—but briefly it was as follows. The myrtle-twigs, so carefully brought by the boy-deacon, after being purified in the river, were twisted into rings, and the bishop prepared another sacramental wafer, or *peytho*, performing fresh purifications and consecrations. He then tucked up his clothes so that no portion should touch the ground, and brought the hanging end of his turban across his mouth, like a surgeon's mask in an operating theatre, and walked down to the river, wading out into the cold, muddy water up to his thighs. Here there were more ceremonies, in which the rings made from the myrtle and the staff were brought into play. Then the woman who was to be baptized, who also wore a *rasta* covered by an ordinary black *aba*—probably because it reduced the conspicuousness of the garment,—waded out to him, and was completely submerged three times, and given water to drink by the bishop. Dripping wet, she then regained the bank. Then several small children, bearing cooking-pots and utensils used by the woman during the period of her confine-

ment, waded out with them to the bishop, who dipped them in the river and then returned them. This was done, they explained, because everything used by the woman during the month after her confinement is considered unclean.

The baptized woman, dripping wet, now partook of the sacrament. First, she was made to crouch before the bishop with her back turned to him. He then made a paste of sesame flour and water, and smeared it on her forehead. After that, she was sent down to the river bank, where, without entering the water again, she plunged her bare right arm and hand into the water, holding it carefully on her return so that it might touch nothing.

The woman partook of the sacrament with a great deal of ritual, and then the bishop. Lastly came a kind of repetition of the first part of the service—the preparation at the bishop's own house I mean, during which the *rasta* was blessed piece by piece. The same prayer was said sixty-one times, and the *tagha* and myrtle-ring were brought in contact with his mouth, eyes and brow sixty-one times. A final prayer or so, and the service was ended, having lasted exactly two hours. The bishop had kept up a continuous gabble almost the whole time. I asked him if his voice wasn't tired, but he said no. He sounded a little hoarse towards the end, however.

This baptism after childbirth is a severe trial to delicate women in winter and spring, when the water, fed by melting snow, is icy cold, and some poor creatures die, I am told. However, centuries of constant cold-water bathing must have inured the race to it, and if the weaklings die, the survivors are strong men and women.

I have mentioned that all prayers, services, sacred books and so on are in the Mandæic language. Subbi children learn this, in much the same way that a Jewish child, who talks Yiddish, English or German, learns Hebrew. If one Subbi meets another, he greets him in Mandæan. He says: "*Asudh havil khun*," or "*Asudh havil akh*." Subbis are not, like the Yezidis, averse from having their children educated. Subbi children, I am told, are singularly intelligent, and do well at the Government schools.

I have used the term baptism in speaking of the Subbi ceremony, but it is more properly speaking purification, since it is not solely employed to admit a person into the privileges of the faith, as baptism with us. It is employed constantly, after any contaminating circumstance, after indulgence in any extreme emotion, as an ordinary part of Sunday devotions, after taking a journey, after contact with the dead, and so on; in fact, a good Subbi is always in the water for one reason or another. Cleanliness, with them, is next to godliness. In fact, in their eyes, unless one is clean, one cannot be godly. Purity is the ideal, and on purity their whole ethical and social system is based.

The Mandæans are said to be great astrologers and to have inherited the wisdom of the Chaldæans in interpreting the movements of the heavenly bodies. I have no first-hand knowledge of this, but I questioned some Subbis in Baghdad about the planets. These planets are said to be the children of Ruhaya, like the giant Ur. Their names are certainly a link with the old faith of Mesopotamia, when the temple ziggurat raised its head above the monotonous plain.

I was talking recently to an Arab poet and scholar,

at present in England, who has interested himself in the Subbis, and he tells me that their bishop at Nasiriyah informed him that these great planetary spirits incarnate from age to age in human form, for the sake of inaugurating a new period of progress. Horoscopes are always drawn up for a child when he is born, and it is usual to consult one who can tell the stars, to know which day will be auspicious for any undertaking. Those who do not know very much about the Subbis imagine that they pray to the Polar Star. This is not so. They turn towards the Polar Star when praying, and bury their dead facing it, but in so doing they are addressing the *melka* who lives behind the Polar Star, Awather Muzania, judge of souls.

Lastly, there is the question as to the future of the Subbi religion. I fear that it has none. It does not make converts, and has never attempted to proselytize. The Yezidis, or devil-worshippers, as they are called, sometimes win a recruit to their faith, the Subbis never. So that when this fast dwindling remnant of a race disappears, its religion will survive only for scholars and those interested in the history and development of the faiths of the world. Why is this?

Partly, I think, because of geographical reasons. It is, and must be, essentially a riverine faith. Water, running water, is a necessity for its ritual. No Mandæan could practise the rites of his faith in the Sahara or the great wastes of Central Arabia, where water is such a rare and precious thing, and then mostly found in wells. A religion which can be practised only on a river-bank, can never be a widely-spread religion.

There is another reason. The highly mystical and

fanciful nature of the tenets of the Mandæans does not appeal to the logical and essentially literal mind of the Arab. The Arab likes an appeal to the reason. The appeal of the Mandæan faith is not to the reason. The Persian, his other neighbour, on the contrary, has a great leaning towards mysticism. But he has his own mystics, grafted on to the strong and virile faith of Islam, the faith above all others a missionising faith. Not that the Subbi has the least wish to increase the number of believers. He is content to think himself the repository of divine wisdom, to hold this wisdom secret and intact, to guard his heritage with jealous care, and to ward the stranger off, rather than invite him in as a convert.

In any case, the sad fact remains, it is a dying nation, and with it will die its curious and interesting faith. But while the British are in Mesopotamia, these faithful followers of John the Baptist are at any rate secure from molestation or persecution, and their communicative and friendly attitude towards us Britishers is their way of thanking us.

E. S. DROWER.

ART AND THE GROUP-MIND.

W. GAUNT, B.A.

MANY hard things have been said about the group-mind, and especially hard things have been said about its relation to Art. People have come to look upon Art in all its finer manifestations of form and colour, sound and words, as necessarily the privilege of a minority, and both the practice and appreciation of it as limited to a few specially gifted individuals in each age. The idea gained currency about the end of the last century that there was not, and never had been, such a thing as an artistic nation. Artists and critics especially were influenced by it, sometimes because they were vain and sometimes because they were neglected. Such men as Wilde and Whistler spread abroad the doctrine of a scornful and aloof existence, which had nothing to do with the great mass of humanity. The legend was created of a public which disliked Art when confronted with it, but was mostly indifferent. That, apart from outraged vanity or any purely personal motive, there was some truth in this is undeniable.

Thus the group-mind works in a groove. It becomes accustomed to one particular sort of thing, and is too cumbrous to follow easily any radical change. And Art is by its nature radical change—constantly shifting its ground and giving a new impression of the universe. In a community of tenacious principles we find hostility towards it, because it is volatile. If a man paints policemen, policemen are expected from him. He must not suddenly begin to paint penguins.

If he paints hay-wains, everyone is satisfied; but he causes general irritation if he hitches his waggon to a star. We may laugh now-a-days at the Victorian Pre-Raphaelites, but we do not hate them. Yet their own age hated them intensely. Dickens, for example, in this case typical of the ignorant and blindly-hostile group-mind, made a most atrocious attack on a picture by Millais, because it showed an unusual minuteness of detail. Later on Ruskin, also in this case typical of the group-mind, made a most atrocious attack on Whistler because he had painted with an unusual absence of detail. In both cases originality was the offence. Then again we have often to lament a massive and stupid group-indifference to living men of genius. It is sad to think of Méryon, whose supreme etchings did not provide him enough to exist upon, and whose desperate struggles were noticed only by a very few discerning and independent individuals in the art-centre of the world.

Moreover the impulses of the group-mind are shallower than those of the individual, and when it does choose to honour works of art it often selects those that are flashy and inferior. Even the high group-standard of the Greeks was not proof against this tendency. Euripides was somewhat unpopular because his tragedies were strangely profound. The Athenian liked 'some new thing' but not too original a thing. Sophocles, more superficially imposing but infinitely less great than Euripides, was, on the other hand, the champion prize-winner of the publicly endowed drama. Benvenuto Cellini was universally admired by his contemporaries (making all due allowance for his own overstatements), but that was principally for a trumpery ingenuity for which posterity does not care twopence.

Hostility, neglect, praise of the inferior, can all be laid to the charge of the 'greatest number.' Yet at the same time, though this be true, Art springs from the consciousness of the whole community. The broader the basis of Art the more likelihood there is of its blossoming into greatness. The artistic plebiscite of Ancient Greece was not by any means impeccable, but the fact of there being such an institution showed an intensity of public interest, even if that interest in individual cases went astray. Literature and sculpture developed into an unparalleled splendour because an exquisite mob demanded literature and sculpture. The highest masterpieces may well have failed to gain popular applause, but they probably would not have existed at all if Art in general had not been a communal necessity. It is of course dangerously easy to idealize the artistic Greeks. If we went by their philosophic utterances, we might indeed consider them ascetic or even *bourgeois*. Thus Plato came to deny Art in itself altogether, while Aristotle has donnish utterances on the loss of caste involved in the practice of Art. Nevertheless, dealing with the actual product rather than with this casual æsthetic theorizing, and considering the small size of the cities whose every expression was beautiful, it is impossible to deny that the Greeks, as nearly as human beings can, possessed the artistic group-mind.

A widespread refinement of taste and enthusiasm is also to be seen in the Italian Cities of the Renaissance. The average *cinquecento* Florentine seems to have made Art a vital part of his life. It was no mere unusual luxury, which in the pressure of other business might very easily be forgotten altogether, but something like food and drink which

one rolled on the palate and talked over with neighbours, much as people now discuss the cinema. It was not only the projection of a man's egotism, but a kind of universal passport—a common concern. The typical unit of popular activity was the goldsmith's shop—the '*bottega*.' The group-mind was indulgent towards the artist. Men assumed that artists would be artists, and were thankful for them even if they comported themselves like the most outrageous of bravos. Our Benvenuto was of a character to shock the most easy-going, but he had only to turn out some especially attractive metal work and all was forgiven. In modern times he would have speedily made the acquaintance of a gaol bleaker and far less picturesquely escapeable than San Angelo, and the respectable citizen would have read of the case in the newspapers, and been happy to find in it confirmation of his belief that artists were beyond the pale of decent society.

Two great periods and peoples then give us examples of the democracy artistic or of Art democratic, and show that even though its highest expression be above the head of the 'masses,' it is not necessarily severed altogether from their life. It has often been in fact the democratic solvent in the society based on inequality. We need only instance the remarkable unanimity which a Gothic cathedral represents, or the Sixtine reconstruction of Rome, which was the common enthusiasm of the cardinal and the craftsman. The art of the '*Grand Siècle*' in France was supported by the aristocracy and practised by the *bourgeoisie* for the benefit of the whole nation. For a time every Frenchman felt a personal pride in Versailles and the splendour of the court. A policy of '*panem et artem*'

has often been eminently satisfactory, and the absence of the former has been the cause of trouble, not the presence of the latter.

These examples of the artistic group are, it may be observed, Latin or Southern, just as our examples of the neglect of Art are most strikingly drawn from England and the nineteenth century. Thus it might be argued that England and America, the two countries where the supremacy of the group-mind is a sacred principle, show the greatest disregard for Art. This must be due, it is said, to the Anglo-Saxon character, to democracy, or to both in conjunction. Or it may be the group-effect of industrialism. All these causes have been put forward to explain the Philistinism of England. Now-a-days, however, it is coming to be an explanation of something which no longer very definitely exists; and proves itself wrong with every repetition. Victorian England as a whole was inartistic; but Victorian England was also an oligarchy. The public mind is vastly more influential at the present day than it was then, and the people are also vastly more concerned with Art. The average illustrated periodical is incomparably superior to that of the last century. Modern dress is superior to Victorian dress. The modern small house is no longer the thing drear and ghastly that the Victorian small house was. All these touch intimately the everyday life of the people. We are increasingly democratic then, and yet more artistic. Still industrial and yet more artistic. Still Anglo-Saxon and yet more artistic. The change has really come about because for a long time past we have been conscious of artistic deficiencies and of seeking for improvement. Ruskin spoke to a nation in which the art-sense was virtually extinct. In spite of

his great sensibility and the acuteness of some of his individual judgments his own art-sense was very uncertain. It was a case of the short-sighted leading the blind. But his great work consisted in the fact that he made Art (whatever it was) seem important. He aroused æsthetic discontent and striving in a nation that had become dulled and blunted, and lit a fire of active criticism which has raged continually since his day. Such a fire burns the bad taste out of the practical democracy. Ruskin spoke not for the few, but for the many. His influence was to be seen in Italian Gothic applied to factories and public-houses. They were symbols, hideous but hopeful. They stood for a change of spirit in the country as a whole, which now begins to manifest itself in a Style—a style of building, a style of painting, and also in a democratic appreciation of their æsthetic value. We do not say the process of development is perfected, or that modern taste is beyond all reproach, but that, broadly speaking, we now think more of Art as a nation and produce better Art, and that between these two facts there is a vital relation.

In this respect Art is like Religion. No one was ever convinced of the truth of a religion by logical proof and carefully reasoned processes of argument. People do not arrive rationally at their belief. In that case what can the missionary do? He can only adumbrate the sublimity of his creed, and wait for inspiration to come upon those he is attempting to convert. In the same way the Artistic missionary must bring Art vividly before a people, and by forcing it upon their attention gradually make it a part of their being. We imagine a wave of artistic fervour sweeps over a country much as a wave of religious fervour,—with

a mysterious force generated by preparation, but going beyond it. It has been said that there is no such thing as a definite training in the perception of beauty, and that it is apt to result in a kind of cowardly hypocrisy, profession without conviction. But there is such a thing as a process which makes beauty the rule rather than the exception, to be accepted as simple and inevitable. If the æsthetic atmosphere be created, a people accepts beauty and produces it naturally and not as a hectic fad or fashion.

Indeed the group-mind being more primitive, we should expect to find in it a response to Art greater than that of any particular class. Art is an elemental thing,—nine-tenths of it, according to Anatole France, sensuality. When it fails, it is sometimes due to the dead weight of a particular inartistic section of the community. There is an intermediate class which lives by trade and for comfort, for which Art loses its meaning and becomes a remote and far-off thing. Yet it is with this class, this solid and in many respects admirable portion of society, that we are apt to identify democracy. It is not, however, the whole of democracy. It is only one phase of it at a particular stage of evolution. There eventually comes a point in sophistication when there is a return to the elemental. We achieve simplicity either directly or by long and arduous effort. The Peruvian potter painted his bowls in a design of simple beauty—probably because he knew no better. In modern times we have to learn not to know better. Modern Primitivism is a movement of emancipated democracy, returning to the principles which came naturally to less complicated periods of human history.

The dead weight of the 'comfortable class' was

to be perceived throughout Europe in the nineteenth century, and with it a corresponding slackening of artistic vitality. In seventeenth century Holland, it is true, we have an instance of a democracy art-loving and art-practising, and also as middle-class as middle-class well could be. But the prejudicial influence of the 'comfortable' class is subject to modifications. It works fully in isolation, and is most seen consequently in peaceful and undisturbed conditions, such as prevailed in Victorian England and prevail in modern America. In Holland we find a complex of other influences tending to overshadow it—a protracted, exhausting and at the same time glorious struggle in the cause of liberty foremost among them. That struggle produced a national sensitiveness amongst the Dutch which expressed itself in painting, just as the national sensitiveness of the Elizabethans expressed itself in literature.

Now-a-days in England we are not under the domination of 1832-67. We have been shaken and tempered by trial. And the group-consciousness finds an increasing solace in Art. If we ignore a great artist, it will no longer be because we hold Art itself in light account. Rembrandt might die poor, but he arose out of the Dutch love of painting. Shakespeare might be misunderstood in his own age as 'a motley to the view,' but he arose out of the Elizabethan love of the stage. The group-mind is the first cause, just as it is, in the form of posterity, the final arbiter; and the continually increasing esteem of the English people for Art at the present day is one of the most hopeful signs of our democratic career. It is out of such esteem that great work arises, not as an accident but as fruitage.

W. GAUNT.

THE SWASTIKA: A STUDY.

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DURING the War and since there has been a remarkable recrudescence of superstition, if I may say so : witness the intense interest in 'spiritualism' and the feverish devotion to mascots, charms, amulets, talismans of every description. Even among the sceptical there is a sort of feeling that "if they do no good they do no harm," and "it is better to be on the safe side."

It is then not out of keeping with the *Zeitgeist* if I invite attention to the oldest and most wide-spread symbol of all,—one indeed conspicuous during and since the War.¹

For long I have felt the fascination of the search for origins and the meaning and derivation of symbols and symbolic ornament. And so the swastika-symbol has naturally claimed my attention; and it is because I think I have something new to say about it that I now venture on the following pages.

There is a mass of literature on the swastika, and if I dare to add anything to what has been already said, it is because I am not in entire agreement with any of the theories that have been hitherto advanced

¹ It will be remembered that the swastika was the emblem of the War-Savings Association. In 1923 it was adopted by Herr Hitzler as the badge of the Bavarian (Monarchist) army.

in explanation of its origin, meaning and almost universal prevalence.

First as to the names by which the symbol is known, the following are the most important :

(a) Swastika; (b) Gammadion; (c) Fylfot; (d) Hakenkreuz (German). Of these (b) and (d) are descriptive solely; Gammadion, because it resembles four Greek *gammas* joined at the base; Hakenkreuz meaning simply Hooked Cross; (c) also is little more than descriptive, signifying Many-footed, without specifying the number of feet. The remaining term (a) alone is in any way explanatory, and is the name by which it is known in India and now generally. It is derived from the Sanskrit *su* (=good) + *asti* (=it is) with the adjectival affix *ka* added. Thus it means: "it is (a) good (thing)"—i.e. "Good luck," or "May good luck attend you!"

We ask then: Why should this meaning be attached to this particular symbol? And the answer to our question will provide the solution of our problem.

The literature dealing with our subject is, as already stated, very extensive both as to the countries and localities in which the symbol has been found to be distributed, and the various theories as to its origin. I do not, however, intend to refer to this in detail as it has already been fully done by Count Goblet d'Alviella in his *Migration of Symbols*, and by Mr. Thomas Wilson, Curator of the Department of Pre-historic Anthropology, U.S.N.M., in his book *The Swastika*, in which a full bibliography up to 1895 may be found. Since then M. Houssaye's *Les Théories de la Genèse à Mycène et le Sens zoologique de certaines Symboles du Culte d'Aphrodité* and Professor Elliot

Smith's *Evolution of the Dragon* have appeared, to which further reference will be made.

Count d'Alviella would make Troas the place of origin, in or about the 13th century B.C. Thence he supposes it to have travelled East to India, and thence again to China and Japan in the track of the Buddhists, among whom it is extensively used to-day; westwards he traces it to Greece and Italy, Etruria and the Lake Dwellings of Switzerland, and *via* the Baltic Amber-Trade routes, to the German and Scandinavian lands by the 2nd century B.C., and thence to Britain. In our own country it is found nowhere save in districts open to and subjected to Scandinavian influence. Everywhere it is seen on articles of everyday use and common service,—on pottery, on tools, implements and weapons, on ornaments and utensils of women, as well as on images of gods and goddesses.

Beginning with Schliemann's Third or Burnt City of Troy, the Troy of Priam and the *Iliad*, it abounds on pottery and on spindle-whorls; and, in one instance, it is found on the triangular girdle of a leaden image of a goddess who represents the Great Mother, the prototype of Aphrodité. It is abundant in all the Egean lands and Etruria, and there are numerous examples in Pompeii and as late as Early Christian times in the catacombs of Rome.

It is of course out of the question in this short study to describe its prevalence or probable migrations wherever found; but before passing on to discuss its origin and meaning I will briefly mention the most notable examples of its use in Scandinavia and Britain.

In his *Altgermanische Thierornamentik*, M. B. Salin figures a remarkable sword-hilt discovered in Kent, in the shape of a hut-urn (such as we find in

Etruria) derived from the bee-hive graves of Mycenæ, with a swastika occupying the central space of what would be the roof, and also a magnificent fibula from Norway with two rows of swastikas in the centre of the ornament. These date from the Viking period.

Zmigrodski, *Zur Geschichte der Swastika*, mentions a sculptured stone in Ireland, which shows on the face of it "three varieties of the cross—a Greek cross in a circle, a swastika turned to the right in a square, and an ogee swastika in a quatrefoil." This would show its association in Christian times with the symbolism of the cross and wheel, and links on to similar ecclesiastical monuments, of which I have found an example at Rudham, in Norfolk. This is a coffin slab of the 13th century, and on it we find the wheel-cross at the head and foot, and in the centre the 'double omega,' the thunderbolt of Jove, symbolizing that the Church wields the heavenly judgment-power.

In his *Arts in Early England* (vols. iii. and iv.—*Saxon Art and Industry in the Pagan Period*) Professor Baldwin Brown describes all, and figures most, of the examples to be found in our country. These are entirely funerary objects found in Saxon cemeteries, and consist of cinerary urns, fibulæ and brooches, belts, buckles, etc., chiefly from the Scandinavian districts.

Among the fibulæ there is an interesting specimen from Mildenhall, Suffolk, which displays four birds' heads arranged in a swastika-pattern. Mr. Reginald Smith, he tells us, signalizes this as one of the earliest pieces of Teutonic work in this country; but, like the bird-fibulæ generally, it comes from the Gothic East by way of Hungary and dates between 550 and 600 A.D. On the same plate are two swastika-brooches, with the

device in openwork, which might be called amulets. These are now in the British Museum.¹

On three of the metal plates of a belt from the Bifrons' cemetery in the Maidstone Museum, the surfaces of which are turned, the swastika-ornament is in evidence. In the British Museum may also be seen a disc-fibula from a cemetery at Faversham, Kent, which exhibits both the cross and the swastika in its design.

From Sleaford, Lincs., came a fibula marked with the swastika, and we may note a cast bronze medallion found with the Lullingstone Bowl, which displays three fishes intertwined in triquetral pattern, reminding us of the connection between the swastika and the arms of Sicily and the Isle of Man.

One magnificent cinerary urn from Shropham in Norfolk is ornamented with a line of swastikas turned to the left; in reference to this the Professor makes some remarks which I am persuaded are altogether too derogatory to the mystic significance of the symbol. He writes: "On the Shropham urn appears the swastika or fylfot, an equal-armed cross with the arms bent at right angles to the sides, a device which some writers invest with mystic symbolism of an awe-inspiring kind. To the present writer the appearance of this device on Teutonic pottery or objects of metal is so casual that he attaches no more significance to it than to its occurrence on old Greek vases of the 'Melian' class, where it is obviously [?] nothing but a fragment of a broken up key-pattern ornament. It may be frankly admitted here that the writer regards with considerable indifference the attempts that are sometimes made to read abstruse symbolism into the

¹ Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, iii. 281, plate xlviii. 8.

decorative devices found on objects of the migration periods" (*op. cit.*, p. 497).

The Professor may be right from the standpoint which he has immediately in view; but the student of origins and of the psychology of the human mind is not satisfied, and asks: *Why* is this symbol found on cinerary urns and on ornaments, etc., buried with the deceased? And further: Is there any added significance in the turning of the arms to the left? We must then dig deeper if we would understand the hidden springs of action and conduct; for the swastika is one of a vast number of symbols having magical significance, and it divides the world with the Egyptian *ankh*, known as the symbol of Life.

Some years ago I made a study of cup-and-ring markings—another symbolism universally prevalent among primitive people from Neolithic times—and I concluded that it was due to the fact that under similar conditions, *i.e.* in a similar environment and at a corresponding stage of evolution, man's ideas correspond and are naturally expressed in the same manner. So I conceive it to be also in the case of the swastika. The theory then that I would suggest in view of the fact that it is found in so many localities, including America and West Africa (Ashanti?), is that this is due not to migration but to the spontaneous evolution of the idea among races far apart at a similar stage of development.

Of course this does not imply the negation of all migration, but simply that the fact of its being found in America and elsewhere does not imply that it was brought *there* by immigration. This would explain, for example, its recent discovery at Susa on proto-Elamite pottery, a locality quite off the line of migra-

tion, an isolated and sporadic case, and indeed the earliest known, but no doubt derived from the same root-ideas. This explains also the American examples. I cannot agree with Professor Elliot Smith and other moderns in imagining, for instance, any prehistoric communication between Egypt and Mexico. Moreover, the symbol does not occur anywhere in Egypt (except on *Greek* pottery at Naucratis) nor in the Semitic lands. Theories should not be run to extremes, and the recent Pan-Egyptianism of W. J. Perry (in *The Children of the Sun*, 1923) cannot be substantiated. In this regard I confess my agreement with Professor Max Müller, when he says: "We forget too easily that what was possible in one place was possible also in other places; and the more we extend our researches, the more we shall learn that the chapter of accidents is longer than we imagine"; only instead of saying 'accidents' I should contend that the evolution of ideas follows the same orderly course *here* as in other respects.

As to the *meaning* of the symbol, almost all writers refer it to the Sun in one way or another. For instance, Mr. W. J. Crooke, writing of the *Popular Religions and Folklore of North India*, says: "The mystical emblem of the swastika which appears to represent the Sun in his journey through the heavens is of constant occurrence." It is also referred to Fire, which connects with the Sun. Some have seen in the two intertwining lines a representation of the two fire-sticks of primitive man; but this, I think, is far-fetched. In India the swastika symbolizes Vishnu in one of his many transformations; in Scandinavia it represents Woden (?) or Thor and his hammer. It is found in China on images of the Buddha, in Greece on a statue

of Apollo (=the Sun) and, as we saw, at Troy on the leaden idol representing the Great Mother.

Mr. Wilson's book is so full and exhaustive that I can do no more than refer to it. He appears to think it possible that the swastika may have been introduced into America by migration, but how or when he leaves quite vague. He says that among the American Indians it represents fire, water, the sun, the sky, the four winds and numerous other phenomena, and hints that, like the intertwining serpents, it may represent Eternity, but does not develop the theme.

What then is the root-idea which lies at the base of this symbol and which gives it its significance? What is the universal idea conveyed by it and giving it its magical and universal import?

The answer to this question, I believe, consists in the one word 'Life'; and though other writers have envisaged various aspects of the subject, I venture to think that in its full development the theory which I now put forward is original and conclusive. It is the principle of Life—Life the mysterious, the inexplicable in its origin, its continuance and its apparent ending, or at least its passing from this sphere—that solves the riddle.

Man finds himself here, and he knows he is alive. He sees other living things, in the air, in the seas and streams, and on the earth all around him; he endows with life all the objects, sun, moon, stars, the earth itself, the mountains, the rocks and the stones, the waters, whether in fountain and well, or running stream or sea, in the midst of which he lives. The trees and plants too,—he knows they are alive; they whisper in the evening breeze, speak in the gale. The lightning and thunder as well—they are the living fire

and voice of beings alive and unseen whose presence fills his soul with awe and a mysterious sense of his own littleness in face of the unknown and the sublime. In a word: Animism is the key which unlocks the mystery that enfolds the early thought of man as he looks out upon the world.

And all these various objects persist from year to year and from age to age, except those that seem most like himself. These beasts and creeping creatures of the earth, birds of the air, denizens of the waters, sicken and grow old and die; his own fellows do the like. But he does not want to die; he feels it is unnatural; he would live on. How can he accomplish this?

The idea of the unnaturalness of death is well exemplified by the thought of the Australian blackmen and similar primitives. They believe that death is never due to natural causes, but is ever the result of violence, or of some evil magic, which they would avert if they could. The blackman finds that when he slays any living thing or a fellow-man a red fluid exudes. In this, then, he thinks, resides life. Let him but discover the elixir of life and he will live for ever. In his thought of himself he would believe all men mortal save himself; so this principle of sympathetic or homœopathic magic teaches him that if he can find some corresponding medium to the mysterious life-fluid, and the still more mysterious secret of the entry upon life, he will have found the elixir for which he is searching.

But further: it is the Earth herself that is the source of life as he knows it. She is the Great Mother whence all life springs, and the Sun is only the sustainer and evoker of life, derived from her. This

belief we find universally present in one shape or another. It took its most definite form in Egypt, in Asia Minor and in Mesopotamia; and so we have Isis and Horus, Cybele and Attis, Astarte and Merodach, everywhere the Great Mother of all the gods and of all life and her Son, a belief which we find enshrined at length in the Virgin and Child of Christianity.

But, as Elliot Smith puts it, the Great Mother has her surrogates, and the life-fluid its appropriate representative. Thus in Aurignacian graves we find the corpse surrounded by cowry shells, whose shape tells of the mysterious womb whence life springs, and smeared with red ochre, representing the life-fluid, supposed to ensure immortality to the soul which has abandoned its mortal body. The lotus, from its shape, was another surrogate of the Great Mother; so was the octopus. And there is no doubt that the so-called 'owl-shaped' vases at Troy and Mycenæ, on which the swastika is so extensively found, were representations of the octopus not the owl, much less of human faces with two eyes, a nose and no mouth.

On seeking then an explanation of the swastika I would suggest that it represents eternal Life as the fruit of immortal Love. Just as the Egyptians had the *ankh*, the form of which displays the union of the male and female principles, as the source of Life, so the intersecting lines of the swastika carry the same idea. It may be debased to a purely phallic symbol, and indeed some writers see the phallus in all forms of ancient and modern non-Christian beliefs; for there is no doubt that in its origin it is the mystery of the generation of life that first strikes primitive man; but I prefer to lift it, at least in its later development and use, to a higher plane. In the first instance probably

the swastika may have represented the course of the sun in the heavens revolving normally from left to right. We can see the wheel revolving as we look at it. It is the wheel of life in which we are all involved—the revolving years. And so the thought conveyed by the symbol may well be: “May your wheel of life revolve for ever!”—the same wish that was ceremoniously uttered in the presence of Eastern autocrats: “O King, live for ever!” Hence the Sanskrit name, which means ‘good luck’; and the Chinese (*wan*), meaning ‘many a thousand,’ come to the same thing.¹ So, as I have said, the meaning of the symbol and its migrations, its upspringing in isolated localities and its prevalence wherever the *ankh* was unknown, are all explained by the thought of Life—the fruit of Love—immortal Love, the equivalent of eternal Life.

The poets, the prophets, the exponents of the aspirations of the race, who express for us in words what the majority of us can convey only by symbol, are the true interpreters, and many a fine passage on Love and Life could be quoted; but one alone here must suffice. It is from the greatest Poet and Preacher of them all:

“This is Eternal Life: To know Thee, the only True God; for God is Love, and he that dwelleth in Love dwelleth in God, and God in him.”

Thus, what was originally a heathen emblem, as we call it, the offspring of man’s wonderment at the mysteries of Nature, and which has by some, not altogether unreasonably, been supposed to be the ‘Mark of the Beast’ of the Book of Revelation, may

¹ In Japan this equals 10,000, symbolizing what is perfect, excellent, employed as a sign of felicity (De Millvée, ‘*Le Swastika*,’ Soc. Anth. Lyons, 1881, quoted by d’Alviella).

also be the 'Mark' placed on the foreheads of the faithful of *Ezekiel* ix. 4, and has so become consecrated to the highest Christian use and significance, as we see it in the catacombs and on the grave-slab from Ireland. Just as the old heathen inscription on a house—a magic charm—was transfigured and transformed into a Christian aspiration :

(a) " Here lives the all-powerful Herakles, the son of Zeus ; may no evil enter ! "

(b) " Here lives our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son, the Word of God ; may no evil enter ! " ¹

But the Cross conquered in Christianity, and the Swastika is now a symbol of the Buddhist faith.

H. J. D. ASTLEY.

(This study is considerably abridged from reasons of space.—ED.)

¹ *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, iii. 489.

TELEPATHY AND THE PROPER SELF.

F. C. CONSTABLE, M.A.

IF the hypothesis that telepathic communications take place between human beings should be accepted definitely by science in general, then, logically, a certain deduction follows which, I think, is of great importance, yet one which has not been fully recognized and acknowledged.

Now it is true that, officially, science has not yet accepted this hypothesis; but a large number of scientific men has done so, and their number is steadily increasing. This being so, there is justification for the consideration of what would follow from its full acceptance by science.

The logical deduction that I now suggest must follow from acceptance would, I shall argue, determine that, scientifically, the real proper self must be regarded as what Kant calls a transcendental subject or soul.¹ This subject I now term the pure ego. I deem this deduction of great but neglected importance.

Before, however, entering on the main issue, it is necessary to show to what the argument is confined.

The pure ego may be termed the soul or spirit of man or, with Kant, the transcendental subject. Man as a living organism of body, brain and thought cannot be termed a pure ego. For if we refer the 'ego' to any individual of body, brain and thought, it is subjective.

¹ Cp. Meiklejohn's *Kant*, pp. 164, 249, 308.

It is subjective in that its existence in any case depends on the continued existence of a particular body with its brain and thought. And any such 'thing' is of no more than passing existence in time and space. But, whatever the pure ego may be, I would hold that it must be non-sensuous, and so free from the limitations of time and space. For whether we hold that time and space be real or simply phenomenal, it is the sensuous only that we can condition in time and space. Energy, for instance, which is non-sensuous, is not so conditioned. When we hold to the conservation of energy, what we mean is that time and space affect it in no way. Gravitational attraction again, for instance, is not in itself affected by the law of the Inverse Square. It is *in relation to* the sensuous (the material) that we find the law applicable.

From the time of Democritus, Socrates and Plato there has been dispute, not only as to *what* the pure ego is, but as to whether or not it exists. We need not, however, be concerned with the special differences between idealists, materialists, rationalists, realists, nominalists or indeed any particular schools of thought. I propose to deal only with two general tendencies of thought, neglecting the many differences that exist between the many particular schools. These two thought-movements are :

(1) The theory that the body, brain and thought of any individual man constitute his ego. The ego is thus a passing 'thing' in time and space.

(2) The theory that the 'real proper self' of any individual man is not to be found in his body, brain and thought, so far as thought is correlated to motion of the brain. This ego is now termed a pure ego, because it is free from the limitations of time and

space, to which body, brain and thought, so far as thought is correlated to motion of the brain, are subject.

Prof. James Ward points out that when psychology is treated as a science, its 'ego' must be a subject *coupled with human experience*. This would appear to define the ego of the first view.¹ Such an ego is clearly a passing 'thing' of space and time.

Now in all the arguments between the two disputants as to the existence or non-existence of the pure ego, those who deny its existence have up to the present time held what is, to them, a trump-card. They rely on human experience, and say to their opponents: Your arguments in support of the existence of the pure ego are altogether metaphysical. You fail to offer any *direct human experience* in support of your allegation that the pure ego exists. Not only this; they go on to say: Your arguments instead of finding any support from human experience, are in direct opposition to it. They contradict the laws of nature.²

Apart from other replies to this position, metaphysicians argue that, unless we begin with the personal, moral (not logical) certainty that the pure ego exists, we cannot even *begin* to examine human experience. This certainty is personal and so not logical, for it cannot be used *as evidence* by anyone to convince others who do not possess it.³ At the same time metaphysicians admit that there has been, up to the present time, no *direct* evidence from human

¹ Cp. the distinction Kant makes between his subject and his transcendental subject, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

² They do not; for the pure ego, being non-sensuous, does not, if it exist, come under the sway of these laws. Free of these, the pure ego may in the spiritual world have non-sensuous experience (activity) transcending all human experience.

³ Cp. *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 502.

experience of the existence of the pure ego. So far, then, the opponents still hold their trump-card.

But now let us consider what direct inferences must result if we accept the phenomena of telepathy as veridical. I rely in the first place on the arguments of those who deny the existence of telepathy.

In *The Quarterly Review* (vol. 233, p. 88, 1920) there is an essay by Mr. Hugh Elliot on Modern Spiritualism. I offer no criticism as to the form of his paper or as to the particular evidence he relies on. It is on the conclusions he arrives at, in rejecting telepathy, that my reliance is placed. He says:

“There seems then not the slightest reason for imagining that telepathy, if such a thing really exists, can operate by any mechanical process. . . . Without a body no such thing as a mind can exist on the mechanistic theory. . . . If these things [the phenomena of telepathy] are, they belong wholly to the spiritual world.”

With the above conclusions, I think, nearly all who have studied telepathy will agree. Sir William Crookes' brain-wave theory is now generally disagreed with; so far as it is mechanistic, it is rejected. We have it then from an opponent of telepathy that if telepathy exist, it belongs solely to the spiritual world.

Mr. Hugh Elliot affirms that “without a body no such thing as a mind can exist on the mechanistic theory.” And as to this Professor Alexander in his *Space, Time and Deity* (ii. 424) says: “I can only repeat what I have said before, that should the extension of mind beyond the limits of the bodily limits be verified, so that a mind can either act without a body or may shift its place to some other body and yet retain its memory, the larger part of the present

speculation will have to be seriously modified or abandoned."

Though, as the Professor admits, he has been enabled to write his book because he has 'enjoyed' himself as permanent (i. 29), his whole work is based on the non-existence of the pure ego; and the paragraph quoted from his book shows that he felt he must abandon his position if the mind can be proved to extend in action beyond the limits of the body.

Now I do not enter on the question of whether the phenomena of telepathy are veridical or not. All I rely on is the fact (admitted by Mr. Hugh Elliot) that a considerable number of scientific men holds them to be veridical, though, speaking of science generally, they cannot be said to be fully accepted. There *does* exist a scientific dispute as to whether the phenomena be veridical or not. The present argument is confined to the consideration of a direct scientific deduction which must follow if telepathy be accepted as a part of human experience.

And here I would divert from the main argument to point out a very general error. Our sensuous universe is a universe of relativity, not of the absolute. Sense-data must be presented to and perceived by us before we can begin to think about human experience.¹ But in any process of thought we do not use these sense-data (images?) directly as content for thought. For content of thought we use *ideas*. Sense-data, as presented and perceived, are no more than the *occasion* for thought. It is the *ideas* which, roughly speaking, sense-data call up in the mind that we use as content for thought. We do not think any sense-datum—a chair or table for example; we think *about it*. We can

¹ Cp. Meiklejohn's *Kant*, pp. 1, 40.

only think 'about' any sense-datum, so far as the idea of it in our mind will enable us to. Thought can have, for content, only 'relatedness.'¹

And this is why we find our universe is one of relativity. For all ideas are relative. It is an undergraduate tag to say that all knowledge is relative and exists between limits of contradiction. In any process of thought we not only do not use sense-data as content but, though we use them, we may even *correct* them. As a sense-datum, for instance, the sun is presented to and perceived by us as moving round the earth. Thought corrects the sense-datum.

Science deals with our sensuous universe, and it follows from what has been stated above that science can never arrive at full proof; it can arrive only at what may be termed relative proof. Science can rely only on having attained so high a degree of probability that, in our universe of relativity, we find ourselves justified in using the probability as proof. And this probability is not fixed in time. The probability of to-day is superseded by a probability nearer to truth to-morrow. For instance, science made great advance under the hypothesis that the atom is indestructible. It now makes further advance under the hypothesis that the atom is *not* indestructible.²

It follows directly, from what is above stated, that, scientifically, the question of whether the phenomena of telepathy be veridical or not depends on probability, not on proof. It is a question of the balance of evidence. Even now there are men who hold that the

¹ Cp. Prof. Lloyd Morgan's *Emergent Evolution*, p. 188.

² Science is on the way to referring the genesis of protons and negative electrons to energy—to finding the genesis of the sensuous in the non-sensuous! Cp. Rougier's *Philosophy and the New Physics*.

earth is flat and that the sun moves round it. And they produce not unreasonable arguments in support of their belief. So far as sense-data go, the sun *does* move round the earth.

Relying on the statements of those who deny that the phenomena of telepathy are veridical, we find an admission that, if they be veridical, then the mind can act without a body and that the phenomena belong wholly to the spiritual world.

If, then, telepathy be a fact, the trump-card that the opponents hold has been wrongly dealt. There is a mis-deal. For, if telepathy be a fact, it is as fully a part of *direct human experience* that thoughts and feelings can be conveyed from mind to mind without using the organs of sense, as that they can be conveyed by using the organs of sense. There is nothing in the objection that thoughts and feeling conveyed through the ordinary channels of sense are common to mankind, while telepathic communication is rare and the channel open to but few. The sole question is of the existence of communication otherwise than through the ordinary channels of sense. A private road is as much a road as the highway.

If the phenomena of telepathy be accepted as veridical, then we have *direct human experience* that we can communicate one with another 'in the spiritual world.' If as a 'real proper self' I can communicate with my fellows free from the limitations of the sensuous, which imports freedom from the limitations of time and space, then my 'real proper self' is a pure ego. If telepathy be accepted, there must be a fresh deal of the cards of probability, and the trump-card of *direct human experience* must be dealt to those who

hold to the existence of the pure ego. Science itself must so deal the cards !

To prevent misunderstanding I must repeat that no question is now raised as to proof or disproof of the veridical nature of telepathic phenomena. The sole question is of scientific proof, and scientific proof cannot amount to more than a certain high degree of probability in our universe of relativity. It is with this degree of probability that the argument is concerned. No address is made to the obstinate sceptic. There is but one certainty for man : Personal certainty of personal existence. And with this certainty we are not concerned. For, as before said, it is moral not logical. It is not logical in that it is not the subject of evidence.

The argument is confined to a question of evidence, and the argument, I repeat, is that, if science accepts the phenomena of telepathy as veridical, then we have, *in direct human experience*, evidence that the pure ego exists.

F. C. CONSTABLE,

Author of *Personality and Telepathy*.

‘OUTWARD BOUND’: AN ARRESTING PLAY.

Capt. S. H. WOOLF.

IN his essay on ‘To Learn how to Die,’ Montaigne remarks: “You are *in* death during the time you continue in life, for you are *after* death when you are no longer living.” In other words: From the day of our birth onwards Death is our constant companion; step by step he keeps pace with us on our way. In a life made up of uncertainties he is the one absolute certainty, for he alone will never fail us. We are released from his perpetual menace only when the expiration of our last breath puts us once and for all beyond his power. All mortal things have an ending; there are limitations even to the omnipotence of Death himself.

In common parlance death is spoken of as the state,—of endless duration for aught we know,—which succeeds our earthly existence. But the meaning of the above quotation is quite otherwise. Montaigne definitely maintains that death is but the transition from death-bound to death-free life. These are comfortable words. The phase of passing over is soon completed, the gulf soon bridged. And even though there is no turning back, if we reason it out, is it not the manner in which death approaches rather than death itself that so appals us? The stab of the midnight assassin, the clutching desperation of drowning,

the false step that hurls a climber down a mountain-side to his doom, the creeping numbness of paralysis,—when imagination plays with such visions the normal mind recoils in horror before the image of Death in such sinister guise. Even before the actual perils are encountered, a man can suffer in anticipation pangs more bitter far than the stroke itself of death; in one such second's panic fear he can die a thousand deaths. But an evil once passed is speedily forgotten. Yesterday is as dead to us as the siege of Troy. The pendulum at once swings back; the mind ever readjusts itself. When the survivors of a shipwreck set foot once more on land, their recent martyrdom becomes rapidly a distant memory. After a raging tooth has been extracted, we cannot reconstruct in mind the pain that so recently drove us to the verge of madness. So, would we think, is it with death.

'Outward Bound' is a striking play, a profound play, a play with a message of wide import. The author's aim has been undoubtedly not so much to entertain his audience as to make them think; and on the consciousness of those capable of thought he must have succeeded in stamping an enduring impression. For one who has not only seen but inwardly digested the play, it is not difficult to select the salient features of this drama of the hereafter.

The opening phase of their new life flows on with such smoothness that the shipload of souls are entirely unaware that they have shed their physical husk. They retain not the slightest recollection of the circumstances which brought about the shedding. To all appearances death has produced in them no immediate violent change. When realization does at length break in upon them, and the truth is revealed beyond all

possibility of doubt, they have no power, even at that awful moment, to alter their natures. The old Adam clings tenaciously, even as they shrink in dread from the threshold of the Unknown.

The scene that depicts the arrival at the Port and the visit of the 'Examiner' on board the ship is the most convincing of the whole piece, so free is it from mysticism or theatrical thrills, so logical and natural in its development. Death has wiped out all class distinctions; before the searching minuteness of the inquisition all are equal. The secrets of each heart are laid bare; a blaze of light exposes every dark corner. Justice is meted out with stern impartiality. Repentance, humility, unselfishness are rewarded; hypocrisy and uncharitableness meet their deserts. Each 'passenger' according to his merits is allotted to his proper sphere. We are led to understand that spiritual improvement during each one's term of probation will earn promotion to a higher state.

The language in which all this is clothed is that of twentieth-century England; the characters are types familiar to all of us, neither better nor worse; the atmosphere of the scene is natural and unstrained; yet, somehow, the onlooker is tempted to say to himself: "This convinces me. Here, perhaps, is a glimpse of the real truth."

May it not indeed be so? This is a question none can answer; we are here in the realm of pure conjecture. But of all the enigmas that puzzle us, none holds such fascination, for none is so impenetrable. This at least can be said: 'Outward Bound' presents a theory of our waking to consciousness in the next world that, if not acceptable to all, can outrage no religious susceptibilities. It is a theory that is both

rational and consolatory, suitable alike to Believers and Doubters. The new life foreshadowed is a happy medium between the absolute extinction of the Positivist and the roseate elysium of the Pagan, a life of continuous endeavour with the aim of attaining spiritual perfection.

If the play helps us to realize in any measure that Death is not the hideous horror, ever ravening and dogging in our wake, that he is popularly represented to be, but rather the Friend who pilots us in safety across the dividing waters, it has accomplished much.

S. H. WOOLF.

(This appreciation is of interest as showing the effect of the play on a thoughtful spectator without any preconceptions on the subject.—ED.)

A HARVEST HYMN.

FIELDS of Spring in living green,
Fields of Summer's golden sheen,
Fields upturned by Autumn's plough,
Fields at rest in Winter's snow :

 Welcome each in turn.

Lesson deep from each we learn ;

 Blade and stalk, stem and ear,
Each proclaims that God is here.

Flowers in hedge's modest row,
Flowers in garden's varied show,
Fruits of tree, and fruits of ground,
Fruits for use in daily round :

 Nature spread her store,
Careful labour made it more ;
 Tree and ground, fruit and flower,
Manifesting Nature's power.

Work of ploughing furrow straight,
Work of sowing soon and late,
Work of weeding what was sown,
Work of reaping what has grown :

 Work is Nature's school.

Bow we then beneath her rule ;

 Work and toil, low and high,
Man must work or man must die.

**Rest for ploughman on the land,
Rest for labourer's busy hand,
Rest that comes with setting sun,
Rest for all when work is done :**

Rest for horse and man.

Sabbath proves it God's own plan ;

**Evening calm, sabbath peace,
God invites all toil to cease.**

**Praises then to God we sing,
Praising him our Heavenly King,
Praising him for sun and rain,
Praising him for fruit and grain :**

Grateful hymn we raise.

Meet it is our God to praise ;

**Prayer and praise, psalm and hymn,
Giving thanks for all to him.**

A. CALDECOTT.

THE PRIVILEGES OF GOD.

To drift and float, a leaf upon the river ;
To move in thought, then not to think ;
To lie in the sun and bask through days for ever,
Then not to smile or laugh or drink ;
To walk in some earth-existence like a flower ;
To grow, a weed, a worm ; to pass
In passionless heartiness, a shower
Over the land, and kiss the season's grass ;
To idle, a butterfly, a bird in a tree ;
To touch some thought or vision given to me ;
And then to whirl away with sudden energy
Into Emancipation's larger lives more grand,
Where further God-states have their stand ;
To become remote, and yet more far ;
To simplify, and hack away all useless clay ;
To lose all sight of where we humans are
Amid complexities, a million forms away ;
To have the simplicity of the sod :

These are the privileges of God.

JOHN HANCOCK.

(See the appreciation, 'John Hancock: Poet-Artist,' by Madeleine Kent, July No., 1923, and the psychical phantasy, 'Who Killed Cock Robin?' in two parts, 'Here' and 'There,' January and April Nos, 1924.—ED.)

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

MEISTER ECKHART.

By [? Ed.] Franz Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1857. Translation with some Omissions and Additions by C. de B. Evans. London (Watkins); pp. 488; 20s. net.

THIS is an excellent piece of work. Our friend Miss C. de B. Evans, D.Sc., up to the outbreak of the War was a distinguished student of and lecturer on Chemistry; for the last ten years she has devoted herself whole-heartedly to a careful and systematic study of the extant works of Meister Eckhart (born before 1260 and died shortly after Feb. of 1327), who was, we venture to think, the most philosophic of all the Western mystics of the great Catholic classic period. Her polished and most readable translation which, as far as we are capable of judging, is remarkably faithful to the original Alemanic or High German dialect of Strassburg of Ekehardt's day, is from Pfeiffer's well-known but now very scarce text, with a few omissions, and a number of additions which have come to light since 1857. The volume before us is a most valuable addition to our English material for students of Christian mysticism; for hitherto we have had only a very few of the sermons turned into our tongue in the booklet of Mr. Claude Field. Not only so; but Miss Evans has given us a version of more Eckhart-material than has so far been rendered even into modern German (see Herman Büttner's translation, 1917, in progress), while into any other tongue there is no rendering at all. We, who were previously so poor, therefore, have now the richest accessibility of all to the substance of Eckhart. There remains, however, the task of analysing, annotating and commenting. Looking back through the volume, after carefully perusing it with the greatest interest, we find well-nigh every page bearing our pencil-marks, stressings and queries. To attempt in any way to 'review' Eckhart would mean, not only an article, but a volume. We can then only add a few words to the expression of our satisfaction with Miss Evans' labours, which we sincerely hope she will complete with a general study. Meister

Eckhart was one of the greatest minds of his day and he was exceedingly well-read; moreover his mystical philosophy is entirely free from the 'mawkish' phraseology of erotism which too often disfigures the works of the extreme *bhākta* type of Western mystic (to use a term of Indian provenance). His chief authority is Dionysius, who of course he thinks was a 'hearer' of Paul, but who wrote about the beginning of the 6th century,—he and his great teacher Hierotheos being very strongly influenced by Neoplatonic thought, chiefly that of Proclus. He is continually trying to reconcile Dionysius with Augustine, the first of the systematic Western mystics, who was in his turn so strongly influenced by the writings of Plotinus. But Eckhart is no slavish follower; he thinks for himself, and few have so daringly endeavoured to penetrate into the transcendental mystery as this inspired Dominican, who indubitably had enjoyed some profound experience, though it is very difficult to find any hints of autobiography in his writings. The mystery of the 'naught' of Deity, the transcendental 'unknowing,' is his constant theme, and reminds one strongly of the parallel speculations, perhaps of certain inevitabilities of thought, of the philosophic mystical Tao of ancient China and the subtleties of the *Shūnyāvādins*, or philosophers of the Void that is the Fulness of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Eckhart is of course more handicapped than they were in his soarings, for he has to try to move within the limits of traditional Western theology, and exhausts himself in wrestling with the Trinity-dogma, all unconscious that the highly-developed triadism of Proclus is working underneath the phrasing of Dionysius, and in endeavouring to make room for Lady Saint Mary, Mother of God, and bring all into harmony. Personally we read Eckhart for the sublime ideas he tries to bring to formulation, and endeavour to keep them free from the depression of historic traditionalism. He for his part, in spite of his valiant effort at reconciling his intuitional insights and high speculations with dogmatic theology, failed to satisfy his ecclesiastical superiors. Just before his death he defended his views, and protested their innocence, while making a formal public declaration of orthodoxy. But all in vain; two years later, March 27, 1329, he was excommunicated by a Bull of John XXII., and so ennobled for posterity. Yet how should the Curia understand the distinctions he tried to draw between the Godhead and God, or the mystery of that 'Dark' of thought which is the void or naught of human intelligence, or the doctrine of the soul's being before it was created, or that God is the not-

knowing of all creatures? Few to-day save profoundly experienced mystics or highly intuitional mystical philosophers will have the slightest idea of the supreme reality which he tried to envisage. But in any way to show what he endeavoured to reflect, requires an exposition which takes into account the requirements of our own day and essays a safeguarding explanation to meet its prejudices. What has greatly puzzled us is the looseness of Eckhart's quotations. He seldom gives us a name,—'a certain master,' 'heathen philosopher,' 'the doctors,' etc.,—and what we read is so unexpected, that we are left wondering whether the quotation is really correct. And this suspicion is strengthened when we find him very frequently taking liberty with scripture-texts. As to his exegetical method, he is as free as a Philo in his 'allegorizing.' And here his favourite device is to turn what in the original reads as a past or future tense, into a present, and so he proceeds to utilize the text for the 'history' of the eternal now of the spiritual soul of every man. In keeping with this we are not surprised to find that gospel wonder-doings become invariably types of soul-activities, as in the method of the writer of the fourth gospel. But enough for the moment on a deeply interesting theme. We counsel, finally, all our readers who love high mysticism, to get Miss Evans' excellent *Meister Eckhart*, and to study it.

THE GNOSTIC JOHN THE BAPTIZER.

Selections from the Mandæan John-Book. Together with Studies on John and Christian Origins, the Slavonic Josephus' Account of John and Jesus, and John and the Fourth Gospel Proem. By G. R. S. Mead. London (Watkins); pp. ix.+188; 5s. net.

Is it possible that there can still be presented to us fresh materials upon the origins of Christianity distinct from fresh interpretations of what is already in our possession? This volume is an answer to the question. It contains materials which at present are known only to a few, and those are scholars on the Continent. To readers of *THE QUEST* they have already been presented by the Editor; but it is to be hoped that what is here collected in a single volume will discover them to a wider circle.

The principal fact laid before us is that there was a following of John the Baptist much more considerable than we have been accustomed to suppose, and that more of its literature is extant

than has been taken into account. Indeed it will come as a surprise to the majority of us that there is still in existence a religious community in Mesopotamia, which is continuous right from the first century, the Mandæans; only some 10,000 it is true, but surely an extraordinary instance of the survival-power of a religious tradition. It is but recently that really serious attention has been directed to this literature; and so far, only two of the three main collections of it have been translated even into German. Mr. Mead has thence selected for rendering into English the one topic which seems to be so far tolerably clear, *viz.* the picture of John and his preaching. The introductory, non-Mandæan, studies to which Mr. Mead directs us are those of Dr. Eisler, originally printed in *THE QUEST* (1909-1914) and now (1921) collected in his volume *Orpheus the Fisher*. It is not possible to attempt to summarize here what is itself a summary; and the interest lies wrapt up in the details. There is presented to us not 'a wild man of the desert,' but a great successor of the prophets, preaching Repentance and practising the purificatory rite of Baptism, making much use of Fish-symbolism and with Apocalyptic range. Some typical extracts in this latter connection from the Mandæan 'John-Book' are set out, notably the teaching of the Fisher of Souls and of the Good Shepherd. Reading all this alongside the Jewish tradition as given by Josephus and the Christian tradition as in the New Testament, we cannot but feel that we are in a current of religious mentality which gives a new place to the Baptizer, and goes far towards explaining the extraordinary estimate of John which the Christian tradition has assigned to Jesus in placing the Baptist above all the prophets of the Old Testament.

The third section of this volume lays before us new food for thought in some remarkable additions to early accounts not only of John but of Jesus also, recently disinterred by German scholars from an edition of Josephus' *Wars of the Jews* in a Slavonic (Old Russian) text, itself apparently translated from Greek. This edition contains passages not in the Josephus which has so far been before the world: no less than eight of them,—three on John, five on Jesus, and one on the persecutions of the Early Church. The provenance of these is a matter of high dispute. Are they early material omitted by Josephus himself? or interpolations? If the latter, by Jews? or by Christians? or by Christian Jews? The reader will find Mr. Mead applying his subtlest critical acumen to the problem; but caution compels him to decline to commit himself to a decision.

The passages sparkle with points of interest. But here again we must refer readers to the volume itself, as the precise facts and indeed the precise words used are indispensable; an abstract summation would be of no value. We may, however, just mention a few. A variant reading of the character of Philip the husband of Herodias; the presentation of John as a Desert-mystic in opposition to the higher character which we have noted in the Mandæan tradition; the '80 pieces of silver' is here a bribe of 80 talents to Pilate; Pilate's wife has been healed by Jesus; the writer's inability to decide as to the historicity of the Resurrection; and more important than all the rest, the curiously expressed hesitations as to the personality of Jesus himself: "At that time also a man came forward,—if even it is fitting to call him a man (simply). His nature as well as his form were a man's; but his showing-forth was more than (that) of a man It is not possible for me to call him a man (simply). But again, looking at the existence which he shared with all (men), I would also not call him an angel." And in Number 8 he is called 'the crucified wonder-doer.'

After reading these we shall doubtless agree with Mr. Mead in finding them 'astonishing and puzzling'; but the fact stands before us that there they are, in a Slavonic text of Josephus which exists in several MSS. and unquestionably preserves very ancient traditions.

The general impression of the whole exposition is that we are now introduced to what must to most of us be some new materials in the history of Christian religion,—familiar for years to Mr. Mead and some Continental scholars but new to English workers in Church-history.

What our Editor gives us is a marvel of lucidity and careful criticism.

The study contains also a paper upon the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel. Mr. Mead here aims at giving us a new atmosphere. Taking his place by the side of Dr. Burney's associating the Prologue with Aramaic as well as with Hellenic modes of thinking, our colleague, though with characteristic modesty, ventures upon a translation of his own. His chief modification is the substitution of *Mind* for *Word* to express the meaning of Logos in the Proem. This gives a distinctly varying significance, and commends itself to the present writer. A 'word,' in spite of poetical appellatives such as 'winged,' 'burning,' is after all a *thing*, inert and unconscious; whereas we require what we can think of as living, acting,

conscious, *personal*, and Mind does this for us. There is help also in speaking of 'Man' in vv. 4 and 6 as the true or ideal man, as specialized, and not meaning the whole human race in 'natural' condition. And there is also reference to the heavenly man in contrast with the earthly. Mr. Mead's translation, therefore, seems to enable us to catch the tone of idealism, of divinity, in which the Proem resembles the solemnity and loftiness of a doxology.

A. CALDECOTT.

THE PHOENICIAN ORIGIN OF BRITONS, SCOTS AND ANGLO-SAXONS.

Discovered by Phœnician and Sumerian Inscriptions in Britain,
by Pre-Roman Briton Coins and a Mass of New History.
By L. A. Waddell, LL.D., C.B., C.I.E., Ex-Professor of
Tibetan, London University, etc. With over One Hundred
Illustrations and Maps. London (Williams & Norgate);
pp. 450; 15s. net.

FOR over a score of years we have had nothing from the pen which gave us such instructive accounts of Tibetan Buddhism and descriptions of important archæological researches in N. India. But our capable Indianist has by no means been idle meantime. On the contrary, Lt.-Col. Waddell has been industriously preparing himself for the present arresting work, and for one shortly to issue on *The Origin of the Aryans*, by an intensive study of such Old Orient script-forms as Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Phœnician, Carthaginian, Hittite, Egyptian, and much else that is now fairly decipherable or only on the borderland of decipherment. Of recent years we have had a number of important studies by Continental scholars on what may be called the Proto-Phœnician problem. These studies treat of widespread testimonies to the existence of a powerful colonizing and civilizing movement lying at the back of Early Mediterranean culture and due to the enterprise and genius of a virile race that seems to have exercised a strong influence not only on early Hellenic but also on Hebrew development. These Proto-Phœnicians are by no means to be limited to the inhabitants of the Phœnicia of history, which marched on Palestine and which was only one of very numerous colonies of the mother-race. Much speculative nonsense has been written about the earliest inhabitants of the

British Isles and Ireland; and serious students of history and origins are 'fed up' with the welter of imaginative theories about the Celts and Druids and the rest of the wraiths of the pre-Roman period. Above all, that orgy of monstrous coupling of god-, hero- and race-names, found among peoples and in tongues widely separated in time and space, which was so freely indulged in by the indiscriminating lovers of word-play and sound-clangs in the 19th century, has made the sober philologist exceedingly sceptical of any results obtained by such methods. A language-licence which neglects all vowels and allows all consonants of the same class, or even of cognate classes, to flow into one another, can easily assimilate very widely different names to one another, and so find a common origin for what have hitherto been held to be indications of diverse heredity. Lt.-Col. Waddell is doubtless fully conscious of the pitfalls which beset this method; nevertheless it is the one he chiefly employs in the many revolutionary theses he puts forward in his learned work. The most revolutionary of all these is that the people we have called the Proto-Phœnicians, were Aryans. The Sumerians and the Hittites were also Aryans; they are all of one and the same root-race. To this race must be attributed the impulse to all high culture, West and East, from prior to 4000 B.C. Here Dr. Waddell has to face the naturally strong opposition of the common opinion of the learned; for, whatever the Sumerians may have been,¹ the Phœnicians and Hittites, judged both by the structure of their languages and their types on the monuments, are non-Aryan, or the term Aryan has no longer a characteristic meaning. But our author is by no means dismayed and holds to his theory tenaciously as the master-key to world-history and world-religion. Indeed he does not hesitate to try to make out that Jesus and the first group of disciples were Aryans and not Jews! But apart from this new theory of Pan-Aryanism to rival the Pan-Babylonism and Pan-Egyptianism that has recently been advocated by certain scholars in Germany on the one hand and in England on the other, a theory the detailed working out of which Dr. Waddell promises to lay before us in his forthcoming volume, let us consider his general view of the Phœnician origin of the once dominating race of these islands. He takes his point of departure from the decipherment of the bilingual inscription on one of the Newton stones in the Don valley of Aberdeenshire,—in

¹ The recent very important and extensive finds in the Panjab and Scind on the Indus may favour an Aryan origin or point to colonization simply.

'Phœnician' and Ogam. His interpretation is such that he claims it to state that it was set up by 'Part-olon, King of the Scots,' about 400 B.C., calling himself 'Briton,' 'Hittite' and 'Phœnician.' This is a question which only a very few specialists are in any way competent to decide; for 'Phœnician' and 'Ogam' are on the borderland of decipherment. If this, however, can be accepted as a historical datum, it reopens the question of the authenticity of the Early British Chronicles of Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth which have recently been rejected by all scholars as devoid of objectivity. Dr. Waddell now claims that there is reliable history in these legendary chronicles, and thus proceeds to reconstruct the records from the time of the date of the landing of Brutus the Trojan in about the year 1108 B.C., who founded Tri-Novantum—New Troy—the Lud-dun of the Britons and Londinium of the Romans. But long before the days of Brutus or Brintus, the first Briton king, as far back as 2,800 B.C. there were coastal colonies of the Phœnicians exploiting the mineral wealth of the country and especially the tin, which was so valuable in the manufacture of bronze. It is impossible to follow our author in the wealth of material he gathers together,—such as symbols and inscriptions on stone monuments and coins, place-names and legends. What can be said is that, though on the lines of name-play, and though much in this seems to be very hazardous and savours of what may be called the 'King Charles' head' complex, to use the cant term of psychoanalysis, there is some of it that cannot lightly be brushed aside. The main contention is that, so far from Pre-Roman Britain being a land of semi-savages, painted and tatooed, without culture of any kind, it had long enjoyed a high civilization due to many centuries of Phœnician and, from the time of Brutus, Aryan colonization and domination. These cultured colonists of the Bronze and Iron ages were over-lords, and must be sharply distinguished from the aborigines—the dwarf dark woad-coloured folk, the cave-dwelling primitives of the late Stone Age,—the so-called Picts. The conquering colonizing race were Sun-worshippers, but not idolaters; they were rather the adherents of a high monotheism, worshippers of the universal Father-God who abhorred blood sacrifices; their polity was patriarchal. The Picts, as the Romans called them, on the contrary, were Moon-worshippers, adherents of the Great Mother, following matriarchal customs, and practising bloody and cruel rites. One thing is certain, that we, English and Scotch and Welsh and Irish, are remarkably ignorant of our early forbears; and therefore any

attempt to bring even a little order into the existing chaos of our origins is welcome. We accordingly thank Dr. Waddell for reviewing the matter, and for looking at it in a new perspective; his labours certainly do more clearly define some of the problems, if they fail to solve them. A word in conclusion. The cup-markings on so many pre-historic stones and monuments have so far eluded all decipherment. Dr. Waddell, who shrinks before no difficulties, claims to have discovered a key to the puzzle. The circles or circular depressions called cup-markings, according to him, equate the primitive stroke-numbers, for instance in Sumerian. Such digit-numbers in Sumerian stood for ideas and gods as well. Cup-markings can be split up into groups of circles or dots,—say, *e.g.*, 2-8-5-3,—and thus convey a simple record of salient facts. It must, however, be confessed that we have to read a good deal into such 'inscriptions'; and if we to-day with our wide knowledge of early history and the rest are at a loss, even if we accept this latest cup-marking hypothesis, what on earth the early readers of such inscriptions made of them we cannot imagine.

VEDIC HYMNS.

Translated from the Rigveda, with Introduction and Notes, by
Edward J. Thomas, M.A., D.Litt. London (Murray); pp. 128;
8s. 6d. net.

OUT of the 1,028 Hymns of India's most ancient scripture Dr. E. J. Thomas, Lecturer in Bengali at Oxford, selects 61 for translation in this penultimate little volume of the educative Wisdom of the East series. The short Introduction is sufficient for the purpose, and the prose of the versions is rhythmic and reads well. It is, however, difficult for a modern Western mind to come into immediate touch with the spirit of the hymns, no matter how adequate the rendering may be; and we take it that even for Indians who have been taught from childhood to regard them with the deepest reverence, it is only when they are chanted in the original and in the ancient mode that the vast majority of them at any rate can be really impressive. They belong to a very distant past and are to-day instructive mainly as illustrations of early Aryan nature-worship, before the rational element in religion began to assert itself. It would indeed be somewhat difficult to select from the general run of the hymns even a modest anthology of verses that could make a direct universal appeal to the religious.

consciousness of our own times. One hymn, however, stands out as a whole, in the latest part of the collection, and is directly anticipatory of the lofty spirit of the Upanishads which laid the foundations of Indian religious philosophy and started the process of sublimation which has made of the Vedānta one of the most typical developments of spiritual religion. It is perhaps the best known utterance of the Rigvedic seers in the West owing to its frequent translation by Orientalists. Dr. Thomas fittingly concludes his selection with a version of the sonorous phrases of what may be called 'The Song of the Beginnings,' and we cannot do better than quote it to show the quality of his rendering:

"1. The non-existent was not, the existent was not then; air was not, nor the firmament which is beyond. What stirred? Where? Under whose shelter? Was the deep abyss water?

"2. Death was not, immortality was not then; no distinction was there of night and day. That One breathed, windless, self-dependent. Other than That there was naught beyond.

"3. Darkness there was, plunged in darkness in the beginning; undistinguished water was all this. That which was, was covered with the void; through the power of heat was produced the One.

"4. Desire first stirred in it, desire that was the first seed of spirit. The connection of the existent in the non-existent the sages found, seeking in their hearts with wisdom.

"5. Their cord was stretched across. Was there a below? Was there an above? Impregnators there were; powers there were; will was below; endeavour was above.

"6. Who verily knows? Who will here declare whence this creation is born, whence it is? On this side are the Gods through the creation of the universe; who then knows whence it has come into existence?

"7. Whence this creation has come into existence, whether he established it or did not, he who is its overseer, in the highest firmament, he verily knows, or he knows not."

Typical Indian thought has always been averse from dogmatizing on the Ultimate Reality and here for the first time eloquently formulates its protest.

YOGA AS PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

By Surendranath Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D. (California), Ph.D. (Cantab.), Professor of Philosophy, Presidency College, Calcutta. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 200; 10s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR S. N. Dasgupta, is an admirable Sanskritist with high philosophical training and equipment, as is testified by his most important work, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, of which we are awaiting Volume II. He has already written a thesis on Yoga and contributed a paper to our own pages on the subject. The present work incorporates part of the material of his thesis and largely expands it, but by no means exhausts Prof. Dasgupta's fertility in this direction, for he has completed a further work, entitled *Yoga Philosophy in relation to Other Systems of Indian Thought*. Our author's instructive study is of course based on the great classic of Yoga, Patañjali's *Yoga-sūtra*; but he also shows an intimate acquaintance not only with the major commentaries but with the relevant works of mediæval writers—a rare accomplishment. The *Yoga-sūtra*, owing to its concise style, is a very difficult classic to expound, as everyone knows who has attempted to wrestle with a translation. Western amateurs, in search of Yoga-processes, who attempt to gloss it imaginatively, only mislead themselves and others. Assuredly the practical side of Yoga is the aspect that chiefly intrigues an ever increasing number of minds in the West; but to set forth this side of Patañjali's *Rāja-yoga* with real insight requires a first-hand experience that few, if any, modern scholars are possessed of. Prof. Dasgupta makes this quite clear in his Preface when writing: "If any one wishes methodically to pursue a course which may lead him ultimately to the goal arrived at by Yoga, he must devote his entire life to it under the strict practical guidance of an advanced teacher. The present work can in no sense be considered as a practical guide for such purposes. But it is also erroneous to think—as many uninformed people do—that the only interest of Yoga lies in its practical side. The philosophical, psychological, cosmological, ethical, and religious doctrines, as well as its doctrines regarding matter and change, are extremely interesting in themselves, and have a definitely assured place in the history of the progress of human thought; and, for a right understanding of the essential features of the

higher thought of India, as well as of the practical side of Yoga, their knowledge is indispensable."

From this standpoint our author's exposition is able and valuable and a credit to Indian scholarship. We have read it with profit, and are clearer on a number of points, chiefly with regard to the evolutionary ground and the nature of the principle of change operated by the interplay of the three *gunas*, on which fundamental modes Prof. Dasgupta's labours of exegesis are specially praiseworthy. The volume, however, requires very careful reading, and is at times beyond the competence of the non-Sanskritist to follow. This is the great handicap with all such expositions for the general reader in the West. We fully recognize how very difficult it is to render many, if not most, of the technical terms into European speech, based as it is on an alien thought-tradition. Prof. Dasgupta frequently does elucidate the meaning by discussion and gives at times suggestive renderings; but this done, the Sanskrit term is thereafter employed and the reader, if he be a student, has to turn back to refresh his memory, and if not a student is confused. Until more consideration in this respect is shown for the needs of European readers, we fear that Indian philosophy and the rest will not receive the attention that is their due as a very important contribution to the systematic thinking of humanity, and as a valuable portion of our general cultural heritage. The West badly needs Yoga of some sort, and Indian experience in this discipline is rich, and deserving of the most serious study, so as to discover the elements in it best suited to the needs of our own day.

FREEDOM AND GROWTH.

And Other Essays. By Edmond Holmes. London (Dent); pp. 312; 7s. 6d. net.

THIS volume contains sixteen essays, spread over a space of ten years (1912-1922), and now reprinted from *The Nineteenth Century* (6), *The Hibbert Journal* (4) and our own pages (4). These studies contain some of the most weighty pronouncements of our distinguished colleague, and are marked by his characteristic outspokenness and courage, not infrequently punctuated by his incisive criticism, and always pervaded by his high idealism. Perhaps the most important is the one whose superscription Holmes has chosen out to give the collection its general title. He here agrees with those who extricate themselves from the

endless intellectual controversy concerning determinism and indeterminism by resting their faith in freedom on feeling and action rather than on logic. Thus he writes (p. 167): "When we surrender ourselves to the pressure of a higher motive, the stronger does our sense of freedom become. I find it difficult to account for these feelings except on the hypothesis that freedom is spiritual necessity or compulsion from within." In general, looking back on and analysing his own experience, our essayist finds that there is one point on which he has never wavered: "I am as free as I feel myself to be. This feeling is its own guarantee; and no argument that draws its premises from a lower level of experience can invalidate it in the court of reason or shake my faith in its authority." The brevity of this notice must not be taken as an indication of the amplitude of value of these essays; our words are few, because we have so often in the past expressed at length our high appreciation of our colleague's valuable contributions to subjects in which we have ourselves a profound and abiding interest.

PROBLEMS OF BELIEF.

By Ferdinand Canning Scott Schiller, M.A., D.Sc., Fellow and Senior Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London (Hodder & Stoughton); pp. 194; 8s. 6d. net.

OUR protagonist of Humanism and of unconventional common-sense philosophy in general always provides us with a breezy volume; there is a genial cynicism in his utterances, mingled with adventurous tilting against the idols of conventional thinking,—especially against the gods of formal logic, and not infrequently lightened with skill in turning an epigram. But wherever his voyaging may carry him, there is always a setting of his course with an eye to pragmatic values. Where Dr. Schiller is of special interest to the majority of our readers is that he keeps abreast with the most recent work of progressive psychology, and is not neglectful of the facts emerging from the laboratories of psychical research. His analysis and review of the nature of beliefs are stimulating and illuminating. He is on the side of William James, who, when later on referring to his own study *The Will to Believe*, declared that a better description of what he was contending for, would have been *The Right to Believe*. The outcome of the enquiry from the standpoint of Humanism is on the side of beliefs which favour indeterminism. "We are not merely insignificant pawns in the cosmic game, but

also *players*, who contribute, however little, to its outcome." Therefore, on the last page, Schiller writes: "In this way, then, we are free to steer our course, to shape our beliefs, and, by enacting them, to take our humble share in the making of the world. It is not true that necessity, inscrutable and irresistible, determines every move within an immutable Whole. It is true only that we may not transgress the orbits of the possible. But the real is not wholly rigid, and *the way we take it makes a difference*. We need not take as final truth a reality that seems utterly revolting. So at the core of being there is always found a human *value-judgment*, which approves the reality it acknowledges. It forms the axis on which our life revolves, and we can make, withhold, or vary it. It is never mere acceptance of a 'given,' but always an interpretation which selects, and rejects, 'appearances.' And its intention is prophetic. It is justified, or falsified, by the consequences it entails. Thus the all-pervasive pressure of a final act of Faith may never be omitted from a survey of beliefs."

SURVIVAL.

Edited by Sir James Marchant, K.B.E., LL.D. London
(Putnam's); pp. 199; 7s. 6d.

WE have here a companion volume to the one on *Immortality* which was noticed in our last issue. The contributors, with one exception, are all convinced that survival is now a demonstrated fact, and their combined testimony and reviewing of different aspects of this great question makes the book a serviceable introduction to put into the hands of an unprejudiced enquirer. The writers are all prominent personages in or supporters of the movement called 'spiritualistic,' and are as follows: Sir Oliver Lodge, Stanley de Brath, Lady Grey of Fallodon, Prof. Camille Flammarion, Sir Edward Marshall-Hall, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, David Gow (Editor of *Light*), Rev. C. Drayton Thomas, J. Arthur Hill, and the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton. Standing apart is Prof. Charles Richet, who wholeheartedly accepts the reality of the phenomena of all classes, but who has hitherto rejoiced to pose as an intransigent or die-hard of the old rationalistic Victorian school of scientist,—no thought without physical brain, etc. He, however, now to all intents and purposes, if logic is applied to his statement, climbs down from his precious materialistic perch, and resigns himself to the inevitable, though with a very bad grace, indeed with a most

curious face-saving quibble. He would now argue that, if there is survival, the entities who survive, can no longer be deemed *human intelligences*, seeing they have no longer a brain or physical organism. But this is a most flagrant, if not pitiful, *petitio principii*. Prof. Richet indeed now accepts the existence of intelligent activity apart from a physical brain; but in order to square this with his reiterated prior denials, he would conceive it as *non-human*, and proceeds to enumerate the following entirely unscientific theory of discontinuity. "Such hypothetical intelligent forces, independent of a material substratum, have nothing in common with human intelligence. We may well suppose at the outset [however] that intelligent beings other than these are about us and may be associated with our evolution, although they be free from the mechanical, physical, anatomical and chemical conditions under which we live." This attempt theoretically to dehumanize the hereafter, in the case of one who accepts the phenomena without hesitation, is a desperate expedient at face-saving which does violence to both scientific and philosophic thinking. And it is all the more flagrant a perversity, seeing that Prof. Richet himself knows quite well that the 'spirit hypothesis' invariably posits the continuance of a *subtle material organism* after death, and has no belief in a naked purely immaterial 'spirit,' so that the mind-body relation still holds in principle. We wonder what his rationalistic friends will say to having this new order of non-human intelligence dumped on them? And yet, in spite of his revolutionary innovation in this regard, the die-hard temper of old-fashioned rationalism still flickers spasmodically in the last words of our veteran psychical researcher in France, though painfully feeble in its hesitating and confused final utterance: "Until some approach to proof comes before me, I shall consider the Spiritualistic theory as a *working-hypothesis*, moderately probable, convenient and perhaps of use for the study of the phenomena. That is all." Yes, it is the last kick; for there is nothing in the new theory that can save the life of the old rationalistic pose. Indeed it asks us to believe far more than the 'spirit hypothesis' requires of us.

PROTESTANT MODERNISM IN HOLLAND.

By Eldred C. Vanderlaan, S.T.M. London (Oxford University Press); pp. 124; 5s. net.

THIS informative review has been accepted by the Union Theological Seminary, New York, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor

of Theology. We have very great pleasure in recommending it to our Modernist friends and colleagues, and especially to those of the clergy who are fighting the Modernist battle in this country. It is an able tracing of the history of the development—the causes and fortunes—of the Modernizing movements in Holland among the liberal clergy of the Reformed Churches. In so doing Mr. Vanderlaan brings out with clear understanding the underlying principles at issue, and the gist of the attempts to formulate a theology in keeping with present-day requirements. The most useful feature of the treatise, in our opinion, is the object-lesson which the fortunes of Dutch advanced liberalism present for those engaged in a similar effort in this country. Careful study of these should help our Modernists to profit by the experience of their fellow-pioneers in Holland. The general tendency of the more radical leaders (and Holland has produced the most radical of all schools of criticism) has been to move towards a Unitarian position, and to stress the oldest elements in the documents which portray the features of a genuinely historic human Jesus. A small number of the most radical representatives of the movement have found themselves compelled to leave the ministry and take to letters and journalism; others have started independent churches, but so far without any great success. Many of the moderate liberals bravely decided to take their congregations into their confidence and tried to educate them. At the same time a more democratic basis of church-government was set going. The result has been so far a complete set-back. There is no greater obstacle to liberal religious progress than the 'ecclesiastical layman'; he is a 'fair terror,' and vastly more reactionary than the conservative parson; his capacity for religious education is indeed minimal. The present outcome of this attempt of the liberal clergy to win their congregations to modern views is that the ingrained reactionary elements of the laity, when once they had got the power of appointment or election into their hands, have gradually boycotted the progressive clergy and filled the pulpits with the old orthodox brand of pastors. Thus a phase of re-fossilization has set in, and for the most part the old-fashioned evangelicals and pietists and fundamentalists are once more in the saddle within the churches. What, however, Mr. Vanderlaan does not tell us, is the state of affairs in face of this reaction with the educated laity who think for themselves. It is impossible to believe that this honest and courageous appeal of the leaders of progressive and liberal thought in Holland has

miserably failed in all respects really. It has failed only in this, that the reactionaries have retained their control of the organized work of the churches. The majority of the thinking religious lay-folk, we have every reason to believe as the result of enquiries made during several recent visits to Holland, are utterly disgusted and now remain away from the churches. Such a state of affairs must in the long run be utterly disastrous for healthy institutional religion in Holland. In spite, however, of this bad news from the Dutch front, English liberals should not be down-hearted. The policy of taking the laity into their confidence and educating them is the only one consistent with honesty and loyalty to truth. They too must 'go over the top'; they 'can no other,' remembering that, in the great work of spiritual culture, he who sets his hand to the plough and looks back is not fit for the Kingdom. The verdict of the British laity in the long run generally makes for common-sense accommodation.

CHRISTIAN BEGINNINGS.

Three Lectures by F. C. Burkitt, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. London (University of London Press); pp. 152; 4s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR BURKITT is one of those who count in the study of Christian origins. These three Lectures, delivered at King's College, London, address themselves in particular to the two important volumes (of the four contemplated) on the Acts, which have so far appeared (1920, 1922), under the general editorship of Prof. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, entitled *The Beginnings of Christianity*. In the main, as might be expected, Prof. Burkitt, who is one of the contributors to these truth-seeking volumes, is in agreement with the general tone of the expositions and the frankness of the statements of the editors. He has naturally differences of opinion on some points; but in general defends Jackson and Lake from the onslaughts of the traditionalists, who cannot tolerate any setting forth of the facts relating to Jesus if they are not on every occasion accompanied with a panegyric of his person. We always read with closest attention what comes from the pen of so ripe a scholar as F. Crawford Burkitt, and nearly always profit greatly by it; but every now and then he gives us somewhat of a jolt. For instance, his contention that John the Baptist was not an eschatological prophet, is in our humble opinion, as set forth in a recent volume,

clearly contrary to the literary facts of the relevant traditions. Here we think our friend is 'extra-vagant,' in the proper sense of the word, just as when in the past he has contended that the interpolated Jesus-passage in the classical Josephus is authentic, or that the *Pistis Sophia* miscellany was originally written in Coptic and not translated from the Greek. Is he right again in claiming that there was no Messianic pretender among the Jews prior to Bar Kochba (c. 135 A.D.)? Surely not. We doubt also whether the Tübingen theory of the Petro-Pauline controversy, originated by Baur, is quite in all respects so dead as Prof. Burkitt would have us believe. After quoting Jackson and Lake's statement: "It is one of the mistakes of the Tübingen School that it did not recognize that Peter, not only in Acts but also in the Pauline Epistles, is on the Hellenistic, not on the Hebrew side"—Burkitt adds: "This admirable sentence may be taken to mark the end of a long controversy." *Nous verrons*. The analysis of the Clementine Romances has still something historic to say on this subject. It would also perhaps have been better to qualify the statement that the Talmud *Mīnim*, or heretics, "are usually considered to be Jewish Christians"; that old-fashioned view is now completely undermined and the term is rightly held to be quite general. The linking-up of the New Birth idea in the Mystery-religions with the rare *terobolium* blood-bath, as though it was found only in this connection, is forgetful of the very numerous instances where it is not found; here in particular we would cite the Naassene Document and the splendidly spiritual view set forth in the Trismegistic documents. We have ventured to dissent on these points; but for the rest we have nothing but praise for these three instructive Lectures. Prof. Burkitt is always insistent, and quite rightly, on the immense importance of Mark as the most objective account, historically considered. Indeed, if his speculation that the young man in the linen garment of the Garden-scene of the Arrest may have been John Mark himself, could be entertained, it would make the writer of the oldest extant Gospel eye-witness of the events of the last week, and his account in this respect would be a most priceless possession. But how to establish this? For ourselves we see no possibility. As to the Mark-document, however, our painstaking critic does well to remind us that the missing completion, which is usually considered to have consisted of only one leaf of the single MS. to which the tradition of the text can be traced, may well have been larger; indeed he can himself accept the

hypothesis that it may have amounted to no less than 'a third of its original contents.' This is a valuable reminder; but we hardly think that we need jump so suddenly from a single leaf to, say, a score. But what if, instead of being in book-form, it was a papryus-roll?

MY PSYCHIC ADVENTURES.

By J. Malcolm Bird, Associate Editor, 'Scientific American.'
London (Allen & Unwin); pp. 309; 7s. 6d. net.

THE elaborately illustrated semi-popular periodical *The Scientific American* has for years been engaged in controversy with those whom it believes to be pretenders to scientific knowledge, not to mention cranks and charlatans. The last of its exploits in this respect has been to issue a challenge to mediums all the world over to produce psychical phenomena under the test conditions of a Committee appointed by itself, offering a lure of \$2,500 to any successful competitor. Before this Committee was appointed, however, the Editors were fair-minded enough to inform themselves to some extent of what they proposed to test. A representative accordingly was sent, under anonymity, to Europe to see for himself what took place at the general run of mediumistic *séances*. The Associate Editor, Mr. Bird, was himself this envoy, and through the good offices of Sir A. Conan Doyle got introductions to some of the best mediums over here. They were of course all ignorant both of Mr. Bird's identity and of his connection with *The Scientific American*. The mediums sat with included John Sloan, Mrs. Osborn Leonard, Evan Powell, Vout Peters, William Hope, Frau Vollhard (Berlin) and Miss Ada Bessinnet (an American, but on a visit to England). The detailed report of Mr. Bird's 'adventures' is brightly written, and shows every sign of endeavouring to give an accurate description of what was seen and heard. The general impression made by the volume is that the investigator has found himself compelled to take up the position of Balaam of old as far as the phenomena are concerned; he has to admit that they are on the whole genuine. His own view as to theory, however, is the absolute 'all in' telepathic-subconscious activity of living (*i.e.* incarnate) minds, and therewith the rejection in every possible case of the spirit-hypothesis,—an assumption that, so far from being justified by experience or experiment, frequently overstrains credulity to the breaking-point, and does violence both to philosophy and science. However, it gives Mr. Bird the satisfaction of posing as 'tough-minded' and

guards his editorial non-committal status. His language is not always as clear as could be wished in some of his descriptions, mainly perhaps because his diction is besprinkled with Americanisms, some of which are beyond us. 'Impassé' is a novelty, but it is cancelled out by 'resume.' To keep people in order is to 'call them down'; to change a 'control' is to 'turn the line over' to him. 'Back and forth' and 'way beyond' are familiar; but when we are told that Feda 'flubbed' something badly, we chuckle at the invention, but don't 'get him'; we should like to be 'put wise' to it. The 'movies' are helping us over here to understand somewhat of the snappy *lingua franca* of our Transatlantic cousins; but we did not expect to have to lament our neglected education in this respect so much in a semi-scientific account by the Associate Editor of *The Scientific American*. Still it must be admitted it does liven things up. The book is useful to put into the hands of sceptics and will certainly do no harm to the 'spiritualistic' movement.

LIVING RELIGIONS:

A Plea for the Larger Modernism. By Victor Branford. London (Leplay House Press); pp. 290; 5s. net.

THIS volume was published immediately in connection with the recent Conference on Some Living Religions within the Empire, held in London from Sept. 22 to Oct. 8, and organized jointly by the School of Oriental Studies and the Sociological Society. Mr. Victor Branford, for long Secretary of the Society and now editor of *The Sociological Review*, is naturally chiefly interested in bringing out the sociological aspect as of prime importance as a synthetic factor in the activities of religions and the hall-mark of their vitality. He pleads eloquently for the closest co-operation between religion, philosophy, science and art, and is full of suggestions as to how they can most effectively work together. The only religion, however, with which our author deals is Hinduism, selecting it presumably because it covers so many various forms of belief and practice, thus illustrating the principle of unity in diversity. For the rest he puts forward the Geddes programme of synthetic reform, and writes enthusiastically of the various schemes for social betterment on which Leplay House is so busily engaged. Civics, regional surveys, town-planning, garden-cities, international and organically planned universities, and a score of other like interests fill his pages. The errors of the civilizations

and cultures of the past with the resulting present chaos are surveyed, and visions of 'what might be' plentifully besprinkle the volume. There is no chance of improvement, our author urges, unless in their several ways the typical members of the body politic are converted to the gospel of synergy, and cloister, study, studio, laboratory and workshop work together. The ideal of what he calls the Larger Modernism thus requires that the range of the redemptive process should be widened. To the moral conversion of the reformer must be added the intellectual conversion of the philosopher and scientist and the æsthetic conversion of poet and artist. Mr. Branford, like Professor Patrick Geddes himself, tries valiantly to see the promise of a great future in certain moderate beginnings of the present. Social life must be understandingly reorganized from A to Z and co-ordinated, and equal opportunity given for the development of all the various occupations and interests that engage the various types of mind and natural capacities of every element and order of the body politic. This particular school of neo-sociology is overflowing with ideas, and gives one the impression that it is prepared to furnish graphs and plans, plottings and maps for everything in heaven and earth at a moment's notice. Its conviction is that mechanistic science has had its innings, and must now make way for the vital disciplines of psychology and sociology to do their complementary work; we have had an orgy of analysis and must now soberly go to work to synthesize, build up, edify, beautify life in every department. The Larger Modernism is a suggestive label for the practical efforts for betterment all round which Mr. Branford has in view.

LOTUSES OF THE MAHĀYĀNA.

Edited by Kenneth Saunders, Translator and Editor of 'The Heart of Buddhism,' etc. London (Murray); pp. 63; 2s. 6d. net.

THOUGH a Christian and engaged in missionary work, Mr. Saunders is a sincere admirer of the Tathāgata and the ethical grandeur of the Dhamma. The little volume before us is a nosegay, rather than anthology, of short extracts from works of that Progressive Buddhism known as the Great Vehicle. They are well phrased, sometimes put into verse, and taken from translations from Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese and Japanese. Many are beautiful; some are exquisite. It is a pleasant addition to the Wisdom of the East series edited by our old friend L. Cranmer-Byng.

THE COMPANY OF AVALON.

A Study of the Script of Brother Symon, Sub-Prior of Winchester Abbey in the Time of King Stephen. By F. Bligh Bond, F.R.I.B.A. Oxford (Basil Blackwell); pp. 159; 7s. 6d. net.

THE Glastonbury automatic scripts are becoming richly voluminous. Mr. Bligh Bond now adds a third volume to what promises to be quite a series, the first two of which were the much discussed and ably presented *Gate of Remembrance* and *Hill of Vision*. Though not an automatist himself, our friend co-operates so sympathetically and understandingly with his subconscious script-writers that he plays an important part in the multiple psychic complex or poly-psychical construct, as is evident from his work with the very capable automatic writers, Capt. J. Allen Bartlett and Mrs. Hester Travers Smith (so well known for the Oscar Wilde script). In addition he has attracted to him the extensive outputs of two other psychic scriptists, who at present remain anonymous—'Mr. Lloyd' and 'Brother Symon,' who is a lady. Both these new series of scripts are also concerned with what purport to be monkish memories of and memoirs of the famous Abbey and its strata of once existent churches. Whatever we may think of this mass of script, however we may analyse, criticise and evaluate the contents, it is all indubitably a rich material for the psychical researcher to exercise his ingenuity upon. A detailed review is out of the question; the points and problems at issue are far too numerous to attempt it. What especially interests us, out of many other interests, is the claim on the part of the communicators to give a history of Glaston onwards from the time of the asserted building of the first Christian church in Britain by Joseph of Arimathea and his twelve companions, on the plan of a central round wattle shrine surrounded by twelve wattle circular cubicles, somewhere about 47/48 A.D., prefaced by an account of Joseph's leaving Palestine and his coming to Britain with his company, in keeping with the familiar style of the well-known Apocryphal Acts and later hagiographical legends and marvels galore, out of which the keenest student of history is hard put to it to distill any essence of reliable fact. Later on, as we are carried through the centuries in the Glastonbury scripts, we come across more dependable statements, some of which are probable enough, and others distinctly controllable by known data. In general, as far as we have got at present in our study of these remarkable script-series, we are inclined to believe that for the

later period at any rate we are dealing with echoes of collective monkish memories ; but as for the early legendary matter, we feel bound to ascribe it simply to what the later monks fervently themselves believed at a time when criticism of such pious fables and traditions was non-existent. In those days vision and romance combined and permuted freely from earlier similar hagiographical material. The early Middle Age and the later lived in such dreams ; the ambition of every monastic foundation with any pretension to age was to trace its origin back to as early times as possible. If it could not assert apostolic provenance, at any rate it strove to get as near to this as possible ; failing so high a claim, it would boast itself to be in possession of the most sacred relics or hallows of one of the protagonists of the earliest faith or even of Jesus himself. So with Glastonbury and its claim to be founded by one who buried the sacred body, caught in a wooden bowl the sacred blood and sweat, and preserved them as a priceless wonder-working and vision-producing means. (See in this connection *The Glastonbury Scripts*, V. and VI., put pleasantly into verse by Mr. Bligh Bond, respectively entitled: *The Rose Miraculous—How Joseph of Arimathea came to Glaston, bearing in his Bosom the Sangreal*, and *How the Grail appeared to Brother Mathias of Eirenn, and How the Gold Chalice of Glaston was wrought in its Likeness when Brother Petrus received the Signs of our Lord's Wounds*—1s. 6d. and 1s. respectively, to be had of the Secretary, Abbot's Leigh, Glastonbury). Not only, we are asked to credit, did Joseph bring the sacred issues of blood and sweat transformed into a precious jewel to Glaston, but also chips of the true cross. Now if Glaston from the beginning had chips of the sacred rood, of which it would not fail to have boasted itself far and wide, why should we have the later universally-spread legend of the *Inventio Crucis*, the Finding of the Cross by Helena, mother of Constantine, in the 4th century ? Up to that date Christendom confessed it had no knowledge whatever of what had become of the hallowed instrument. Again, if Brother Petrus showed the *stigmata* in 720 A.D., why do we hear nothing of this sacred signature till the days of St. Francis in the 13th century ? That the monks later on honestly believed these pious stories is doubtless a fact, and that they would have no hesitation in asserting their historicity is quite natural. Moreover in the romantic hither-hereafter from which so much of this legendary material comes, they doubtless would see pictures corresponding to their one-time earth-beliefs. There is much more we should

like to say about *The Company of Avalon*, but space is precious. We cannot, however, refrain from regretting that Mr. Bligh Bond did not keep his letter-number juggling out of it. It has nothing to do with the scripts proper; and even if the number-values of the selected lists of names of the Twelve Tribes and Twelve Apostles were not clearly obtained by fudging, the special numbers thus confected have no very illuminating significance. But apart from criticism, these scripts are replete with interest for students of psychology and psychical research, and very fascinating indeed for impressionable minds who have the facile will to believe that Glastonbury is directly and straitly bound up with names associated with the very foundations of Christianity. For such it is as attractive as the parallel persuasion that the inhabitants of this Island are no other than the descendants of the Lost Ten Tribes—all exceedingly flattering to our natural self-conceit, and our good opinion of ourselves; but history of this-plane events and happenings it is not.

THE NATURE OF LOVE.

By Emmanuel Berl. Authorized Translation by Fred Rothwell.
London (Chapman & Hall); pp. 242; 12s. 6d. net.

THIS book is translated from the French of a young idealist philosopher, who is a competent psychologist and a man of letters. As M. Berl rightly says, the psychology and the philosophy of feeling have as yet scarcely come to birth. It is therefore not to be expected that the chief passion of mankind can be rightly gauged; at best it can only be provisionally surveyed. This our author attempts to do, interspersing his survey with suggestive reflections. His standpoint is one with which in part at least many of our readers will be inclined to be in sympathy. "My conception of love," he writes, "which I look upon as a momentary, and therefore tragic, participation in a vaster reality than itself, is not far removed from the mystical conception." Where some of us will hesitate is the question of momentariness. Love at its best should be the most constant of all things; however momentary its fruition of any special object may be, it abides in self-donation. Of this highest mystical conception of love, which overcomes all opposition, M. Berl says little; he treats of a lower range and ends his volume as follows:

"Love cannot cease being a dialectic. It aims after an impossible synthesis of irreducible elements and endeavours to give effect to potencies that are irreconcilable. Each one of its

states tires it; change is its law. Still, as regards this fatigue which compels love to undergo transformation, as regards the rhythm that this change follows, we do not think it necessary to explain them by appealing to anything else than the nature of love itself. There is no occasion to incriminate either the nature of the person or that of the body. The rhythm peculiar to the life of each man is evolved in the love he feels—and in itself would prevent love from being permanent. But even if this obstacle were overcome—and it would seem that, in certain mystical experiences, it has been at all events very nearly overcome—love would still suffer from a kind of nostalgia. Son of Poros and Penia, in poverty it looks longingly upon the happiness supplied by abundance, and in abundance it regrets the enthusiastic courage called forth by poverty.

"Its rhythmic motion is due to the fact that at each moment one of its ends is unrealized, that one of its powers has not been functioning. It is an incessant fall from eternity into time; an incessant rebound from time back into eternity."

LA PÈLERINAGE À LA MEKKE.

Étude d'Histoire Religieuse. Par Gaudefroy-Demombynes. Annales du Musée Guimet. Paris (Geuthner); pp. 832; frs. 50.

THIS is a scholarly and carefully-documented study of the origin and development of that central Moslem religious institution and duty, the Pilgrimage to Mecca. It is the most capable exposition of the subject with which we are acquainted. It must, however, be confessed that in spite of the author's painstaking efforts to throw light on the genesis of the exaggerated sanctity ascribed to the Ka'ba, its housing and the holy territory, it is exceedingly difficult for a non-Moslem to be greatly impressed either with the narrative of its beginnings or the description of some of the chief *sacra*. It seems all so inchoate and vague; yet in spite of all, there it is, the centre of Islam-wide piety and devotion. Faith is a marvellous transformer and sublimator, if not actually a creator.

NEW LIGHT ON THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE.

By Rev. C. E. DOUGLAS, S.F. (The Faith Press); pp. 160; 6s. net.

ANY one who writes on the strangely mixed symbolism of the John-Apocalypse is putting his head into a hornet's nest, to say the least of it. Father Douglas is exceedingly contemptuous of his predecessors, and especially of the scholarly critics not only of

the substance but of the form of this highly puzzling document. He lashes most severely those who reject or try to emend many of the Received readings. But if nothing else could have persuaded him to suspend his scourges, surely the studies by Mr. H. C. Hoskier, which have been appearing for the last two years in the *Bulletin* of the John Ryland's Library, Manchester, prove beyond cavil with literary objectivity that the first thing we require is a purged text. These painstaking investigations are the most thorough piece of work that has ever been attempted in the domain of textual criticism, covering for the first time the whole palæographical field of any single biblical document,—the microscopic investigation by one pair of eyes of upwards of 200 MSS. The most ancient readings are proved conclusively to differ widely in very numerous places, not only from Stephanus, but even from the best critically revised modern texts. But apart from the lower criticism, we do not understand why the present commentator should be so indignant, when he himself uses the same method with regard to background which other students of comparative religion use in higher criticism, and elaborately tries to prove that the central scheme in the symbolism has to be traced back to the ancient Kabir-theology,—about which we know very little indeed, and are by no means assured of Mr. Douglas's speculative attempts at reconstruction. Nor are we quite clear what the commentator means by his frequent assertion that 'St. John' is 're-writing the symbolism for his purpose' (p. 86) or 're-arranging a familiar apocalyptic synthesis' (p. 79), or that 'the earlier (pre-Christ) symbolism is frequently remodelled' (p. 64). Or again what we are to make of the statement?—"He (John) is no clumsy Redaktor, but the prophet who gave the mystic tradition of the Greco-Semitic border the Christian dress in which we have it. The subsidiary 'authors' from whom that prophet borrows are of historical rather than of literary interest." From the time of Vischer the most fertile hypothesis has been that the original document, the *Urschrift*, was a thoroughly Jewish apocalypse, and that this has been adapted and overworked by a Christian hand or hands; and certainly the brilliant textual research to which we have above drawn the attention of the reader, amply sustains this supposal. This being so, the conviction of Mr. Douglas that *Revelation* "was written somewhere about A.D. 50 by a Jewish Christian of the inner knowledge" (p. 95) is rendered exceedingly hazardous, if he means that it was then 'written' or composed from first to last by a Christian. He himself admits 'the re-arranging of a familiar

apocalyptic synthesis,' but seems to hold that this was oral rather than 'literary.' The phenomena, however, point all the other way. With regard to the elaborate schematology Mr. Douglas has endeavoured to work out, he has to admit himself that it is obscure or even breaks down on a number of points, and personally it seems to us over-ingenious. The book is also full of interesting but obscure and difficult points in comparative mythology and Old Mediterranean religions; but speculations concerning these can be multiplied and combated with little hope of agreement in our present state of knowledge.

Father Douglas's concluding words, however, are of special interest as bringing in the suggestion of possible connection between the John the Baptizer movement and the original of the *Apocalypse*, though it is by no means novel to ourselves and we should read it in a different perspective from what his phrasing of it suggests. He writes in his final words: "If the John who wrote *Revelation* was not the John of tradition (disciple of the Baptist, beloved of Jesus, one of the twelve), I should personally be quite prepared to accept 'in Patmos' and the names of the Seven *Ecclesiæ* as a gloss and attribute the final incorporation of the *Apocalypse* of the Lamb to John the Baptist. For it is very certain that the *Apocalypse of Jesus Christ* is what he was sent to declare." But is that so 'very certain'? Our recent studies on John the Baptizer make us hesitate.

SWEDENBORG, PHILOSOPHER AND VISIONARY.

Swedenborg, eine Studie über seine Entwicklung zum Mystiker und Geisterseher. Von Martin Lamm. Leipzig (Felix Meiner) 1923; pp. viii.+380; 8s.

THE literature on Swedenborg is immense; but in spite of this I have always found that his main doctrines are almost unknown to the general intelligent public. How else can it be explained, e.g., that not a single critic of G. B. Shaw's *Man and Superman* has noticed, any more than the dramatist-philosopher himself, that the remarkable conception of Heaven and Hell set forth in Don Juan Tanner's midnight dream,—man not being sent to Heaven or to Hell in the next world, but going there of his own free will, not being able to stay where he cannot follow for ever the unchangeable innermost upward or downward bent of his deepest self,—is purest Swedenborg, besides being the one doctrine of so-called retribution which is not blasphemously inconsistent with a true understanding of the ideas of divine justice and grace.

As a matter of fact the public cannot be severely blamed for its ignorance in this case; for most of the literature published by the Swedenborgian 'New Church' is too resemblant to missionary tracts to allure the reader, while on the other hand the theological literature produced by divines of other denominations, and still more a number of purely secular essays, are sadly devoid of sympathy with the subject. In particular the attempts to show that the great visionary was a lunatic are—and this is saying a good deal—even more distasteful and stupid than the general mass of investigations of the life and work of mankind's geniuses by modern alienists.

So there was room for an unbiassed work on Swedenborg as a thinker and philosopher and on the consistent and natural development of his system under the influence of his visions, and we are greatly indebted to the Swedish scholar Martin Lamm for his excellent work on the subject. Its particular attraction for English readers will be found in the chapter which explains the spiritual descent of Swedenborg's system from the philosophy of the Cambridge Platonists (especially Cudworth and More) and from the—so often overlooked—mystical elements in John Locke's doctrine of intuition. The book is admirably produced and very tastefully bound.

R. E.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE UPANIṢADS.

By S. Radhakrishnan. With a Foreword by Rabindranath Tagore and an Introduction by Edmond Holmes. London (Allen & Unwin); pp. 148; 5s. net.

THIS is a section extracted from our esteemed contributor's arresting volume *Indian Philosophy* (Vol. I.), which we have already reviewed. The Professor of Philosophy at Calcutta University is an excellent guide towards a just appreciation of these priceless tractates of India's earliest religious philosophical thought, and his exposition is a healthy corrective to Gough's superficial and supercilious book of a generation ago bearing the same title. We heartily recommend Prof. Radhakrishnan's labours to our readers. But would that we had a translation in English comparable in diction and extent to Deussen's famous German version of not only the classical 11/12, but of some 50 of the minor Upanishads as well! The best way to get into the atmosphere and contact the spirit of the Upanishads is to read what they say, and not what people say about them.

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THE QUEST

THE ENIGMA OF SIN AND IGNORANCE.

THE EDITOR.

I.—GENERAL.

TEXTS of scripture, the oft-quoted words or utterances of old-time prophets and sages, are so familiar to the mass of the followers of the various great faiths, that they seldom compel vivid attention, much less arouse a questioning attitude of mind among the general. Thus, for instance, the oft-repeated gospel-saying "Many are called, but few chosen" is prone to act either as a soporific or as a hypnotic suggestion. By dint of repetition it becomes unquestioningly accepted by believers as a brief summary of fundamental religious fact,—an ungainsayable statement of the experience of spiritual life. The elect are few; it is hard for mortals to enter into life. Not only so, but we are assured that though all run, one alone receiveth the prize. Such utterances seem to the unreflecting plain enough commonplaces, simple truisms, in this contentious

world of fierce competition. But does this order of conflict obtain in the heart of reality? How can we reconcile this 'devil take the hindmost' notion with the spiritual ideal welling up from the depths of wisdom, that at the heart of things there is for ignorant struggling mortals all-embracing love and infinite compassion?¹

But fortunately for the progressive life of thought there is seldom,—in the nature of things indeed there can hardly be,—any utterance which has become stereotyped as sacred, or even a proverbial saying of the folk, without its opposite or complement,—rarely a text without its sheer contrary. These dogmatic pronouncements are all, singly taken, partial existential judgments; seeing that human life here in the concrete is a complex of contradictions, a medley of gainsayings,—a continuous paradox. Brief and pithy, picturesque, easy to remember, such pronouncements charm and fascinate. But though brevity may be the soul of wit, it does not necessarily follow that terse verbal description of the habitual in this life is the soul of wisdom.

In a spiritually conceived of universe value holds pre-eminence; and therefore as a category of thought the concept of quality has precedence over that of quantity,—both spatial and temporal quantity. Now it is in the temporal order of the process of becoming that the few are invariably seen to outstrip the many; and this is so because we are here confined to the limitations

¹ This traditional dogma of the 'many-few' relation is of course not peculiar to Christianity in the history of religion; it is common enough. In close association both of wording and idea with the above gospel-saying the student of the Western mystery traditions cannot fail to remember, for instance, the very similar Orphic phrase handed on by Plato: "Many thyrsus-bearers, few Bacchi,"—importing that many share in the outer rites, the institutional doings, but few receive the inner benediction of the God.

of earth-clock reckoning and to the phenomena of material and mental competition. Our ingrained habit of thought transfers the notion of this habitual sensible experience to the spiritual sphere. But is this legitimate? If we must retain this competition-concept, it can have real value only if highly sublimated. In spiritual things assuredly it can no longer be regarded as competition, as strife and struggle with our fellows; rather should it be envisaged as zest in self-purification and in helpfulness. We have to become ourselves the path whereby we travel on the way home in the 'great return' of the many to the One; and in so doing we make easier the path for others. Nay more—this work of the spirit is of universal value; it ever has as its concern the whole.

Not without reason then are we bound to hold that divine justice can be no respecter of persons; that, therefore, all, and not only many, must be called in the time-transcending reality of the spirit; and that consequently in time and in fine all will be welcomed home. To such a view of the divine beneficence I, for my own part at least, must gladly yea-say. For how can anything short of such merciful universalism be conceived to satisfy infinite love?¹

Heartened by such a truly spiritual creed, those who thus believe, may boldly contend that what seems to the best in us to be the perverse misdoing and

¹ Here we would deny that we are simply abstracting and airily soaring to the heights of *a priori* speculation concerning the divine. On the contrary, we affirm that we remain in the concrete, and base ourselves on actual observation here and now of human fact and practice. For we find, as a concrete fact of human experience, that it is possible in some cases for the doors of even the imperfect human heart to be set wide open to compassion for every living creature. How much more then must this spiritual quality of immeasurable value characterize the all-bounteous superfluity of the Good—that supreme mystery of the (thus legitimately inferred) boundless love and endless mercy of Deity, passing all human understanding?

misliving of the still outgoing Many,—which has been undeniably the most prevalent way-of-going wherein the mass of our common human nature has ever journeyed, as long as we have any record of it,—that this so general ‘sinning,’ as it is termed, must in every particular have been expected and understood by any wisdom that can be rightly deemed divine; must then have been foreseen and allowed for in the nature of things; and therefore must be judged far otherwise than according to any conceivable standard set up by our short-sighted human views of so-called justice.

In brief, over against the harsh ‘Many called, few chosen’-dogma, compassion, and infinitely more so love, compels us to set the tolerant notion ‘Many ignorant, few sinful.’ And therewith we raise on high the standard of optimism over against pessimism, of hope over against despair. What has been only too often in the past the deadening creed of a misbegotten religiosity, gives place to the life-giving faith of a genuinely spiritual religion. The creed of this faith holds that no human being could ever have been created, could ever have been called into existence,—if such phrases have any longer precise meaning for us,—by the Good God, with the deliberate intention,—much less at the sheer hazard,—that it would or could run the risk of utter loss. The gospel of this supremely beneficent faith must then needs regard with horror what it cannot but feel to be the savage imagining by perverse piety,—the worst impiety of all,—of any such cruelly deliberate act on the part of deity as could by any possibility result in the eternal damnation of a single human soul. For this love-faith, so inhuman a thought must be judged to proceed from the depths of unreason; it is for it a nightmare issuing from the subconscious

past and bred of unreasoning fear. Its persistence in the confused thinking of no few even to-day seems to the compassionate heart of the spiritually-minded no better than a satanistic superstition, which blasphemes the righteousness of the All-holy. To think so pitiless a thought, as the uncharity of intolerant fanaticism has in the past not only thought, but rejoiced to think, appears to charity, to love, as the setting up of the creature,—the fiction,—of a diseased imagination on the throne of high heaven, and the bowing down to a monstrous idol begotten of man's own fear and cruelty. If we humans must continue perforce to try to fashion God in our own image, then in God's name let us fashion our deity out of the best and not the worst elements in our imperfect nature. But surely the time has at long last come when such a grossly anthropomorphic maltreatment of the Holiest should cease, and no such pitiful misconception of the Supreme Mystery be any longer tolerated in high religion. Let it be granted that even the relative 'how' of things in general is very hard to come at for our feeble understanding, and that as to the ultimate reason of them, it is quite beyond human power to compass. But this at least we can hold to in reason-lit faith, that, if God is not better than the very best in ourselves,—than even the very best we can possibly imagine we may become,—then he is no fit object of our worship.

This ideal of inexhaustible divine benevolence, it must be confessed, is not a self-evident proposition. It rises out of the depths of faith; it is rooted in the ground of inmost feeling. Indeed it seems quite incapable of logical justification by the intellect, when confronted by the pitiless mechanism of physical nature. It has ever been so in the past; and by the

light of reason's own criticism of intellect's limitations it would seem that it must continue to be so in the future, within at any rate the realm of finite mind. For who, sentiment apart, even of the greatest of the world's illuminates, has declared or revealed to us the ultimate nature, much less the last reason, of things? As for us lesser folk,—we must needs, not only confess our utter ignorance of such high matters, but also, if we are honest with ourselves, be very conscious that, whatever awareness of knowing we may have, it is but the dim illumination of a very restricted area of relative facts in the darkness of a vast surround of unknowing. This seems to me to be the ground-fact with which self-analyzing reflection perforce must start in any attempt to formulate a tolerable philosophy of life. Nevertheless this clearly awared sense of ignorance pre-supposes, logically and psychologically, a latent power or capacity of knowing. And so it comes about, paradoxically enough, that the very sense of lack of knowledge is precisely the surest knowledge we possess.

Now it is very difficult for one who is keenly aware of his own nescience, and who at the same time is gifted with any capacity of real feeling with, or of sympathetic comprehension of, his fellows, to believe that any of them, had they but a faint glimmer even, of anything that could possibly be called knowledge of divine reality, should willingly 'sin.' Here we have our ground-problem, a paradox in its very statement. 'Sin' is by hypothesis an act of will; a man does not 'sin,' if the act committed is contrary to his will. Wrong action done in ignorance is not sin, but natural error. To commit sin, in the precise meaning of the phrase, thus signifies that the transgressor *really does*

know the better, and then *consciously and deliberately* chooses to follow the worse. If this view is valid, sin as a fully-conscious, deliberate act seems to me to be out of the question for a rationally-constituted human mind.¹

We may be told by others, it may be dictated to us, that this or that ought not to be done; if we do it, they say, we commit sin. But to be told something is not knowledge; it is second-hand information at best. Knowing in general must deal with the stuff of personal experience in the first place, and becomes knowledge only when reason has reduced such experience to some semblance of orderly inter-connection. Such knowing clears the way for spiritual conviction; but this conviction, to be genuine, must come from within; it is to be sharply distinguished from sanctions imposed from without. Sin then, I repeat, has no clear meaning spiritually, if it does not signify the conscious, deliberate infraction, not of conventional taboos or of ethical custom, but of the spiritual laws which condition the life of our highest nature. Deliberately to sin, therefore, pre-supposes some sort of awaring, if not clear knowing, of such spiritual laws. And my contention is that it is unthinkable that a rational mind should thus consciously sin,—should deliberately try to withstand or pervert what in the very nature of things, if known, can be known only as the very life-modes of divine reality. Spiritual knowing means, I believe, conscious contact with Creative Life. Being consciously touched by the Holy Spirit gives utter satisfaction. How then any nature that is

¹ It should be reserved for the entities called demonic, in the Christian meaning of the term,—if this mythical notion can in any rational fashion be seriously entertained.

utterly satisfied, can revolt, must be left for a lunatic to imagine.¹

It follows then that what has hitherto been so generally, but loosely, called 'sin,' connotes acts of a *morally*² reprehensible kind committed in ignorance; furthermore that the deliberate commission of such acts is foreign to any soul however slightly a-thrill consciously,—i.e. knowingly,—with the rhythm of spiritual life.

The knowledge which banishes spiritual ignorance, which 'saves from sin,' as we say, is then not an intellectual knowing, nor is it the carrying out of the behests of calculated expediency, but a far deeper gnosis of reality.³

Now if we ordinary folk are to get any rational understanding of the nature of the grade of ignorance which conditions what we call 'sin,' we must,—it is but reasonable to demand,—have from our betters a clear forth-setting of at least the elements of what might be termed a spiritual epistemology,—or theory of spiritual knowledge,—a doctrine of unquestionably fundamental values, without which nothing worthy of being called a science of living reality is possible. Here the very best in religion and science, in philosophy and art, will evidently have to join hands in whole-hearted co-operation; for if they do not work together

¹ For who but a sheer fool could even in his most insane moments dream of deliberately violating what he knows is the best in him? To formulate such a query is to set out a lunatic proposition riddled with crazy contradictions.

² For 'spiritual' knowledge, as I am venturing to use the term, even in its most elementary forms necessitates *moral* endeavour,—that is, the self-determined impulse to good-doing, as distinguished from the expedient observance of the *ethical* regulations and customs imposed on the individual by society from without.

³ It means, we again repeat, no less than conscious contact with the Creative Life of the Supreme Good; and this must perforce, in the logic of this faith, energize in the experient as *spontaneous* spirituality.

in this, no moral theory put forward will succeed in gripping the whole man.

In this transitional age, when justifiable doubt of the validity of many an ancient formula and dogma disquiets the thoughtful, the radical scepticism of philosophic materialism is widespread. In general the ideals of spiritual culture are held in contempt by this phase of sheer intellectualism; and the expression of this creed by the *pseudo-intelligentsia* only too frequently encourages reckless living among the thoughtless. It is accordingly an imperative task for those who have a modicum of vision, to put all the good-will, strength of purpose and ability they possess, into clearing the ground for the emergence of a genuine spiritual science,—or however else we may name that indispensable co-ordinating factor, without which the healthy development of the at present unfortunately dissociated elements in our inchoate human culture can never be integrated.¹

If modern civilization is to be sanified, this, and no less, will have to constitute the highest aim of the education of the future,—the spiritual sublimation of all teaching and instruction. Nor is the goal or aim, in my judgment, the vapoury phantasm of some impossible utopian dream; it is rather the reasonable vision of the substance of a realizable ideal. But as in the past, so to-day, it is caught sight of only by the few; and of those who sight some glimpse of the great vision, fewer still are able so fitly to picture this glimpse in words as to communicate somewhat of its beauty to the many. The most practically effective

¹ A wisdom-discipline, a synergizing of brain and heart, of mental and affective powers, can, in my belief, alone make viable this so desirable vital synthesis of all four modes of human cultural endeavour,—religion, philosophy, science and art.

handing-on of the sense of its reality and of its truth still remains, as ever, by way of example rather than of precept. The mass can be morally convinced then only in proportion as the men of vision themselves shew outward signs that their inner experience has awakened them to the responsibilities of spiritual manhood,—that they are eagerly set on undertaking the self-sacrificing duties of true world-citizenship.

Fortunately, to-day the time of general growth is now near enough to ripeness for increasing numbers to recognize signs of unselfish disinterestedness in some leaders of thought and endeavour, and to welcome them.

To-day we are confronted for the first time in the history of humanity with a widely-felt imperative necessity of dealing in some practical fashion with a host of clearly defined, concrete, international, genuinely world-embracing problems. For men of vision,—for the clear-sighted and right-minded,—it is of course transparently clear that no really satisfactory solution can be reached save by mutual concessions, and the general goodwill to subordinate selfish national interests to the well-being of the human commonwealth as a whole. But, apart from this idealism of the few, many ‘hard-headed business-men,’ as the sages of this world are now called, are hard at work devising worldly ways and means. For this has been at last clubbed into these ‘hard-headed,’ these ‘tough-minded.’ It is now patently manifest even to those whose interests are purely economical, that the material well-fare or ill-fare of every single nation affects the rest; that all States are bound up in a common bundle of life,—our human society at large. Indeed it cannot be denied by any intelligent observer that we are witnessing to-day the rise and development of an

embryonic, but genuine, world-consciousness in the minds of large numbers; while the philosophic lover of his kind notes with joy that therewith in the heart of no few a truly catholic conscience is slowly coming to birth.

For such spiritual adolescents the credal playthings of the world's childhood, the imaginative make-beliefs which have for so long absorbed the religious and intellectual interests of the vast majority, are no longer capable of holding their serious attention. In other words, the ripening life of pubescent humanity as a whole is beginning to be consciously felt by the more sensitive as an imperious spiritual urge, which in the individual seeks expression in a true man's pursuits.¹

It thus comes about that one who begins consciously to share in the impulse within this general vital world-change, naturally turns away from many things he had previously grown used to,—and this on a world-wide scale. Facile creeds that fail to face the grim and ghastly facts of life, flabby sentimentalisms that know not what true compassionate feeling really means, pseudo-mystical, world-shy dreamings that would abstract from the here and now stark tragedy of this-world storm and stress, to seek comfort in some back-water of withdrawn existence,—these can no longer delight one on the threshold of true manhood. All such childhood-conceits seem to the youthful enthu-

¹ Personally I take an optimistic view of the situation,—though I think that in the near future much that is vile will test one's faith to the utmost. For this general intensification of life will, I believe, bring in its train the widening of the scope of individual interests and activities,—and this on a scale which has never been possible before. I am convinced that our age is witnessing the beginnings of a profound inner natural crisis in the life-mode of the general soul of developing humanity. This is, as it seems to me, already testified to by the conversion of no small number of its individual units from the contracting influence of a self-regarding worldly existence to the expansive self-subordinating discipline of a world-conscious life. It means the beginning of a process of sublimation of the whole nature, a radical transmutation, to be effected by the potent alchemy of man's dawning spiritual adolescence,—but with much pain and suffering in the process.

siasm of the spirit, futilities unworthy of those who would play the part of real men, and no longer be content to remain 'processions of fate,' as the graphic Trismegistic figure has it.

In the past, imagination has been busily trying to picture the nature of first and last things; and desperate efforts have been made to conceive *à priori* of primal beginnings and the *ultima ratio* of the world-process. To-day all such themes and schemes seem to the philosophic and scientific mind to be vitiated by a fundamentally false method, from the point of view both of practical psychology and concrete logic. The idea of 'beginning' is now recognized as being an entirely temporal concept. Hence the only practical beginning with which systematic thought can start in surveying the nature of reality, must be found immediately here and now in the actual present conditions which confront our self-consciousness. We must begin in the midst of the concrete reality which life itself as a whole presents to us at every moment. The old conceit which tried first of all to imagine a blank homogeneity, and then endeavoured to give this empty 'oneness' an imaginal ordered processional content, may have provided some useful exercise in abstract logic. But as a matter of fact it started with a pure *petitio principii*, and the vain imagining that it was so imaging reality. This conceit could be of practical service, only if the main premiss of emptiness, of utter vacuity and vanity, was an actual realizable fact or state for human consciousness. But the profoundest concrete spiritual experience enjoyed by such consciousness, as I read the evidence, gives the lie to this delusive imagining, in that it invariably asserts that its highest enjoyed reality, its ground-certainty, is

of the nature of an all-embracing fulness (Gk. *plērōma*, Lat. *plenum*, *plenitudo*, Sk. *pūrnam*). Thus the fullest, synthetic, concrete experience enjoyed by mortals testifies to the folly of abstractionizing in trying to reach the truth of reality, and warns us that the practice of so topsy-turvy a method inverts and prevents the innate *nisus* of the self-realizing life of the mind, and thus inhibits reason from exercising its spiritual vision. Imaginists of this abstractionizing kind may fancy they are repeating in miniature the primal thought of the Divine Mind or the original process of Creative Life; but as a matter of fact they are, I believe, indulging in an orgy of pure fictionism, which the sober logic of life in its being lived disposes of at every moment by its concrete arguments.

As to 'beginning,' then, we start, as we needs must, where we are in present conditions. Thus starting, we find in every analysis of our experience we may attempt, that we invariably come up against ignorance as the ground-limit of our thinking: ignorance is the fundamental opposition or resistance against which we have to contend. Further, if we are at all sensible spiritually, we find that,—as Paul so simply and admirably phrased it in setting forth the analysis of our contradictory human nature,—the evil we would not, that we do. Why? Because we are sinners? No; for we would not. But rather because we are ignorant. Here we are confronted with the tragical conflict of the two 'I's' in man,—the 'I' of freedom and the 'I' of bondage. Or, if we would phrase it otherwise, we may regard them as the two dispositions,—the *yeşer hatōb* and the *yeşer hara'*, the good and evil urges, as the Rabbis called them,—that devastating inner dissociation in the man-stage of the *élan vital*.

II.—HISTORICAL.

Let us now attempt to review very briefly the main features of various traditions concerning what we call sin. This review will make clear that these traditions in general present a sharp distinction of outlook. What, for instance, the Semitically determined theology of the West sets down to the score of sin, a number of Oriental religio-philosophies, notably those of Indian tradition,—with which in this respect the free philosophic enquiry and scientific research of the West seem to be in closer sympathy,—would ascribe to ignorance.

As we all know, the dominant Occidental tradition of faith,—Christianity,—holding tenaciously to its interpretation of Semitic mythologic beginnings, would have it that ignorance is fundamentally due to sin. The general tendency of this mournful and pessimistic view of the primal conditioning of man's life on earth is to regard the whole of existence here on this planet as a state of punishment or correction, ordained by an offended anthropomorphically imagined deity, in retribution for the one original sin of the first human pair, which is conceived of as an act of disobedience to that all-too-human God's behests. We are thus asked to believe that, because of this one ignorant act of man's primal innocency, the happy going of the whole world-process has been side-tracked from its joyous path, as far as our earth is concerned; that this our world has thus become a quarantine station at best, where man is isolated out of the healthful stream of things to prevent the rest of the universe being contaminated by his nefarious presence: in brief,

that mankind constitutes a blot on the fair face of nature. *Credat Judæus Apella!* Though as a matter of fact we shall find that the Jews themselves did *not* so believe!¹

The mythic notion of a primitive state of innocence and paradisaical well-being, which was lost through the infringement of an arbitrary numinous taboo, thus bringing evil into the world, is not a unique Semitic speciality, as was once thought. It is on the contrary a widespread notion in the conceit of the primitive mind, and is especially prominent, for instance, in very numerous traditions of the American Indians (North, Central and South). At this naïve stage of culture little or no distinction is made between the physical and the psychical; while genuine spiritual values are beyond the purview of the intelligence. It is at a far later stage that attempts are made to differentiate between crime as an offence against human law, vice as offence against society, and sin as offence against the divine in nature and in man. In the beginning all is sin. It never seems to occur to the genuinely primitive thinker to ascribe the ills of existence to impersonal natural causes or conditions; he regards them invariably as deliberately inflicted on him by unseen powers or beings, numinous entities, who have been offended by his or his tribe's sins of omission or

¹ This primitive dream, so envisaged, seems to the mind of present-day spiritual adolescence little better than the memory of a nightmare haunting the fear-filled childhood of humanity. There are still nevertheless many who in one way or another are apologetic on its behalf. In attempting to review the notion of sin from the comparative historical standpoint, then, we should not forget that this latter undogmatic method of world-history in the religious field is a quite modern discipline. Even to-day we still find in the minds of no few writers,—some of them even in our most recent works of reference,—the persistence of the old bad habit or bias of viewing all history through the coloured glasses of biblical prejudice; while, in treating the history of dogma as found in other faiths especially, the *animus naturaliter Christianus* is found only too frequently warping the judgment.

commission, and who are thus taking vengeance on him. But the poor devil never knows what special taboo has been broken. He is an unwitting culprit, who blindly tries to placate the offended invisibles, just as a cringing slave an angry human master. We move here in the oppressive atmosphere of crude ignorance, magic and fear,—of narrow lives hemmed in by arbitrary taboos of all kinds.¹

When moreover we pass to what is generally considered a higher step of culture,—for instance, to the ancient Babylonian records,—we still find both Sumerians and Semites harrowed with the idea of sin. The naturally sinful state of man is assumed throughout without question as a self-evident fact. Penitence is the keynote of all the liturgies; confession of man's abject foolishness over against the wisdom of the gods is the constant theme; lamentation for the inability to avoid sin, even though the heart be set on righteousness, is the burden of the plaint.

In ancient China, on the other hand, the sense of sin was less acute; divine rule was far more impersonally conceived of by the sages as the way of the going of Heaven, and sin was consequently regarded as an infraction of nature's general laws. It is characteristic moreover of distinctive Chinese thought, both Taoist and Confucian, that it postulates the original goodness of the heart of man, and fables a primitive golden age of righteousness. In particular, philosophic Taoism taught that, if this original goodness were allowed to

¹ The once so prevalent notion of the 'free life' of so-called savages,—the idealized 'simple life' still so lauded by sentimentalists!—has for long been exploded by anthropological research. We now know that primitive societies are in abject slavery to innumerable conventions and arbitrary taboos; that moreover the primitive, so far from being without a 'sense of sin,' is continually obsessed with an apprehension of offending against a dread numinous surround peopled by his all-too-lively fancy.

express itself spontaneously, without let or hindrance by artificial rules, all would once more be well in human society.¹

Ancient Egypt also, we find, looked back in like fashion to a golden age when sin and evil did not yet exist, and ascribed present evils on earth to the folly of mankind.

Passing thence to Greece,—whatever may have been the primitive conceptions of early Hellas and the naïve continuing views of the general folk,—in the Greek philosophic period we find sin considered practically as identical with ignorance and righteousness with knowledge. The principle is summed up by Plato in the simple statement (*Tim.* 86D): No one is willingly evil.

Reverting to Semitic views,—though the ancient Hebrews are supposed by biblically biassed minds to have had a deeper consciousness of sin than any other folk on earth, it should be remembered that the chief terms rendered into English by ‘sin,’—from the old Jewish documents and their first renderings into Greek (LXX. Targum),—originally conveyed the meaning simply of ‘missing one’s way,’ and so of ‘missing one’s aim,’ in the sense of failing to reach an ideal standard. Moreover, and above all, we must bear in mind that neither early Israelitish views nor later Rabbinic thought entertained the notion of the original corruption of human nature or of man’s alienation from God. This pessimistic interpretation of the Fall-myth is due solely to New Testament theology and later Christian dogmatics. The most general

¹ In this connection it is of interest to note that a very similar optimistic notion is beginning to make its influence felt in modern education, as may be seen from the Montessori and allied experiments.

Hebrew persuasion in the pre-exilic period was that physical well-being was proof of righteousness and physical ill-being proof of sin. But later, already in Job and certain Psalms, we find this naïve correspondence between inner conduct and external fortune set aside. When we turn to the Wisdom-literature, moreover, it becomes clearly enunciated that sin is folly, and righteousness a sign of the presence of spiritual knowledge; salvation is to be found in wisdom, and sin is looked on as the work of ignorance. Later still, in the Rabbinic period, which further developed the ancient traditions, the evil nature in man (the *yeṣer hara'*) is squarely affirmed, not to be due to man himself, but to have been implanted in him by God,—a very startling declaration for any one who has been previously acquainted only with later Christian theorizing, and which gives him furiously to think.¹

Passing on to Islām,—the general Qur'anic view of the nature of sin traces its origin to pride and opposition to Allah. Nevertheless the Muslim theologians were plainly puzzled by the Fall-story concerning Adam, whom they held to be the first Prophet. Could a Prophet really have sinned? No: Adam could not be said to have sinned; he committed an act which has really proved beneficial to mankind. For had Adam remained in paradise, the world would not have been peopled, and the will of Allah,—expressed

¹ According to Rabbinic exegesis, it was Yahweh himself who created the *yeṣer hara'* in Adam; for without it the Fall could not have been possible (*Bereshith rabba*, c. 27). And so we find Yahweh made to say: "It repenteth me that I created the *yeṣer hara'* in man, for had I not done this, he would not have rebelled against me" (*Yalkut Shim. Beresh.* c. 61). This is presumably connected with the Genesis-text which represents Yahweh-Elohīm repenting that he had made man. But here the text-manipulators have conveniently forgotten the later correcting Torah-passage—*Num. xxxii. 19* (A.V.): "God is not a man, that he should lie; neither the son of man, that he should repent; hath he said, and will he not do it? or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good?"

in the Qur'anic saying: "I have not created men and *jinn* except for worship,"—could not have been fulfilled. Islāmic theology, following out the sultanīc idea of God more logically than even the Hebrew view, looks upon sin as the neglect of the arbitrary decrees of an absolute ruler, and not as offence against spiritual law. And yet in some strange fashion acts of sin have to be regarded as acts of Allah. For, according to Muslim theory, *all* action without exception is his; no act can possibly be contrary to the will of Allah.

The concept of sin in Irānian Mazda-yasnian, or Zoroastrian, tradition is of peculiar interest for Westerners, in that it is bound up with a number of notions and motives which, directly or indirectly, influenced late exilic and post-exilic Judaism, and especially the apocalyptic phase of the latter, and so reappear in early Christian doctrine. Apart from primitive taboos and later complicated external purificatory regulations, the underlying moral scheme is simple. The basis of morality is sought in the rational soul and in the doctrine of its free-will. Man is originally created good. All that is not in keeping with the will of Ahura Mazda, the Wise Lord, is counted as sin; and sin is committed by man owing to his being blinded by *Āngra Mainyu*, the Evil Spirit, or *Drauga* (*Druj*), the Lie. Man's moral duty, therefore, is to carry on a perpetual combat against the Lie or the Darkness (*i.e.* Ignorance); he has to prove himself a valiant warrior in defence of the Light of Wisdom of Ahura Mazda; and his weapons are good thought, good word, good deed (*hu-mata, hu-khta, hu-varshata*). The good life of moral struggle is thus one which aims at conforming in all respects to the good law, the norm of righteousness (*asha*, identical with the *ṛta* of the

Vedas). In ancient Mazda-yasnian story Āngra Mainyu (Ahrimān, Aharman) is fabled to have deceived the first human pair. This mythic account, however, was subsequently rationalized by supposing that this 'blinding,' or ignorance, arose from the natural fact of the soul's being embodied. Because of this it was unable to see future retribution. Were it able to do so clearly, it would not commit sin for any earthly consideration. Traditional story moreover would have it that the Arch Fiend tried to tempt Zarathustra to renounce his allegiance to Ahura Mazda, promising to reward his apostasy with the bribe of world-sovereignty. But to this tempting offer, we are told, the Prophet replied: "Nay, I will not renounce the good law, not even if soul and body and life shall part" (*Vend.* xix. 25, 26).

In Aryan India,—so closely linked with Aryan Irān,—from the time of the earliest Upanishads, when the sages of Āryāvarta first woke to spiritual consciousness, the ideal of wisdom, gnosis (*iñāna*),—not simply of knowledge as intellectual comprehension, but of awareness of inner union with the life and will of the Supreme Reality,—dominates all religio-philosophic thought and moral endeavour. The attainment of spiritual wisdom is identical with the realization of final liberation or emancipation,—the transcending of all states, not only of retribution, but of reward, in the universe of becoming, or transmigratory existence. The doctrines of Jainism and Buddhism, however theoretically distinguishable from those of the Vedānta, have practically the same aim. And as Buddhism presents us *par excellence* with the most consistent type of impersonal religion, and thus complements the otherwise one-sided anthropomorphic view of a personal

absolute, it will be of service to dwell briefly on the most authoritative tradition of the views of its founder touching enlightenment and ignorance, or of righteousness and sin, as set forth in the earliest Pāli scriptures.¹

The intellect alone cannot bring about the state known as enlightenment (*sambodhi*); enlightenment involves the will as well as the intellect. Because the intellect stands forth very prominently in most expositions of Buddhist thinking, scholars have been too prone to neglect the essentially determinate factor of the will. Ignorance, in Buddhism, again is not to be conceived of as cognitive ignorance, but is darkness of spiritual outlook.

Ignorance is [thus] not merely not knowing or not being acquainted with a theory, system or law; it is not directly grasping the ultimate facts of life as experience of the will.

Enlightenment, conceived of as a transcending of ignorance, is therefore not an act of cognition; it is self-realization, or rather spiritual realization, 'outside the ken of logical reasoning, and therefore not accompanied by ignorance.' Ignorance is brought to subjection only by going beyond its own principle. This transcending is an act of will. Here should be specially noted what is said of ignorance in its own nature.

Ignorance in itself is no evil, nor is it the source of evil; but when we are ignorant of Ignorance, of what it means in our life, then there takes place an unending concatenation of evils.

¹ For what follows,—though I have frequently urged it in the main in other writings, and have already set the gist of the contention forth above,—I shall utilize a penetrating study by Prof. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, of Otani University, Kyoto, Japan, in that instructive and well-conducted quarterly *The Eastern Buddhist* (vol. iii. no. i., April to June, 1924). Prof. Suzuki is widely known as a most capable exponent of Mahāyāna doctrine, but in this article he keeps strictly to the Hinayāna or Theravāda tradition, the more primitive form.

To be ignorant that we are ignorant is thus conceived of as the *fons et origo mali*. The way of the going of things is not in itself evil. What then is this 'ignorance'? It cannot be simply a negation. It is clearly a positive objective fact in the universe; for from it Buddhist thought conceives that the whole series of separate-life conditions arises. It is the ground-conditioning of every phase of genesis. Ignorance itself is said to be timeless. It is not conditioned by time-determination; but is entirely of the will, just as is enlightenment. The analysis of the nature of knowledge is here of special interest, and is on very similar lines to those I have suggested already in this paper.¹

In the beginning, which is really no beginning, and which [*viz.* the term 'beginning'] has no spiritual meaning except in our finite life, the will wants to know itself, and consciousness is awakened,² and with the awakening of consciousness the will is split in two. The one will, whole and complete in itself, is now at once actor and observer. Conflict is inevitable; for the actor now wants to be free from the limitations under which he has been obliged to put himself in his desire for consciousness.

The goal of moral struggle is thus conceived of as the reintegration of the will. This restoration, however, is more than a returning, more than a simple going back; for "the original content is enriched by the division, struggle and resettlement." The moral conflict becomes then an heroic effort of the will to enlighten itself, redeem itself, but,—and mark this well,—'without destroying the once-sundered consciousness.' There follows an exposition of the basic characteristic concept of Buddhist thought—the impermanent nature of egoity

¹ Written before I read Prof. Suzuki's study.

² For a study of this sequence of conditioning see my article, 'The Buddhist View of Existence,' in the last Oct. no.

and the falsity of imagining that such a limitation is an eternal condition.

Ignorance persists as long as the will remains cheated by its own offspring or its own image, consciousness, in which the knower always stands distinguished from the known. The cheating, however, cannot last, the will wishes to be enlightened, to be free.

It is ignorance which always presupposes the existence of something outside and unknown. And here comes in the subtlety of Buddhist psychology and metaphysic: This 'something outside and unknown' is not the so-called non-ego. On the contrary, it is precisely what the ignorant term the ego or soul, which is nothing but 'the will itself in the state of ignorance.' It thus appears that, whereas in general use the term 'ignorance' is opposed to knowledge, in Buddhist theory it is opposed to enlightenment; it is in this deeper sense that ignorance is equated with the ego.

This is why Buddhism so strongly deprecates attaching any idea of eternity to the ego, and repudiates egoity as inconsistent with the notion of perduring reality, or enlightenment. For it, therefore, spiritual knowledge cannot be obtained simply by intellectual acquaintance with the doctrine of causation or relative conditioning. Enlightenment is the work of that extra-rational apperception known as *pañña* or wisdom, gnōsis, which is born of the will when its whole effort is 'to see itself and be itself.' Hence the insistence of the Buddha on the necessity of the practice of meditation and contemplation, prefaced by moral endeavour and world-wide compassion, as helps to strengthen the will in its effort to transcend the dissociated condition in which it finds itself. It is by such practice and

discipline that realization arises, and it becomes fact of experience that "the ego is the dark spot where the rays of the intellect fail to penetrate." For in truth this ego-notion is the very "last hiding place of Ignorance, where the latter serenely keeps itself from the light."

Having written so far, I find that the outer fringe only of the subject has been brushed, and that much more and of a more penetrating nature remains to be attempted. But available space is at an end; and so I must regretfully leave what has been written as a *torso*, yet with the hope of returning to so high, wide and deep a theme on some future occasion.

I conclude, therefore, for the moment by again confessing my lively faith that, if only we poor devils of mortals,—all of us without exception,—knew, then not a single one of us would want to do evil,—to sin. We blunder on unknowing. What then, I never cease to ask, is this most potent ignorance? Above all, what *good* purpose does it serve? For fundamental fact as it is, I will believe anything of it rather than that it *is not* the ordained instrument of what is in fine Supreme Beneficence.

G. R. S. MEAD.

The Quest Society.

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THE LORE OF THE WHARE-WĀNANGA: THE MAORI HOUSE OF LEARNING.

H. C. CORRANCE, B.A.

A REMARKABLE record of Maori lore has been published, within the last few years, in New Zealand. It forms part of the *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, under the editorship of Mr. S. Percy Smith, the President of that Society, who has also acted as translator of the Maori document. The two volumes are entitled *The Lore of the Whare-wānanga (i.e. House of Learning)*, and are a record of the traditional teaching of the Maori priests, which is here given both in the original and in English.¹ These traditions are now no longer formally taught, and were known only to a few old priests until certain Europeans won their confidence and their permission to give them to the world.²

¹ *The Lore of the Whare-wānanga; or Teachings of the Maori College on Religion, Cosmogony and History*, by S. Percy Smith, F.R.G.S. Part I. *Things Celestial*; Part II., *Things Terrestrial*. New Plymouth, N.Z., Printed for the Society by Thomas Avery, 1913, 1915.

² The following is quoted from the opening of the Editor's introduction:
"As the matter contained in this volume is almost entirely new, and hitherto unknown to Europeans, it is necessary to explain the source from which it was derived. It is in fact the teachings of some of the old Tohungas (priests, teachers, etc.) as taught in the Whare-wānanga, or Maori College, for such that ancient institution was in reality. In the late fifties of last century there was a large gathering of Maoris in the Wairarapa District, East Coast of New Zealand, the object being to discuss some political affairs; and on the conclusion of the business it was suggested by some of the people that the learned men there present should explain to the assembled tribes how and when New Zealand was first peopled by the Maori race. After three of the priests had consented to do so, one—Te Matorohanga—was appointed to lecture on the subject, the other two to assist by recalling matters that the lecturer might omit, and also to supplement the story from their own knowledge. It was also decided that the lectures should be written down, a work that was undertaken by two young men named

The whole system of teaching was conducted with great ceremony, and everything connected with it was *tapu* (sacred). It is only because the *tapu* has been broken by contact with Europeans that the priests have consented to make it known.

To begin with, it was required that the actual House, in which the teaching was given, should exactly follow the lines of a certain pattern, which was set by

H. T. Whatahoro and Aporo Te Kumeroa, who had been educated at the Mission schools.

"Much matter was written down at that time; but it was amplified subsequently by the old priest named above, and by one of his confrères named Nepia Pohuhu, when H. T. Whatahoro spent some years, off and on, in recording, to the dictation of these old men, the ancient beliefs and the history of their branch of the Maori people. The instruction given by the priests was in every respect on the same lines, and dealt with the same matter, as had been taught in the Maori College; that is, the Scribe was subjected to all the ancient forms and rituals accompanying the teaching, such as is described in Chapter I. hereof. A special building was erected in which the teaching took place, and where the matter taught was written down.

"The old priest Te Matorohanga died in 1884, and Nepia Pohuhu in 1882, both being at the time of their deaths about eighty years old. It will thus be seen that they had been taught in the Maori College long before the influence of Christianity reached their tribe—indeed, it was not till about the end of the thirties in last century, that the tribes of Wairarapa had Christian teachers among them, though Christianity had been introduced into the North in 1814, but little of its doctrines understood till many years afterwards.

"The matter written down by H. T. Whatahoro during those years has remained in his possession for over fifty years; it is contained in several volumes of folio size, much of which has been recently copied, under the auspices of the tribal Committee known as 'Tāne-nui-a-rangi,' and the copies deposited in the Dominion Museum, Wellington. The matter in this volume, however, was copied by myself from the original documents, which were lent me for the purpose, and the whole of them bear the seal of the 'Tāne-nui-a-rangi' Committee and therefore shew that the matter contained therein has the approval of that body, consisting of the most learned men left of the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu tribe.

"It is strange that this valuable information should have remained in their owners' hands for so long a period without becoming known to the many collectors who have been at work for years past. As a matter of fact, the existence of the documents was known, but not the high value attaching to them; and, therefore, the Polynesian Society is to be congratulated on having obtained access to them. These ancient traditions have, until lately, been considered by the tribe as of too sacred a nature to be disclosed to Europeans. But the advance of civilization among the people, and the knowledge of the risk the papers ran of being destroyed by fire or other accident, at last induced their owner to allow them to be copied and preserved in print."

It may be added that the 'Scribe' who assisted Mr. Smith in the work of translation, and in elucidating many points, is the same H. T. Whatahoro who is mentioned above.

the previous Houses in the heavens and on earth. A list of some twenty-two names of these Houses is given, the first five of which are said to have been situated in different heavens, while the rest refer to actual buildings, the earliest of which were probably in existence in the remote past in one or other of the temporary resting-places of this migratory people. About nine of the names at the end of the list refer to Houses erected since their settlement in New Zealand, the places of which can be identified and dates approximately fixed.

The most important of these Houses was Whare-kura, which was situated in the eleventh (lowest but one) heaven. This gave its name and pattern to all the earthly Houses. On these lines every detail of their construction was carefully laid down: the situation, orientation, measurements, order of building, ceremonies in placing of pillars, etc., position of the altars and of the sacred stones, which, together with the pattern of the House, had been brought down from heaven by a god.

The strangest indication about the position of one of the two altars is that it stood near the latrine, which was a sacred place.

To quote from the Teaching itself:

On the closing of the College, the pupils were taken to the *paepae*, or bar, of the *turuma*, or latrine of the precincts, to remove from them the state of *tapu* induced by their sojourn in the College; and there the pupils bit the *paepae* or bar.¹

The reason given for this ceremony, in a note by the author, is that:

¹ Except where otherwise stated, passages in small print and those in inverted commas throughout this article indicate a quotation from the Teaching. The words in square brackets [] refer to additions made by the translator to elucidate the meaning.

The act of simulated biting is said to induce the 'hardening' or remembrance of the teaching. It is also said to show the determination of the pupils to adhere to the teaching, a form of declaration that they were equal to anything, however repulsive, in order to show their proficiency.

The reason given for the sacredness of the spot was "lest the altars (*tuahus*) should be desecrated by the approach of food or by food being suspended near them," since food contaminates or destroys the *tapu* of all sacred places or things. "The *tuahu* of the Whare-wānanga was the right-hand post of the rail, usually carved, where people sit to ease themselves."

Reference has been made to the sacred stones. These were of different sizes and put to various uses. The most sacred were originally only two in number and white in colour. "In case these cannot be procured [or in some other cases] eleven stones [of a different material] are substituted." There were also smaller stones, of different colours, which the pupils swallowed to impress on them the necessity of assimilating the teaching. The larger stones were used by them as seats during the lectures, while, at the close of the session, they were assigned positions upon them according as they had passed a good examination or otherwise.

The seasons of the year, and the hours, for instruction, were definitely fixed. There were seven courses of lectures in each yearly session, which always opened and closed with prayer, or rather, with rhythmical incantations (*karakias*), translations of which are given. They began with *karakias* addressed to some of the minor gods, and ended up with an invocation to Io, the supreme Deity.

The following is the editor's translation of part of this invocation to Io:

Cause to descend without and beyond—
 To descend within these pupils, these sons,
 The ancient learning, the occult learning,
 By thee, O Io—e !

* * * * *

Enter deeply, enter to the very origins,
 Into the very foundations of all knowledge,
 O Io-the-Hidden-Face—e !

Gather as in a great and lengthy net, in the inner recesses of
 the ears,
 As also in the desire, and perseverance, of these thy offspring,
 thy sons.

Descend on them thy memory, thy knowledge,
 Rest within the heart, within the roots of origin ;
 O Io-the-Learned ! O Io-the-Determined !
 O Io-the-Self-created !

The *karakia* addressed to Io at the conclusion of the session has a similar beginning to the above. At a certain point it is interrupted by the ceremony of the stone-swallowing, and is then resumed thus :

Be received, be possessed, be it affixed,
 This esoteric knowledge ; be firm in thy thoughts, nor deviate,
 From the powerful, the ancient, the god-like knowledge,
 Be fixed in thy root and origin ; affixed thy constant attention ;
 Firm be thy inspiration, thy ardent desire,
 Within the roots and rootlets of thy thoughts.
 May it grow, the fulness of this knowledge—
 This ancient knowledge, this original learning,
 And be like thine, O Io Omni-erudite e—i !

The *karakia* plays a very important part in Maori traditions. It was used on such occasions as that of marriage, the building of a canoe, etc. These *karakias* are very old, and some of the words have consequently become obsolete, thus making their translation difficult even for the priests learned in the traditions. In some cases Mr. Smith has been unable to render them into English, even with the assistance of his Maori 'Scribe.'

SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE TEACHING.

The subject-matter of the teaching was divided into two main parts: (1) Things Celestial; (2) Things Terrestrial. The former (contained in the first of the two volumes) deals with the Supreme God, Io, the arch-angels, angels, the minor gods and their deeds, the creation, astronomy, etc. The latter (in the second volume) is concerned mainly with the history and migrations of the people. This teaching was gathered into 'three baskets,' i.e. divisions, or syllabuses, of knowledge.

THE SUPREME GOD, IO, AND THE CELESTIAL HIERARCHY.

The principal figure in the 'celestial' teaching was that of the Supreme God, Io. His name was specially *tapu*,—very sacred. It was never mentioned except in the inner circles of the priesthood, in the teaching of their pupils and in some rarely repeated *karakias*. The name 'Io' enters into many combinations, all of which are expressive of his dignity and power,—such as Io-the-Everlasting, the-Self-created, the-All-Father, the-All-knowing, the-One-True-God, the-God-of-Love, the-Immutable, etc.

These attributes are not due to Christian influences, since they are found in old *karakias*, which have been handed down from time immemorial. It is very remarkable indeed that 'savages' of the Stone-age should have had such exalted notions of Deity,—so far above those of Greek mythology or even those of the tribal deity of the earlier books of the Old Testament. Already there can be seen in them the Christian ideas of the All-Father and God of Love,

and at the same time the beginning of a religious metaphysic.

There are twelve heavens; and in the first, or highest, of these Io has his dwelling-place. If he manifests himself on earth at all, it is as in a flash of light. Hence one of his titles—Io-mata-aho (Io-only-seen-in-a-flash-of-light). In that highest heaven he resides with his chief spirits, or angels, who, in turn, rule the angels and gods of the lower heavens and earth, communicating Io's commands to them. These spirits include the inferior Apas, or Messengers, by whom these commands are transmitted to the earth-born gods, and the Pou-tiri-ao, or Guardian-spirits, who inform, energize, preserve and rule all elemental forces and powers and all living beings on the earth. Everything has its own form, life and spirit; and it is one of the special offices of the Pou-tiri-ao to maintain these. Another was—to prevent anger, to help forward the good. Last in order come the Seventy minor gods, who sprang from the union of the Sky-father with the Earth-mother. None of the gods or angels, save the few greatest, can enter the highest heaven except by Io's special request or permission.

POST-MORTEM FATE OF HUMAN SPIRITS.

When human spirits leave their bodies at death, they are carried on one or other of the Four Winds to the 'Gathering-place of Spirits.' This is said to be a very sacred temple, named Hawaiki, in one of the former fatherlands.

There they separate according to their deeds and dispositions. Those who show love for the higher gods, ascend a sacred mountain, where they are purified, and

then scale the heavens by the way called 'Te Aratiatia' (the Way of Steps). Those whose earthly conduct has been evil, such as murderers and those guilty of treachery, are drawn by an inward affinity and 'the current of death' down Taheke-roa (the Long Rapid Descent) to Raro-henga (Hades). Immediately after dissolution, and before starting on its long journey, the spirit visits its relatives or friends.

THE CREATION.

Rangi-nui [Great Sky], which stands above, felt a desire towards Papa-tua-nuku [the Earth] ; he desired her as his wife. So Rangi came down to Papa.

Rangi then proceeded to create the vegetation to cover the nakedness of Mother Earth, and after this, insects, reptiles and shell-fish. But the most important result of this union or marriage of Heaven and Earth was the production of a numerous tribe of minor gods, who remained for a very long period within the embrace of their parents. At last some of the bolder spirits began to desire to work their way out of this Darkness of Chaos into the 'World of Light' ; and so they were carried forth on streams which issued from the bowels of Mother Earth. They came out in scattered bands at widely separated ages or æons. Tāne was one of the first to emerge. After the others had come forth, he said : " Let us now separate our parents, that Rangi and Papa may occupy different places." But Whiro-te-tipua, one of his brethren, would not agree to this proposal. There was thus much strife. But eventually Tāne prevailed upon the other gods to help him, and so had his way. They, therefore, shored up Rangi (the Sky) above Papa (the Earth) on four props ; but Rangi and Papa still held

each other by the arms. These the gods cut with axes; and so the separation was complete.

Now when Rangi-nui had been properly placed in position, as he is now to be seen, the blood from his arms dripped down on to Papa, and hence is the *hori* [red oxide of iron] and the *pukepoto* [blue phosphate of iron] that his descendants in this world use in painting. And hence also is the red appearance that inflames the skies at sunrise and sunset.

The two axes used for this purpose were sacred, and are said to be carefully preserved. Of these the editor observes in a note:

The Maori belief is that they were brought to New Zealand in the canoe 'Takitimu,' in A.D. 1850, and that one of them is still in the possession of the Nga-Bauru tribe, West Coast of North Island. It is described as of quite a different shape, size and material from the ordinary Maori axes. It is so sacred that no white man has been allowed to see it.

Thus the sky was propped up in the place it now occupies, and the work of creation, begun by the marriage of Heaven and Earth, was completed by the minor gods whom they had created.

TĀNE'S MISSION.

But before they finished it, an interlude took place which had very important effects on the future of the human race. Tāne (the Male-of-Mankind), the god who had been chief leader in the escape from Chaos, received a call from the Supreme God, Io, through two of his high Messengers, to visit him in the first, or highest, heaven, so that he might bring down to earth the Holy Teaching, the Pattern of the House and the Two Sacred Stones.

These Angels were commanded to fetch Tāne and another of the gods to the sacred mountain, already

mentioned as the entrance to the lowest heaven, and there 'purify and baptize' them.

At his baptism Tāne receives his full name of Tāne-nui-a-rangi (Great Tāne-of-the-Heavens). He ascends on the blast of a mighty Southerly tempest by the Ara-tiatia (Way of Steps). Meanwhile, his rival, Whiro-te-tipua, was also endeavouring to scale the heavens on his own account, to bring down the hidden knowledge. He started before Tāne; but Tāne outstripped him, and Whiro failed to pass beyond the two lowest heavens. Having failed himself, Whiro sought by every means in his power to obstruct Tāne, sending against him a large army of insects and birds. These, however, were blown away by the Great Wind. Tāne enters Io's presence, and is there given by the Great Spirits the Three Baskets of Knowledge and the Two Sacred Stones, with which he returns safely to earth. Before his ascent into the highest heaven, we learn, he had carefully taken the plan and measurements of Whare-kura (one of the heavenly temples), and had built an exact replica of it on earth. He now returned to this temple on earth, and there deposited the treasures he had received, first passing through a purification ceremony at the *turuma* or latrine (see above).

Now at this period the attention of Tāne-matua (another of his names—the-Parent-of-Mankind) and his elder and younger brethren was turned to the separation of the Pou-tiri-ao (the Guardian Spirits) to their different spheres of action in their separate places, by twos and threes, to each plane of the earth, the heavens and the ocean.

WAR IN HEAVEN.

The success of Tāne increased the jealousy of Whiro to such a degree that he persuaded many of the

other gods to join him in making war upon his brother. So 'there was war in heaven.' Twenty chief battles were fought, each of which has a name; and there were others besides. "Some battles were on the land, some in the heavens, some in the intermediate space, some on the water." Finally Whiro-te-tipua and his faction were defeated and cast down into Rarohenga. Thereafter he constantly seeks to revenge himself on mankind, the offspring of the gods, by conspiring with Whakaru-au-moko, the ruler of Hades, to their hurt. Whakaru stirs up the earth's volcanic forces against them, while Whiro causes bodily diseases and misfortunes.

THE OVER-TURNING OF MOTHER EARTH.

A word may be said here as to the origin of Whakaru-au-moko.

Before Tāne ascended into Heaven and after the Sky-father and Earth-mother had been separated, the latter was turned over so that she faced Hades. Their youngest child, named Whakaru-au-moko, was then at the breast of his mother.

Hence he was completely covered by the earth, and ever after lived below it; and it is by his action that the surface of the earth has been broken up. The gods overturned Papa to face downwards to Rarohenga, because she continually lamented for Rangi-nui, and he constantly lamented over her. Hence clouds and mists rose from her and obscured the light, while Rangi-nui's tears took the form of constant rain, frost and driving snow.

THE COMPLETION OF CREATION.

When the wars of the gods were ended and the question of precedence settled, the victorious gods, of whom Tāne was the leader, proceeded to finish the

work of creation, which had been begun by the union of Rangi and Papa. First they completed the creation of the reptiles, which were 'the first created of all living things.' Such is the statement in the teaching, but it appears to be contradicted, or corrected, in the order of creation which is given immediately afterwards, as follows :

THE ORDER OF CREATION.

1. The waters of ocean that are in the world, were created by waters ; and there grew [out of them] the land, the Earth, which on maturity was taken to wife by the Sky-father.

2. Next, the minor vegetation, growing each after its own kind.

3. Next, the trees of every kind, to clothe the skin of the Earth, which had theretofore been naked.

4. Next, the reptiles and insects of every kind.

5. Next, the animals, dogs, of every species.

6. Next, the birds of different kinds to dwell on the plains and in the woods of the Earth, and on Lady-Ocean also.

7. Next, the moon, the sun, and all the stars.

When this had been accomplished, the 'World of Light' became permanent.

8. Finally, Hine-ahu-one [the first woman] and [her daughter] Hine-titama ; from whom mankind in the world sprung. . . .

Now these works were undertaken before the time when their Sky-father and Earth-mother were separated ; but some were finished afterwards, and others subsequent to the war of Te-pae-Rangi ; and when each work had been completed, then the Pou-tiri-ao were appointed each to his own division [of nature], and to the *kauhangas* [planes] of both Rangi and Papa-tu-a-nuku.

The creation, in fact, was a long process and extended, apparently, over æons of time. Not only was it interrupted by the War, but, on its resumption, was not finished off at once. It was completed at intervals by various descendants of Tāne, who appear

to have been the actual progenitors of different lower forms of life, and even of inorganic objects, such as 'stony reefs and flat rocks' [of the sea], gravel of different kinds and 'stones for grinding axes,' etc. But, meanwhile, it must be remembered that all through these intervals of creation, including the Great War, the first-created things, such as the different forms of vegetation, continued to produce their own kind. Creation was, therefore, at once continuous and interrupted.

By these all, from the very first down to the [creation of] man, mentioned each in its own period, growing up in their own time, increasing in their periods, living in their own periods, each conceived after their own manner and time, of whatsoever nature—each had its own time of conception and sprouting.

THE CREATION OF WOMAN.

But the most important act of Tāne, and his co-adjutors among the gods, after the conclusion of the Great War, was the creation of woman. The first-born of the Seventy minor gods, Uru-te-ngangana, said:

Let us seek a female that may take on our likeness, and raise up offspring [for us] in this 'World-of-Light.'

It was suggested that they should fetch some of the female Apas (Messengers) of the twelve heavens. But Uru-te-ngangana replied:

If we fetch our females from there, all our descendants will be gods like ourselves. Rather let us take of the Earth, that it may be said they are the descendants of Earth.

Accordingly, a thorough search for a suitable female was made through all created beings; but none was found. So the gods proceeded to fashion her of red earth, on the *mons veneris* of Mother Earth at

Kura-waka, 'after their own likeness.' According to one account, she was formed complete; according to another, in parts or sections which were afterwards united. According to the one account, "the breath of life was assigned to Tāne-matua, to place it in the nostrils, the mouth and the ears." According to the other, "the breath of life, the lungs, the kidneys and the liver were all begged of Io" by some of the other gods. "It was Io [the Supreme God] and Rehua [one of Io's Messengers] who implanted the thoughts and the living spirit."

Tāne marries the woman (Hine-hau-one) thus formed; and a long *karakia*, which is really a nuptial hymn, celebrates the union. This was used at Maori weddings, and is most emphatic on the subject of monogamous fidelity. Another shorter *karakia* follows in the original, which for certain reasons the editor leaves untranslated.

These two *karakias* are both very *tapu* and have remained to the present time in use; the first is used in marriage to cause the man and woman to be faithful to one another. The last is used to cause barren women to conceive and bear offspring.

The Maoris subsequently practised polygamy; so that this ancient *karakia* remains as a witness to the primitive standard of sexual morality.

(After these two *karakias* had been recited) Hine was taken to the *ahurewa*, or altar, within the sacred house of Whare-kura and there purified—and after that to Wai-o-tahu-rangi [the sacred Waters from Heaven] and there bathed. At this time she received her [full] name, Hine-hau-one [Woman-created-from-Earth]. Then she was taken to the *turuma* (latrine) of Whare-kura (the first earthly temple) where by biting the rail all the effects of the *tapu* were removed. After this she was taken to the house that had been specially made for the female before the gods started on their quest.

This is not a solitary instance of the marriage of gods with womankind; others are given in the course of these two volumes.

DEATH ENTERS INTO THE WORLD.

Both Tāne and Whiro married their own daughters. Tāne married Hine-titama, his daughter by the first-created Woman, and from this incestuous union sprang the human race, combining the divine and earthly elements. When Tāne's wife-daughter discovered her true relationship to him, she was so shocked that she fled away to Rarohenga, where she became its queen at the house of the ruler of Hades, her relative. Thereafter sets in a 'current of death,' starting from the temple Hawaiki, 'the Gathering-place of Spirits,' by which she draws the spirits of the dead towards Rarohenga, where is 'everlasting night'; on which current the wicked, who seem to be the majority of the human race, are carried away. Thus death enters into the world, affecting the whole human race, as descendants of Tāne and Hine-titama.

H. C. CORRANCE.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

In September, 1914, a year after its publication, I received a copy of the first volume of this most instructive, astonishing and fascinating work from New Zealand, and at once perceived its outstanding importance for students of comparative mythology and origins. I intended to write a substantive article on the subject, and my copy is pencilled over with notes calling up hundreds of associations from other ancient traditions. But the War was with us; there was much else to do. Regretfully I had to delay, for the subject required lengthy research for proper documentation, and there was no time for that. So it remained till after the War, when, still being hard pressed for time, I gave

the volume to my old friend Charles C. Bethune, who in early life had spent years in New Zealand living among the Maoris. Though in very poor health, he began to make notes and look up references, but alas! found himself so enfeebled that he could not put pen to paper. So he passed to the World Invisible; and again my intention was frustrated. What then was my delight to find that my friend Mr. Corrance, who had quite recently visited New Zealand and had returned armed with the two volumes, had also perceived their great value. Not only so, but he was good enough at once to promise to make a summary of them for **THE QUEST**. My copy of Vol. I. was sent me by my old friend Dr. Felkin, who had then recently gone to reside in New Zealand, and with it he enclosed a letter to him from the son of the author, Mr. S. Percy Smith. This is so interesting that I append it in full, with many apologies to Mr. B. Crompton Smith for so long a delay in making his father's most valuable work known to readers of **THE QUEST**.

" HAVELOCK N., N.Z.

" 28th July, 1914.

" DEAR DR. FELKIN,

" I am sending you by this mail a book just produced by my father, through the Polynesian Society, dealing with the occult teaching of the Maoris of N.Z. The introduction, which is all that is original to my father, throws all the light that is necessary on the mode and reason for giving out this secret knowledge to the world. I think the book will interest you, chiefly because the Maoris have been so long isolated from the world that their secret knowledge is probably very pure, and has been handed down, apparently, for many ages after derivation from their original ancestors in India or thereabouts.

" I may say that my father is one of the few colonists now left who have made a study of the Maori, his language, history and tradition. Since the age of 18 my father has been engaged in gathering his information, and is the author of half a dozen other books bearing on these matters. He is now looked upon as a leading authority here. He is a surveyor by profession, long since retired, and he has carried the careful accuracy of his profession into his literary work, and I think you may rely abso-

lutely upon everything which is stated as a fact, being based on thorough sifting of information. My father is always most careful to state nothing for which he has not good grounds. As to the interpretation, his reputation here for Maori scholarship is exceeded by none; he has been engaged in the work of translation for the last sixty years or thereabouts, and it is not likely that his rendering would now be questioned by anyone alive.

“I should be very glad if, when you have finished with the book, and thought fit to do so, you would send it to Mr. G. R. S. Mead, who might think it worthy of review in *THE QUEST*. . . .

“I may perhaps add that my father has no knowledge of, or tendency towards, occult matters, so far as I know, and his translations claim only the merit of faithfulness. So far as there is any beauty in them, that is due to the genius of the Maori language, and only to a smaller extent to the translator's long practice and intimate acquaintance with the native mode of thought and idiom.

“Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) “B. CROMPTON SMITH.”

If only I had the requisite leisure, nothing would delight me more than to make a substantive study of this Maori ‘gnosis.’ It certainly has to be done by some one; for the Lore of the Whare-wānaga must henceforth constitute the most important ground of all Polynesian researches. Strange to say, Mr. J. Macmillan Brown in his recent interesting study of Easter Island, entitled *The Riddle of the Pacific*, does not once refer to these important volumes. He seems to be entirely ignorant of their existence, and to be frequently at sea just where they would have helped him greatly.—G. R. S. M.

(The subject will be continued in subsequent issues.—ED.)

COGNITION IN RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE.

Professor G. H. LANGLEY, M.A.,
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It is my purpose in this paper to consider the nature of religious knowledge, so as to make clear both its intrinsic value and also its importance for metaphysical construction. I assume—with Professor Alexander—that every cognitive experience may be analysed into two elements and their relation, *viz.*: the act of awareness and the object of which it is aware, as well as the togetherness of these in the world which is so far experienced. Our own world is constructed by processes of logical inference from what is *given* in such acts of awareness, and it may be modified in two ways: (1) by the effort to obtain greater system and logical consistency between the *data*; and (2) by other, fuller, and more adequate experiences of the world being presented.

What I wish here to point out is that the fullness with which an object or event is *given*, depends upon the character of the mind which is functioning in the act of apprehending; and upon whether, in this act, the mind is using all its powers. A conception of the world may be unnecessarily imperfect because the *data* are not analyzed and systematized with sufficient care. It may also be needlessly imperfect because the *data* reflected upon are not as adequate as they might be, since the whole mind has not been functioning in its acts of apprehending.

I.

I am aware that the term *given* is possibly ambiguous. Professor Broad, in a very helpful paragraph,¹ has discriminated three kinds of givenness, and remarks that there may be others. These he describes as the 'sensibly given,' the 'mnemically given,' and the 'categorically given.' He holds that the only common factor which is present in all senses of *given* is that it is 'not reached by conscious inference.' His comments are directed against the Critical Realists, and it may be he would state his view differently in other circumstances; but I do not consider he has hit upon the essential feature of givenness. It appears, for instance, that the conclusion of a mathematical argument is *given* to the mathematician, although it is reached by conscious inference. The significance of the term seems to me to be that there is an element in what is apprehended which is independent of the act of apprehending, and which the mind recognizes as unaltered and unalterable by its act. I know that in such an apparently simple act as the sensing of a colour, the character of the *sensum* depends upon the functioning of sense-organs which are the result of a very long process of evolution; and that in what is 'mnemically given' the traces which past experience have left upon the mind, are conditioning the act of apprehending; but such facts do not alter the truth that in the object of every cognitive act there is present an element which is not determined by the act, and which therefore the mind is compelled to recognize.

¹ 'Concepts of Continuity,' in the Aristotelian Society's *Proceedings*, Supplementary Volume IV., pp. 109-112.

II.

As above stated, my view is that the character of the *given* depends upon the nature of the mind apprehending, and upon how much of the mind is functioning in the act of apprehension. I hold that different powers of the mind are brought into operation in apprehending objects or events of different kinds, and the diverse characters which objects or events possess. Considering different grades of objects with which we are familiar—such as physical objects or events with their qualities, life, persons, values, and spiritual being—I believe that in apprehending each of these, different powers of the mind are brought into operation. I am not competent to describe accurately these different powers of the mind, and this is rather the business of the psychologist; but certain points seem clear. The mind apprehends physical events and qualities through the sense-organs; and (as Professor Alexander reminds us) it employs in addition, for the apprehension of life, organic and motor sensations. Further the apprehension of persons implies social relations in which there is the necessary adjusting of acts and of emotional responses, and thus the mind is employing its conative and emotional power. In the apprehension of value, the power of appreciation is present and operating; and for the apprehension of spiritual being the whole mind is employed. I hold that spiritual appreciation is an essential power of the developed human mind.

If this be true, it follows that there may be two reasons why qualities or attributes of events and objects are not *given* to one who is presumably in the position to apprehend them. First, they may not exist; or secondly, the power of mind necessary for

their apprehension may be either absent or not functioning. In the latter case the fact that they are not apprehended is no proof that they are not real. In a visit to Donegal, I was impressed by the repulsively squalid condition of a cottage, in which a certain peasant was living with his three daughters, and of its immediate surroundings. The cottage was situated on a fine mountain slope and overlooked a most beautiful glen. It seemed to me clear that, although the peasant possessed ordinary powers of sense-perception, he lacked the power of appreciation, and that some of the characters of his world were not *given* to him. For this reason, even supposing that he had the power to analyse accurately and to describe such experience as he possessed, the latter would necessarily be an inadequate basis for the interpretation of his world.

III.

I now propose to make the attempt—imperfect though it be—to indicate the way in which the mind functions in apprehending spiritual reality. It seems to me that the act of spiritual apprehension is most accurately described as the compresence of the whole mind with its object. Whether we call the object God, or regard it as the Whole which transcends, but is present within, the universe as experienced, it is that which is most real, and it seems to me only to reveal its pervasive character when the whole mind enters into a certain relation with it. The point which Professor Alexander puts in his own way, undoubtedly is true. “The world is not merely what it is for intellect alone; its *nisus* towards what is higher enters into its constitution, and as impregnated with this tendency it affects the mind by ways other than

cognition " (*S. T. and D.* ii. 377). Writing of Wordsworth ('Religious Experience,' § vi., *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1924), I have shown how, at a certain period of the poet's career, when by intellect alone he was unable to apprehend his experience satisfactorily, he was led to a more adequate apprehension by the exercise of 'feeling intellect.' Wordsworth's experience points to the truth that, for spiritual apprehension, it is not sufficient to establish a purely intellectual relation with the object, but that it is important to enter into a certain emotional relation as well. But even as thus supplemented the relation is not complete. A further conative relation must also be established. Spiritual apprehension is not possible apart from a certain surrender of the will, and thus the harmonizing of the will with the *nisus* within the object cognized. In the things of the Spirit it is true that a man shall know only if he wills (*John* vii. 17). Further, it must not be thought that these powers of the mind function separately. Intellect, feeling and will are one in the unity of the human mind; and the mind must enter into a simple relation with the spiritual object, but nevertheless a relation in which all its powers are employed.

Now I contend that when such a relation is entered into with the spiritual object, the nature of this object is—in some measure—*given* to the apprehending mind. The question therefore arises: In what way is this object *given*? Obviously, in some non-sensuous way; for the mind is compresent with an object which transcends sense-experience. It seems to me that the spiritual object is *given* as the presence within the apprehending mind of a spiritual power which transcends the mind. I feel that, in the act of

apprehending, the mind is aware that this spiritual power is independent of its act, and that for this reason we are justified in asserting that the nature of the spiritual object is *given* in this act. It is this experience of independence and transcendence of an immanent spiritual power that St. Paul, in his own way, describes when he writes: "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me" (*Gal.* ii. 20). All spiritual experience testifies to this truth; but I may be permitted to use one other reference to make my meaning more clear. It is from Baron F. Von Hügel's profound analysis of the spiritual history of St. Catherine. The biographer of the *Vita* writes as from St. Catherine: "Day by day I perceive that motes have been removed, which this Pure Love casts out and eliminates. This work is done by God" (i. 139). And again: "The one sole thing in myself in which I glory is that I see in myself nothing in which I can glory." All is the work of Love within, and "Divine Love is the very God, infused by His own immense Goodness into our hearts" (i. 265). In the same volume also it is recorded how Battista Vernazza asserts that "the attribution to her own separate self of even one single meritorious act, would be to her as though a hell," and that "she would rather remain in eternal condemnation than be saved by such an act of the separate self" (i. 847). Thus it is evident that the spiritual power experienced within the mind is also an 'other' transcending the mind and *given* to it in the experience of spiritual apprehension.

IV.

If that for which we are contending be true, there must be a richness in the character of the *given* in

spiritual apprehension, which renders it peculiarly important for metaphysical construction. I will illustrate this point very simply. The relation which seems to me to be most akin to that of spiritual apprehension is the communion between intimate friends. In such communion intellect, emotion and will are all employed, and therein the character of one person is *given* or revealed to another. Assume that such intimate personal communion exists between A and B; and also that a third person C is outside this intimate union, but is acquainted with B. C observes the actions of B, infers therefrom the character of B and communicates his conclusion to A. Assume that this conclusion is an accurate and logical inference from the facts observed. Now experience teaches us that A may accept or reject C's conclusion. Further, in the case where A rejects the conclusion he will be uncompromising, being convinced that it is an inference from inadequate *data*. So, it appears to me, it must ever be with the man who possesses deep spiritual experience. He must reject as inadequate—though not necessarily as false—all metaphysical interpretation that does not account for the *given* which is presented to him.

Not only is this so, but such a one will be compelled to use what is *given* to him for his interpretation of the universe. In reading Baron Von Hügel's great book, one must needs be impressed with the fact that the teaching of St. Catherine—which is imperfect and unsystematized metaphysic—is the expression of the deepest experiences of her spiritual life, and it is not possible to study such thought as that of Plotinus without being similarly impressed. The interior experience of these thinkers demands the kind of interpretation of the universe which they present.

Besides being important because of its richness, spiritual experience is also specially significant because of the peculiar manner in which the pervasive character of the whole is given therein. Professor Alexander shows how religion relates the human mind with the *nisus* towards what is higher, which for him is the fundamentally pervasive character of the universe. And when St. Catherine discovers that "Pure Love is no other than God," and Plotinus identifies the One with the Good, they are convinced that they have found in the *given* in inner experience a pervasive character of the Whole.

V.

While enforcing these considerations I am conscious of the danger which arises from the demands of the religious temperament when metaphysical interpretation is attempted.

First, many will feel that there is great diversity in the *given* in religious experience, and that the problem of finding coherence therein is extremely difficult. I am aware of this apparent diversity; nevertheless, I believe that the solution of the problem is not impossible. Since it involves, however, a careful analysis of and reflection upon the important types of religious experience, any attempt to deal with the problem must be reserved for another paper.

Secondly, although ideal spiritual experience is the result of the compresence of the whole mind with the spiritual object, unfortunately finite minds are not perfect, and imperfect minds are apt to function piecemeal. Accurate sense-perception and spiritual apprehension do not as a rule accompany each other. As we have seen, there are many modes of

apprehending reality, and by each mode something of its nature is *given*. It is the business of the metaphysician, as far as possible, to analyse, describe, and relate all the *given*.¹ Nevertheless since the finite mind functions piecemeal, there is often a tendency to build up a complete world-view out of the *given* in some one form of experience; and such bias is often found in those with deep spiritual experience. An extreme instance of such a tendency is found in the reflections of some of the ancient Hindus. These thinkers are very deeply convinced of the truth that an essential character of the Self (*Ātman*) is its power to apprehend the supreme Reality (*Brahman*). But in its quest for this Reality, the soul believes itself to be hindered by all its other powers; and endeavours to shuffle off its powers of sensing, perceiving and discursive thinking, so that it may concentrate upon the immediate apprehension of the supreme Reality, with which it seeks to realize its identity. So we find that when these thinkers try to describe the condition of supreme blessedness, they frequently suggest that dreamless sleep is the one human condition with which it is most akin. All our categories are inapplicable, and its character can only be indicated by affirming that it is the negation of all human experience. This is only one phase of Hindu speculation; but it is a phase which has continued from very early times till the present day, and which has frequently been dominant among Hindu thinkers. It is not, however, necessary to turn to the East for instances of this error; and the opposition of many to specifi-

¹ I write 'as far as possible' because, in the case of the deepest experiences, there will always be a sense of the inferiority of the *given* as analyzed and described to the *given* as experienced.

cally religious modes of interpretation is due to its prevalence among us. The contrary error is also possible. A thinker may attempt to build his interpretation of the world on the *given* in non-spiritual modes of apprehension; and I have a feeling that this is the case with some who devoutly recognize, and—in certain respects—profoundly understand spiritual experience. In so far as Professor Alexander regards deity as the next higher empirical quality than mind, I feel that he is endeavouring to find for God a place in a world-view, the scheme for which has been determined by reflection upon the *given* in non-spiritual modes of apprehension.

In insisting upon the recognition of the *given*, howsoever apprehended, I am not suggesting the substitution of some form of spiritual intuition for reason in metaphysical interpretation. The *given* in all modes of apprehending must be considered and related by reason. This is a process of extreme difficulty, and the difficulty is increased by the fact that what is *given* in the deepest experiences cannot be satisfactorily described by our ordinary forms of thought since these, for the most part, have been formed in dealing with other types of experience. Nevertheless, the process of relating all the *data* must be a rational process.

Finally, I may be permitted to add that, in my opinion, it is by the recognition of the *given* in the different modes of apprehending, and in the willingness to utilize all the *data*, that the relation between science and religion, and between religion and metaphysics, will become more clearly understood.

G. H. LANGLEY.

ROUMANIAN LEGENDS OF LADY SAINT MARY MOTHER OF GOD AND HOLY JOHN THE BAPTIZER.

Translated by M. GASTER, Ph.D.

I.

WHEN the fields became green,
When the flowers bloomed,
The Holy Mother started
With her son
And God's.
And she went along
And she journeyed,
Along muddy roads,
Along roads uneven
Which shook the bones.
And she took the road,
Until she came
To John the Holy,
Holy John.
Holy John,
When he beheld them,
He got as red as fire ;
And he embraced them,
And he begged of them
To stay with him,—
To partake of
Honey from the hive,
Fruits from the garden.
The Holy Mother looked at him,
And with her mouth she thus
spoke :
" John,
Holy John,

We have not started
To take the road,
To stop
And to eat
Honey from the hive,
Fruits from the garden.
But we have started,
And the road we have taken,
With the Holy Son,
To save Him from evil,
And from the foes to protect
Him ;
For they have taken counsel
This evening
To kill Him.
As soon as I heard it
From the Holy Angel,
I have come to thee,
That thou come and lead us,
In the night through the valleys
And in daytime through the
long roads,
In the night during the dark
As in the light of day,
To see the Child saved.
For I fear lest they find Him ;
For they will kill Him
If they catch Him.

They will shoot Him
Or pierce Him with arrows,
With a silver arrow
To kill Him more quickly."
But John,
Holy John,
Spake
And said :
" O, Holy Mother,
All-pure,
Do not fear too much,
For I have heard the news
That they have crucified thy Son.
The angels wept,
The stars dropped,
The heavens split open,
The sun darkened,
The moon turned to blood."
" O John,
Holy John,
They have not caught Him,
They have not crucified Him,
etc."
" Mother, if that be so,
Then let it be as thou wilt."
As they spake they started.
They went a long way,
Until they came to Egypt,
In a dark night,
In a cool night,
So cold it made the bones rattle.
John,
Holy John,
Went about
To find a home,
To ask for a home.
But wherever he asked,

He could not find a shelter,
He could not get one,
Until the Angel of the Lord
came.
The Angel came, the Angel
spake :
" Holy Mother,
Take the Child
And hide it
Among the hemlock,
For the foes will come ;
They are sure to meet you,
And they will ask you :
' Have you seen the Holy
Mother ? '
And thou shalt reply :
' We have seen them going along,
But not in these parts ;
For here the land is swampy
And very unhealthy.'
When they will hear that,
They will continue their
journey ;
They will travel through the
world.
And when they will come back,
They will find no one left."
When the Holy Mother heard,
She did as she was told.
She hid the Child.
And when she met the foes,
She told them of other roads.
They followed her direction ;
They travelled through the
world,
And died on the journey.
(Marian, pp. 98, 94.¹)

¹ S. Fl. Marian, *Legendele Maicii Domnului* (Bucharest, 1904).

II.

A big man
 Took a big axe.
 He went into the big forest,
 To cut a big tree,
 To build a big church.
 And he cut the big tree,
 And he made a big church,
 With nine doors (screens) and
 nine altars,
 With nine windows towards
 the holy sun (east).
 In the great window
 Sat the great St. Mary,
 In the little window
 Sat the little St. Mary.
 She searched the books,
 She looked on all sides ;
 She searched the books,
 She looked on all sides,
 To see her Son,
 The Lord of Heaven
 And of Earth.
 But she did not see Him ;
 But she saw
 Holy John, Holy John,
 The Godfather
 Of God ;
 And she asked him
 And she spake to him :
 " John, Holy John !
 Hast thou seen,
 Or hast thou heard,
 Of thy Godson,
 Of my Son ?
 For however much I have
 searched for Him,

I have not found Him any-
 where."
 " I have not seen,
 But I have heard,
 That the heathen
 Have got hold of Him,
 Have tortured Him,
 Have hanged Him on the Cross.
 By the gate of Pilate,
 On a cross of pinewood."
 The Mother of the Lord
 Of Heaven
 And Earth,
 When she heard it,
 Was deeply pained.
 And she started
 And she went,
 Wailing and crying,
 Wringing her hands,
 Scratching her white face,
 Weeping out of black eyes,
 Sighing from her heart,
 Going along the road,
 Searching for her Son.
 And as she went along
 She met a carpenter.
 " A pleasant journey, master
 carpenter ! "
 " Thank you, Maica Precista,¹
 And my Lady.
 But why dost thou sob and cry,
 Scratching thy face,
 Wringing thy hands,
 Weeping from black eyes,
 And sighing bitterly ? "
 " How am I not to cry and weep ?

¹ A popular name for Mary, in the mouth of the people, meaning ' All-pure Mother.'

I have had an only Son,
 And this one I have lost;
 And I have heard
 That He has let Himself
 Be hanged on the Cross
 By the gate of Pilate.
 Hast thou not seen,
 Hast thou not heard
 Of my Son,
 The Lord of Heaven
 And of Earth?"

"I have not seen Him,
 But I have heard.
 I have made the cross,
 For I was called,
 And paid a lot of money
 That I should make a cross of
 pinewood.
 They told me to make it light
 and short,
 But I made it big and heavy."
 "Master, master,
 Cursed shalt thou be.
 Mayest thou work a year long
 And get little return."
 And she went on again
 Through the land,
 Wailing and weeping,
 Scratching her face and wring-
 ing her hands,
 And sighing heavily.
 And as she went along
 She met a famous smith.
 "A pleasant journey, master
 smith!"
 "I thank thee,
 Maica Precista,
 And my Lady.
 Why dost thou cry and weep, etc.?"

"Why shall I not cry and
 weep?
 I have had one Son and I have
 lost him, etc."

. . . And the master smith
 replied:
 "I have not seen Him,
 But I have heard of Him,
 For I was called to make the
 nails,
 And well did they pay me.
 They asked me to make big and
 heavy nails,
 But I made them thin and
 light."

"Master smith, master smith,
 Blessed shalt thou be.
 Strike with thy hammer
 And get at once thy pay."
 Again she went along the road,
 Wailing and weeping
 And searching for her Son.
 But who meets her?
 A frog.
 "A pleasant journey, froggie
 dear!"
 "I thank thee, Maica Precista
 And my Lady.
 But why art thou crying and
 weeping, etc."

"Why shall I not cry and
 weep, etc.?"
 "O my Lady,
 Why dost thou sob
 And cry and weep?
 Thou hast had only one Son
 And hast lost Him.
 But what am I to say,—
 Woe unto me!—

I who have had twelve children ;
 And there came a terrible wheel
 And crushed eleven of them ?
 And one has remained,
 And he also is now limping."
 " Just call him hither ! "
 " O little flower, O little dear,
 Come to your mother ! "
 And there at once came
 A little frog,
 Blind and limping.
 When the Maica Precista set
 her eyes on him,
 She smiled and laughed.
 She blessed the frog,
 And with her mouth she said :
 " Froggie, when thou diest,
 Thy body shall not rot,
 And men may drink the water
 In which thou livest,
 Not being defiled by thee ;
 And in every fountain shalt
 thou live."
 And Maica Precista walked
 through the land,
 Weeping, etc.
 And she went on until she
 reached
 The Hill of Gararăul,
 A rock as sharp and pointed
 As the edge of a knife.
 There she tried
 To kill herself.
 What did the hill do ?
 It melted like wax,
 It ran like silver,
 And got soft like molten gold.
 And she could not
 Hurt herself.

On the top of Gararăul,
 High up near the heavens,
 There stands a white church,
 With an altar of pearls,
 With beads of wax,
 With gates of citron-wood,
 With thresholds of incense.
 In the midst of the church
 Stands a golden stool,
 With legs of silver
 Fastened to the ground.
 But who sits on the stool ?
 Sits the Holy Nichita,
 With a short doublet,
 With a drawn sword
 In his right hand,
 And a white book
 In his left hand.
 And by the lighted torch
 He sits and reads,
 And reading he says :
 " Ye Holy Ones,
 Ye Fathers,
 Stand still, stand
 And listen !
 Holy Nicolai,
 Holy Archangel Michael,
 Holy Grigore,
 And Holy Vasile !
 Have you not seen,
 Have you not heard of,
 The Son of Mary,
 The Maica Precista,
 The Lord of Heaven
 And Earth ? "
 " We have not seen Him ;
 But we have heard
 That He has been caught
 And put in a barrel of nails.

They drowned Him in a shirt
of nettles,
And put on His feet red hot
iron shoes ;
They girt Him with a girdle of
hawthorn, etc.”
(Here follow details of the
Passion.)
When the Captain of the
Church
Heard this,
He went down from Heaven
Down into Hades,
Upon the Cross,
Until he reached the Lord
Christ.
And when he came to Hades
(Iad),
He broke the bolts,
He shattered the iron gates,
And he took
Jesus out of Hades.
And after he had saved Him,
He took His soul,
And carried it up to Heaven,
To sit at the right hand of His
Father,
Which was most pleasing to
Him.
. . . And from here, Mary
went along again,
Weeping, wailing, etc.,
Until she reached the gate of
Pilate.
She kicked with the left foot
Against the gate,
But it did not open.

She kicked with the right foot,
And it opened.
And God wept with one eye,
And laughed with the other
eye.
And the Mother said :
“ O my beloved Son,
What didst thou reckon,
What didst thou think,
That Thou hast given Thyself
And left Thyself
In the hands of the Scribes and
Pharisees,
To be hanged on the Cross
At the gate of Pilate,
On a cross of pinewood ? ”
“ O my well-beloved Mother,
Do not grieve too much,
For I have not given myself up
For thy sake
Nor for My sake,
But for the sake of John,
Holy John,
My Godfather and thy Cumăt-
rul,¹
And for the whole Christian
world.
If thou hadst gone up to
Heaven,
Thou wouldst have seen
That in time gone by,
No new-born was baptized ;
No people joined in wedlock ;
No burial service for the dead ;
Mother did not weep for child,
Nor child for mother ;
The cow did not low for the calf,

¹ Relationship created between the parents and godparents through the baptism of the infant.

Nor the calf for the cow ;
 The sheep did not bleat for the
 lamb,
 Nor the lamb for the sheep ;
 No axe was heard in the
 forest ;
 Neither the youths were seen
 in their dances,
 Nor the maidens with their
 flowers,
 Nor were heard the chirping
 songs of birds.
 But now, if thou wilt return to
 the world,
 Then thou wilt be filled with
 greater love
 For that which thou wilt see.
 For from to-day onwards,
 The new-born will be baptized ;
 The couples joined in wedlock ;
 The dead buried with proper
 service ;
 Mother will weep for child,
 And child for mother ;
 Cow will low for calf,
 And calf for cow ;
 Sheep will bleat for lamb,
 And lamb for sheep ;
 The axe will be heard in the
 forest.
 Thou wilt see the young men
 at the dance,
 And the maidens with flowers ;
 And thou wilt hear the chirping
 songs of birds. . . .”

This word has been given to
 the world.
 And whoever listens,

And whoever has learned these
 words,
 And will repeat them,
 In the evening lying down,
 In the morning rising up,
 Every week,
 Every month,
 At the half year
 And at the end of the year,
 Him I will take
 By the right hand,
 And I will lead him
 On the straight road,
 To lit-up houses,
 To decked tables,
 To burning torches,
 To sweet food,
 To full goblets,
 Where the souls walk about
 As bees.
 But whoever shall know these
 words
 And will not repeat them,
 Every month,
 Every week,
 Every year,
 Every half-year,
 Him Maica Precista will take
 By the left hand,
 And will lead him
 On the crooked path,
 To tables cleared,
 To extinguished torches,
 To bad food,
 To empty goblets,
 Where souls dark as coals
 Are flitting about
 Like flies.

Amen.

III.

(A VARIANT OF ABOVE.)

A cross in the house,
A cross on the table,
A cross in the four corners of
the house.
But this is not a house
Nor is it a table,
But a perfect cathedral,
And wonderfully beautiful.
Who can be seen in it ?
Who sits therein ?
Lady Mary sits
In the midst of the altar
On a golden stool,
With her face towards the east.
She looked into the books,
She looked to different parts,
To all the saints
And all the just.
She looked for them
And found them ;
But only her Son,
The Lord of Heaven
And of Earth,
However much she searched,
She could not find Him.
Then she took
A white book
In her right hand,
The holy book
In her left hand.
Then she looked
And she searched
Down the waters of the Jordan,
And she saw no one ;
She heard no one.

Then she took off
The white dress of the angels,
And she put on
The black robes of a nun,
And the white staff
In the right hand,
The holy staff
In the left hand.
And she looked,
And she searched,
Up the waters of the Jordan,
And she saw no one,
And she heard no one,
Only John,
Holy John,
The Godfather of the Lord.
And as soon as she laid her eyes
On him, she said to him :
" Listen, John,
Holy John !
Hast thou seen,
Or hast thou heard of,
My Son,
Of thy Godson,
The Lord of Heaven
And of Earth,
And of the Christians ? "
" Holy Mother,
With the sight of my eyes
I have not seen Him,
With the hearing of my ears
I have heard of Him ;
That he is in the hands of the
Jews
And the unbelieving heathen,

For they have come together
And captured Him,
On the 'Great Thursday,'
With great fury
And great hatred ;
On the field of Pilate
They have pursued Him,
And on a cross of pinewood
They have fastened Him ;
A crown of thorns
They have put on His head ;
They have girded Him
With a girdle of thistles ;
With ash they have fed Him,
And they have put on Him
A shirt of nettles.
With bitter wine they have
quenched Him ;
And they have passed nails
Through His hands and feet.
They threw at Him three
hatchets,
And three rivers flowed.
And if thou wilt see Him,
Haste thither,
To the fountain of Pilate,
Where the birds are standing,
Taking a mouthful of the water
And giving praise to God.
And when thou reachest there,
Wash thy face,
Wash thy arms,
Look towards the east ;
Thou art sure to see Him,
Like a luminous morning star."
The Holy Mother listened to
him,
And then she took to her
journey,

Weeping
And crying,
With a loud voice up to heaven,
With tears rolling to the
ground.
Where the tears fell,
Golden apples grew ;
The angels gathered them up
And took them up to heaven.
And wherever her foot trod,
A red ear of corn grew up,
The ear of the corn
Like the ointment of baptism,
The gift of the Lord.
And the Lady Mary went
To the fountain of Pilate,
Where the birds are standing ;
They took a mouthful of water
And gave praise to God.
When she reached there,
She washed her face
And washed her arms.
But however much she
searched,
She saw Him nowhere.
Again she started and went,
Weeping and crying,
To the mountains of Garaleu,
To the mountains of Jerusalem,
To the hill of Egim,
To a split up rock,
Like the edge of a knife,
Like a sharpened point,
To kill herself.
But she could not take her life :
For the rock melted like wax,
And flowed away like molten
silver.
No one in this world saw her,

No one in this world heard her,
Only Angelina,
Marchelina,
The sisters of Lazarus.

And to the Mother of God they
said :

“ O Lord,
O Abraham,
A wonderful thing we have
seen,
A wonderful thing we have
heard.”

And again they all went to the
fountain of Pilate.

And she washed her face
And she washed her arms,
And she looked,
And she saw
Her beloved Son,
Like a luminous morning star,
Coming towards her in holiness.
When she saw Him,
She said to Him :

“ O Thou flower of basilic,
O my Son, just come hither,
And tell me in sooth
Why Thou hast given Thyself
over,

Why hast Thou let Thyself
Fall into the hands of
strangers,
In the land of the heathen ?
Why hast Thou not sought (to
escape),
Why didst Thou not fly (i.e. hide)
Through heaven and upon
earth,

And under the earth,
Under the roofs of houses,

Through the bunch of flowers
of the maidens,
Through the bunch of flowers
of the youths,
Through the mangers of the
oxen,
Through the folds of the
sheep ? ”

“ O Holy Mother,
My beloved Mother,
I have not given Myself up,
Nor have I left Myself (in their
hands)

For My sake,
Nor for thy sake,
But for the sake of the whole
world.

For until I gave Myself up,
Until I have left Myself in the
hands of others,

One neither saw
Nor heard
The voices of birds,
The song of the ploughman,
Nor a sheep with a lamb,
Nor a cow with a calf ;
Neither mothers loved their
children,

Nor were the fields
Green with grass,
Nor did the fountain run cold
water ;

And whoever died,
Went straight to Hades (Iad).
But from this time forth
Torches will be lit in heaven,
And they will never be ex-
tinguished.

And they will gather together

And draw near,
 The birds to their nestlings,
 The sheep to their lambs,
 The cows to their calves,
 And mothers to their children.
 Then will be seen,
 The fields green with grass,
 And the fountains with cold
 water ;
 And whoever dies,
 Will belong to God."

Whoever knows these (words)
 And who will recite them,
 These two, three words,
 Left by the Lord,
 And given to us on this earth,
 Every month,
 Every week,
 Evening and morning,
 When he lies down to sleep,
 When he rises up,
 Will neither see,
 Nor have,
 The land of Egypt
 And the house of bondage.
 But he will go and pass through
 Seventy-seven unquenched fires,

And over seventy-seven slippery
 bridges,
 Will go on and pass through
 Seventy-seven toll-houses free
 of payment,
 And he will walk on
 To the right hand of the Father,
 In the Kingdom of Heaven.
 But whoever will know these
 (words)
 And will not recite them,
 Every month,
 Every week,
 Evening
 And morning,
 Lying down,
 And rising up,
 And does not remember these
 holy words,
 There will come
 The Archangels
 With Mother Eve,
 And they will take him
 By the left hand,
 And they will lead him
 Over the crooked path
 Through his deeds,
 To the very bottom of Hell.

Amen.

(Marian, pp. 180, 188.)

(The above beautifully rendered 'carols' are examples of a very rich legend-literature of the Balkans, Greece and South Russia, with more of which from time to time we hope to acquaint our readers. Comments on them might be voluminous. The Mandæan parallelisms will strike readers of *THE QUEST* more readily than others. They first appeared in an article by Dr. Gaster in *Folklore*, 1923, pp. 45-85.—ED.)

THE WATER OF LIFE AND THE BAPTISM OF FIRE IN THE PISTIS SOPHIA.

ROBERT EISLER, Ph.D.

THE fifth document of the so-called *Pistis Sophia*¹—that fascinating Gnostic revelation of which we owe such an excellent English translation to the Editor of this Review—contains the institution of the central sacrament of that mystic community, the sacred scriptures of which have been preserved to us in those two most important of all Coptic books, the Askew and Bruce codices in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries. If we can explain this peculiar sacrament—a triple baptism in the ‘water of life,’ in ‘spirit’ and in ‘fire’—and make it fit into its proper place in the history of Hellenistic religions, this will incidentally throw a flood of light on the origins of the (till now unknown and unidentified) Gnostic church to which these documents belong.

The scene of the institution of this rite is laid (p. 293) ‘on the water of the Okeanos.’ (The Coptic writer has preserved this Greek word, like many others, as untranslatable in his version.) From this shore Jesus and his disciples rise for a time, in strange fashion (analyzed further on), to certain regions in the air and descend again. They descend, however, not on some geographically undefined cosmic world-mountain,

¹ Englished by G. R. S. Mead (London, Watkins, 1921).

but on the homely Mount of Galilee (p. 309), where the meeting by appointment of the risen Jesus with his followers is placed in Matth. 28¹⁶.¹ From this, and because in the same Gospel of Matthew (28^{7.10}; cp. Mk. 14²⁷, 16⁷) Jesus has promised to meet his disciples in Galilee after the resurrection, and from the fact that no pilgrimage of the disciples to the far-away Ocean is mentioned in the *Pistis Sophia*, we may safely infer that Jesus and his disciples were not originally meant to meet at the shore of the world-encircling 'Ocean.' Much less were they to stand—round an altar!—over the waters of the Ocean; but—even as in Jn. 21—on the shore of what the Gospels call the Galilean sea, i.e. on the lake of Tiberias.

This detail is important, because the mistranslation cannot be due to the Copt, who merely preserves *okeanos* from his Greek original, and would have done the same if he had found *thalassa* there. So obviously the Greek was itself a translation from a Palestinian (more exactly probably a Galilean-Aramean or a Hebrew) original, which had simply *yam* or *yama* (the sea) for the Tiberiad lake. The Alexandrian (Greek) translator—not seeing the connection with Matth. 28, or the parallellism with Jn. 21—preferred to translate the 'ocean' for the 'sea.' We know from the Jerusalem Talmud (*Chall.* iv. 60a) that the Jews used the word 'ōkēyanōs also of the *Mediterranean*; it thus becomes clear that the Greek translator was an Alexandrian, who wanted to lay the scene of this revelation somewhere in the neighbourhood of that port.

On the other hand, we learn from *Tanhuma*

¹ Commentators generally locate this mountain, just as they do the mountain of the Sermon of the Beatitudes, on *Qarn Hattin*. Another possibility is that Tabor, the traditional site of the Transfiguration, was meant.

(§ *Hayē Sara*, 29b) that 'ōkēyanōs was explained as the ' *sea of death* ' (the ocean over which the souls have to pass on their way to the blessed islands). Thus it becomes clear that the Alexandrinian translator may have wanted to suggest (after the manner of a Philo or Origen) that the risen Jesus would meet his disciples on the very border of the realm of death, that is on the shore of the *Okēanos*.

The scene begins with a prayer of Jesus: "Hear me, my Father, father of fatherhood, boundless Light, [*aeēiouō, iaō aōi ōia psinōther thernōps(i) nōpsither zagourē pagourē nethmomaōth nepsiomaōth marachachtha thōbarrabau tharnachachau zorokothora*] *ieou sabaōth*."

The reader will notice that, if the bracketed words be left out, a purely Jewish invocation with a slight tinge of Light-mysticism (such as we find, *e.g.*, in the book *Bāhīr*) remains. The inserted word-group is clearly a formula of the sort which is so familiar to readers of the magical papyri. It begins with the sequence of the seven vowels and a permutation of *iaō*, and then follow words, which are not Coptic, but *ancient* Egyptian—rendered as best might be with Greek letters. For instance, *P's'ntr* (O, yonder Son of God), where *nōtēr* (god) is the ancient Egyptian form as against *noutē* (without the final *r*) in the worn-down Coptic; *si* of course 'son' as in *Har-si-esis* (Horus son of Isis). Ancient Egyptian magic words of this kind were called *hieroglyphisti*¹ (in hieroglyphic language) by the Greek magicians. Not that those who used them, knew much about the old and then dead sacred language of Egypt; but there was a Greek

¹ See the passages where the word occurs in Dieterich's *Abraxas*, p. 6, n. 7.

work on ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs, by a *hierogrammateus* and Stoic philosopher named Chæremón of Nero's time, which served as a source-book to them for all that cheap mystery-lore, just as some modern *gurus* gather all their mysterious Oriental inspirations from the 'Sacred Books of the East,' under the dome of the British Museum. Occasionally a name seems to have been picked up by vaguely hearing the priests chant their litanies, and then to have been misspelt on top of it; just as medieval illiterates heard the mystic words 'making' transubstantiation during mass, and so got to believe that *hocus-pocus*—as they thought they heard the Latin *hoc est corpus (meum)* pronounced—was a great magic word of power.

Thus, *e.g.*, in *nepsiomaōth* (*nepthomaōth*, p. 310) one can easily detect the names of the goddesses Nephthys (*Nebt-ḥat*, 'Lady of the Dwelling') and 'Ma'at' (Truth). Or again in Jesus' second invocation: '*iaphtha, iaphtha*,' etc.,—it is obviously *ia Ptah* (O Ptah), an invocation of the divine 'Creator' or 'Sculptor' of the world. And the following *mounaēr* is clearly a 'permutation' of *Amoun Re* (the Invisible or 'Western Sun'), while the subsequent *armanouēr* is a slight corruption of *Re' Aman Ouer* (The Sun, the Western, the Great one). As a matter of fact, such words would be deliberately permuted: *e.g.*, *psinōthēr* changed into *nōpsithēr* and so forth.¹

Occasionally, one can see how terribly ignorant the people were who inserted such magical balderdash into originally noble and exalted mystic texts. (The

¹ A detailed treatment of the methods of Græco-Egyptian magic and a thorough-going analysis of all its documents are now available in Prof. Th. Hopfner's standard work on 'Græco-Egyptian Revelation Magic,' vol. I., 1922, vol. II., 1924 (266pp., 80 figg.; 172pp., 15 figs.); H. Haessel Verlag, Leipzig; £1).

so-called 'Mithraic liturgy' of the Paris Papyrus is another classical instance of such 'editing.') Some of the mystic formulas have obviously been inserted by somebody who knew very little Greek. In the second mystic 'prayer' (p. 296), put into the mouth of the risen Jesus, Jesus is called *Aberamenthō*. This is (*hieroglyphisti*): 'b 'irj 'imntj.w ('the Purified one among the departed,' that is, 'the Risen one').

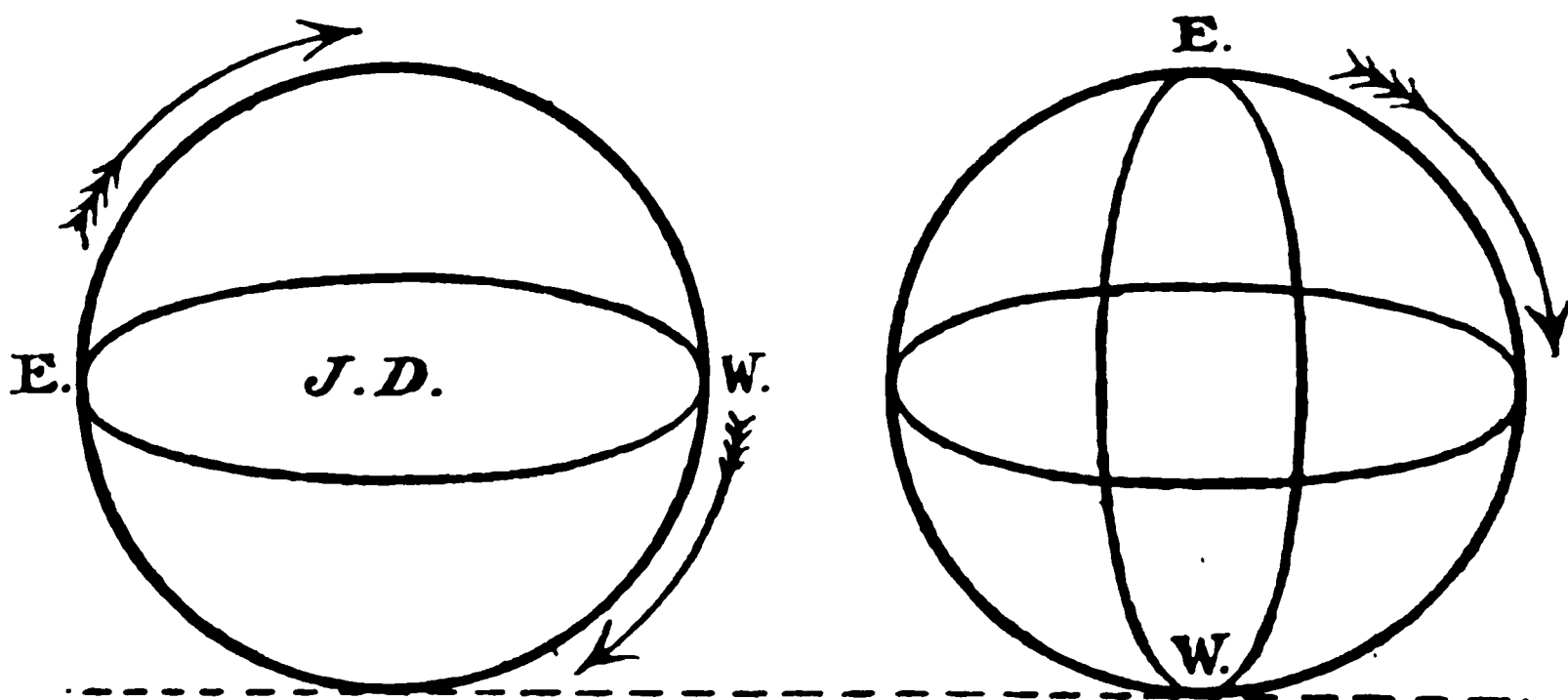
The prayer is in reality *no prayer* at all: "Let all the mysteries of the rulers and the authorities . . . and all things of the invisible god *Agrammachamarei* [that is, Heb. *ha-garam ha-ḥamarēy* . . . [the skeleton (or 'inner self') of the asses of . . . !] and *Barbēlō* [=the god in the *Tetraktys*, in the Foursome of the elements] draw near the leech (*bdella*) on one side and withdraw to the right." This is *an ordinary incantation*, which a quack doctor would recite, *when applying a leech to a patient*. Only a man who did not understand enough Greek to know that *bdella* was no divine power but an ordinary leech, could think of interpolating such a rigmarole into a prayer of Jesus!

As a matter of fact, the whole paragraph can be cut out without disturbing the context in the slightest, by joining together the words "grant all for which I invoke Thee," in the preceding prayer, with the concluding words "and withdraw to the right" of the interpolated section.

This operation also restores a sensible connection between the prayer of Jesus and its effect. The 'father of the fatherhood of the boundless' (Space)—that is, the very characteristic abstract divinity of these mysteries—is prayed to grant what Jesus desires, and to 'withdraw to the right'—that is, according to the *Egyptian* orientation towards *the south*—to *the*

*west.*¹ And, indeed, forthwith the skies—that is, the sphere of boundless space—*moves westward*. And the whole world and the mountains and the seas fled together to the west; but Jesus and his disciples remained in “the midst in an airy region of the way of the midst, which lieth below the sphere.”

The naïve idea is that at the prayer of Jesus the sphere turns round one quarter of a revolution, and rolls westward like a wheel. Thus the circle of the horizon now stands up vertically, and Jesus—left standing in his former place—finds himself thereby transported into that airy void, which is otherwise under the sphere of the earth.



J.D. is the fixed standing point of Jesus and the disciples.

This strange miracle of transporting persons without their moving *by moving space itself against them*, is well known from Jewish mystic (so-called Hasidic) legends as ‘the miracle of the jumping way.’ It is, one might say, the proper miracle to work for the invoked father of the ‘boundless’ space. On the other

¹ Here again it is easy to discern the negligent work of the translator. The Greeks (Aristotle, *De Cælo*, ii. 2, p. 285b) oriented themselves *northward*,—therefore they called the west the left side. The Copt has correctly changed it *once*, in the beginning of the translation of his paragraph; but immediately afterwards he forgets all about it and follows the Greek mechanically in repeating twice: ‘to the west, to the left.’

hand, it may very well be understood as a description of a purely psychic change of place with the body remaining unmoved on its site.

In any case, Jesus is now transported with his disciples to the underworld under the sphere, and we find him explaining to them *the working* of the cosmic Fate-sphere, to which the 12 Æons (the Signs of the Zodiac) are fastened, as a punishment for their falling away from laws of divine chastity into the snares of lust. There is a hierarchy of 1800 rulers round this sphere of Fate (that is, astrological partitions of two-tenth parts of a degree of the circle) under 360 over-rulers. These are the *horoi* of the astronomers, the gods of the days of the year, the 365 gods of 'Orpheus.' Over all of them are five 'bound' rulers, the five planets, who have always disturbed by their capricious courses the regular revolutions of the heavenly hosts, and are therefore considered here, as in Iranian cosmology, evil powers, which will be finally chained to the wheel by God. The disciples learn that all these powers (and other ones as well, which it would take too long to discuss here) are 'set over great chastisements of the souls.'

Therefore does Mary, the mother of Jesus, beseech him to tell them how they may escape the power of these terrible cosmic chastisers and 'inherit the Light of thy Father.'

Jesus graciously promises to tell them all they would know and to give them the fullest gnosis. They will learn the names and the 'seals' (that is the *magic monograms*) of all these evil powers, so as to pass safely through their spheres. Moreover he will give them all a special sacrament,—a *protective triple baptism*.

Jesus said unto his disciples (pp. 807f.): "Be comforted and be not afraid, for ye are blessed, because I will make you lords over all these and put them in subjection under your feet. Remember that I have already said unto you before I was crucified: 'I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' Now, therefore, I say unto you: I will give them unto you."

When then Jesus said this, he chanted a song of praise in the great name. The regions of the ways of the midst hid themselves, and Jesus and his disciples remained in an air of exceedingly strong light.

Jesus said unto his disciples: "Draw near unto me." And they drew near unto him. He turned himself towards the four corners of the world, said the great name over their heads,¹ blessed them and breathed [=bestowed the *pneûma*] into their eyes.

Jesus said unto them: "Look up and see what ye may see."

And they raised their eyes and saw a great, exceedingly mighty light, which no man in the world can describe.

He said unto them anew: "Look away out of the light and see what ye may see."

They said: "We see *fire, water, wine and blood.*"

This is very interesting; for here we get obviously the mystic explanation of the well-known optical phenomenon of the 'after-glow.' The disciples are made to look into a very strong light, and then 'away out of the light.' They see (as may everyone similarly) glowing red, purple and scarlet after-glows of the strong light, intermingled with blues and greens, the complementary colours to the red hues. These colour-sights are explained in our text as visions of fire (orange-red), water (blue-green), wine (purple) and blood (blood-red).

Jesus,—that is Aberamenthō,—said unto his disciples: "Amēn. I say unto you: I have brought nothing into the world when

¹ The Great Name is the combination of the four vowels *i, a, ou, e* (=Yahveh). The vowels are spoken to the four corners of the universe. (*Book of Moses about the Great Name*; Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 197f.; Dornseiff, *Alphabet*, p. 47).

I came, save this fire, this water, this wine and this blood. I have brought the water and the fire out of the region of the Light of the lights of the Treasury of the Light; and I have brought the wine and the blood out of the region of Barbēlō. And after a little while my father sent me the holy spirit in the type of a dove.

“And the fire, the water and the wine are for the purification of all the sins of the world. The blood on the other hand was for a sign unto me because of the human body which I received in the region of Barbēlō, the great power of the invisible god. The breath on the other hand advanceth towards all souls and leadeth them unto the region of the Light.”

Then follow scriptural quotations in support of this posthumous revelation of a ‘triple baptism.’

[1] “‘I am come to cast fire on the earth,’—that is, I am come to purify the sins of the whole world with *fire*.

[2] “And for this cause have I said to the Samaritan woman: ‘If thou knewest of the gift of God, and who it is who saith unto thee: Give me to drink, thou wouldst ask, and he would give thee *living water* and there would be in thee a spring which wellet up for everlasting life.’

[3] “And for this cause I took also a cup of *wine*, blessed it and gave it unto you and said: ‘This is the *blood* of the covenant which will be poured out for you for the forgiveness of your sins.’

[4] “And for this cause they have also thrust the spear into my side, and there came forth water and *blood*. ”

“And these are the mysteries of the Light which forgive sins; that is to say, these are the namings and the names of the Light.”

After this Jesus orders the ‘powers of the left’ (that is, the eastern point of the sphere) to revert to their previous position.¹ The universe rolls back to its initial position (see Diagram), and Jesus finds himself with his disciples again on the familiar site of the

¹ Cp. p. 19 (ch. 15), where Jesus orders the powers of the Fate henceforward to turn the sphere six months in the one and six months in the other direction, thereby annihilating completely the fatal influence of the motions of the spheres upon the destiny of mankind.

‘Mount of Galilee.’ Acceding graciously to their repeated entreaties, he promises :

“I will give you the mystery of the forgiveness of sins, in order that to him whom ye shall forgive on earth, it will be forgiven in heaven, and he whom ye shall bind on earth, will be bound in heaven. *I will give you the mystery of the kingdom of heaven in order that ye yourselves may perform them [sc. the mysteries] for men.*”

This sentence shows that the following description corresponds to the real performance of the rite in question in that Gnostic church.

And Jesus said unto them : “Bring me *fire and vine-branches.*” They brought them unto him. He laid out the offering, and set down *two wine vessels*, one on the right and the other on the left of the offering. He disposed the sacrifice before them, and set a *cup of water* before the wine-vessel on the left, and laid *loaves* according to the number of the disciples in the middle between the cups and set a [nother] *cup of water behind the loaves.*

The following *ordo* for the performance of what we should call the Gnostic altar- and baptismal sacrament (*P.S.* ch. 142) is greatly mutilated in the Askew Codex. Someone has purposely torn out eight leaves (probably in order to guard the innermost secret of the sect) before he had to surrender the book to the hands of the uninitiated,—it may be to some orthodox heresy-hunting inquisitor of the Alexandrian patriarchate. Fortunately, the gap is easily filled by comparing the corresponding passages of the Bruce manuscript (*Book of Yeou II.* pp. 45ff. (pp. 308ff.), ed. Carl Schmidt). There the preparations of the rite are described in a similar way,—only with the addition that the wine is to be obtained from a man or a woman in whom the ‘wickedness’ of flesh has already died out.

The vine-branches required by Jesus have nothing

to do with the Persian rite of the *barsom*-twigs (as Bousset supposed). They are dry vine-branches, the favourite material, simply, for kindling a fire in a Greek household,—the very material out of which torches, especially the big fire-brands (called *phanoi*) of the *Bacchic mysteries*, were assembled.

Jesus sets these afire—obviously on the altar, which has been mentioned at the beginning of the story (p. 295) as standing before Jesus on the shore of the water, and which is now (as a matter of course) supposed to have been moved, together with the Saviour and the little assembly of the disciples, to the top of the Mount of Galilee. He then proceeds to ‘perform the offering (*prosphora*).’

Even at the very beginning the reader will not overlook the absolutely Pagan, un-Jewish and even so un-Christian, character of this scene. An altar for sacrifice, set up in the open air,—first on the shore of the ‘sea,’ then on a mountain-top. The whole is a regular sacrifice offered in a ‘high-place,’ as it is so often denounced by the prophets. The positions of all the participants in the rite are carefully given (p. 395). Jesus (that is, the officiating priest) stands at the altar; Thomas, Andrew, James and Simon the Canaanite are in the west; facing east Philip and Bartholomew; (Peter and John) are in the south, turned towards the north; the rest of the disciples (are in the east, turned towards the west¹); and the women-disciples stood back

¹ Obviously the scribe has jumped a line here; for it is exceedingly improbable that on one side of Jesus (that is, of the priest) no one stood, while *six* disciples *and* the *four* women-disciples (Mary the Virgin, Mary Magdalen, Salômē and Martha) should be crowded together on the one side behind Jesus’ back. It is also highly improbable that Peter and John (who are speakers in the dialogues of the previous books) should not be named here, but included among ‘the rest of the disciples.’ There is no reason why two disciples only should stand north of the altar and six in the south. Here too there must be a *acuna* in the MS.

of Jesus,—who therefore must have faced the north (Greek fashion).

Into the sacrificial fire Jesus now throws a number of spices: *arkeuthos* (juniper-berries), *kaddalanthos* (an unidentified flower) and *nardostachos* (the ear-shaped flower-stalks of the spike-nard). The disciples are clad (in the manner of Egyptian priests or Orphic or Pythagorean *mystæ*) in linen robes. They have the *kynokephalon* (the sacred plant of the Egyptian ape-dog-god Theut) in their mouths. This last is a plant which is generally called *psyllion* (fleawort), and was used as a remedy against the itching caused by insect-bites. Here it is supposed to help the initiates to keep the sacred silence by quieting the tongue which is irritated to speak. In their hands they hold sunflowers. The heliotropic habit of these flowers symbolizes the longing for the light of truth and life eternal. Finally Jesus crowns them with olive-wreaths (the symbol of peace); and he also puts *olive-branches* on the 'place of sacrifice,'—that is at the base of the altar.

After all these preparations, Jesus stands with closely joined feet and outstretched arms, turns again towards the four corners of the world and begins to utter a very long prayer (made still longer again in three places by means of vowel-combinations and 'hieroglyphic' magic words). He addresses the supreme Father-god, invoking his forgiveness for the sins of the disciples. At the end he says (p. 511):

"If thou then, Father, hast heard me and forgiven the sins of these souls and blotted out their iniquities, and hast made them worthy to be reckoned with thy kingdom, mayest thou give me a sign in this offering."

And the sign which Jesus had said [? besought] happened.

Jesus said unto his disciples: "Rejoice and exult, for your

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[P.T.O.]

sins are forgiven and your iniquities blotted out, and ye are reckoned with the kingdom of my father."

And when he said this, the disciples rejoiced in great joy.

What, however, this sign is, we are not told.

After these lines the scribe of the Askew MS. has again jumped about a page, as we can see both by the context itself and by comparing the parallel account in the Bruce Codex. For:

Jesus said unto the disciples: "This is the manner and way and this is the mystery which ye are to perform for the men who have faith in you, in whom is no deceit and who hearken unto you in all good words. And their sins and their iniquities will be blotted out up to the day on which ye have performed for them this mystery. But hide this mystery and give it not unto all men, save unto him who shall do all the things which I have said unto you in my commandments.

"This then is the mystery in truth of the baptism for those whose sins are forgiven and whose iniquities are blotted out. This is the baptism of the first offering which showeth the way to the region of Truth and to the region of the Light."

Now these words obviously imply that, immediately before this utterance, the 'baptism of the first offering' *has* been performed, and was somehow described in the text.

As a matter of fact the Bruce MS. (*Yeou II.* 45) inserts—after the manifestation of the favourable 'sign'—a second invocation of Jesus: "May a miracle happen and may *Zorokothora Melchizedek* come and bring into one of these wine-vessels the baptismal 'water of life.'" In the same moment the miracle predicted by Jesus happened, and "the wine on the right of the sacrifice (*thysia*) was turned into water."

With this miraculously-obtained *water of life* (which is not otherwise described or characterized) Jesus performs the first baptism.

He is then asked by the disciples (*P.S.*, ch. 143, p. 312, Mead) :

“ Rabbi, reveal unto us the mystery of the Light of thy Father, since we heard thee say: ‘ There is still a *fire-baptism* and there is still a *baptism of the holy spirit* of the Light.’ ”

The performance of these two further baptisms was certainly described in the eight leaves torn out from the *P.S.* MS. Fortunately, we find in the Bruce MS. what is missing in the Askew Codex. To our astonishment we read there (*Yeou II.* 46, p. 310, Schmidt) that the baptism of fire is again performed with a certain mysterious water. The invocation of Jesus runs this time: “ May *Zorokothora Melchizedek* come and bring forth the water of the baptism of fire of the Virgin of Light.”

The very same words and procedures are used in the third baptism with ‘ the holy spirit of the Light.’

We have then a whole chain of problems to solve. It is obvious that the ritual (of lighting a fire of vine-branches on an altar on the top of a mountain, of setting two vessels of wine right and left of the fire and a number of loaves and two cups of water on the altar) is neither Jewish nor Christian.

But what peculiar pagan ritual is at the back of this ceremony?

What is the favourable sign, given to Jesus and the disciples in the course of the ceremony, which guarantees to them the efficacy of the following baptism for the remission of sin?

Why three baptisms, one of water, one of fire, one of the spirit?

What is the meaning and purpose of the miracle of changing wine into water?

What is the 'water of life,' and what is the strange water with which a baptism of *fire* and a baptism of the spirit may be performed?

An attempt to answer these exceedingly interesting questions will engage our attention in the sequel.

R. EISLER.

(Read at an Open Meeting of the Quest Society, Oct. 8, 1924.)

INDWELLING.

IF thou couldst empty all thyself of self,
 Like to a shell dishabited,
 Then might He find thee on the Ocean shelf,
 And say—"This is not dead,"—
 And fill thee with Himself instead.

But thou art all replete with very *thou*,
 And hast such shrewd activity,
 That, when He comes, He says—"This is enow
 Unto itself—'Twere better let it be :
 It is so small and full, there is no room for Me."

T. G. BROWN.¹

(THE QUEST does not usually print 'tags'; but this is too good not to acquaint our readers with, or remind them of, these genial lines.—ED.)

¹ From *Old John and Other Poems*. (Macmillan, 1898.)

VICTOR HUGO AND TABLE-TURNING.

S. ELIZABETH HALL, M.A.

THE long withheld records of the remarkable series of table-turning sittings held at Victor Hugo's house in Jersey, between the years 1853 and 1855, have at length been published by M. Gustave Simon in a volume entitled *Les Tables Tournantes de Jersey*.¹ Victor Hugo, who always believed that they were destined for publication at some future day, recorded his conviction, in 1854, that they would not be given to the public during the lifetime of any of those who took part in the sittings. The opportunity would come, but was as yet far distant. He kept them in his desk for thirty years. During the last seventeen years they have been in the possession of M. Gustave Simon, who now feels that, with the present widespread interest in metaphysical problems and spirit of serious inquiry, the time for introducing them to the public has arrived.

These records are distinguished from most others of the kind both by the character of the sitters and the nature of the scripts. In the preliminary note by the poet Auguste Vacquerie, we are told that the Hugo household, of which he then formed one, had made previous experiments in table-turning without success, and had adopted a sceptical attitude to it, being in fact inclined to attribute the general interest taken at the

¹ *Chez Victor Hugo. Les Tables Tournantes de Jersey. Procès-verbeaux des Séances présentés et commentés par Gustave Simon.* Paris (Libraire Louis Conrad), 1928.

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time in the phenomenon to the encouragement given it by the authorities, who wished to divert public attention from the failures of the government.

That Victor Hugo himself, however, looked upon it seriously from a scientific point of view, may be seen by the passage quoted by M. Gustave Simon from the Philosophical Preface to *Les Misérables* :

La science s'est effarouchée devant l'étrange question des tables, devant Mesmer, devant l'hypnotisme, devant la vision à travers l'obstacle. . . . La science, sous prétexte de merveilleux, s'est soustraite à son devoir scientifique, qui est de tout examiner, de tout éclairer, de tout critiquer, de tout vérifier ; elle a balbutié des railleries ou aventuré des négations au lieu de faire des expériences ; elle a laissé, au grand profit des charlatans, la foule en proie à des visions mêlées de réalités.

This famous man of letters was in fact also an enthusiast for scientific research, and, had a double span of life been allowed him, might have been a leading man of science. Already in 1843 he had divined the existence of radioactivity. He foresaw the aeroplane in 1855. In the above-mentioned Preface he deals with the formation of the earth, the evolution of the stars and many other such physical problems ; and in regard to the question of flying predicts that " the solution would be found in the imitation of the flight of a bird." He seems indeed to have been gifted with a kind of prophetic intuition of the developments of science, an intuition not unnaturally accompanied by an inclination towards the problems of the life beyond, such as is clearly evinced in many of his works,—as for instance in numerous passages in *Les Feuilles d'Automne*, and *Les Rayons et les Ombres*. But he drew a very definite line between intellectual processes and psychic experiments. In a note written on the

last sheet of his MS. of *Au Lion d'Androclès* (1854), in denying that he had ever allowed communications received through the tables to influence his literary work, he says :

Le travail du cerveau humain doit rester à part et ne rien emprunter aux phénomènes. Les manifestations extérieures de l'invisible sont un fait, et les créations de la pensée en sont un autre. La muraille qui sépare ces deux faits doit être maintenue, dans l'intérêt de l'observation et de la science. On ne doit lui faire aucune brèche.

While this was the attitude of the poet himself, Madame Victor Hugo approached the subject from the point of view of a believer in God and in the immortality of the soul who was possessed of an urgent desire for definite information about the life beyond. She was moreover of a practical and positive turn of mind, was quick to perceive inconsistencies in the replies, and could ill suffer the vague and ambiguous style in which they were frequently given. Thus, as M. Simon observes, she certainly rendered no assistance to the 'spirits.' The other principal sitters were Auguste Vacquerie, at first an unbeliever, Théophile Guérin and Charles Hugo, the last of whom proved to be the medium most favoured by the 'spirits.' He is described as '*un homme solide*,' though of a somewhat nonchalant disposition, who was apt to get wearied under the strain of the sittings, in which the chief part of the work fell to him. Among others who were occasionally present were François-Victor Hugo, meditative, silent, somewhat indifferent and an unbeliever, exiles such as Kesler, who refused to be convinced, Téliki, the great Hungarian revolutionary, and General Le Flô, Royalist and Catholic.

From the fact that many of these communications

were in verse, and that such as were in prose were expressed in a solemn, biblical style resembling that of the host, the suggestion has, we are told, been made that he was himself unconsciously the real author of the replies; that the spirit of the table was that of Victor Hugo. To this the answer given is that in the poet's absence the character of the replies remained the same. And in reply to the further argument,—that, as the sittings were held in his house, the surroundings were so impregnated with his presence, that his personality was still reflected in the communications,—M. Simon devotes considerable space to establishing the incapacity of either the poet himself or of any of the sitters to improvise verse,—a fact which he regards as sufficient refutation of this theory. Victor Hugo was doubtless the person most interested in the experiment. The mystery of the unknown appealed to the poet in him, and the phenomenon to the man of science. But though the results impressed him greatly, we have seen above the sharp distinction he drew between the sphere of the intellect and that with which psychical investigations are concerned.

He sternly refused to allow any influence derived from the numerous, and often remarkably beautiful, verses taken down at the sittings to affect his literary work, and has even been concerned to leave a written statement to that effect. In the note referred to above written on the margin of his MS. of *Au Lion d'Androclès*, the following words occur:

Il va sans dire que jamais je n'ai mêlé à mes vers un seul de ces vers venus du mystère ni à mes idées une seule de ces idées. Je les ai toujours religieusement laissés à l'Inconnu, qui en est l'unique auteur; je n'en ai pas même admis le reflet: j'en ai écarté jusqu'à l'influence.

It is pertinent to point out the care and precision with which these records were made. Every detail is set down: the names of those present, the exact time at which each sitting began and concluded, and the interval, if any, during which it was suspended. The moment at which Victor Hugo entered the room or left it was always given, as also the names of the person who took down the notes, of the medium and of the person assisting him; for there were always two at the table. The poet never sat at the table, though he often took down the record. The notes of the first sitting were written by Auguste Vacquerie immediately after it was concluded. Thenceforward, however, the answers were taken down at the moment they were made.

The history of the sittings begins with a visit paid to the Victor Hugo family by Madame Émile de Girardin, who arrived at Jersey on September 6, 1853. She was an ardent believer in the spiritistic explanation of table-turning, and persuaded her hosts to make trial of what Victor Hugo at that time regarded as a phenomenon of very dubious origin. He himself appears to have been the first to make the experiment with Mme. de Girardin. A square table was used and the experiment failed; upon which a small round one was obtained from a toy-shop at St. Helier. Twice more the attempt was made without success; but on the fourth occasion, September 11, 1853,—the sitters being Mme. de Girardin and Auguste Vacquerie, and the others present the poet and his wife, two sons and daughter, General Le Flô and M. de Tréveneuc,—the table began to move, raising one leg and keeping it in that position, without answering the questions put to it. It was told to rap once, if there were anything

obstructing it. It did so; and in answer to the question what was the obstruction, rapped out the word 'Losange,' indicating the place in the alphabet of each letter by the number of raps given. The sitters had placed themselves one on each side of a corner of the supporting table, thus forming a lozenge-like figure. Another table was now brought, and Mme. de Girardin and Charles Hugo took their places opposite each other, with the small table between them resting on the larger one.¹ General Le Flô asked the table of what he was thinking. He had been thinking of his wife, and the reply given was 'Fidelity.'

After one or two answers of this kind Vacquerie began to be astonished. So to make sure the replies were not due to the action, voluntary or involuntary, of Mme. de Girardin, he asked Charles Hugo to sit with him. To his question, of what name he was thinking, the correct reply 'Hugo' was given. From this moment Vacquerie admits that he began to believe. Mme. de Girardin, who for some minutes had been feeling agitated, now asked the others not to waste time in puerile questions, as she was conscious of the presence of '*une grande apparition.*' The table began to write incoherently, and explained that it was hindered by the incredulity of one of those present, describing by his fair complexion M. de Tréveneuc,—who in fact was the most incredulous of the party.

He was not, however, required to leave; and at length, on General Le Flô taking Vacquerie's place with Charles Hugo at the table, the presence is announced of the elder daughter of the poet, whose tragic death at the age of 19 had darkened his life for

¹ " *Se placant de façon à couper la table-support à angle droit.*"

the last ten years. In answer to questions about her life beyond the grave and the place of her abode, she replies that she is happy, that she dwells in a region of light, and that the way of approach to her is by love. Replies are given to various other questions as to her present relations with those on earth who love her, and the spirit withdraws, promising to return ere long.

From this time sittings appear to have been held every few days, or rather nights, for they usually began about nine in the evening and often lasted many hours.

Among the subjects dealt with in the communications are literary values, metaphysics, questions of eschatology and historical problems. Glimpses are given of the life after death, among the most striking of which is the account by André Chénier of his impressions during and after his execution. 'Mahomet,' in reply to a question of Victor Hugo's, affirms that souls in the other world recognize each other "by the reflection of their body. Heaven," he says, "is a mirror which preserves the images of life. Nothing is lost. The tomb takes from the body the skeleton only; the form rises to heaven." In answer to a question on the same subject by Vacquerie, 'Death' replies: "Your dead are yourself, and you are the self of your dead. Your dead are only a part of your life, which is beginning elsewhere. . . . When you are dead, you will become them and they will remain you. In heaven souls do not meet again, they merge in each other."¹

As is not seldom the case in such communications, the names adopted by the 'spirits' are among the most famous in history and literature. 'Shakespeare,' 'Cervantes,' and 'Molière' arrive together. Converse

¹ " *Dans le ciel, on ne se rejoint pas, on se fond.*"

is held with 'Anacreon,' with 'Æschylus' and with 'Aristophanes.' The 'Lion of Androcles' appears on the scene, three weeks after Victor Hugo's poem on the subject had been written, and makes his reply in excellent verse. 'Tyrtæus' translates some of his lost poems into French. A somewhat humorous incident occurs on the appearance of 'Hannibal,' who is disturbed by the presence of a carpet, which reminds him too poignantly of Capua and its luxury. His description of ancient Carthage, which gives it a circumference of 60 leagues, and streets 300 feet wide, might be of interest, or afford entertainment, to those now occupied in excavations on the spot. Communications are received from 'Socrates' and 'Plato,' from 'Moses' and from 'Isaiah.' 'Luther' gives some account of the relations between spirits and the human race. Even 'Jésus Christ' announces his presence and in answer to questions put draws a contrast, on entirely new lines, between Christianity and Druidism. 'Mahomet' declares that Islamism is equally mistaken with the Latin and the Greek religions. None of these personæ vary their mode of expression in accordance with the character they have adopted; but the communications, while conveying in almost every instance something of deep interest, are all made in the same solemn, almost hieratic, style.

A noteworthy characteristic of these records is the not infrequent arrival of some communicator announcing himself as an abstract idea. 'The Shade of the Sepulchre' and 'Death' discourse on metaphysics, or make statements about the life beyond. 'Literary Criticism,' who declares emphatically that he is not *the critic*, but *criticism*, gives his verdict on the work of the chief figures in French literature. 'The Novel'

and 'Drama' announce their presence. "I am not Piccini. I am the musical idea of Piccini" is the statement of another communicator. Does this phenomenon point the way to a possible solution on unexpected lines of the problem of psychical 'personality'?

Another circumstance, and perhaps the most striking of all, is the frequency with which the communications are made in verse, and verse which is often not unworthy of the name assumed by the communicating entity. 'André Chénier,' for instance, dictates some hundred and fifty lines, containing passages of much beauty. He completes unfinished fragments of his published works, sometimes modifying at another sitting the lines previously dictated. The poetry contributed by 'Shakespeare' is fine, but bears no resemblance to Shakespeare's verse. 'Æschylus' produces the following lines:

*La Justice divine a fait ainsi le crime,
Il devient le remords dans le même moment.
Le meurtrier soudain se transforme en victime,
Le crime est le fourreau d'où sort le châtiment.
Tout souffre, tout gémit, tout travaille au supplice.
Le bourreau souffre autant que le cœur châtié.
Quand je mets Prométhée au haut du précipice,
Le vautour qui le mord me fait aussi pitié.*

'Molière' requires to be interrogated in verse; and on Victor Hugo reading the lines referring to him and addressed to a Faun, in *Les Rayons et les Ombres*, he dictates a poem of some length, of which the following are the opening verses:

*Un soir d'hiver, le parc était sombre et profond.
Je marchais. La nuit froide obscurcissait ses voiles,
Et chaque arbre semblait sous le divin plafond
Un grand chandelier plein d'étoiles.*

*Je rencontrai ce faune. Il riait dans la nuit,
Il riait dans l'horreur de l'ombre qui commence,
Son noir ricanement ne faisait pas de bruit,
Et faisait peur au parc immense.*

*Tout l'entourait ainsi qu'un rieur redouté.
Les hêtres près de lui retenaient leurs haleines,
Et ce bouffon faisait, sous son rire effronté,
Trembler leurs majestés les chênes.*

*Et comme je passais, il me dit : " O penseur,
Je suis un malheureux qui souffre sans le dire ;
Les larmes de la lune et de la nuit sa sœur
Tombent sur moi, captif du rire."*

The visit of 'Molière' is followed by one from 'The Shade of the Sepulchre,' who replies in verses in the same metre as that used by his predecessor. 'Molière' produces altogether nearly two hundred lines.

The volume, we are told, does not include the whole of the records, so voluminous are they. It is the editor's intention, however, to give the remainder to the public at some future time.

Whatever conclusion in regard to the value of the script may be drawn, it cannot, I think, be denied that, considering the undoubted good faith and high intelligence of the sitters, the nature of the subjects dealt with and the arresting character of many of the replies, these records are among the most interesting examples of communications from the unknown, whether within or without ourselves, that have yet seen the light.

S. ELIZABETH HALL.

THE BEARING OF PSYCHICAL RESEARCH ON SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

H. A. DALLAS.

SOME years ago I was talking to a Doctor of Science about psychical phenomena. He said, in effect: "If we are to believe in these phenomena, we shall be back in the age of superstition, in Bedlam!—a condition in which there is no order in the universe."

I replied: "Not at all: these occurrences are as much under law as normal phenomena; only we do not yet understand what are the laws that govern them." He responded more favourably. I think he saw that from this point of view the recognition of the supernatural phenomena for which Psychical Research has accumulated evidence, does not involve anything inconsistent with the evidence for the Orderliness of the Universe amassed by the patient research of faithful students of Nature.

The first question to be determined is: Are these things so? Is the evidence for the Supernormal strong enough to justify 'men of science' in examining it? So long, however, as men of science imagine the phenomena are incompatible with the principle of an ordered universe, so long as their recognition of them seems to imply the discrediting of reason or the abolition of law (*i.e.* a rational sequence of cause and effect), so long will they hesitate to consider even the possibility that the phenomena may be genuine.

Scientific men are, of course, quite right to be cautious, to "guard the purity of our belief with a very fanaticism of jealous care, lest at any time it rest on anything unworthy" (Clifford). At the same time, those who have had the courage to become pioneers in this field of research, have a right to ask of men of science that they should be true to their own principle, that they should "follow fearlessly wherever truth may lead."

Sir William Crookes has said: "Having once satisfied himself that he is on the track of a new truth" (and this can be done only by an unbiassed study of the evidence), "that single object should animate [the man of science] to pursue it, without regarding whether the facts which occur before his eyes are naturally possible or impossible."

It was this loyalty to truth which led many of the scientific experts of the last century to surrender some of their former convictions and most cherished hopes. I may cite two examples.

Professor George Romanes completely gave up his belief in God and in human survival, because it seemed to him that the conclusions he had reached as the result of his scientific studies, demanded this surrender. He wrote:

I am not ashamed to confess that with this virtual negation of God the universe has to me lost its soul of loveliness. . . . When I think of the appalling contrast between the hallowed glory of that creed which once was mine, and the lonely mystery of existence as now I find it—at such times I shall ever feel it impossible to avoid the sharpest pang of which my nature is susceptible.

This was written about the year 1876. It is good to know that before his death, faith and hope were

restored. (*Thoughts on Religion*, by Romanes, edited by Dr., now Bishop, Gore.)

The other instance is F. W. H. Myers, who stated that it was a bitter sacrifice to surrender his faith in God and a spiritual world; but that he made that sacrifice in loyalty to what he then held to be the truth. This, which he called 'disillusion,' came to him, he says, from increased knowledge of history and science: "Sad it was and slow; a recognition of insufficiency of evidence fraught with growing pain." He wrote in his autobiography:

I have been one of the central group concerned in a great endeavour to pierce by scientific methods the world-old, never-penetrated veil, . . . to learn the actual truth as to the destiny of man. . . . No one more unreservedly than myself has staked his all upon that distant and growing hope.

Faith and hope were restored to him also; and assurance and joy renewed. Why? Because these candid souls *faced facts* and were utterly loyal to truth.

Guard thou the Fact, though clouds of doubt
Down on thy watch-tower stoop,
Though thou should'st see thy heart's desire
Borne from thee by their swoop.

Absolute loyalty to truth brings its own great reward. If men and women will be courageous and loyal, and will keep, as Sir William Crookes has said, 'a mind to let,' new fields will open to them of unimagined interest and significance. Students of Psychical Research have nothing to fear from honest inquiry. We do not ask the acceptance of any hypothesis that is not amply justified by proven facts. To the consideration of these facts I will now direct our attention.

The facts fall into two classes: 1. Material

phenomena; 2. Mental phenomena. The former have engaged the attention more particularly of the Italian, French and German groups of Psychical Researchers; the latter of the English group.

But already in this country quite fifty years ago Sir William Crookes was a pioneer in the first branch of the subject, when he faced the risk to his reputation and the scorn of his colleagues by publishing the result of his experiences and experiments with the medium Florence Cook. Very wonderful were the results obtained in his own house, and tested repeatedly with accurate scientific care. He affirmed that again and again he saw, touched and talked with a being who was not the medium, and who vanished as mysteriously as she appeared. He saw her and the medium side by side; he photographed her; he felt her pulse and registered her heart-beats. The account was published in 1874. Twenty-five years later Professor Charles Richet, referring to this publication, said:

In my servile respect for the classic tradition I mocked at what was called Spiritism; and after reading the astounding statements which Mr. Crookes had published, I allowed myself—and here do I publicly beg his pardon for it—to laugh at them as heartily as almost everyone else was doing. But now . . . I beat my breast and cry *Pater, peccavi!* How could I suppose that the *savant* who has discovered thallium and the radiometer and foreshadowed the Röntgen rays, could commit gross and inexplicable blunders, or allow himself to be duped for years by tricks which a child could have exposed. (*Proc. S.P.R.*, July, 1899.)

Later, before the British Association, Sir William Crookes re-affirmed his testimony, and said that he had nothing to retract.

Since that time many others have had similar experiences. It is chiefly on the Continent, however,

that these experiments have been carried out by scientific men with proper scientific tests. In our country the Society for Psychical Research has, as we have already said, confined its attention almost entirely to the study of mental phenomena.

Before I attempt to illustrate these two phases of the subject by a few concrete instances, let us consider briefly what has been the trend of both lines of study, and the conclusion to which they both have led. It may be summed up in the words of Sir William Barrett :

I wish to emphasize the fact that the paramount importance of Psychical Research lies in its demonstration of the fact that the physical plane is not the whole of Nature, nor the outer conscious Self the whole of our *Human Personality*.

Again he says :

There is undeniable evidence that the human spirit can escape from the barrier of the brain and make its presence known to friends at a distance.

So also Dr. Gustave Geley, who devoted his attention mainly to the physical phenomena, wrote :

Supernormal facts prove that . . . psychic action may be developed outside the brain.

In 1894, F. W. H. Myers wrote :

I think that, if the testimony which points in this direction continues to flow in, . . . it will soon become a rare exception for a student who attaches importance to any part of our evidence, to refuse to admit the occasional occurrence of various forms of posthumous communication.

Here then we find three tremendous conclusions to which Psychical Research leads serious and careful students :

(1) An enlarged conception of the scope of Nature and of Human Personality.

(2) That the Human Ego can escape from physical limitations (both before and after death), and act independently of the organism.

(3) That under suitable conditions intelligent communication may be received from those who have finally quitted the physical body.

With the first of these conclusions I do not propose to deal; not because I do not appreciate its great importance, but because in the limited space at my disposal it is impossible effectively to cover all the ground. I propose only to attempt, very inadequately I know, to give some typical experiences which will illustrate the kind of evidence on which conclusions (2) and (3) are based. I will ask the reader to bear in mind that, just because the evidence is abundant and its effect is cumulative, it is extremely difficult, even impossible, to do it justice in a short paper.

G. K. Chesterton has truly said: "The more converging reasons [a man] finds pointing to [a] conviction, the more he is bewildered if asked suddenly to sum them up." I am not, however, going to attempt to sum them up; my aim is more modest and limited,—namely to attempt to indicate the *nature* of the evidence by citing a few typical cases.

"There is undeniable evidence," says Sir William Barrett, "that the Human Ego can escape from the barrier of the brain and make its presence known to friends at a distance."

More than thirty years ago a case illustrative of this affirmation was published by leading members of the S.P.R. in a large work called *Phantasms of the Living*. I quote *verbatim* from the account given by the agent in the following experience. The percipient was Mr. Stainton Moses. This case interests me particularly

because I have within the last ten years become personally acquainted with the agent and heard the account again from her own lips.

One evening early I resolved to appear to Z. [i.e. Mr. S. Moses]. I did not inform him beforehand of the intended experiment, but retired to rest shortly before midnight with thoughts intently fixed on Z., with whose rooms and surroundings, however, I was unacquainted. I soon fell asleep and awoke next morning unconscious of anything having taken place. On seeing Z. a few days afterwards, I inquired, "Did anything happen at your rooms on Saturday night?" "Yes," he replied, "a great deal happened. I had been sitting over the fire with M. . . . smoking and chatting. About 12.30 a.m. he rose to leave, and I let him out myself. I returned to the fire to finish my pipe, when I saw you sitting in the chair just vacated by him. I looked intently at you, and then took up a newspaper to assure myself that I was not dreaming, but on laying it down I saw you still there. While I gazed without speaking, you faded away. Though I imagined you must be fast asleep at that hour, yet you appeared dressed in your ordinary garments, such as you usually wear every day!"

"Then my experiment seems to have succeeded," I said. "Next time I come ask me what I want, as I had on my mind certain questions I intended to ask you, but I was probably waiting for an invitation to speak."

A few weeks later the experiment was repeated with equal success; I, as before, not informing Z. when it was to be made. On this occasion he not only questioned me on the subject that was at the time under very warm discussion between us, but detained me by the exercise of his will some time after I had intimated a desire to leave. This fact, when it came to be communicated to me, seemed to account for the violent and somewhat peculiar headache which marked the morning following the experiment; at least I remarked at the time that there was no apparent cause for the unusual headache, and, as on the former occasion, no recollection remained of the event, or seeming event, of the preceding night.

My friend added, when confirming this story,

that Mr. Stainton Moses advised her not to attempt a similar experiment again, as possibly it might be injurious to her health. I can affirm that my friend, the recorder, is a conscientious truthful person, and her word can be relied upon; moreover her story was confirmed by Mr. Stainton Moses himself to the authors of the volume in which it was reported.

Here is another case, recorded in *Light* some years ago and entitled 'A Vision Experience.'

My youngest brother had been in bed for many weeks, and was so seriously ill that the medical men who had been attending him held out little or no hope of his recovery. At the commencement of his illness I nursed him for some weeks, and, of course, did all that I could in the way of making him as comfortable as possible; but he became so ill and weak that it was necessary for him to have a nurse in the daytime. On the night of January 1st, after having seen that he had all he wanted, I said 'Good-night' to him and went upstairs to bed; but, late though it was, I felt that sleep was not coming to me, and I was still wide awake when the clocks were striking twelve. Presently, when all was quiet, my bedroom door opened slowly and noiselessly; I was lying looking towards the door, and quietly half raised myself to see who was coming in, and my brother appeared—the one who was then lying ill in bed on the floor below. He walked on slowly, right into the room, and turning slightly towards me, he spoke these words to me quite clearly and distinctly: "I am going soon now, Maisie dear, and I have come to say good-bye and to thank you for nursing me." I was greatly surprised to see him in my room, knowing that he was utterly incapable of climbing the stairs, and, fearing disastrous consequences from over-exertion, I could only say "Oh! Frank!" He however walked further into the room, and, acting on my first impulse to help him back to bed as quickly as possible, I told him to "wait a moment," and threw back the bedclothes in order to get up, when I found that he had gone. Then it was that I *knew*—but not until that moment did I realise that it was my dear brother's spirit that came to tell me of his approaching departure for 'the other side.' I felt that he had

also visited my mother and my other brother, who were in the house, although they had not been conscious of his presence. I remained awake for some time afterwards pondering over what I had seen, and a feeling of great peace came over me ; for it seemed to speak of the future safety and happiness that my brother was shortly to enjoy. I then saw what I can only imperfectly describe as white filmy clouds rolling one over another, and this strange phenomenon lasted quite half an hour. I watched it carefully, thinking and hoping that I might be shown still more. But in an hour's time I heard the clocks strike four, and shortly afterwards I dropped into a quiet sleep. My dear brother did not leave us for 'the other side' until the 11th of the month, ten days after the vision appeared to me.

Yours, etc.,

M. W. O.

Cases of this sort might be abundantly multiplied ; but we will pass to another class of experience,—namely communications after death. I am selecting instances which are not likely to be well known. I quote, therefore, the following from a pamphlet, now out of print, which I wrote during the Great War. The incident is taken from the *Annals of Psychological Science* (vol. iii., p. 398), which was published simultaneously in Paris and London in 1906.

The case is particularly well authenticated. The narrator, a magistrate, records matters that he received direct from Dr. and Mrs. Speakman, who were personally present when the communication came. He addresses his letter to Professor Charles Richet, telling him at the outset that he (the narrator) approached the subject in a cautious and, at first, incredulous state of mind. The real names of the persons concerned were given to Professor Richet in confidence. The facts are as follows :

Mme. Lancy died on April 4, 1906, a month after

the birth of a child. Four days later, at a place fifty-eight miles distant from the place of her death, Dr. and Mrs. Speakman and two ladies, called respectively Miss McCance and Miss Dobson, were together. Dr. and Mrs. Speakman knew Mme. Lancy and had corresponded with her, but they had not seen her since 1901. The other two ladies had not personally known her.

Miss McCance and Miss Dobson placed their hands on the ouija-board and waited for communications, whilst Mrs. Speakman sat by and asked questions, taking notes of what occurred. These notes were handed to the narrator, who sent to Professor Richet the following extract :

Q. Can Sara Lancy come or send tidings of herself ?

A. Hold always to your present faith.

Q. Give your name.

A. You called me ; I am now free from pain.

Q. Are you Sara Lancy.

A. Yes.

Q. Give us a message for your husband.

A. I will soon come and speak to him ; tell him that from his little Sara.

Q. What is your child's name ?

A. My own ; but to me she will always be my little ' Well-beloved.'

Q. Give us some proof of your identity—for your husband.

A. I will keep my promise to him. He will understand.

Q. Try to give him a proof of your identity ; mention something known only to you and him.

A. (After a long silence) Remind him of my dream.

Q. A recent dream ?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did you have the dream ?

A. In my mother's house.

Q. Since the birth of your baby ?

A. No, before.

Q. Of whom did you dream ?

A. Of myself.

Q. Give some details for a proof.

A. All is much easier to understand now than it seemed to me in my dream. The separation was quite a false idea.

Q. Are you still speaking of your dream ?

A. Yes, but the idea that we would be separated was quite false.

The communication suddenly ceased. All four persons signed an attestation testifying to the accuracy of the above notes, made, be it observed, *at the time*. The message was sent to M. Lancy, and a reply was received by return of post (April 10, 1906), as follows :

My kind friends, I have just received your letter and my emotion is very great. On my return from a two days' absence, Sara said to me: "I had last night a frightful, a most horrible dream, a fearful nightmare. Oh how I suffered! I dreamt that I was for ever separated from you; it seemed as if there was a vast gulf, an immense void, I know not what, between us, which was separating us for ever. Do not go away again, tell me you will not leave me again; I am too terrified; I have a dread of misfortune." You may imagine my emotion on reading your letter.

[Later he added :] "It was the day before the birth of the child that she told me her dream."

Here are the facts recorded by a magistrate, who received them directly from the person concerned, whose 'perfect honour and sincerity' he guarantees. They are worthy of very thoughtful consideration. The communication carries with it a test of identity of a specially intimate kind, and it conveys an assurance full of consolation.

When Sara Lancy 'awakened from the dream of life,' she discovered that the notion that death

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[P.T.O.]

'separates' those who love was an illusion. We live in the midst of illusions. The physical environment, the phenomenal world, is a school in which we gradually learn to recognize the difference between illusion and fact. For centuries men believed that the sun moved round the earth, that the earth was a flat plain, etc.; science has dissipated these illusions. But the mental environment is also illusory; things are not what they seem, and mental concepts need to be reconstructed as we gain further insight into truth; values also must be re-adjusted. Our conceptions of death are changing. The idea that it separates spirits that have been united is 'quite false.'

The bridge of death spans a narrow interval between two states of being; not only can thoughts traverse it easily but that more subtle energy that we call 'influence,' can make itself powerfully felt. The spiritual conditions of our friends affect us, they can make us partakers of their influence, and our conditions probably affect them in a similar way, in proportion to the closeness of the tie that binds one soul to another; it is profoundly true that "they without us shall not be made perfect." This fact lays upon us an urgent obligation to allow no morbid influence, no exaggerated melancholy, no preoccupation with the physical circumstances of their passing out of the body, to take possession of our minds. If we desire that those we love, should pursue high aims and do noble service in their new surroundings, we must not drag them down to a lower level by contact with our depression.

The final example which I will quote belongs both to the class of physical phenomena and also of mental phenomena. The record is by Dr. Joseph Venzano, who is said to have been a distinguished doctor in

Genoa, and is described by Professor Morselli as 'an excellent observer.' He writes as follows :

In spite of the dimness of the light I could distinctly see Mme. Paladino [the medium] and my fellow-sitters. Suddenly I perceived that behind me was a form, fairly tall, which was leaning its head on my left shoulder and sobbing violently, so that those present could hear its sobs: it kissed me repeatedly. I clearly perceived the outlines of this face, which touched my own, and I felt the very fine and abundant hair in contact with my left cheek, so that I could be quite sure that it was a woman. The table then began to move, and by typtology, gave the name of a family connection who was known to no one present except myself. She had died some time before, and on account of incompatibility of temperament there had been serious disagreements with her.

I was so far from expecting this typtological response that I at first thought that this was a case of coincidence of name. But while I was mentally forming this reflection, I felt a mouth with warm breath, touch my left ear and whisper in a low voice in *Genoese dialect*, a succession of sentences, the murmur of which was audible to the sitters. These sentences were broken by bursts of weeping, and their gist was repeatedly to implore pardon for injuries done to me, with a fullness of detail connected with family affairs which could only be known to the person in question. [The medium was a *Neapolitan*.]

The phenomenon seemed so real that I felt compelled to reply to the excuses offered me with expressions of affection, and to ask pardon in my turn if my resentment of the wrongs referred to had been excessive. But I had scarcely uttered the first syllables when two hands, with exquisite delicacy, applied themselves to my lips and prevented my continuing. The form then said to me, "Thank you," embraced me, kissed me and disappeared.

I should state at this point that this extraordinary phenomenon did not for a moment rob me of calmness of observation, which was more than ever necessary under these circumstances, and that I did not cease to watch the medium, who was *quite awake and visible to all*, and remained motionless through the whole

course of the phenomenon. (*Annals of Psychical Science*, vol. vi., p. 164.)

I know that first-hand testimony is of value, so I will here add that I have myself seen materializations. On one occasion this occurred in our own drawing-room, in which a lamp was alight, the sitters being my family and acquaintances of my family. The medium, who was firmly tied to her chair, at her own desire, was the lady with whom Sir William Crookes had his notable experiences. Although she was then much older, and the results obtained were slight in comparison with his, a materialized form appeared and spoke; and the conditions under which this occurred were such as to leave no room for doubt in my mind as to the genuine character of the phenomenon.

A student of this subject (Mr. Dennis Taylor) wrote a few years ago :

Should these materializations be finally established as genuine in the minds of many scientific men . . . [there will ensue] a radical revolution in biology and in the theory of variations in Evolution. . . . The reign of creative intelligence and of final causes . . . will be restored in our scheme of Nature to the discomfiture of the grosser materialism.

This sentence indicates very clearly the bearing of the subject on science and also on religion. Professor McBride, a distinguished biologist, in an article contributed recently to *The Modern Churchman*, pointed out that when young men leave their homes and launch out into the world, they frequently lose faith in the spiritual order and in religion. He says that, in his opinion, if this process continues, not only may religion become practically extinct in the course of a few generations, but the foundations of morality also will be seriously shaken. He suggests the importance of

seeking for evidence of survival of bodily death by studying human personality and alleged communications received from the 'dead.'

What mankind supremely needs is conviction that *purpose* appertains to the whole scheme of the universe, and that this purpose is beneficent. If men are assured, without reasonable doubt, that the Source of all the mighty scheme is infinite Wisdom, Justice and Love, and that the whole is directed by a worthy purpose, then the mystery of 'this unfathomable world,' even with all its apparent tragedy, is not only endurable, but becomes an incentive to progress. If, in our efforts to right the wrong, to increase knowledge and to develop character, we are workers together with One who can be trusted, and if He is using us as His agents for the fulfilment of a far-reaching purpose of unimaginable good, then indeed life is worth living ; and no effort is too great, and no burden too heavy ; and even seeming disaster cannot break our courage or quench our aspirations. But if man himself becomes extinct when his body dies, the purpose of the universe cannot concern us greatly ; for in our secret hearts we feel that we are betrayed ; desires, affections, loyalties have been awakened in us to be disappointed and wasted. God and the universe have failed us.

One wonderful 'Spirit' came among us proclaiming that he had come to bear witness to the Truth, to assure mankind of our true relation to our Source and to the universe of spiritual beings. He bore this witness before death ; he manifested after death to bear the same witness. Those who saw him were assured that God is Love and that death is only an incident in an endless and glorious existence. But that happened nearly 2,000 years ago ; and Science has

trained us to seek in observable facts of the present for corroborative evidence of past occurrences.

For instance, we corroborate the statements of geologists as to the manner in which this planet has been formed, by observing changes in the elevation of land and water, denudation of rocks, effects of ice, etc. We confirm the discoveries of the manner of evolution of animal life, by studying biology and the development of the embryo in the perfectly formed creature. Students who appreciate the importance of such evidence, have a right to ask: Are there any events occurring *now* which similarly corroborate the records of the New Testament, and justify us in believing that the witnesses were not dreaming, when they declared that they had seen and touched and conversed with Jesus after his death on the cross?

We can affirm that there is such evidence; and that it strongly supports our faith in the witness borne by the first disciples of Christ. Now, as then, there are some who mock; but we are bound to go on testifying to the Facts which we have known and seen. Great responsibility rests on those who know that these things are so; and great responsibility also rests upon those who might gain a similar assurance, but who refuse to examine the matter, and allow prejudice to blind their judgment.

On absolute loyalty to Truth the progress of humanity depends; but such loyalty is more difficult of attainment than is commonly realized. We should, therefore, greatly honour those men of science who have risked their scientific reputation and faced the unfavourable opinion of their colleagues rather than 'let a truth slip.'

H. A. DALLAS.

SPRING AND THE CALL OF THE OPEN.

A. R. HORWOOD, F.L.S.

I wonder if the sap is stirring yet,
If wintry birds are dreaming of a mate,
If frozen snowdrops feel as yet the sun,
And crocus-fires are kindling one by one.

CHRISTINA ROSSETTI.

THUS poetically is the advent of Spring memorialized by one of our most clear-visioned poetesses in harmony with the soul of Nature. With the first touch of sun comes the awakening of the flowers. Magical in its effect: this first grand act in the drama of Nature's year produces so remarkable and so sudden a change, that Spring may be symbolized empirically by the awakening of the flowers, the re-birth of music and the return of the birds. But in the orderly pageant of the seasons before the flowers open, an invisible spell, woven, too, by the sun, has worked. The sap in winter,—driven by the north wind and the snow into the roots, where it is stored as a reserve, and protected by the warmer earth,—as soon as the sun in Spring mounts higher every day, now begins to rise. With its return new growth and new activity are visible, as fresh energy is created by the new warmth and light, and an indescribable power, a restlessness and desire to create and produce, is imparted.

THE WELCOME OF THE SUN.

THIS inspiring power of the sun, when it is first newly felt after the cold days of winter, is so great that it becomes as it were transcendent in those first warm days of Spring, losing its charm and glory only when the symposial nature of older months, through the universal upheaval in the appearance of Nature by contrast, would tend to dim the brilliance of the first Spring hours. Christina Rossetti has in a few lines crystallized the meaning of the spirit of the early moments of Nature's re-birth.

There is no time like Spring
When life's alive in everything.

.
Before new nestlings sing,
Before cleft swallows speed their journey back
Along the trackless track.

When the sun shines long and warms the earth by some mysterious power, it energizes the soil, stirring it to activity as it were by causing it, thus warmed, to respond to the demand upon it by the developing root-hairs, which are now able under the same beneficial influence to perform their part in extracting nutriment from the soil-particles. Light, and bright light after a dull season, enables the aerial parts of plants once more to obtain food from the atmosphere as leaves are formed anew. So, too, the influence of light causes underground parts of plants to seek it, and to come to the surface where they can obtain warmth and all they need. After winter rains, when the water-table has been at some distance from the surface and when soil has been mulched properly, the moisture can' circulate better, and is drawn upward,

coating the soil-particles in the spaces between them. This helps the root-hairs to absorb. The growing warmth aids in bringing about this. So in every way in Spring is the sun welcomed by every being, whether plant or animal, that lives beneath its sway. How powerful his influence is, may be seen by the flowering of certain flowers only at certain times.

EARLY FLOWERS AND POLLINATION.

WITH the swelling tide of life in the plant-world coincides the renewal of their labours by those insects that carry pollen from flower to flower, and as a reward bear honey or nectar to the hive. In Spring these are chiefly the bees; attracted to the willows by their almond-like scent, they help to pollinate them. These cannot be pollinated without their agency or that of the wind; for anthers are on one plant and stigmas on other plants—not in the same flower, as in the rose. Many primitive flowers were of this type, when the insects arose, growing up and evolving collaterally with the flowers; of these, butterflies and moths have most recently originated. For this reason willows have been regarded as primitive flowers. But long before there were willow-types,—types evolved more closely allied to the tulip-trees, in which the two sexes are in the same flower, and so capable of self-pollination, which Nature, it is supposed, has attempted to replace by cross-pollination. The early flowers of Spring are usually gay-flowered bulbous plants, capable of self-pollination, in default of insect visits. They come originally from parts of the world where Summer is our Winter, and, flowering in early Spring, they are really late-flowering. They flower early in order to

enable them to store up a big reserve in the bulb to tide them over the Winter or Summer,—to hibernate with us, to æstivate in hot countries.

TREES AND THE WIND.

IN default of insect visitors in the cold days of Spring, when they are never so abundant as later on, trees are mainly adapted to pollination by the agency of the wind. For this reason we find that they flower before the leaves appear. There is a large number of stamens, so that abundant pollen is produced. The stigmas are also feathery and sticky; so that pollen falling on them readily adheres. As there is no need of attracting insects to them, the flowers are without an attractive corolla, the perianth being quite small and inconspicuous. Though stamens and stigmas are in the same flower, as in elms, they do not ripen together; so that self-pollination is guarded against. In others, as in poplars, the stamens are on one tree, the stigmas on another. Wind-pollination was doubtless the primitive method of ensuring cross-pollination before insects appeared. We see here marvellous adaptations to achieve the desired results.

THE FIRST FLOWERS.

THOUGH there is no season when all the flowers are of the same colour, there appear to be more yellow flowers in the early months,—such as celandine, daffodil, crocus, dandelion, buttercups, etc. Always there are white or colourless flowers,—such as snowdrop, anemone, daisy (the ray, the disc, being yellow), etc. Later in origin are the blue flowers,—such as the violet, bluebell, speedwells, periwinkle, forget-me-nots.

The latest types are red flowers,—such as the rose, mallows, knapweeds, geraniums, willow herbs, and many labiates,—such as woundwort, hemp-nettles, wild thymes and orchids.

But whatever the colour of the early flowers, the appearance of the first flower is the foreshadowing of Spring. And the coming of the flowers brings with it all the other bounties which make Spring so gorgeous, so splendid. There is, too, the voice of Spring, which calls us, as ‘the call of the wild’ beckons us to respond to its insistent appeal, to listen to this call of the open.

“I come, I come! Ye have called me long,
I come o’er the mountains with light and song;
Ye may trace my step o’er the wakening earth,
By the winds which tell of the violet’s birth;
By the primrose-stars in the shadowy grass,
By the green leaves, opening as I pass.”

THE DUTY OF THE FLOWERS.

WHAT makes this sudden revival of activity, these crowded hours, this surging energy, so innate, so common to everything? Onward from the beginning of Spring, through the fierce rush of Summer growth and plenitude, and Autumn ripeness and fruitage, there is, as it were, one mad race, a feverish hastening, to achieve something, to attain some end. Right upward from the seed, through leaf- and stem-development to the unfolding of the flower, the forming and ripening of the fruits and seeds and their due dispersal, there is no turning back, but rather a rapid, if steady, progress towards some end, some object. What is this? Is it not the securing of a place in the sun for the race, the carrying on of the species from one generation to

another? Otherwise, it cannot be explained. The struggle for existence and the continuation of the race are, in truth, the answers to this conundrum. The beauty of the flower is not to gladden and inspire us alone. It is Nature's means of perfecting her methods,—thus inveigling insects to perform part of the flower's task,—and of ensuring the timely accomplishment of her object, to repeat her programme yearly.

THE SEASON OF FLOWER APPEARANCE.

Not all the flowers bloom at the same time. Thus there are January flowers, February flowers; and so each month of the calendar presents variety and difference. What causes this kaleidoscopic series of changes, this pageantry of the seasons?

It is that each plant requires so many degrees of heat, or temperature, before it can perform any one of the offices it is called upon to discharge. Thus, before a seed can germinate, the temperature must be so much. No plants develop under 42° F.; and each day so many degrees of temperature above the mean are observed. These added together give the accumulated temperature above the minimum, and form the thermal constants for each phase of growth. They may be arrived at by taking the maximum temperature from the first of January and adding them together. Before the gooseberry will bud or open its leaves, it requires 478 degrees, the walnut 1,100. Before the flowers of the apricot will open the thermal constant must be 2,778 degrees, that of the peach 6,004. Leaf-fall does not occur until the thermal constant is for the pear 6,788. Thus as the weather retards the temperature or accelerates it, so flowering dates will vary with the season.

NATURE'S PAGEANTRY.

IN this way no two months are alike. As the resplendent pageantry of the season unfolds itself, each month has a different *facies* when passed under review; and each year the type of this pageant is different, so that no two years are alike. Herein, indeed, in the variety of Nature's display, lies its charm. Always one can look on a new phase, note some fresh aspect. It is this freshness of Nature that fascinates.

A. R. HORWOOD.

INTERCESSION.

YE merciful angels, fend these quivering hearts,
And interpose, O God, thy merciful shield

For these exceeded souls.

Immure in heavenly safety, blessedly sealed
From bludgeoning grief and fierce pain's furious darts,
All these o'erdriven souls.

Gather in providence above their heads,
Sacred with pain, benignant ministers.

Henceforth forever bring
Thy peace and calm where fiery gledes and cares
Revolve, and present hurts and future dreads
Now fiercely sear and sting.

Enfold these spirits in thy boundless heart,
O Love Divine, that stoops among the stars.

Environ them in thee,
Bereave of laceration, tears and scars;
Give them thy glory and assuage their smart
With thine upon the Tree.

AMOS NIVEN WILDER, M.A.

A PIDGIN VERSION OF 'JOSS.'

LONG ago, during the early years of my residence in China, I went to Hangchow, a famous place of religious pilgrimage. There innumerable temples either cling to the rocky sharpness of mountain peaks, or nestle in the deep ravines where giant bamboos create a jade-green twilight. I took a number of photographs; and one day soon after my return, when they were spread out on the table in front of me, the Canton Carpenter, a most intelligent man, came in. I spoke of our journey, and asked him if he had ever been to Hangchow? He replied regretfully that as yet he had been unable to spare the time for a pilgrimage, but that he hoped to be able to go when his son was old enough to attend to the affairs of the shop. I picked up the photograph of a so-called 'idol' often seen in the outer halls of Buddhist temples, and using the pidgin English word *joss*, which is a corruption of the Portuguese word *dios*, I asked him what deity the figure represented?

"That no b'long *joss*," he replied with the deepest scorn.

"No b'long *joss*?" I asked in great surprise. (I was too ignorant to realize that all 'idols' were not supposed to be 'gods.') "Suppose this no b'long *joss*, *joss* b'long what thing?"

The Canton Carpenter looked at me very gravely, and then said with deep earnestness:

"*Joss* b'long what thing? My talkee you. Some-time have got one number one man. He long time no

die. Bime bye that Heaven-Head-Man sendee one *chit*¹ talkee he come; sendee one heaven bird catches he. He sit down, go topside."

Canton Carpenter waved his arms towards the clouds, and I seemed to see the heaven bird with its precious burden, winging its flight towards the sky. He paused a moment and then concluded his discourse:

"Any man talkee he b'long number one man, makee he wood pattern, puttee inside *joss-house*."²

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH, M.R.A.S.

(If carefully studied by an understander of 'pidgin,' the above simple exegesis will reveal more of the *raison d'être* of 'joss' 'idol-worship,' than all the missionary lucubrations or the learned squisitions of Western authorities.—ED.)

¹ A *chit* is a letter.

² A *joss-house* is a temple.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE SWASTIKA-SYMBOL: A SUGGESTION.

WITH regard to the question of the origin of the Swastika (January no., p. 248), is it not probable that most ancient symbols take their origin from something simple, and yet striking, which was always before the eyes of the earlier races of humanity, and which they could not fail to notice?

Look at the constellation of the Great Bear and mark its diurnal and seasonal revolution round the Pole Star. Does it not suggest the Swastika?

(Diagram enclosed of May, August, November and February positions round Alpha Polaris.)

AMY MONTAGUE.

Penton, Crediton,
N. Devon.

(Dr. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, the writer of the paper, does not think there is anything in this suggestion. But the Swastika-symbol evidently suggests motion,—and revolving motion; so that the equation with life simply, does not fully satisfy the intended meaning. When one remembers the great importance of the 7-group in Astral symbolism, and that Ursa Major (and Minor) plays a very prominent part in this symbolism (see especially Gerald Massey's last work, *Egypt, the Light of the World*) we venture to think our correspondent's suggestion is worthy of serious consideration. It is, of course, not to be forgotten here that 'Astral symbolism' is not primitive, but belongs to a higher phase of culture, and therefore is a 'sublimation' of cruder picturing. After writing this, I sent the rough sketch diagram to my colleague, Mr. F. Bligh Bond, asking him to be angel enough to clear-draw it. This he has most excellently done, and in addition sent me a sketch of a similar quaternion of positions of Ursa Minor. Reproductions of these diagrams and of Mr. Bligh Bond's interesting accompanying letter are appended hereunder.—
ED.)

I am enclosing a diagram shewing the true positions of the seven stars of Ursa Major with the present pole-star shown in its right relative position for each quadrant. As you know, in the days of the Chaldeans this was not the pole-star; a star in Draco, now nearly 25° away, held then that position. The configuration of the arms of the Swastika would, therefore, at one time have been different from what this diagram shews—that is, if the Swastika was derived from the Bear in its helical sweep, as certainly seems possible.

But I should think that the symbol might just as easily have been derived from Ursa Minor, since the pole-star is at the extremity of the tail of the Little Bear, and I have an old woodcut which shews it in the four positions, and in a note accompanying this plate, I find the following:

"Ursa Minor has no conspicuous stars, . . . but from the important service rendered by its position to navigation and surveying, it has engrossed more of the serious attention of mankind than any other constellation in the skies."

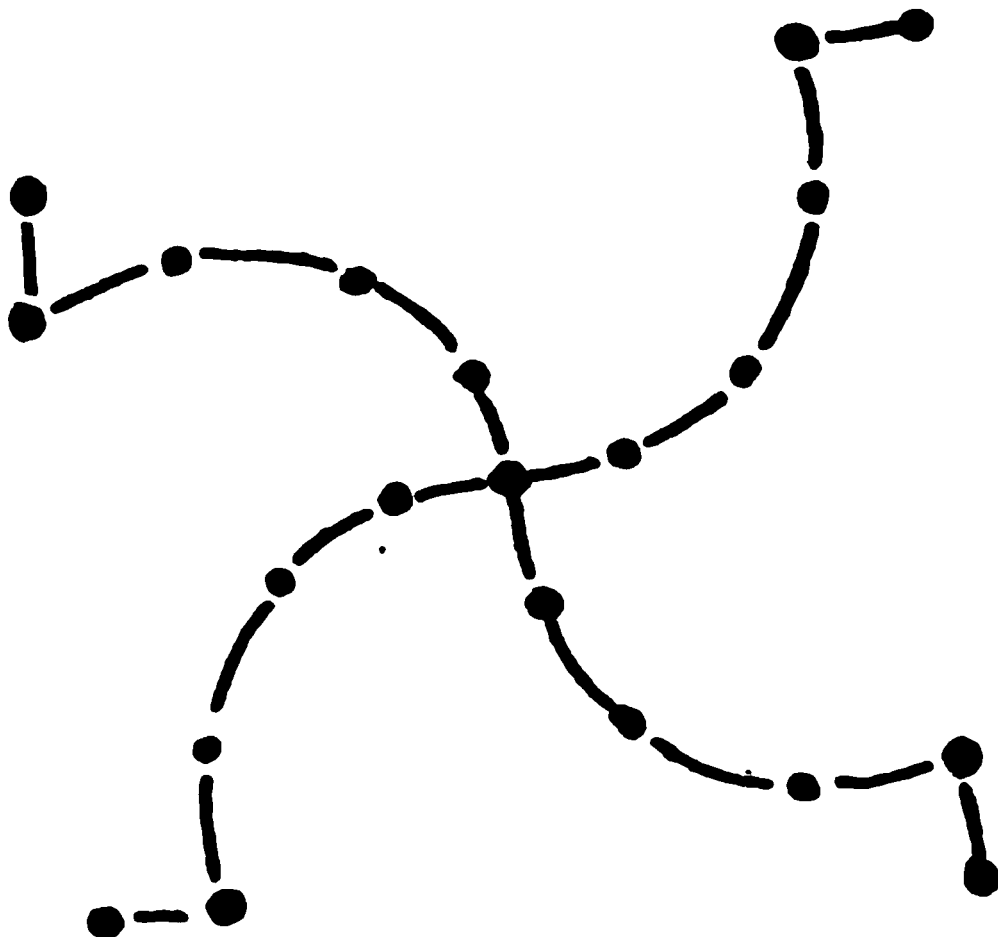
I have thought it better not to couple the points in Ursa Major, as there is a natural 'line of suggestion' in the grouping.

FREDK. BLIGH BOND.

URSA MAJOR.



URSA MINOR.



Note.—The circle of polar variation, due to the precessional movement, brings the pole in close proximity with one or other of three stars: *vis.*, (1) Polaris, (2) Alpha Draconis, (3) Vega. Of these α Draconis was near the polar point about 4,000 years ago, and the Pyramid passages are oriented in this direction. Vega, a bright star, was near the pole about 12,000 B.C. I cannot find that anything remotely suggestive of the Swastika is indicated by the configuration of stars around either of these. . Therefore it could hardly have been a 'polar' symbol of such high antiquity, and we must go back over 25,000 years to find Polaris in her present location.

F. B. B.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE EXEMPLA OF THE RABBIS.

Being a Collection of Exempla, Apologues and Tales culled from Hebrew MSS. and Rare Hebrew Books. By Moses Gaster, Ph.D., Late President of the Folk Lore Society of Great Britain, late Haham of the Sephardic Communities of England, Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, &c. London-Leipzig (The Asia Publishing Co.); pp. xlv.; Pt. i., pp. 814; Pt. ii. (Heb. Text), pp. 208; 42s. net.

THIS is a volume to make one's mouth water, like 'Felix,' beloved of the 'Movies,' when he catches sight of 'eats'; but it is tartarus-ly tantalizing for the gentile who cannot decipher unpointed Hebrew and Aramaic—as we shall explain later. Our distinguished and most learned and genial colleague has been sleuthing after these fascinating 'stories' (not 'histories') for upwards of a quarter of a century, in no way discouraged even when for years of these five lustra the Holy One (Blessed be He!) has thought fit to veil the eyesight of his servant. Of recent years it has been borne in upon the understanding of some scholars that myth, legend and folk-lore, so far from being 'beggarly elements,' to be dismissed with the rationalistic scorn of school-board science, are frequently the romantic clothing of wisdom, and not infrequently the 'carriers' of deep-going, wide-spread hereditary memories, that conceal in their own natural psychologic fashion the soul of forgotten history. Once the dynamic notion of the right perspective is 'sensed,' and the understanding properly orientated, the fascination of this new discipline becomes entrancing. Let it be granted that objective, earth-level, cross-section chronicle-history is the proper business of positive, so-called exact, science, and let the *parfait comptable* of such book-keeping enter his 'facts' therein with impeccable accuracy—when he can get them! But there is also a 'history' of the soul of things, of the life of the peoples—and this is of another order. These racial and international, sometimes world-wide, 'stories' know no clock-time limitations; they are of time proper—time as a psychical reality.

The spoken legend, the 'story,' looks to the life within external history, where the 'might-have-beens' are as alive and dynamic as the cross-section 'have-beens,' with which alone science deals, are dead and static. *Legenda (agādōth)* 'sacred' chronicles, genealogies (*toledōth*), and so much else, even in canonical scripture, are told as 'history'-*sub-specie-æternitatis*. Here there are no 'dates'; for the soul 'senses' similar crises—turns, twists, and waves—of the life-flux, underlying the external 'events' of different periods. These 'events' are but 'cases,' illustrations of the ceaseless going-of-things. What *we* call 'history' is historical 'casuistry,' and not the real thing; 'examples' are not 'rules.' This said, we now turn to Dr. Gaster's most valuable volume—though, alas! only to say a few words about it, when we would fain, even with our paltry equipment compared with his, write numerous pages. The late Chief Rabbi of the Shephardic community in this country, as all Semitic scholars know, possesses an exceedingly valuable library, containing many rare MSS., some quite unique, and many almost as rare old printed books. Some of these MSS.—in Hebrew and Aramaic—Dr. Gaster has used for the unpointed Hebrew text which fills the last 208 pp. of the volume. The first xlv. pp. are taken up with a simple and unassuming Preface, a Table of Contents and an extensive Bibliography of Jewish and General Literature relating to this vastly-documented subject. There follows (pp. 1-49) a most valuable and instructive Introduction; then brief summaries of the main 'motives' or themes of the 450 stories (the largest known collection), in which our author has been careful to preserve the names—an act of benevolence for which we owe him specially grateful thanks (pp. 51-184). This, with the Introduction, presents the general reader with a bounteous banquet. But the volume is not intended primarily for this vague personage 'the general reader,' but for the student, for whom there follows a vast collection of titles of works containing Literary Parallels to these Rabbinic stories from many sources (pp. 185-814). Here, then, we have an *ouvrage de fond*, the outcome of many long years of patient labour, supplying the student and scholar with new data and with most abundant references to better known sources. Speaking personally, we are on the one hand greatly elated, yet on the other hand somewhat depressed; for while we recognize many old friends and are introduced to numerous new ones, it is just the detailed variations that we would know. But these are, so far, accessible only to capable Hebrew and Aramaic scholars:

for there is no version, no *targum* for the laity. May it not be long before one of the scribes or *sopherim* will provide us with a full translation in one of the more generally known modern European languages. But apart from this much-to-be-wished-for *desideratum*, there is a host of indications in the summaries, pointing out to the discriminating and well-read student where to look for many a 'missing-link'; so that, if he is Hebrew-less, it will spur him on to worry some well-equipped possessor of the tongue to translate the passage in the text for his benefit. It is truly astonishing to think,—as Dr. Gaster gives us permission not unreasonably to believe,—that in these precious MSS. we may very well have preserved copies of some *agādōth* so ancient that they may have formed the common source from which no few of the variant parallels in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds drew! It is a thing to wonder at and rejoice over. If we dare venture, finally, to question any one of our learned expositor's, our genial *maggid's* findings, it is his conviction that the country of prime origin of these old tales was invariably Palestine. Of that we are not at present prepared to be convinced. But for the rest the volume is a great work—this collection of *Exempla of the Rabbis*, a substantial and lasting monument to a great scholar.

SUBJECTIVE CONCEPTS OF HUMANS.

Source of Spiritistic Manifestations. By John J. Donnelly. New York (International Press); pp. 555.

FORTY years ago Father Donnelly, in consequence of great mental strain occasioned by a dispute with his Bishop, fell a victim to persecuting voices and appearances of a very vivid nature, and was for two or three years detained in an asylum. On being liberated, for some thirty years he carried out his priestly and pastoral duties with ability and to the high appreciation of his flock. He resigned his charge at the age of seventy and is now verging on fourscore years. From the time the inner voices first irrupted on his consciousness, when he was utterly ignorant of psychical matters and their nature, he has apparently been continually clairaudient. Since regaining self-control he has been studying mediumistic and allied phenomena by the light of his own experiences, and thinks he has discovered an explanation which would in most cases enable those who are regarded as alienated to understand their own states and so obviate any

pathological disaster. Hence the present volume. We cannot say that we are content with his 'explanation'; it is descriptive at best of a certain range of phenomena, and the book is marred by the very personal tone of the exposition, by the claim that the conjecturer is the Copernicus of psychic science, by the wearisome repetition of statements and the infelicitous immixture of Americanese in serious passages. Father Donnelly, though he breathed no word of it to his congregation, has gone far from the traditional faith of his communion in many respects; he now does not believe even in survival, much less in immortality, and thinks that the source of all religion can be referred to conversation or intercourse between the 'subjective concepts' of their fellows found in individual minds and between these and the individual.

One of the two main classes of the phenomena of psychic research is of course subjective in the naïve sense of the term,—i.e. as relative to normal external objectivity; but there is a fully objective class in the latter sense, and of this Father Donnelly has nothing to say; indeed his reading does not appear to be very extensive, and even the familiar S.P.R. is referred to not as the 'Society' but as the 'Association.' The subjectivity of the phenomena of the former class, however, is for him as vividly and externally objective as normal percepts, and so for all similar percipients in such states. Not only so, but he avers that the *personæ* are duplicated to the last detail in every way, not only superficially but in depth, organs, bones, muscles, molecules. Further they possess not only full memory of the past of their originals, but all their capacities and abilities; they can act in every way as those individuals, up to the time they were conceived in the consciousness of the percipient. By 'concept' our author then does not by any means mean what psychology distinguishes by the term; it stands for a full double of an original concrete human with all that human's powers and activities; it is moreover sensuously as external to the observer as the normally objective. The theory is that invariably when any two individuals meet in mutual recognition, no matter how brief it may be, 'concepts' of one another of the nature above described are generated in both. Normally these 'concepts' are below the threshold of consciousness, asleep as it were; but with the shifting of the threshold in abnormal states, such as hypnosis, trance, etc., they wake and behave as independent entities. Moreover, supposing that A has a subjective concept of B, this B-concept would include all the very numerous concepts that B had had of others during his life up to the moment when the

B-concept entered the private universe of A, but there its memory-stream would stop short. From this rough indication of Father Donnelly's theory, it will be seen that it to a large extent matches with the possibilities of the assumption of universal telepathy and the personification of subconscious memories of the living exclusively as an 'explanation' of all subjective psychical phenomena which raise the problem of survival and connection between the living and the departed. For Father Donnelly these 'concepts' remain alive and kicking, or have the power of being alive for the psychist, till the 'conceiver' dies, but they respectively can know no more than they did when last conceived by any conceiver in the chain. There is, however, a diminution in strength, generation by generation so to say, of concepts of concepts. After the third degree of removal, no reliable memory-information, in our author's view, is likely to be obtained. "The primary concept I have of John Doe is strong and from it a 'control' can easily summon the spirit-copy of the father or any other concept its prototype has taken. But the awakened spirit concept-copy of the father, Adam, is very weak, when compared with the concept I have of John Doe. And if from the spirit-concept of Adam, John's father, can be called up by the 'control' the spirit-copy it has of its father, Noah, the concept of Noah will be extremely weak, feeble, and attenuated compared with even the spirit-copy of Adam. Whether the spirit-copy of Moses can be aroused by the 'control' from the awakened spirit-copy of Noah or not, I do not know. But this is certain: that a spirit-copy of a concept so far removed, third degree, from the primary concept I have of John Doe would, I believe, be too wanting in strength to summon and hold the memory of its prototype's life, so as to furnish any reliable information."

The use of the term 'summon' shows that the writer has little acquaintance with the ordinary *séance*-procedure. The 'summoning of spirits from the vasty deep' is a poetical and a journalistic notion rather than a practice of experienced investigators of mediumistic phenomena. But whatever the reliability of the information may be, the 'personifications' of ancient worthies may be just as vivid as those of recent date, and this is not accounted for by the theory.

According to our author, then, there are no genuinely perduring spirits of any kind whatever; all these 'concepts' are privately owned and cease to exist at the death of the percipient. On the other hand, the 'concepts' preserve the memory and capacity of the originals up to the day when they were conceived.

This astonishing supposal of the author beggars the extreme possibilities of telepathy and psychometry; at the moment of mutual recognition, any two humans whatever there and then potentially swap not only memories but capacities. For instance, A, who is a man of one language only, meets for a moment a distinguished linguist B; thereafter, either in an abnormal psychic state or through a medium A may get out of his B-concept Latin, Greek, French, German, etc., etc. It is a little too much, in spite of the classical case of the servant-maid of the Hebrew-knowing pastor. *Credat Judæus Apella!* We are therefore content to let Father Donnelly have the glory of boasting: "No human being has known, no human being except myself now knows that subjective concepts begotten by the intelligence of sentient beings constitute the spirit-world and are responsible for all subjective phenomena."

THE LIFE OF ST. DOMINIC (1170-1221).

By Bede Jarrett, O.P. London (Burns, Oates & Washbourne); pp. 180; 6s. net.

It is always intriguing and instructive to read the lives of the Saints and especially of those who were the founders of great orders. Father Bede Jarrett is the Provincial of the English Province of the Friars Preachers and naturally treats his subject-matter from the standpoint of an enthusiastic follower of the Saint. He is at pains to bring out all the most lovable traits of his hero and to correct what he regards as the malignant misunderstandings of the detractors of the pious founder and his order. The fact, however, remains that Dominic founded his order chiefly to combat and suppress the Albigenses and that the order was subsequently only too prominent in aiding the Inquisition. It is, therefore, hardly to be expected that we should find in this apologetic forth-setting a strictly impartial review of a very sad page of history in which the phobia of heresy gave birth to the terrors of the 'Holy Office.' Whatever were the theoretical 'rights' and 'wrongs' of this ultra-ascetic 'great heresy,' as our author calls it, the leaders of it were pious folk, well-instructed and capable disputants. And indeed it was just because of the ignorance and laxness of the monks and clergy of Provence and generally elsewhere that Dominic insisted upon the need of culture for his preachers, so that the Dominicans became a learned order as well as one of strict discipline.

GNOSTIC FRAGMENTS.

Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Ernesto Buonaiuti, Professor of Sacred History at the Royal University of Rome, and done into English by Edith Cowell. London (Williams & Norgate); pp. 114; 3s. 6d. net.

THESE Fragments are from Basilides and Isidore, Carpocrates and Epiphanes, Valentinus, Heracleon, Ptolemæus and Theodotus, as recovered from the hostile pages of the heresiological Church Fathers. They are therefore representative of second-century Christianizing Gnosticism only. Professor Buonaiuti, who wrote on the sources of Gnosticism in 1907 (*Lo Gnosticismo*, Rome), is a capable and fair-minded exponent within his own scheme of reference; his estimate of the meaning and value of a fragment, although he does not specifically call attention to the fact, frequently corrects or flatly contradicts the denunciatory language of the Church Father in which the quotation is imbedded. In a subject with which we are so intimately familiar, it would be easy to write at length on a number of points of detail where we do not see eye to eye with our author; we have, however, space for a few generalities only. In the first place we do not agree with him that in general Gnosticism is 'a philosophical aberration' of Christianity (p. 105); Gnosticism preceded and paralleled Early Christianity, as well as attempting to blend with it. We imagined that this 'philosophical' view of Gnosticism, started by Baur with his Hegelian proclivities and developed later by Mansel, had by this time been safely buried. The Gnosis was ever a *gnôsis sôtérias*, or knowledge of salvation; and indeed our exponent admits as much elsewhere, when writing (p. 89): "Gnosis is not so much a laborious system of cosmological principles as a form of mysticism which claims to point out the path of interior salvation." The most revolutionary hypothesis brought forward in this small volume is that the 'Odes of Solomon' are the work of the great Christian Gnostic Valentinus. Gunkel and Preuschen have already contended that they constitute a Gnostic hymn-book; and indeed some of the Odes are replete with Gnostic technical terms and figures. It is admitted on all hands that much in them is beautiful; and they were probably first written in Greek. The famous Rendel Harris papyrus looks like a Syriac translation from the original. The question of origin and the nature of the first circle in which they came to birth is hotly disputed and still

sub judice, and the 'literature' of the subject is voluminous. Now though Valentinus has the reputation of being the greatest of the Christian Gnostics, we have nothing immediately of his but some 8/9 short fragments. He is known to have been a prolific writer and also an admirable poet, as was Bardesanes later. If then these highly mystical Odes could possibly be assigned to him, we should have in them a priceless addition to Christian Gnostic sources of the 'great period.' But we cannot by any means be persuaded of this, or even think that further specimens of Valentinus' craftsmanship would be likely to change our opinion. It is not necessary to wait for Carl Schmidt's translation of *The Wisdom of Jesus* from the Berlin Coptic Codex—concerning which already in 1895 Harnack asked the startling question: "Can this be the lost *Wisdom* of Valentinus?" It is simply a question of style. The Odes have far too strong a Jewish tincture to be Valentinian; in the Rendel Harris MS. they are bound up with the indubitably Jewish *Psalms of Solomon*. In the second place, if there is anything in our own conjecture, that the editorial work done on the nine otherwise unknown Gnostic MSS. quoted from by Hippolytus, all of which, though assigned to widely different schools, have a family likeness of expression and very similar diction, can possibly be attributed to no less an able stylus than that of Valentinus himself,—the wide disparity in style, conformably with the general diction of known literature of the Valentinian School, makes the Valentinus-authorship of the Odes inconceivable. Another general point: Miss Cowell's translation from the Italian cannot of course be taken as an exact rendering from the original texts. She says she has, when in doubt, sought the help of the versions in the Ante-Nicene Library; but we have ourselves never found these satisfactory. Again, she has left standing some of the Italian forms of proper names for the confusion of the unknowing. Why, for instance, 'Osee' instead of 'Hosea'? At the end Prof. Buonaiuti discusses Plotinus' book 'Against the Gnostics,' basing himself mainly on Carl Schmidt's *Plotins Stellung*; but we have never felt happy about this, and doubt that the philosophers whom the greatest of all the Platonists had in view, were Christians. The friends of Amelius have still to be tracked out. Finally we have a version of the so-called 'Hymn of Jesus' from the *Acts of John*; but the version, if it represents exactly the Italian, is very poor. Why not have taken one of the existing English versions from the original Greek? Prof. Buonaiuti has not the ghost of an idea

that this arresting piece is a ritual and not a hymn. And if Miss Cowell has not done him the bad service of an absolutely erroneous translation, the whole situation is utterly misconceived in the introductory sentence, where to our astonishment we read: "Then he ordered us [the Twelve] to sit round in a ring"! The whole point of the ceremony is that it was a sacred dance; the disciples 'go round in a ring.'

THE LIGHT OF THE EAST.

The World-Views of the Nearer and Farther Orient—India, China, Japan—and their Influence upon the Religious and Moral Life of these Lands. By Maximilian Kern. Stuttgart (Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft); roy. 4to, 600 pp., 4 plates and 408 figg.; bound in linen, 8 guineas.

UNDER the above-quoted title Herr Kern, as general editor, has collected an imposing number of single essays by the most competent authors, written apparently according to a general plan under his personal direction and supervision. Although another example of what has been satirically called a 'book-binder's synthesis,' the result is, nevertheless, a very instructive synopsis of Eastern spiritual life and thought for the use of the general reader. The numerous illustrations are very interesting in themselves, in spite of being, in most parts of the work, selected somewhat at random, so that we find, *e.g.*, the photograph of a Tibetan lama appearing in the midst of letter-press dealing with Vedic religion. A list of the sub-titles and authors gives an idea of the wealth of easily accessible, reliable information contained between the two covers of this monumental work:

INDIA.

The Aryans, by Ass. Prof. J. W. Hauer (Tübingen). Indian Cosmology, by Kirfel (a good abstract of his great work, already reviewed in *THE QUEST*). Brahmanism and Hinduism, by the same. The Period of the Upanishads, by the same. Buddhism, by the same. Jainism, by Prof. Walter Schubring-Hamburg. Indian Philosophy, by Prof. Hermann Jacobi (Bonn). Indian Art, by Dr. Otto Fischer, Director of the Museum of Stuttgart. Indian Politics and Social Life, by Prof. Julius Jolly (Würzburg). Indian Medicine and Natural Science, by the same. Indian Astronomy, by Ass. Prof. L. Woitsch (Vienna). India and the West, by Prof. R. L. Stübe (Leipzig).

CHINA.

The Chinese World-View, by Max. Kern (Degerloch). The Religion of Chinese Antiquity, by the same. Confucianism and Taoism, by the same. The Middle and Recent Ages of Chinese Philosophy, by Prof. Alfred Forke (Berlin). Chinese Art, by Prof. Otto Fischer (Stuttgart). Chinese Religion and Folklore, by Dr. W. Oehler (Tübingen). Chinese Political and Social Life, by Max. Kern (Degerloch). Chinese Medicine and Science, by Prof. G. Olpp (Tübingen). Chinese Astronomy, by Ass. Prof. L. Woitsoh (Vienna).

JAPAN.

General Survey, by Prof. Karl Florenz (Hamburg). Shintoism, by Prof. W. Gundert (Mito, near Tokio). Japanese Buddhism, by the same. Japanese Art, by Dr. O. Fischer (Stuttgart). Politics and Science in Japan, by M. Kern (Degerloch).

An extensive Index adds to the usefulness of the work. The reviewer believes there is nothing like it in English. But, instead of translating it, he would prefer to re-write it completely, infusing some *synthetic thinking* into the disconnected work of these eminent German specialists, each of whom most carefully refrains from glancing right or left over the fence into his fellow-worker's domain. Moreover, some of them do not show much sympathy for the subject of their researches. What an unconsciously humorous lot they are after all—most of these honest and venerable one-eyed pundits!

SHIN-TO.

The Way of the Gods in Japan, according to the Printed and Unprinted Reports of the Japanese Jesuit Missionaries in the 16th and 17th Centuries. By George Schurhammer, S.J. Roy. 4to, pp. 210. With 102 Autotype Illustrations and 12 Coloured Copper-engraving Plates. Bonn (Kurt Schroeder); bound, 2 guineas.

THIS is first of all a very beautiful and artistic book, which does great credit to the publisher. The plates are very well executed from photographs coloured with the well-known delicacy of the Japanese water-colour painting, and they convey, therefore, a very good impression of the fascinating beauty of the temples and sacred sites of the traditional 'pagan' religion of Japan, which is

a simple worship of the sun-goddess and certain environmental divinities, such as the rain-storm and the dark-moon of the earth, of mountain-, sea-, river- and tree-gods, of deified kings and other ancestors and of the living emperor. Of course, to the Jesuit authors of these missionary reports,—and in a certain degree even to their learned modern editor,—all this is sheer devil-worship. Yet this is just the great difference between reading W. G. Aston's excellent article on 'Shinto,' in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, and studying lovingly Father Schurhammer's book. Looking at these enticing plates, one feels that we cannot help worshipping these mountains, these rivers and seas and the sun, who shines on them, for their sheer beauty. How one wishes, dreaming over these pictures, that we could have such vividly coloured pictures of the real life of that other artistically seducing Paganism,—the religion of ancient Greece! For surely the Greek temples and 'idols' were brightly coloured all over, and much more like these wonderful works of Japanese religious art than are the dreary plaster-casts in our museums.

The text (printed in parallel columns in German and English, the faults in the German showing that the original must have been English) is very interesting in many respects and will prove quite invaluable to the student of Eastern religions. The narrow view-point of the Christian missionary is of course very much in evidence throughout, but (given the nature of the material and the personality of the editor) that is as it must be. Still we wonder how a Roman Catholic reader would feel, if a learned Japanese scholar took to describing the less congenial features of Christian church-life and theology in such a spirit of harsh and unloving criticism. Two thousand years ago Philo, the Jewish philosopher and mystic of Alexandria, interpreted the plural 'elohim in Lev. xxiv. 15: "Whosoever curseth god(s) shall bear his sin" to mean, that even blaspheming against the gods of the 'gentiles' is unlawful. Might not our missionary-students of pagan religions occasionally with advantage reflect on this piece of wisdom of that gentle old Jew? Shinto theogony tells us that such and such gods originated out of the cast-off garments of the primeval divinity. May it not be true that the worshippers of Nature venerate the garments and veils of the Unknowable? And should a co-religionary of the worshippers of the 'sacred coat' of Jesus in Trier not know that reverence is due even to the cast-off visible shrouds of the Great Mystery?

ROBERT EISLER.

PISTIS SOPHIA.

Literally translated from the Coptic by George Horner. With an Introduction by F. Legge, F.S.A. London (S.P.C.K.); pp. xlviii + 205; 16s. net.

HAVING very carefully read and studied this volume, we are very regretfully compelled to say that we do not quite see what generally useful purpose its publication is intended to serve. First as to the translation,—Mr. Horner supplies us with a scrupulously literal rendering, following minutely not only the Coptic construction but also the order of words. We have thus,—what we used to call in our school-days,—a 'Giles' crib' to the Askew Codex document. As the very late (post-Christian) vernaculars called Coptic retained the primitive Egyptian speech-structure and its very objective material imaging, they were quite inadequate not only for philosophical or even high mystic thought, but even for abstract ideas of any kind. The consequence is that, even if the Coptic translator (or translators) from the Greek P.S. had been highly skilled, he would have been severely handicapped by the medium of his version. As a matter of fact, however, he was always clumsy and frequently at fault, as is shown by the very large number, not only of Greek nouns, adjectives and verbs but also of particles, which he has had to retain untranslated. The chief utility of Mr. Horner's 'crib' is that it may be used as part of a Coptic reading-book for students. For the rest, it is an unsolicited but very high testimonial to the careful accuracy and fine workmanship of Prof. Carl Schmidt's authoritative German version. If the S.P.C.K. volume was intended for the general public, it is not easy to see why this all-too literal and quite unreadable version should have been presented to them. It is popularly misleading, as is shown by one of the sapient reviewers of the daily press who cries: "Now, at last, we have a real first-hand translation of the P.S. and see how crude it is!" But the documents of the so-called P.S. Miscellany were originally *written in Greek*; and we can frequently correct the Coptic by the Greek. Mr. Horner, so far from doing this, has deliberately cut out all the Greek that still stands in the Coptic hybrid version, and translates the Coptic solely with all its errors. This is not the right method of translation of such a work, and Schmidt's version (and indeed Schwartze's Latin and Amélineau's French before him) is the only tolerable

way of treating the subject. I have myself followed in the footsteps of Schwartz, Amélineau and Schmidt, who never for an instant forgot that they had to deal with a Greek original. And as the 2nd completely revised edition (1921) of my *Englishing* is practically a translation of Schmidt's version, there was no need for another. We are given to understand that the late Mr. Legge had intended to work over Mr. Horner's literal *bruyon*, and present the public with a literary version; but his self-removal prevented the carrying out of the project. Even if he had stayed to do so, his labours would have still been a work of supererogation; for we are bold to say that Messrs. H. and L. are not equal in combined Coptic and Hellenic scholarship to the admirable equipment of Prof. Carl Schmidt, who is perhaps the most distinguished Coptist we have, and who in addition is one of our greatest authorities on general Gnostic research.

We pass to L.'s introduction. Is there anything really new to be gleaned from it? Again we have regretfully to answer that it is difficult to find any novelty of real value in it. On the contrary, the one or two 'novel' theories put forward are plainly untenable. It is not sufficiently important to transfer our detailed marginal pencil-notes to paper, much less to expand them. But as to generalities, L. revives the first guess, dating from Woide at end of 18th cent.,—that P.S. is of 'Valentinian origin,' crystallized by Schwartz (1851) into a definite ascription of the work to Valentinus himself. This view has been rejected by all the most competent scholars who have dealt with the subject. I leaned myself somewhat in this erroneous direction in my 1st ed. (1898), but have been compelled by overwhelming evidence completely to reorient my outlook, as may be seen from the *Annotated Bibliography* of the 2nd ed., in which the whole history of opinion is faithfully summarized. The P.S. is *not* Valentinian, though it has in it as ground-motifs some earlier elements that the widespread Valentinian movement also worked-up. The other general theory of L.'s is that the Askew Codex "was made for official or judicial use; and the most reasonable guess is that it was the draft or copy of a legal document made for the enlightenment of some conciliar, episcopal, or even secular tribunal concerned in the suppression of heresy, such as the Inquisitors of the Faith set up by Theodosius" (p. xxx.). This is pure fantasy. Even if we could venture at all to entertain the notion, surely the 'Inquisitors' would have demanded the full documents and not excerpts only? But what of the cognate collection of the Bruce Codex? This

parallel phenomenon utterly disposes of L.'s unhappy guess. Finally, it looks very much as if L. has made the fundamental mistake of taking the *subscriptions* coming at the end of certain excerpts, and thus giving the title of the collection from which the *preceding* extracts were taken, as being the *headings* of the *following* pieces !

We repeat that we are very sorry to have to pass so unfavourable a judgment on this volume, for we would welcome most gladly anything that could throw fresh light on a document on which we have spent so many long months of study. Personally, we are obliged to Mr. Horner for his 'crib.' But we doubt very much whether one reader in a hundred (perhaps a thousand) will make any use of it. For the rest, unfortunately, we fear it will gravely mislead the general public, as it has one at least of the hack reviewers.

In the next number we hope to review at length the 2nd edition of Prof. Carl Schmidt's Translation, prefaced by a new Introduction in which fresh light is thrown on a number of problems, as we see at once by a hasty glance at the proofs which our distinguished guide in P.S. studies has so kindly just sent us.

G. R. S. M.

THE COMING LIGHT.

By Mary Bruce Wallace. London (Watkins); 'Deeper Issues Series' ; pp. xii. + 218 ; 2s. 6d. net.

IN this little book Mrs. Wallace continues the record of psychic experiences which she began in *The Thinning of the Veil*. In the preface to the present work the authoress explains the genesis of the messages which the book contains, and from that preface we learn that Mrs. Wallace is not only clairaudient but gifted with capacity for psychic vision. The visions were for the most part received at the Communion Service in a Church in Ireland. The main theme which runs through most of the messages is the close relationship of life here to the life to come. "The direction and quality of our thoughts, emotions and actions in this life determine our status and surroundings when entering upon the life to come." Valuable direction for the control and development of all that makes up our 'life' is to be found in this booklet.

H. L. HUBBARD.

CHRISTIAN SPIRITUALITY: VOL. II.—THE MIDDLE AGES.

By the Rev. P. Pourrat. Translated by S. P. Jacques. London (Burns, Oates & Washbourne); pp. 840; 10s. 6d. net.

THIS volume, although uniform with Vol. I., which is stated on the 'jacket' to deal with the period 'from the time of our Lord till the dawn of the Middle Ages,' is an almost complete and self-contained work. The chronological limits are not very clearly defined—an excursus on the Carthusians touches the 17th century—but in general St. Anselm (b. 1033) is the earliest, and St. Catherine of Genoa (d. 1510) the latest prominent name. The author's ecclesiastical position (*Supérieur du Grand Séminaire de Lyon*) and the *Imprimatur* prefixed to the English version sufficiently indicate the point of view from which the book is written. There are chapters on devotion to the Bl. Sacrament and to the B.V. Mary, on the historical origins of devotion to St. Joseph and on the Rosary, but the bulk of the matter is about Roman Catholic Mystics and Mysticism; and this is what will be of interest to the non-Catholic reader. If such an one hopes to find in the book evidence that Mystics were regarded with suspicion by the Church authorities, or were watched jealously in respect of the conformity of their expressions (as to direct knowledge of, or union with, God) with the rigorous letter of Thomistic orthodoxy, he will be disappointed. Some of those Beatified, such as Suso and Ruysbroeck, are amongst the most daring in their language.

A book which deals with such a subject, and such a period, and which is moreover full of quotations and references, cannot fail to contain much of the highest interest. The author has, however, attempted to get too much into one volume; consequently he has not been able to give a sharply defined individual impression of his subjects; and his treatment of questions of theory is non-committal and colourless. If he continues his studies to a third volume, the personalities and writings of St. Theresa and of St. John of the Cross should afford him ample opportunity of remedying this defect. If any criticism is to be made on the translation, it is that, judging from intrinsic evidence, it is rather too literal. The printing is clear and pleasant to read. There is an index.

G. CATOR.

NEW LIGHT UPON INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

Or Swedenborg and the Saiva Siddhanta. By D. Gopaul Chetty, Late Editor of 'The New Reformer,' Madras. With a Foreword by L. B. de Beaumont, D.Sc. London (Dent); pp. 215; 8s. 6d. net.

It will probably be as great a surprise to most Swedenborgians as it is to students of Indian religion to find Mr. Gopaul Chetty enthusiastically declaring that the most effective propaganda by which Christianity could be made understandable and acceptable to his fellow-religionists would be the spreading far and wide in India of the teachings of Swedenborg. Our author was brought up in and for many years has been a careful student of the Saiva Siddhanta, a wide-spread form of Hinduism, especially among the Tamil community. It has to its credit a long line of saints and sages and singers of lofty hymns of praise and devotion, and possesses a distinctive spirit of its own fostered by its two leading doctrines of Love and Grace. This, however, with regard to the past mainly; for Mr. Chetty tells us that to-day the faith has become sadly formalized and crystallized; it stands badly in need of revivification and above all of re-interpretation suited to modern needs. He now rejoices that he has found the light he sought in the writings of the Swedish seer. To use his own words: "I discovered that Swedenborg's philosophy threw a flood of light on the darker places in Saiva Siddhanta, and that his teachings contained many new things that it did not know." But how is Mr. Chetty assured that his personal view will in any way be shared by his co-religionists? He has been emboldened to write his book, he tells us, by the very favourable reception already given to his translation into Tamil of Swedenborg's *Intercourse of the Soul and Body*; it has been even welcomed, he says, 'with great rejoicings' by the leading Tamil scholars. Mr. Chetty accounts for this by saying that India is a land of philosophy, and Indians require philosophy to convince them. But much Western philosophy has already been poured into India and has hindered rather than helped the spread of Christianity among the *intelligentsia* there. True; but with Swedenborg religion and philosophy go hand in hand, and moreover Swedenborg was a Yogi. The old traditional statements of dogmatic Christianity make no impression on any thinking men in India, he declares. Therefore, "the doctrines of a Trinity of Persons, Justification by Faith, Atone-

ment, etc., must all go. The terms 'God,' 'Soul,' etc., must give place to the terms 'Love,' 'Will,' 'Understanding,' 'Use,' etc. We are not to identify love with the abstract conceptual entity termed substance, but rather to take the word substance with its whole meaning, and apply it to that concrete living experience which we know directly, immediately and intimately as love. Then the whole truth becomes clear and India will then easily know it." The latter part of this statement is somewhat confused, but the general purport of the contention is not without point. It is well known that in India a religious teacher is generally expected to be a man of religious experience and not simply a theological pundit. Mr. Chetty thus raises the question 'Was Swedenborg a Yogi?'—and after discussing it, concludes that he may very well be so described, whatever was the method he employed for attaining to vision. Indeed in some passages Swedenborg shows that he was acquainted with breathing-transmutations, and in general the spiritual powers of Swedenborg correspond closely with much in the Yoga-tradition.

As to Mr. Chetty's exposition of Swedenborg's teaching, which consists mainly of quotations, it may be said that it is clearer than his setting forth of the main points of the Saiva Siddhanta, for in treating of the latter he persists for the most part in using the technical terms of the original. This is all very well for Indian readers, especially Tamils; but we are sorry for our Swedenborgian friends, who would doubtless like fully to follow the parallels and gist of the argument. It is true that a glossary is appended; but it is doubtful whether one reader in a hundred will take the trouble to use it. The remarkable cheapness of the book shows that it was printed in India; but the work is well done.

THE SECRET OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

By Ernest G. Palmer. London (Rider); pp. 103; 8s. 6d. net.

MR. PALMER adopts the late Marsham Adams' theory and tries to uphold it. But his work is slight, and we cannot say that any substantive advance has been made in justifying the claim. We have already dealt with the merits and demerits of W. Marsham Adams' two romantic volumes—*The House of the Hidden Places* (1895) and *The Book of the Master* (1898)—in the *Prolegomena to Thrice-Greatest Hermes* (1906, vol. i., pp. 68ff.). The chief merit of the books is the intuitional meditations of their author on the general notions suggested by the highest elements of the mystery.

cultus and decocted from the uncollated texts of the so-called *Book of the Dead*. Adams contended, moreover, that the various collections and remains of the *B.D. Rituals* threw light on the make-up of the Great Pyramid which was, according to him, the central temple of initiation; that the two went together in every respect and were mutually explanatory. It is possible that some of the original contents of the Great Pyramid are yet to be discovered, and that if all the contents were known, some really consistent scheme of planning might be brought to light. At present, however, the chambers, etc., are too haphazard to justify Adams' theory. But apart from this highly conjectural supposition,—as to his exposition of the nature of the Egyptian mystery-tradition, Adams, who was a Fellow of New College, Oxford, and therefore ought to have known better, handicapped his work in the most reprehensible way in the opinion of all scholars. He neglected throughout to append the necessary references to the very numerous texts he cites; so that he could not be checked. It is all fundamentally a question of reliable translation. In the few cases where a passage can be identified, Adams' version differs very considerably from those of other Egyptologists. But of course in the present state of uncertainty these also differ among themselves. The reason why we called attention to his work in *Thrice-Greatest Hermes*, was that, with regard to his main view of the spiritual nature of the inmost tradition of Egyptian wisdom, there was in a general way confirmation to be found in the Greek Trismegistic documents, though Adams himself never mentioned them. He seems to have known nothing of these important documents, yet he continually belabours the Greeks for their crass ignorance of all things Egyptian. If Adams' high views concerning the mysteries in Egypt are ever substantiated from the hieroglyphic texts, it would of course be a very great gain. As it is, we are compelled to treat his expositions as romantic rather than historic, as the outcome of the meditations of a mystical mind rather than inferences from properly documented objective literary evidence. His books, we gladly admit, are filled with passages of great beauty, and we could wish that much that he says had been really so in fact. But as to the Great Pyramid, we are very dubious indeed; it is a fertile source of wonder and wild imaginings, and we cannot but class much of the speculative literature concerning it with the similar lucubrations of minds fascinated by the incoherencies of Daniel and Revelation apocalypics.

LIFE AND WORD.

An Essay in Psychology. By R. E. Lloyd, M.B., D.Sc. (Lond.).
 London (Longmans, Green); xi. + 189 pages; 7s. 6d. net.

"THIS suggested that the principles of objective life, so far as we know them, should be applied to knowledge as though it were vital. In 1916 I made an attempt to write out this idea, but was not satisfied with the result. In 1921 I put it in the form of short papers which were sent to journals in England and America, but they were not accepted for publication. After all I cannot lose the feeling that the idea is worth testing; and so I have made this further attempt" (Intro. p. ix.).

Dr. Lloyd's modest confidence is fully justified, and his idea has lost nothing by having had to undergo this prolonged period of incubation. The pleasure one receives from reading the book is however by no means mainly dependent on the value of 'the idea' it embodies. The book is an authentic specimen of hard-won, individual, vital knowledge. It has been said of the style of Butler's *Analogy* that every sentence is like a move at a game of chess. The same might be said of Dr. Lloyd's style. The various references show that the author is well read in philosophy. In particular, he (by profession a biologist) has been much influenced by Kant. It is a proof of his unconquerable independence of mind that, without ever lapsing into perverse eccentricity, he makes such a use of Kant as will surely make orthodox Kantians stare and gasp. He does this, however, with his eyes open (p. 99). And now as to the idea.

Dr. Lloyd is (1) an evolutionist, (2) a mutationist-evolutionist, (3) a Kantian mutationist-evolutionist, and (4) somewhere in the deepest depths of his mind he has an affinity with Spinoza, who, however, is never quoted or referred to; but see the obvious echo of "all determination is negation" (pp. 37, 38, 41).

As an evolutionist, our author takes the evolutionist view of rationality ('verbal-thought') in man—that it is a mutation preserved because of its vital value. There is nothing original so far, except perhaps the consistency which makes the forms of intuition and of thought (time and space, and the categories, and then individual differences of mental outlook) also arise as further, secondary and tertiary, mutations superimposed on 'verbal-thought.' The whole evolutionary process is conceived as due to an immanent *nisus*, and not to pressure of external circumstances.

The Kantianism is taken very seriously. Man's world (time, space, matter and all) is therefore consistently conceived as a man's mind-made-world (chap. iv.). The whole evolution is thus *within* mind as its medium, *out of* mind as its matter, and *to* mind as its goal. Then the transference of the persistence and continuity of matter to mind leads to the conception—human-mind as continuous with mind undifferentiated, and of individual human minds as participating in a sort of race-mind. Last of all (and this perhaps gives the ground-tone of the book) one is made aware of a control of the whole evolutionary process operating *sub specie aeternitatis*. In conclusion, let me emphasize that the value of the book is by no means to be measured by the value of its idea. Still less is the value of the idea to be measured by that of this necessarily bald and inadequate summary. There is no index, but there is a very full and helpful table of contents.

G. CATOR.

THE RELIGION OF THE MANICHEES.

Donnellan Lectures for 1924. By F. C. Burkitt, Hon. D.D. (Dubl.),
Cambridge (The University Press); pp. 180; 6s. net.

THIS handy and informative little volume is just what we have been wishing for, for years; and we heartily thank the Norrisian Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and our very good friend, for at last making it possible for us to say to enquirers: "You should first read Burkitt's *Religion of the Manichees*; price only 6 bob,—less than a Dress Circle ticket for one evening!" Readers of THE QUEST know, or should know, that the study of the Religion of Mānī has undergone a complete transformation during the last quarter of a century. Prior to the extensive 'finds' of some 800 Manichæan MSS. and fragments in Khotān (Chinese Turkestan) we had not a scrap of 'direct' Manichæan literature. All our previous information had to be taken (or inferred) from what their enemies, East and West, mainly Church Fathers and heresy-hunters, had to tell us, and that too, for the most part with bitter *parti pris*; for the Religion of Mānī (or Mānīh) the Prophet,—probably the most ascetic faith in the world,—was hated and persecuted more relentlessly than any other of the great religions of old. It would be fascinating to take up in detail the many points that have been clarified or raised by so well-equipped a scholar, linguistically and historically, as Prof. Burkitt; but as ever, in our review-pages, space, though super-

ficially 'two-dimensional,' is based on lead type that cannot be squeezed. We must be discontentedly content then to say that this sketch is very well done, and that with much of it we most cordially agree. Where we chiefly differ is in the conviction that to get at the Christian element worked up into his triple compound by Mānī—namely, Gnostic Christianity, Iranism and Buddhistic Indianism,—requires digging to a deeper stratum than that of Marcionite and Bardesanian Christianized Gnosticism as Prof. Burkitt is content to believe. Further, we cannot agree with our learned author that the Buddhistic-Indian element is a late immixture, later far than the days of the founder of the Manichæan faith. It is, on the contrary, patent (at least to the eye of an Indianist) there from the start, and that too, when we fully discount the clear over-Buddhicizing of some later Chinese Manichæan compositions. Apart from this, Prof. Burkitt's small volume is excellent. We now await, as the next move on the *Mānī Redivivus* chessboard, the long-expected volume of our veteran Irānist Professor Williams Jackson of Columbia University. And as a little bird has whispered in our ear, that an excellent post-graduate native Chinese student has been working for a year with, and under, our Western great knower of Persian religion in all its stages, our impatience to see the outcome of his long labours is quite boiling over. Meantime, the Donnellan Lecturer at Trinity College, Dublin, has done honour to the foundation by treating this important subject in the history of religion with such competence and acumen.

PLOTINUS ON THE NATURE OF THE SOUL.

Being the Fourth Ennead. Translated by Stephen Mackenna.
 London (The Medici Society); pp. 158; 21s. net.

THIS is Vol. III. of Mr. Mackenna's version of Plotinus' Enneads. We have already reviewed Vols. I. and II.; and at least another is to come, perhaps even two more. Though we have not yet got the ideal translation of the extant lectures of the third greatest mind of Greek philosophy, for the crabbed Greek of Plotinus, in spite of Porphyry's editing, is far more difficult to render than the generally clear diction of Plato and Aristotle, we have in Mr. Mackenna's labours perhaps the most successful version yet attempted and preferable to the German of H. F. Müller; we should omit the 'perhaps' had we not heard of a just published new French translation, by Abbé Alta of the Sorbonne, we have

not yet seen. In this volume Mr. Mackenna has had the help of Mr. E. R. Dodds, Lecturer in Classics at University College, Reading. The objection, however, we have already made to the somewhat too intellectual rendering of the main high terms, still holds good. Nevertheless we are very glad to have this painstaking and readable translation, and could wish, as we have said before, that the price was not so prohibitive. For the three volumes already issued the poor scholar has to pay £2 18s., and by the time the work is finished he will have to find probably between 4 and 5 guineas. It is a grave mistake to have issued a translation of Plotinus as an *édition de luxe*. Millionaires and such like can only by a miracle appreciate Plotinus. Guthrie's American version (4 vols.) is also high priced; and in any case it is of little value, for it is rendered from Bouillet's French translation, which is little better than a paraphrase. Still Plotinus is at last beginning to come into his own for twentieth-century lovers of mystical philosophy, and numerous writers are beginning to recognize the great debt that mystic culture and religio-philosophy in the West owes to his high genius, whether directly or indirectly. And at this we whole-heartedly rejoice, for we sincerely admire his high genius and have greatly profited by his insight.

THE DIVINE LAW OF HUMAN BEING.

By F. C. Constable, M.A., Author of 'Personality and Telepathy,' etc. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 282; 7s. 6d. net.

WE have searched for a brief summary in Mr. Constable's own words of the purport of his title, and the nearest we have been able to find is: "The transcendental scheme of God, Transcendental Being, is not and can never in its fullness be known by mortal man. Yet, in man is there a spark of the supreme fire and, gifted by God with reason transcending thought, he can, under the guidance of the last revelation of Jesus Christ, make some approach to a solution to the riddle of the universe" (p. 229). Our occasional contributor has for many years been fascinated by Kant; at the same time he has been interested on philosophical lines in psychical research; and in addition, as Chapter viii. and x. show, he is wholeheartedly Christian in his religious loyalty. There is, however, nothing traditionally theological about his exposition, which centres round the notion that "the soul of man, made in the likeness of God, is embodied, for a passing time, in

human form to help on God's progressive process for humanity, as part of this transcendental scheme" (p. 12). Mr. Constable banks on Kant's Categorical Imperative, and contends that, while the sense of religion cannot be logically proved, it nevertheless exists in '*personal moral certainty*,' and that this latter is 'a very general fact of human experience' (p. 105). The difficulty with Kant's Categorical is that, though it cries 'Do your Duty,' it does not tell us what our duty is. The volume is carefully argued, and the frequent repetition of points and phrases give the reader no excuse for missing what the author intends to say. Mr. Constable moreover shows that he has made valiant efforts to be as impartial as possible; still Kant is ever his 'King Charles' head,' and in our opinion he pays over-much deference to Prof. James Ward's psychological theory.

THE UNDISCOVERED ISLAND.

By E. M. Tenison. London (Murray); pp. 319; 7s. 6d. net.

FOR many readers of *THE QUEST* interest doubtless attaches to a novel which reveals a reverence for the highest ideals, together with a sense of the reality—the imminent reality—and power of the Unseen. The idea of reincarnation is not once mentioned by E. M. Tenison in *The Undiscovered Island*; yet there is an unmistakable suggestion that the stubborn opposition of Ardenmore to the blameless love of his daughter for young Raoul de Kerouanne is but the repetition, under the changed conditions of modern times, of a similar act of parental tyranny and religious bigotry, which, in the days and in the circle of Mary Queen of Scots, had involved the same three souls in its tragic consequences. The subtle indications, partly psychic, partly dramatic, by which the identity of the modern protagonists with their sixteenth-century predecessors and namesakes are revealed, or rather suggested, are very skilfully managed, and the main interest of the narrative is independent in great measure of this glimpse of underlying mystery.

The story opens in the days immediately preceding, and ends in those following the War. Its characters are clearly outlined and vividly portrayed; we move throughout in an atmosphere of high patriotism, chivalry, ideal aspiration—a refreshing change from the nightmare welter of jazz, dope, ego-mania and eroticism which characterises 'best-sellers of the hour.'

CHARLES WHITBY.

ESSAYS IN EARLY CHRISTIAN HISTORY.

By Elmer Truesdell Merrill, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Latin in the University of Chicago. London (Macmillan) ; pp. 844 ; 15s. net.

THESE painstaking studies are busied mainly with the early persecutions of the Christians by the Roman authorities ; and Professor Merrill, who treats his subject-matter purely as an objective historian, has little difficulty in showing how carelessly it has been assumed that we have corroborative evidence, when as a matter of fact we have simply repetition by a number of subsequent writers of a single statement, and this statement frequently very slenderly evidenced. Indeed the whole question of Imperial persecution has been enormously exaggerated by subsequent pious imagination, and it has to be critically corrected back to its proper historic proportions. The general impression made on the reader, who if he is a first-hand student is already only too painfully aware of the fact, is that the historical material of the early centuries is so sparse and thin. A special subject that engages Prof. Merrill's attention is the question whether Peter was ever at Rome ; therewith the authority of Hegisippus' list of Roman bishops comes up for discussion and the Pseudo-Clementine romances. This is an old and thorny subject first critically raised by R. A. Lipsius in 1872. Our author is on the negative side ; but here he does not seem to us to have taken into sufficient account recent archæological discovery. The literary evidence is, we grant, by no means satisfactory ; but the problem has shifted its centre of gravity somewhat of late and made its main weight rest more on 'antiquities'—the data of which are necessitating a reviewing of the whole question. The Vatican, however, has decided the question once for all to its own satisfaction by making it *de fide* that Peter was the first bishop of Rome !

BATTLE-RETROSPECT.

And Other Poems. By Amos Niven Wilder. New Haven (Yale University Press) ; London (Oxford University Press) ; pp. 61.

HERE we have one of the volumes issued in 'The Yale Series of Younger Poets,' the purpose of which is, we are told, to make known the work of young writers who give the fairest promise for the future of American poetry. It may well be included in such

“ How are we fallen from our high estate
 Who saw the dawn at Soissons that July
 Rise upon pandemonium ; heard, elate,
 The trampling of the steeds of destiny,
 And saw the flashes at the wheels of fate !

In the 'Ode in a German Cemetery' the problem of the undeserved suffering of "the common lives, Lost in the mass," who were swept into the War, "creatures of life's blind impulse," is dealt with, and it is shown how the human spirit may be carried forward involuntarily in the cosmic movement towards disastrous action. It concludes:

The reader must be referred to the book itself for many other passages of interest and beauty ; the sonnet ' America to Belgium ' may be specially noted.

S. E. HALL.

UNITY: TRIUMPHANT.

The Call of the Kingdom. An Introduction to the Baháí Teachings and a Testimony of Faith in the Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh. By Elizabeth Herrick. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 226; 7s. 6d. net.

THERE is little in this Introduction that is not already to be found in Mr. Esselmont's volume, which we have already noticed, unless it be that the authoress is more exercised in trying to show in particular that Baháism is the fulfilment of Christian prophecy. The following somewhat confusedly phrased and slovenly printed translation of Bahá'u'lláh's Tablet known as his 'Message to Christians' will inform the reader of the nature of the claim made.

"Proclaim: Surely the Father hath come and hath fulfilled that whereunto you were promised in the Kingdom of God. This is the word which the Son veiled when He said to those around him that they could not bear it; but when the stated time was ended and the Hour arrived, the Word shone forth from the Horizon of the Will. . . .

"Beware, O Concourse of the Son, cast it not behind Ye, but hold thereunto! . . . This Light hath appeared from the Orient and hath journeyed towards the Occident until it came unto thee in these Latter Days."

Verily, He the Son beareth witness to Me, and I bear witness to Him. . . .

"Then tell Me: Do the children know the Father and confess Him? Or do they contradict Him as the people contradicted Him before?"

"In this Day it behoveth you to proclaim in this Greatest Name among the Nations. Do you choose to be silent whilst trees and stones are calling out in the loudest voice:

"Surely the Lord hath come, the Possessor of Great Glory!

Verily, We have opened unto you the gates of the Kingdom; Are ye closing the door of your houses before My Face?"

SELECTED POEMS

Of F. W. Orde Ward. London (Swarthmore Press); pp. 176 5s. net.

THIS selection, which we are told includes only a small proportion of the numerous published and unpublished works of our once frequent contributor, consists chiefly of poems produced during

the latter part of his life, when ill-health shut him out from participation in active work. Some of the verses are already familiar to readers of *THE QUEST*. The wide range of topics is noteworthy, though the greater number of the poems are on religious subjects, in the writer's presentation of which the point of view of the mystic is always apparent. His sense of the divine immanence in the universe almost amounts at times to an idealist pantheism, as for instance in the fine poem entitled 'The Roadmaker,' which opens as follows :

" I had not sought unless I first had found
 Him, who is yet the Wanderer and the Way,
 Goal and Pursuer ;
 His heaven lay under me, this earthly ground,
 Which knew not mortal bar, or spatial bound—
 I did not stop a moment, could not stray
 From Love that was the Wooer,
 My doubts seemed His, my passion, where I stood
 Beneath the flints I saw footmarks of God."

The beautiful verses 'To a Lark' illustrate with a lighter touch the same theme. In so voluminous an output it is inevitable that the literary quality of the verses should vary ; but especially in the author's later work many passages of real beauty occur, and not a few flashes of deep intuition. S. E. HALL.

EVOLUTION AT THE CROSS ROADS.

By H. Reinheimer. London (Daniel) ; pp. 188 ; 6s. net.

FOR years Mr. Reinheimer has been labouring assiduously and with most painstaking industry to show that the prevalent views of biological evolution, in spite of many modifications of the original Darwinistic basic dogmas,—the struggle for life, survival of the fittest, adaptation to environment, and the rest,—are entirely lacking in any positive and synthetic directing principle. Darwin based himself on the inexplicable concept of 'natural selection' and the irrational notion of chance modifications. Mr. Reinheimer has laboured to show that symbiosis is a general and not a special phenomenon, and that the wide-ranging facts it presents justify the assumption that there is throughout living nature a principle of natural co-operation, of 'benefiting and being benefited' in turn, as the genius of a Basileides phrased it 1,800 years ago, which constitutes what he calls a 'bio-moral' intention throughout the whole. If this principle is obeyed all

goes well, and there is genuine evolution, or amelioration. If, on the contrary, parasitism and predacity, in-feeding instead of cross-feeding, *e.g.* animal on animal instead of animal on plant, is the order of the day, then is there degeneracy, disease and finally extinction. The theory is assuredly a novel view, and the endeavour to shew that we have in living nature throughout the adumbration of a principle that becomes morality in man, is deserving of most serious attention. It lays it down that co-operation is the fundamental law of progressive life, and that it alone guarantees any genuine survival value in the welter of self-regarding conflict. Of the seven essays in this little volume, reprinted from periodical literature, two appeared originally in our own pages.

SPANISH MYSTICISM.

A Preliminary Survey. By E. Allison Peers, M.A., Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge, Gilmour Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool. London (Methuen); pp. 277; 12s.

WE heartily welcome this 'preliminary survey' of the rich treasures of Spanish Roman Catholic mysticism, chiefly of the 16th century, when Spain was at the height of her power, drunk with the heady wine of expansion and conquest, and barbarously destroying the great cultures of the South and Central Americas. It is an irony of history that at this period of one of the many bids for world-power by the Papal Church, this time through her willing Hispanic cat's-paw,—the grim days of the Great Armada, designed for the physical and spiritual enslavement of England, and bearing on board the minions and instruments of the 'Holy' Inquisition,—there coincided with this un-Christ-like spirit a great and high mystical stirring within Spanish Christianity. Professor Allison Peers, who has already given us a fine version of the Catalan Ramón Lull's *Libre d'Amiche e Amat* (*Book of the Lover and the Beloved*),—which however falls outside the area of 'Spanish' mysticism proper,—speaks of no less than 1,000 mystical writers of the period, and of as many as 8,000 still existing works of theirs. Of these the amateur of classical Roman Catholic mysticism, as a rule, knows only some of the works of Santa Teresa de Jesús, San Juan de la Cruz and, perhaps, Luis de León. As a foretaste of the good things to come for those who love such a banquet, and who are ignorant of Spanish, Prof. Peers, after an instructive Introduction on *España Mística*, gives

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the text and an excellent translation of representative passages from thirteen of the greater mystics of the time. Our only grumble

our scholarly author and translator is that he forgets that many, nay, most, of his readers are and will be unskilled in the graceful Castilian tongue; for he provokingly in the notes leaves a number of important passages and many titles of books untranslated. A mystic need not be a linguist, and the book is surely primarily intended for the benefit of lovers of mysticism and not for scholars.

ALTORIENTALISCHER KOMMENTAR ZUM ALTEN TESTAMENT.

Von Lic. D. Dr. Anton Jirku, Ord. Professor an der Universität Breslau. Leipzig (A. Deicherische Verlagsbuchhandlung); pp. 254.

THIS is a work of immense labour. In it is collected all the comparative material from the Ancient Orient that can throw any light on the Old Testament. It brings together into one volume what is scattered in many hundreds of books and learned periodicals, giving the latest versions of texts and inscriptions and so forth. The material is presented without discussion, but with full reference to authorities. It is the first time such a task has been attempted, and the result is an undoubted boon to all O.T. scholars.

AVERNUS.

By Mary Bligh Bond. Oxford (Basil Blackwell); pp. 320; 7s. 6d. net.

FOR a first attempt, this eerie and fantastically gripping tale of Mr. Bligh Bond's very sensitive young daughter is out of the common run of psychic novels. It is, for the most part, evidently neither laboriously conceived nor artificially worked out; it flows on rather, in its picturing and imaging, as a spontaneously psychical piece of work. The phrasing and technique are naturally somewhat those of an inexperienced writer, the one being at times too 'new-art-y,' and the other easily to be overcome by the advice or help of a sympathetic editor. We shall not disclose the plot or theme; but we may say for the benefit of those of our readers who are proficient in reading beneath the surface of psychical scripts or of semi-psychic writings that they will certainly not be uninterested if they look into this tale of 'Avernus.'

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THE QUEST

ADHIKĀRA:

THE FITNESS OF A PHILOSOPHER.

G. HANUMANTHA RAO, M.A., Lecturer in Philosophy,
Maharaja's College, Mysore.

Who is fit to be a philosopher? This fundamental question has as yet scarcely been considered even in Modern European philosophy. For, in its view, philosophy has for its object, not the discovery of a new universe over and above the one revealed to science and common-sense, but only the reflection on the universe of science and sense-perception. Its business is to lay bare the assumptions and implications, the extent and limits of the universe of human experience. It need not take even the trouble to know what in detail this universe of human experience is; it is enough if it take a sweeping survey of its general nature. Such philosophy has no part or lot in the vast traffic of our universe; it sets itself aloof as a spectator, and examines what is implied and pre-supposed in all that is seen and known by man. It may be that it is likely to see more in the game than

those who are actually engaged in it; it may be that it can bring into clearer consciousness much that may be involved in it; but it does not in any way improve or extend it. At best, the philosopher may gain a general knowledge of what art, science, religion and history are able to know, and what they cannot know; but he cannot himself bring into being a new knowledge of a greater, richer and a more comprehensive universe. In order that such a universe may become available to human beings, they have to evolve other powers than they at present possess. But European philosophers seem to think that what they do not *now* possess they need *never* possess. Hence they have confined themselves to speculating about the Absolute, and speculation needs no more qualifications than what man normally possesses.

Indian philosophers, on the contrary, feel the need for qualifications other than those that man as normal man possesses. To them philosophy is a far different discipline from what it is to the Western philosopher. For them it is not, as it is to the European philosopher, simply speculation about the Absolute. It is rather the realization of the Absolute in man's own consciousness, here and now, on this 'bank and shoal' of life. It is not simply a 'thinking consideration of things,' a pure game of logic, a metaphysical romance. It is a serious consideration of life; it is the inner appropriation of reality. It is not simply an inference as to what reality may be, or even must be, but a concrete experience of what reality is. This experience of ultimate reality is not given to man as he is. Nevertheless he has a great yearning for it. In order that this yearning may be satisfied, new powers of mind, nay a new 'personality,' must be developed. These

new powers are the qualifications which we must have if we would attain philosophic knowledge. This important truth Indian philosophers happened to realize early in the history of their life. Hence the importance which they have attached to the subject of qualifications, and the attention which they have bestowed upon it.

What then, according to the Indian philosophers, are the qualifications which a student of philosophy must possess? They are, roughly speaking, three: (1) *Nityānityavivéka*, (2) *Váirāgya* and (3) *Upāsana*. These three qualifications, though distinguishable, are really inseparable. Each implies the other and is implied by it. If, then, we treat them separately, it must be understood that we do so for purposes of convenience.

(1) *Nityānitya-vivéka*: The first thing necessary for a student of philosophy is to be able to distinguish the subject-matter of science, art and religion in the popular sense from that of philosophy. He must know where science and popular religion end and where philosophy begins. He must know that science is concerned with the abstract and the finite, and that philosophy is concerned with the infinite and the most concrete form of being. The universe of science is the universe of finiteness and relativity, whereas the universe of philosophy is the universe of the Infinite and the Eternal. The earth and all its furniture and even the starry heavens, however enduring they may appear, are still transitory and liable to be destroyed. Only the Infinite and the Eternal remains, though the very heavens fall. Even the objects of popular religion—for the God of the demos is a finite God, a suffering Deity—are, like those of science, finite and mutable.

This consciousness of the distinction between that which decays and dies and that which is abiding and eternal—this *nityānityavivéka*—is the first condition necessary for undertaking the study of philosophy. The Upanishads abound in episodes that deal with this fundamental discrimination. We may here quote the dialogue between Nārada and Sanatkumāra from the *Chāndogya Upanishad*, in order to illustrate this point:

Nārada approached Sanatkumāra and said: "Teach me, Sir."

Sanatkumāra said to him: "Please to tell me what you know: afterwards I shall tell you what is beyond."

Nārada said: "I know the Ṛigveda, Sir, the Yajur Veda, the Sāma Veda, as the fourth, the Atharvaṇa, as the fifth, the Ithihāsapurāṇa . . . the art of making of perfumes, dancing, playing and other fine arts."

[He catalogues the names of all the sciences and arts then known.] "All this I know, Sir.

"But, with all this I know mantras only, the sacred books. I do not know the Self. I have heard from men like you that he who knows the Self overcomes grief. I am in grief. Do, Sir, help me over this grief of mine."¹

Here the student Nārada, in spite of his encyclopædic knowledge of art, science, religion and history, is still conscious of his profound ignorance of the true Self. This ignorance is a great misery to him, and he feels that he can get over it only by a knowledge of the Eternal. The distinction between the transitory and the Eternal is not with him simply an intellectual distinction; it is a distinction which has entered deep into his nature. He has keenly felt the dualism; and this intense feeling is necessary, because it is that which gives reality to his philosophic endeavour.

(2) *Váirāgya*: But philosophy is not feeling. For we may feel and feel and may yet do nothing. The

¹ Max Müller, *The Upanishads* (S.B.E.), i. 109-110.

reality of the feeling lies in its fulfilment in action. The feeling of dissatisfaction with the temporal and the yearning for the Eternal must find practical expression. Feeling that the choir of heaven and the furniture of the earth are perishables, he must withdraw his interest from them. In other words, he must cast off the cloak of relativity and finiteness, even as a man whose clothes are on fire tears them off from himself. This 'non-attachment' to all finite ends—the joys of the earth and the bliss of heaven—is called *váirāgya* or *ihāmūtra phala bhóga virāga*. This is the second qualification enjoined upon a student of philosophy, and it arises from, and is a necessary sequel to, (1) *nityānitya-vivéka*.

In king Bṛihadratha, whose story the *Maitrāyanīya Upanishad* narrates, we find a person who is eminently qualified with this non-attachment. Giving up his kingdom, his wife and family, and free from all worldly desires, he betakes himself to the forest, and waits there for a thousand days, expecting the arrival of a suitable *guru* (preceptor). At last the *ṛishi* Sākāyanya arrives and grants him a boon.

The king bowing before him said :

“O Saint, I know not the Self; thou knowest the essence (of the Self). We have heard so. Teach it us.”

[Sākāyanya wanted to know if his desire was genuine and if he could make the necessary sacrifices.] He therefore said: “What thou askest is difficult to obtain. Choose other pleasures.”

Bṛihadratha said in reply :

“O Saint, what is the use of the enjoyment of pleasures in this offensive, pithless body. What is the use of the enjoyment of pleasures in this body which is assailed by lust, hatred, greed, delusion, fear, anguish, jealousy, separation from what is loved and union with what is not loved, old age, illness, grief and other evils?

"And we see that all this is perishable, as these flies, . . . herbs and trees, growing and decaying. And what of these? There are great ones, mighty wielders of bows and rulers of empires . . . who have before the eyes of their whole family surrendered the greatest happiness and passed on from this world to that. There are other great ones. We see the destruction of Gandharvas. . . . And what of these? There is the drying of the great oceans, the falling of mountains, the moving of the pole-star, the cutting of the wind-ropes, the submergence of the earth and the departure of the Gods from their place. In this world what is the use of enjoyment of pleasures?

"I am like a frog in a dry well. O Saint, thou art my way, thou art my way."¹

It was to such a pupil, one who had felt the misery of finite existence, the purely human condition, that philosophy in India was taught. The Sāmkhya, the Yoga, Jainism and Buddhism were addressed to persons who, profoundly moved by the three evils of life—physical, moral and metaphysical—sought for the sole and the supreme remedy of life. It was to the *mumukshu*—to one who longed for Liberation—to one who cried out in deep anguish:

Lead me from unreality to Reality,
From death to Immortality,
From darkness to Light—

that the *Brahma-Sūtras* thus addressed themselves:
"Then the inquiry into Brahman."

Here we would for a moment dwell upon a very common misunderstanding of no few Orientalists, before we pass on to the next qualification. It has been considered that the whole of Indian thought has the stamp of a profound pessimism, and that the sole remedy proposed is the life of renunciation,—a life of passivity and inaction,—and that the goal of philosophy

¹ Max Müller, *The Upanishads*, ii. 287-90.

and of life is self-annihilation. Not one of these supposals is true. It is no doubt a fact that the consciousness that this world of relativity is fraught with pain and misery, is the indispensable condition of higher life and thought. But is this pessimism? If this is pessimism, then all idealism is pessimism. The dissatisfaction with the actual imperfect, and therewith a moving toward the ideal perfect, is the very soul of idealism. A philosophy can rightly be charged with pessimism, if it declares that existence is permeated through and through with pain, and that escape from misery is impossible. This, no Indian philosopher teaches,—neither Buddha, nor Kapila, nor Gotama. The problem of evil, as the Indian thinker understands it, can be solved, not by trying to explain it away, but by effacing it out of existence. Every system of Indian philosophy is confident of escaping from evil and of attaining a more lasting and peaceful form of life. Such confidence cannot be born of weakness and despair; it is a mark of strength and hope. Nor is renunciation, renunciation of the world and the life of renunciation, a life of passivity. Renunciation is not renunciation of the world, but withdrawal of one's interest from finite ends, and devotion to absolute values. A life of renunciation is a life *in* this world, but not *of* it. Far from philosophers being inactive, we find them as zealous about the true end of life as others are about the relative ends of life. The difference between the activity of individuals engaged in the traffic of this universe of relativity and that of the philosophers lies in this: that the activity of the former is external, and invariably leaves the inner soul of life empty, while the activity of the latter is internal, and fills the soul to the brim with life. While the

activity of the man in the street is devoted to ends external to itself, the activity of the philosopher has no end outside itself; the one is possessive, the other is creative. Nor is renunciation self-annihilation or suicide. Indian philosophers, doubtless, are merciless in enforcing rigidly the suppression of the ego. But the suppression of the *ego* is not the suppression of the *soul*. On the contrary, the suppression of the ego is the supreme condition of the enlargement and emancipation of one's own self. What Indian philosophers want to negate, is what is every minute of its life negating itself and what would ultimately be nought. Why they want to negate this, is to enable them to find out the real, abiding and eternal Self. In order to find oneself, one must lose himself; he must die in order that he may live. Thus personality, instead of being killed by philosophy, finds its crown and completion in it.

(3) *Upāsana*: So far the two qualifications relate to the consciousness of the distinction between the 'this' and the 'now' and the Infinite and the Eternal, and the abandonment of the former and the aspiration after the latter. The student of philosophy has, however, still to satisfy another condition—a more positive and more practical one, before he appropriates what he aspires after. All aspirations, in order that they may be fulfilled, need the evolution of new powers of mind. The task undertaken by the student of philosophy is a difficult one: he aims at nothing short of the inner appropriation of reality. Our cognitive powers of perception and inference simply surround reality and do not enable us to penetrate into reality. These are instruments which empirical sciences make use of in their analytical approach to reality. But these will

not serve us for getting at a synthetic grasp of reality. What philosophy is in need of, is the power of mind which can penetrate into reality through and through. This power is the power of 'intuition.' Only intuition developed to the highest degree can enable us who usually stand over against reality and observe it from without, to enter into the heart of reality, and to identify ourselves with it. Intuition installs us right in the centre of reality, and thus enables us to have what we have described as the inner appropriation of reality. This power of intuition is possible only to one who has a systematic discipline in *yoga*. The highest state of intuition is reached through *samādhi*, and the whole course of *yoga* is devoted to help the aspirant to attain to this state of *samādhi*. The last qualification for a student of philosophy is therefore that he should be a *yogī*. An accomplished *yogī* is a 'super-man,' and philosophy proper in India is a subject of study for such 'super-men,'—those who by conquering nescience endeavour to become truly gnostic.

G. HANUMANTHA RAO.

(A further contribution on the same subject will appear in the next number.—ED.)

THE MAORI LORE HOUSE.

H. C. CORRANCE, B.A.

IN the last number, under the title 'The Lore of the Whare-Wānanga: The Maori House of Learning,' the reader was introduced to the fascinating and important secret records of the Maoris, which were, by their permission, made accessible to the public by the late Polynesian scholar, S. Percy Smith, only in 1913-1915. In it will be found all indications of how these very ancient traditions were handed on orally and at last came to be written down. Very few writers seem to be aware of the existence of these two valuable volumes, which are absolutely indispensable, not only for Polynesian research, but also for the study of comparative religion, mythology and old-world legend. The first paper dealt mainly with what the Maoris term 'Things Celestial.' The present sketch will devote a few pages to 'Things Terrestrial.' The narrative is resumed at the moment in the primeval epic when death first entered the world.

THE HARRYING OF HELL.

At this point a mighty legendary hero, named Māui, enters on the scene: "Now when Māui learnt of this law of death, he declared that he would end it and that man should live for ever." He proceeds therefore to Hades with an army and harries hell. At first he is successful and overcomes the armies which

the Goddess of Hades, re-named Hine-nui-te-po (Great-Lady-of-the-Night), sent against him; but he is finally defeated. Of him S. Percy Smith writes:

This Māui is the famous hero whose miraculous deeds have furnished after-generations with abundant stories, a summary of which, or at least some of them, have been gathered into a volume—*Maui, the Demi-god*—by W. D. Westervelt, of Honolulu. We have to be careful to distinguish this Māui, the Sun-hero, the hero who attempted to secure everlasting life to mankind, from a member of the historical family of that name who flourished about fifty generations ago, when the Polynesians were living in Indonesia.

And again he writes:

Māui is not a god, according to the teaching of the Sages, but a hero. And yet the circumstances surrounding his adventures carry us back to a very ancient period; so far back indeed that the legends and myths partake of much the same character, and include some similar incidents to those to be found not only in Aryan myths but in those of other races,—*e.g.* in those of Egypt. We find, for instance, in Gerald Massey's *Book of the Beginnings* (p. 145), what is evidently a reference to Māui as the Solar Hero. He says: "The first Celestial hero was not the Sun, but the conqueror of the Sun and solar heat"; and it was one of Māui's first exploits to conquer the sun. In Aryan mythology we may find further references to the deeds of Māui—*e.g.* in the Celtic and Scandinavian myths—not exactly in the same form, it is true, but the ideas are similar, altered by environment."

Mr. Smith thinks that "in process of time the miraculous deeds of the solar hero have become attached to the historical Māui, who was undoubtedly an historical character and a great explorer, and navigator." The legends about Māui are not the only points of contact between Aryan and Maori mythology. The union of 'the sons of God with the daughters of men' has already been noted; in some form or other it is a common feature of mythologies.

A very striking instance is furnished by the story of Mataora's journey to Hades to bring his wife back to earth. A most curious point in it is that Hades, though still the abode of everlasting night, is contrasted, as a place of superior happiness, goodness, spiritual light and peace, with 'the upper world, the home of evil' and spiritual darkness. When Mataora and his wife returned to this upper world, they brought with them the arts of tattooing, wood-carving and ornamental weaving. Mataora's wife belonged to a tribe of 'flaxen-haired people,' whose home was in Hades. Thence they came to pay a visit to the earth, and then it was that Mataora married her. It is possible that Mr. Smith's suggestion may be true, when he writes :

It would seem that this story is in reality the account of a visit paid to some country bordering on the Fatherland, where certain arts were practised not then known to the Polynesians. The introduction into the story of certain features common to the true Hades probably indicates that it is so ancient that memory has failed to preserve the distinction between the two—that in fact, in the process of time, when the name of this country of flaxen-haired people had been forgotten, it was ascribed to Po, the night.

This conjecture certainly explains the difficulty about Hades, but unfortunately has no evidence whatever to support it. It is quite conceivable, however that it may be a gloss on the original narrative by some primitive heretic who believed in 'Happiness in Hell.'

SOME CONTACTS AND PARALLELS.

Among other points of contact between Aryan and Maori myths and primitive notions may be mentioned the belief in the 'four elements'—earth, air, fire and

water—as constituting matter, and that the spirit was after death carried by one of the Four Winds of heaven to the Gathering-place of Spirits, where the final separation took place. Mr. Smith, quoting from Professor Tucker, finds parallels to the latter belief in a Greek legend and in Vedic myths. He also finds a parallel in another Maori myth, which is too long to quote here. Suffice it to say that his main point of contact is belief in the existence of ‘rivers in the heaven above,’ which he declares to be “no doubt the river in the constellation of Eridanus of the Greek and other mythologies.” But no stress can be laid on the use of baptism—a Maori custom frequently mentioned in these pages—as implying any historical connection with the rite as practised by other nations. For the use of washing as a purificatory rite is too obvious and natural to allow any such deduction to be drawn from it; and the same may be said of their occasional use of circumcision.

The Story of the Beginnings presents some striking parallels with the Mosaic narrative, and some still more striking differences, which are by no means entirely in favour of the latter. The grotesqueness of the Maori myths is on a large and spacious scale. The original sin of man is immanent in the race and, though due to the act of the founder, is in no sense caused by an external agency or temptation. Whiro, after the War and his fall from heaven, is the author of physical ills, but does not touch the soul of man, whose fate is the result of his own disposition and actions.

Above all, the Supreme God, Io, does not tempt man, or permit him to be tempted, to his fall, and then punish him. Though Io is the ultimate Fount of all Being, he is not made directly responsible for ‘creation’

with its ingrained evils. It is rather as if, after the theories of some modern philosophers, the mighty life-forces, once let loose, broke away from control, developing a waywardness of their own and seeking their own channel. Or is this to ascribe too much thought to the Stone-age philosopher? Perhaps the theory put forward by Mr. Smith affords the true solution,—namely that the very different ideas of deity, involved respectively in those of Io and Rangi, represent different layers of tradition, of which the latter is the more popular and primitive and the former due to the contact, in the very remote past, of the progenitors of the Maori race with a people possessing a higher type of religion and thought. In any case, the startling fact remains that these naked cannibals had, as part of their traditional teaching from a very early period, a notion of God than which nothing could be higher, and as far removed from the idea contained in the story of Rangi and Papa as from the tribal god of the Pentateuch.

DELUGE AND DISPERSION.

Later on, in the first volume, there is another story told of the overturning of the Earth, which differs considerably from that already quoted. It is as follows:

You have all heard of the man Mataaho. In his times and those of Māui, Io-nui [the Supreme God] decided to send Rua-tau and Aitu-pawa [two of the Guardians of the 'Heavenly Treasures' and special Messengers of Io] down to Mataaho to inform him that the springs of Kiwa, one of the gods of ocean, Tawhiri-matea, god of tempests, and Te Iho-rangi, god of rain, hail, snow, etc., would be loosened, that the earth might be drowned and overturned down to Hades. After that, Mataaho and Whakaru-au-moko were [to separate [distribute] the Earth, so

that the head, the sides, the arms and legs might all be separated. . . . The five gods mentioned carried out the decree of Io-taketake [Io-Origin-of-all-things], which resulted in the 'Overturning-of-Mataaho,' as it is called, and which we all know of. [This deluge is elsewhere referred to as] the Flood of Ruatupu, when many men died on earth, whilst those who believed in the prediction saved themselves by fleeing to the summit of Hikurangi mountain; the unbelievers all perished. . . . The reason of this decree of Io-nui was his *pouri* [sorrow, regret, literally darkness of heart] on account of the warfare of Whiro-te-tipua and his younger brother Tu-matā-uenga at Te Paerangi, which was after the separation of the Sky-father and Earth-mother, [and the evil of which] still endures even from that time to the present day.

ASTRONOMY.

Included in the teaching concerning 'Things Celestial' are some astronomical ideas, of which particulars are given in the first volume. They comprise a very distinct theory about the plurality of worlds:

Now let it be clearly understood about Tama-nui-te-ra [the Great-Son-the-Sun] and Te Marama-i-whanake [the Waxing Moon] and their younger brethren the Stars. All of these are worlds [with their] earth, waters, rocks, trees, mountains, open places and plains. . . . [The Moon causes the tides; for] Tāne-matua said: "Let the Moon regulate the high and low tides of Lady-Ocean." . . . This also must be clearly understood: Everything is a part of the Heavens and the Earth; there is nothing of which it can be said, It is of the Earth alone or of the Heaven alone; all things have been placed, each in its own position and after its own kind by them [Heaven and Earth] and their offspring [the gods], and hence it is [we say] that all things emanate from them—the Stars, the Moon and the Sun—all of those are a part of the Earth and Heaven. It is the same in all the Eleven Heavens, just as has been said above; they have their Stars, Moon and Sun. Each Star, each Moon, each Sun in the Eleven Heavens has its own Pou-tiri-ao [Guardian-Spirit]. Everything is a world—a part of the Earth and Heaven, as

explained. Water is the cause of growth of all things ; if there were no water, or the sea, everything would go wrong in the Heavens, the Stars, Moon and the Sun. The co-adjutors of the water are the Sun, the Moon and the Stars. . . . There is water in all the Stars, the Moon and the Sun.

This expressly stated belief in the homogeneity and universal interdependence of all things is surely a startling item in a tradition of savage lore—approximations to the modern scientific and philosophical outlook mixed up with childish fables about the sun, moon and stars. Their wise men also told the seasons of the year from the position of the heavenly bodies ; and Mr. Smith asserts in his Introduction that they “gave a name to the celestial equator, and every prominent star, and were fully aware of the rotundity of the earth as proved by the fact of finding new stars as they went further north or south.” He offers, however, in these volumes, no proof of the latter statement.

MIGRATIONS.

The second volume deals almost entirely with the second division of ‘The Lore,’—namely, ‘Things Terrestrial.’ It is concerned with the history of the people, including their migrations from one island to another. No notes of time are given, and the historian must rely entirely on the number of generations in the pedigrees of the principal characters for arriving at even an approximate estimate of the century in which the events recorded took place. The names of places, again, afford but little indication of the original home of this people. To enter fully into the matter would make this article far too long and the present writer must content himself with giving some of the Author’s

conclusions. The general direction of their route is known, and probably some of its principal final stages. It is chiefly a question of how far back they can be traced; and, naturally, the remoter the tradition, the more nebulous it becomes. Their origin, like that of the Gipsies, must remain very largely conjectural, though, in their case, there are some records which are entirely lacking in the latter. Taking together the direction from which they came, the place-names they use and the points of contact which Aryan and Semitic myths exhibit with certain of their own, Mr. Smith assigns them an Indo-European origin, suggesting 'as a tentative theory' that their original progenitors "are an early branch of the Proto-Aryan migration into India." The occasions which led to their successive migrations seem to have been mostly quarrels and wars, either among themselves, or with the previous natives of the soil. Expert and bold paddlers and sailors, some of them went often on reconnoitring expeditions, from which some never returned, while others succeeded in finding new islands. These coming back took others with them to the newly found country. The Author refers the earliest records to "transactions which took place—some of them—certainly some centuries before Christ, but how long ago it is almost impossible to say, and others in the early centuries of the Christian era." He gives in this volume the records of ten migrations, five of which are migrations from the Sandwich and Society Islands to New Zealand, called by the Maoris Aotea-roa (the Long White Cloud—alluding to its appearance, when Kupe, the discoverer of New Zealand, first sighted it). Of these the last has been given the approximate date of 1350 A.D.

This was by far the most important, as it was only on this last occasion that 'a fleet' of canoes was equipped, and sailed from Tahiti, and a serious effort made at the colonization of New Zealand. On the way their numbers were much reduced by wars with the natives, and the present race is no doubt very mixed, having in its veins traces of the blood of all the indigenous populations of its temporary resting-places. In these migrations the trees for the building of the canoes were very carefully chosen. Appropriate *karakias*, addressed to the Supreme and to minor gods, were recited over them by the priests, and also over the workers, the axes to be used in felling the tree and for the cutting out of the canoe, and to calm the waves when the vessel was on her voyage. Translations of some of the *karakias* are given. They were designed, not so much for the celebration of the event as to give men, tools and vessels power (*māna*) and good fortune. A fine specimen of one of their big canoes is to be seen in the museum at Auckland. The foundation of it is a 'dug-out,' surmounted on either side by a high breastwork of stout carved planks, while the lofty prow is carved with greater elaboration. A strange feature in the *karakias*, and other records of these voyages, is the frequent reference to big fish acting as pilots, which inevitably recalls the modern story of the famous 'Pelorus Jack.'

MAGIC.

The *karakias* have the elements both of prayer and incantation, the latter predominating. In those, or in the portions of them, addressed to the Supreme God, Io, the former element prevails. Take, for

instance, that which was said over the axes, trees and workmen at the making of a canoe :

Here am I, begging that the great knowledge,
 The enduring effort, may come to me ;
 The supreme and complete knowledge,
 Such as is possessed by thee, O Io-the-All-parent,
 Foundation of the waters of life.
 That they may come to thy son, O Io-the-Exalted-of-Heaven !
 Rest on me thy great and enduring skill,
 Thy god-like knowledge ; give to these thy sons,
 That they may possess the ancient and occult powers,
 Like thy god-like sons, O Io-the-Omni-erudite,
 The Origin of all. Give freely to these thy sons, e—i !

The next stanza is addressed to Tāne. It is said over the axes, and is intended to give them power to fell the trees. The third stanza is also chanted over the axes to aid their work in hewing out and shaping the canoe, while the last is sung over the canoe itself. Several other *karakias* are here given, including a long one to dedicate the canoe and one to be sung as the canoe is dragged down to the sea.

As a contrast to that portion of the *karakia* just quoted, which is really a prayer, an invocation to calm the waves follows, which is throughout nothing but a magical formula. This *karakia* was chanted at a certain stage of the voyage, when the intrepid sailors met with rough weather :

They beheld the seas standing up like cliffs. Te Rongo-patahi and Tupai [the priests] arose to beat down the waves and cause a calm. The axe Te-awhio-rangi was brought out and held up to cut down the waves. Tupai took hold of Whiro-nui axe, and the following is the *karakia* used by these priests to fell the easterly seas of Tahiti :

“ Set forth, set up, my course,
 The course to Tiri-o-te-moana,¹

¹ A name for New Zealand.

A course to the point of the land, to Aotea-roa.¹

This is my spell, the spell of Mumu-whango,

The spell of Tāne of the standing forest.

What is my spell?

A spell of Tu-horo-nuku, of Tu-horo-rangi,²

Resting there beyond the great, clear space.

Here am I reciting my spell,

The spell of the gods [the names of several gods are given].

Whose then is my spell? 'Tis that of [several more names of gods].

Here am I reciting my spell,

The spell of Tangaroa-Ocean-holder [god of the ocean].

My spell is that of [other gods' names]. Whose is my spell?

The spell of the many of the school of whales,

The spell of the whales outside there;

Let them draw near, let them adhere.

This is my spell, the spell for my canoe.

* * * * *

A sacred canoe is mine, . . .

The canoe of the heaven-compelling priests,

The priests with exalted powers,

The priests who have bitten the bar of the altar.³

At sea, at sea, to the land-direction of Aotea-roa,

My canoe will land, my canoe will land.

What then is this canoe? 'Tis Takitimu:

A sacred canoe is my canoe,

Convoyed by gods, by the monsters,

Convoyed by Tangaroa's fleet of whales,

Convoyed by the sacred spells of the priests,

By ancient rites, of Te Awhio-rangi, of Te Whiro-nui,⁴

Then, my axes, have god-like powers, occult powers,

Axes to compel the hosts of heaven, of earth,

Axes to overcome the fierce winds or mankind,

¹ A name for New Zealand.

² These are names for Tu, the god of war.

³ That is, the bar of the *turuma*. This was one of the formalities of graduation in the Maori College or House of Learning (see Ap. no., pp. 815, 816).

⁴ These are the names of the two sacred axes which were used in severing the arms of Rangi and Papa.

Axes to fell the forests, axes of thine, O Uru—e !¹
My canoe let it override, overstep,
Uplift it to the very land,
Uplift it to the front of the land discovered by Kupe,²
To the front of the land of Toi.³
His fire is my fire, volcanic fire is mine,
The fire of great Toi, of tall Toi, of Toi the successful,
Of Toi, my land that is in my front,
Of Toi-te-huatahi, e—i ! ”

Then were the two axes used to chop the waters, by Te Rongo-patahi and Tupai; and thus were the seas severed and spread abroad, and became as Tai-whakahuka [foam-on-the-waters] on the back of Lady Ocean at Tuahiwi-nui-o—Hine-moana.

The inevitable opposite and complement to this white magic was also taught in certain Houses set apart for the purpose. In both cases the priests aimed to secure for themselves occult powers, the main difference being that in the one case they were employed only in promoting good works, while in the other they were used to bring about all manner of evil and destruction. The House of Teaching of the dark lore was called Whaire-Maire or House of Death,—the word ‘Maire’ being derived from the tree of that name, of which weapons of destruction were made.

“ It is not like the Whare-Wānanga, where only the sons of chiefs were taught, whilst the Whaire-Maire was open to plebeians.” The pupils were made to submit to tests to try their nerve and resolution, some of them being of a disgusting character. By the adherents of the higher lore this sorcery was held in low estimation.

“ O sir (says the teacher) my word to you is this: Do not

¹ The eldest of the ‘heavenly family,’ from whom the axes were obtained.

² Kupe was the discoverer of New Zealand. Toi led one of the migrations there.

take up this branch of knowledge ; it is the occupation of plebeians. All the evil teachings contained in the *uruuru-tipua* and *uruuru-tawhito*,¹ spring from Whiro, who descended by the Taheke-roa [Long Rapid Descent], by which way the current of death takes men to Hades. Hence, never consent to those doctrines—it means affliction both to the body and the mind. Rather adhere to the life-giving ritual of man, and of food.”

When Ruawharo (a priest) tells the chief Haunui that he is about to seek his revenge by enlisting the powers of darkness in his service, Haunui replies :

“Why use those powers of darkness? Act above-board, according to the rules of Light.”

And the Houses, in which these evil spells were taught, are called by the teacher ‘the houses of the plebeians and evil-minded people.’

In the above-quoted *karakia* for calming the sea, and the use of axes to fell the waves, is to be seen not simply superstition, but the courage and resolution of men determined and unyielding in the accomplishment of their purpose, who trusted to their strong arms and sea-faring knowledge to bring them through, and at the same time were strengthened by their reliance upon higher powers.

One cannot but admire the bravery, tenacity and enterprise which caused these primitive sailors to persevere in risking the dangers of the unknown ocean, for weeks and months, in their open canoes, with no other guide than the sun and the stars. Their story is fascinating and affords material for an epic, which has yet to be written.

H. C. CORRANCE.

¹ Branches of knowledge.

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN THOUGHT IN MENTAL AND MORAL SPECULATION.

DAVID H. WILSON, M.A., LL.M.

THE first impulses of new thought and movements sometimes lie in such obscure places and in such strange company that it is difficult to discern them ; and this is illustrated in the beginning of scepticism in the era of scholastic philosophy, when this represented neither an original system of thought nor unfettered intellectual enquiry. It would appear at first sight futile to look for scepticism at a time when the authority of the Church was supreme, and no less to expect to find it among those who respected her dogmas. But as there is no atmosphere so favourable for the germination of revolution as that of tyranny, so there is no rule so provocative of doubt as that of oppressive spiritual domination. Scholasticism, unlike the Reform, was not a protest against the authority of the Church, nor a direct and premeditated attack upon her articles of faith. It so far respected her dogmas as to submit them to the judgment of reason. This attempt to rationalize faith implied a suspicion of the truth of the dogmas,—a suspicion unconsciously entertained at first, yet not dispelled but rather enlivened by the confusion of thought that ensued, when the test of reason was applied to them ; for it led neither to the vindication of revelation as expressed by

the current theology, nor to a true discernment of the laws of thought. Still we must put this to the credit of the scholastics, in spite of their indifference as a body to the study of the natural world and their shadowy intellectualism, that they introduced the use of the intellect in a sphere where it had always been banned, and attempted to enlighten the eyes of a blind faith by an intellectual understanding of religion; and in so doing raised the question of the validity of the supreme authority of the Church, and claimed for reason an authority which had never before been advanced. But this spirit of enquiry lacked conviction. The scholastics had only a half-hearted faith in the treatment they recommended to reduce theological speculation to order: they had only half-tested their remedies. They mistook intellectual subtleties for logical thought, casuistry for reasoning, and showed an unwillingness to clarify their vision by enlarging their experience. So they were outstripped by the progress of knowledge generally—in particular of the natural sciences—and rather than attempt its pursuit, they threw in their lot with the Church. As all half-hearted converts to ideas of reform who lapse into reaction, become the bitterest opponents of reform, so scholasticism under the ægis of the Church became the bitterest opponent of the new spirit of scientific enquiry, which was a feature of the last quarter of the 15th century. With the fall of scholasticism we see the beginnings of a new era of thought. This new spirit, with the conviction that it was impossible to harmonize reason and positive religion, struggled to free itself from the tutelage of the Church, resented her authority in the sphere of learning, and sought its liberty in the free atmosphere of scientific research,—

though it was not then bold enough to challenge ecclesiastical judgments in spiritual matters.

Such temper of mind was susceptible to every stimulating influence of the revival of arts, letters and sciences of that period. The study of the ancient classics which then became a vogue, aroused a new interest in philosophy. In its beginnings the enquiring mind in the search of first causes had looked outwards before it looked inwards ; and under the influence of the development of the natural sciences, the history of speculation began to repeat itself. Thus from the study of nature, under vastly more favourable circumstances than obtained in the time of the early Ionic philosophers, the sphere of philosophy became indefinitely enlarged. It became in part secularized ; and, by the inclusion in its sphere both of the natural world and of the mental, it acquired a new character and meaning. The speculations of Plato and Aristotle (or what had been conceived as such by the Schoolmen, and had supplied the subject-matter of their wrangling) were now re-examined in the light of a wider experience. At the time we are occupied with, the effect of the growth of knowledge of the natural sciences did not lead (as it has led in many cases in modern times) to atheism—to absolute materialism ; for though the Church had lost her control of speculative thought, there were two powerful influences from other sources to account for this result. The first of these, which universally prevailed and impressed all minds, cultured and uncultured alike, was the belief in the supernatural,—in miracles, divination, in the interference in all the affairs of life of invisible beings, angels, demons, spirits, belief in which, if it represented credence based upon insufficient evidence, was super-

stition. But the simple belief in the existence of other than human beings in the flesh, and of a spiritual world impinging upon the physical, though it may be superstitiously held in the absence of sufficient evidence of its truth, is not of necessity without any basis of truth, for it is a belief which does not violate any first principles of thought; and that fact alone may explain its endurance among all peoples, cultured and uncultured, in all ages. We may say, in passing, that, owing to the immensely powerful influence of religious ideas upon the affections and imagination, not a few philosophers of the materialist school have been devout religionists. To explain this contradiction of conviction, the atheist would say that the judgments of reason become warped by long inherited superstitious beliefs. So they do in too many cases. But to say that belief in God is a superstition, is not to explain it. The denial of the existence of God is one thing; the inability to find him is another. The latter is all that the materialist is entitled to assert; and with that assertion he condemns his philosophy. For whilst it professes to explain all things, it leaves the greatest of all unexplained. It derives its principles from experience; but it does not explore *all* experience. It ignores subjective facts, which are as much a part of our experience as the facts of the material universe. Indeed, what is experience itself but a spiritual fact?

The other check of which we have spoken, was the growing appreciation of beauty, afforded and enlivened by the revival of the Fine Arts. To the faculty of the imagination, and therefore to the mind of the student of the arts, no ideas can be more foreign and unwelcome than such as proscribe the freedom of the creative power of fancy, and postulate the theories of creation of the

mechanists,—ideas which are associated with the conception of materialism. The love of the beautiful, whether it appeal to the eye as in colour, to the eye and the intellect as in form, or to the ear and the higher emotions as in music and poetry, belongs we feel to something on a different plane from the physical, because it touches our affectional nature. To one possessed of this love, Nature has secrets which she cannot be made to divulge by the simple classification and generalization of her facts, as in the method of the natural sciences. To him, the keys of her *arcana* are the Fine Arts, by whose persuasive magic nature becomes spiritualized. To his vision, therefore, the natural world has more than a physical vitality,—as represented by motion, energy and the rest; it throbs with a life Divine, which is ever striving to disclose itself to the sympathetic mind; and thus his speculation becomes moulded into a kind of religio-æsthetic idealism. Two proofs of the tendency of the study of the Fine Arts to lead to this ‘religion of art’ have been advanced,—a positive and a negative. The former is shown by the literature of every creative period, and the latter by the fact that among the peoples whose belief in the personality and the unity of God has been the most intense, feeling for the arts has been the least productive,—the least stamped with national characteristics. An example of the latter is seen in the architecture of the Jews, whose monotheism and intense belief in the personality of God is not to be questioned. Their architecture was borrowed from all sources,—Egyptian, Phœnician, Assyrian, Greek and Roman,—but it exhibited nothing of an independent national style.

So with the growth of the natural sciences, the

revival of letters and arts, with the multitude of new interests that were awakened by discoveries in almost every field of knowledge (all of which exerted some influence upon speculative thought), there was no going back to scholasticism. For no longer was the Church revered as the sole custodian of all truth; no longer did reason concern itself with her dogmas. This epoch, then, marks the beginning of experimental science: it affords the imprint of the first steps of historical importance in the progressive march of empirical knowledge.

The growing desire for knowledge of all kinds and determination to cast off every arbitrary restraint to its acquisition prepared the mind for a deeper inspiration. So far the authority of the Church in matters of secular knowledge and in intellectual speculation had been set aside. She had long lost her political power; but she stoutly maintained her authority concerning all things spiritual. It was the part of the new inspiration to question that authority. If the revival of letters turned the mind to the study of classical literature of pre-Christian times,—to Greek philosophy with its unfettered speculations and free reflections concerning the universe,—it also excited a desire to explore the records of Christian antiquity. The political circumstances of the time of the precursors of the Reformation were unfavourable to the propagation of their views on a revolutionary scale. The general mind was not prepared for an assault on the Church; and above all the reformers themselves were insufficiently equipped to ensure the success of a bold and sustained attack upon the orthodox faith. Wyclif, a secular priest, the first to call in question the principles of the Catholic faith, made many converts

and had the reputation of being a learned man ; but even if we suppose that he had knowledge of the Greek Testament, the Septuagint and the Hebrew Bible, his heretical teaching could not have made an intelligent and lasting impression on the public in general, to whom those authorities were practically sealed books. But with the riper knowledge of two centuries later—especially of the ancient Greek, and its more general diffusion, there sprang up not a few critics of ecclesiastical history, who were able to compare the canons and traditions of the Church with the expositions of the early Fathers, and with the scriptures themselves. And so far as their judgments so derived were against the pretensions of the Church, they were co-operators with the leaders of the Reform who openly assailed her authority. The success then of the Reform-movement was made possible by the advancement of learning. The movement itself stimulated the desire for further knowledge ; and by deposing the spiritual authority of the Church the Reformation had a liberalizing influence upon thought in all directions. The authority of the Church was not a matter open to discussion to criticism, to analysis. It had either to remain inviolate, or to go entire. But when the reformers set up in its place the authority of the scriptures, they thereby created not only a new basis of faith, but a new character of allegiance. The old faith was a blind faith ; the new invited examination. It involved questions concerning the genuineness of the sacred writings, and their authenticity,—questions which might be answered in different ways according to the knowledge available at the time of examination of the sciences, of history, of languages, and of the principles of evidence. This fact, if it did not actually cast suspicion on the validity

of the new authority, did not tend to confirm its certitude, and so retarded the progress of the movement; and it was only when and where the authority of the scriptures was supplanted by that of conscience, that a true spiritual emancipation was effected.

For some years after Luther and Calvin the possibility of this complete emancipation was not generally suspected; but with the growth of the natural sciences new influences began to operate upon the speculative thought of the time, and new interests were awakened other than those of a purely theological kind. Experience as derived from the study of nature became in the system of Bacon the true basis of knowledge, the true exorcist of abstract theories, transmitted prejudices, fruitless logomachies.

It was to afford a firm foothold to the voyager in the sea of philosophic doubts, ballast to the unsteady wayfarer in the search of truth, sight to the blind religious fanatic. In the new empirical science, Experience was raised to a dignity it had never before enjoyed; it clarified the outward vision, and also the inward vision, for it became an independent object of thought.

Free enquiry led the Italian philosophers, Bruno, Vanini, Campanella and others,—who, like Bacon, were under the spell of nature, but were not of his mental mould and temperament, to a kind of poetic pantheism, and Jacob Böhme (representing German speculation in the first quarter of the 17th century) to a theosophical mysticism. These different effects of the spiritual enfranchisement which signalized the Reformation, and of the advancement of knowledge, all implied a weakening of the influence of the authority of the Church; and they mark the transition from the old religious-philosophic speculations to modern philosophy as

enunciated by Descartes in his *Method*. Descartes was a devout religionist: he adduced many proofs of the existence of God; he declared that "there is nothing which we know so clearly as His perfections"; that "we may believe all that God has revealed though it surpass the reach of all our faculties"; that "God has pre-ordained all things." These propositions were agreeable to the Church, and the dualism of his philosophy accorded with that of the orthodox theology. He went further, for he says at the close of his *Principles of Philosophy*: "I submit all my opinions to the authority of the Church . . . and to the judgment of the more prudent."

And as those opinions related not only to theology but to physics, ethics, free-will, and to all the phenomena of the material world, he shows by this declaration that the Church claimed in his time jurisdiction over human opinions in all such matters. But, whatever her claims, she was losing her power to enforce them. For though Descartes added to his declaration the *proviso*: "I desire no one to believe anything [I] may have said unless he is constrained to admit it by the force and evidence of reason," and thereby proclaimed (with Cicero) the divinity of Reason—her supreme sovereignty *in omni cœlo, atque terrâ* (a mischievous doctrine to the mind of the spiritual hierarchy),—he was allowed to die in peace.

To sum up, then, we see in the beginnings of free thought in mental and moral speculation a breaking away of the spirit of the age from ecclesiasticism and from feudalism. The former stood for authority, dogma, spiritual and mental servitude, the latter was the political and social expression of servitude of another kind,—namely the infatuation for, and blind

acceptance of, ancient philosophy on the sole ground of its antiquity. This unreasoning conservatism was the spirit of mental speculation in the 15th and 16th centuries. It conserved without discrimination, it added nothing to knowledge, and gained nothing from experience, and was incapable of evolving new schools of speculation. It was therefore doomed to destruction by the revolution of thought which, foreshadowed by Montaigne and Charron, culminated in Descartes. With these thinkers the era of modern philosophy began. And it is noteworthy that the spirit of the same period produced the beginning of political science in Europe in the persons of two men of great genius and learning, who were, perhaps, too much in advance of their age to exert much influence upon public opinion. We speak of Étienne de La Boétie (1530-1563)—a friend of Montaigne who has been called the precursor of Rousseau—in whose work *Discours sur la Servitude Volontaire, ou le Contre-Un* we see the beginning of the open advocacy of Republicanism, and of Jean Bodin (1530-1596), the precursor of Montesquieu, whose book *De la République* was published in 1577,—that is, in the life-time of Montaigne and Charron.

Thenceforth the monastery was no longer the exclusive and jealously guarded nursery for the care and training of speculative thought; and men began to dissociate themselves from the somnolent influences of its mouldy traditions and its archaic conceptions of intellectual and spiritual freedom. It was only in the atmosphere thus created that they could begin truly to appreciate the significance of the principles of the mental, moral and political sciences.

Philosophy has been called 'the last expression of intellectual development.' This does not mean that

we must look to any special *system* of that science for the final judgment of the intellect on all matters of speculative thought. In the idea of a *system* is implied that of limitation, of finality, a circumscription of enquiry and a restriction of experience. To commend a philosophy as a system is to condemn it. We may have a system of instruction, but that is a *method*. If organized Christianity be a *system* of religion, it could not have been the philosophy of the primitive Christians, who surely had been taught that any religious teaching to be of value must be a practical method that appeals to experience and leads to a religious life. Descartes had, it is true, a system ; but it is not for that that he is revered as the father of modern philosophy. He gave to speculation, which was fettered by arbitrary forms and rules and entangled in the meshes of sophism, the means of extricating and purifying itself,—and that was by his *Method*. And he gave it as well a stimulating impulse, and disclosed for its activities a boundless horizon. It is for this that Descartes is honoured. It was, as Victor Cousin has said, “his chief glory that he gave to the modern world a philosophic *spirit* which has produced and will produce a thousand systems,”—a spirit that is an urge in the sphere of intellect, of morals and of religion. It is then in the revival of this ancient Socratic spirit of reflection, applied to all things, that we find the beginnings of the freedom of thought in all matters secular and spiritual which we may truly say is the distinguishing characteristic of the mind of modern civilization.

DAVID H. WILSON.

THE DIONYSIAN FIRE BAPTISM IN THE 'PISTIS SOPHIA.'

ROBERT EISLER, Ph.D.

IN the last number, under the title 'The Water of Life and the Baptism of Fire in the Pistis Sophia,' I summarized the data from the Coptic Gnostic documents—the famous Askew and Bruce Codices—and ended with a series of questions which brought out the chief problems to which these extraordinary Gnostic rites give rise. To give what seems to me to be the most probable answers to these questions must now be attempted.

To begin with,—why should three baptisms be thought necessary by this Gnostic Church for the final remission of sins?

Many years ago, in certain papers in *THE QUEST* (Vol. iv., Oct., 1912, reprinted as ch. xxv. and xxvi. in my book on 'Orpheus'), I analyzed the prophecies of John the Baptist. There it is said that, while John is baptizing the believers in the coming of the kingdom with water, the greater one coming after him will baptize them with the 'spirit' (*pneûma*) and 'fire.' I also explained how these baptisms were supposed to anticipate the purification of mankind in the final flood, in the wind-cataclysm and in the conflagration (*ekpyrōsis*) of the world, and thus to protect the baptized against these expected terrible ordeals.

Now we know that in the Church there were those who speculated the fulfilment of this prophecy. Origen writes that indeed the disciples were baptized with the spirit at the first Pentecost, but when and where they were baptized with fire the Scriptures do not say. The reader might have replied that they were indeed also baptized with fire at the same time; for the Spirit is said to have come down in the form of tongues of fire. But even so, the question remained to be answered, why the Johannine baptism of water had been, so to say, institutionalized as a regular sacrament for all Christian neophytes, while no one had ever tried to baptize the new members of the Messianist Church 'with the spirit and with fire.'

It would have been only natural that a section of the Church should have attempted to remedy this apparent deficiency of the ritual, especially as (according to Servius) a triple purification of the soul 'through water, fire and wind' was quite usual in all the Pagan mysteries. Moreover, since it was commonly believed that on its ascent to heaven the soul would of course have to pass 'through all the elements' (Apuleius),—through the air, through the water of the heavenly ocean, and through the fire-heaven of the empyreum—people would naturally wish to be protected against such painful experiences by magically anticipating these 'elemental' purifications, so as to be able to tell the guardian angels of these spheres, they had already passed 'through all the elements.' It is well-known that this cleansing by air and fire was performed in the Pagan mysteries by 'ventilating' the mystæ with winnowing sieves and by fumigating them with the vapours of burning sulphur, or swinging lighted

torches around them, or making them leap through a bonfire. No trace of such a procedure is to be found in the ritual of the Coptic Gnostic texts. Here all three baptisms are performed by means of one and the same mysterious liquor, which is called the 'water of life' and the 'water of the baptism of fire' and the 'water of the baptism of the spirit.' Another hint as to the nature of this 'water' is that it is obtained by 'changing' wine into this peculiar 'water of life.'

I think that the reader will not find it very difficult to guess the nature of this 'water of life,' which can be produced from wine, which is inflammable, and which may be said, moreover, to contain a '*spirit* of life and light.' For the Latin term *aqua vitæ* is still commonly used in England for a certain kind of medicated or spiced brandy; and moreover the most popular English word for a 'spirituous' distillate—*whisky*—is nothing but an abbreviation of the old Gaelic *uisge-beatha*, Scotch *usque baugh*, 'water of life.'

In order to justify the supposal that the 'water of life' in the Gnostic mysteries was some distillate or other preparation of wine, we have only to consider the age and origins of the above and other such terms, as *fire-water* (American Indian), *agua ardiente* (Portuguese for 'burning water'), *spirit* (of wine), etc.

These are all ordinary terms of medieval chemistry. Documents stating that *uisge-beatha* was distilled in Ireland go back to the twelfth century. *Spiritus vini* ('spirit of wine') is mentioned already in the *Mappæ Clavicula*, a Latin book of receipts written in Carolingian France (9th cent.), which is so full of Grecisms, and so often prescribes special Egyptian drugs and even expressly quotes from Alexandrian adepts, that it cannot be considered as anything else but a collection

of extracts taken and translated from Alexandrian Hellenistic Alchemist treatises.

The idea of a 'spirit' (*pneûma*) of wine is entirely in accordance with the classical Greek theories about the nature of wine. Even such an early thinker as Empedocles considered wine to be a mixture of water and fire (just as now-a-days we speak of a 'fiery wine'). Because the dry, easily inflammable vines were commonly used as fire-wood, the vine was considered an extremely 'fiery' plant. The wild vine (*vitis labrusca* or 'thunder-axe vine') was believed to spring up wherever *Semelē* (that is Thracian *Zemelō*, the 'Earth') was struck by the lightning-fire falling from heaven, and to have the power of changing the water passing through its bark (*phloion*) into fire. On the other hand, the disciples of Aristotle (Theophrastus, for example) expressly describe *fire* as being 'a peculiar kind of spirit' (or breath, *pneûma*); *we* should say a glowing hot gas. Indeed, it is only natural to define wine as a water with something fiery in it, and to describe this fire in the wine as a fiery breath (spirit, *pneûma*), still better, a fiery fume. For the ancient practitioners, who were in the habit of gently boiling their wine in order to make it more lasting and proof against 'turning'—even as modern wine-producers *pasteurize* their *cuvées*,—knew very well, according to Aristotle, that by *over-boiling* wine, you can entirely *drive* out (*we* should say 'evaporate') the peculiar inebriating vapour, fume or spirit from the wine, so that the remaining liquid is 'wine only by name, but not in fact or essence.' Aristotle says expressly that, even as you can turn sea-water into sweet water by evaporating and re-condensing it, even so *evaporated and re-liquefied wine is turned into water*. This state-

ment, which would astonish a modern brandy-distiller, is quite correct for that time, when people knew no proper distillery plants, so that the real alcohol fumes simply evaporated into the air, and only the steam of the water-component of the boiled wine was re-condensed in the beak of the helmet (*ambix*) covering the wine-boiler. Nothing but this primitive misleading experience and defective theory of wine-distillation underlies the fact that even in later times, when people knew how to recondense watery alcohols in their improved stills, the distillate was still called *aqua vini*, 'water of wine.' So the Gnostic miracle of turning wine into water in one of two jugs placed beside a sacrificial fire on an altar is easily explained.

Nor is there any difficulty in guessing the mystic spiritual meaning of such a rite. We know from Plutarch, the philosopher of the first century A.D., who was so deeply imbued with all kinds of mystery-lore, that a distinction was made between ordinary physical intoxication and the spiritual enthusiasm, or divine possession, which was described as the 'sober inebriation' (*nephalios methē*), through the 'non-alcoholic cup' (*nephalios kratēr*) of the Logos, which the Muses set before their worshippers. The term '*nephalios methē*,' non-alcoholic spiritual inebriation, is quite familiar too to the Alexandrian Jew Philo, so that we are perfectly justified in presupposing this idea also in a Gnostic Greco-Egyptian-Jewish or Christian community.

The baptism, with the mystic liquid miraculously obtained by placing it next the sacred fire on the altar, and by thus 'changing wine into water,' obviously symbolizes the baptism in or with the *nephalios kratēr*, or 'sober cup,' of the Logos, or the *Noûs*

(‘ Spirit ’),—the very ‘ baptism in the *kratēr* ’ which we find described in the books of Hermes Trismegistos (iv. (v.) §4; vol. ii. p. 86, Mead) and in an admonition of Zosimos, the Alchemist, to his pupil Theosebeia.

The best proof of the correctness of the suggested explanation of the Gnostic transubstantiation of wine into water is the fact, that medieval alchemists such as Arnold of Villanova (about 1310) testify that *aqua vini* (‘ water of wine ’) and *aqua vitæ* (‘ water of life ’) are interchangeable terms. “ Some people (he says) will call the ‘ water of wine ’ a ‘ water of life.’ And the name is so well-fitted to the thing, that some of our moderns will say even that it is the ‘ water of eternal life ’ (*aqua vitæ perennis* of John, 10₁₆). It gradually increases in hotness and dryness (*siccitate*) until it becomes even like fire.” What Arnaldus calls the dryness of this ‘ *sec* ’ distillate, is the well-known ‘ dry ’ taste of every strongly alcoholic solution. This is caused by the fact, that alcohol will drive out part of the water from a water-soaked porous substance, such as is the mucous membrane of our tongue and palate, so that its contact has an analogous effect to that of any really dry, and therefore water-absorbing, substance. The ‘ dry substance,’ especially the product obtained by evaporating over fire the watery component of a solution, is called *to xērion* (from *xerós*, ‘ dry ’) in Greek, and *al-iksir* by the Arab disciples of the Greco-Egyptian alchemists (*al* being the article and *i* the ‘ prosthetic vowel,’ which makes a double consonant like *x* pronounceable to a Semite). *Al-iksir* or, as it is commonly spelt in English, *elixir vitæ* is the ‘ distillate of life ’ (more exactly that which remains of wine when the vinous spirit is evaporated), the *aqua vini*, the wine turned into water.

In modern and late medieval Hebrew *mayim hayim* ('water of life') is also used for brandy. This term means in classical Hebrew simply 'live water,'—that is 'flowing water' from springs, rivers, etc., in contrast to 'out-off water' in tanks or cisterns. In spite of its being foreign to the language of the scriptures,¹ the term 'water of life' (equivalent to the Greek '*pharmakon athanasias*,' 'drug' or 'charm of immortality') for an alcoholic potion is very ancient, probably coeval with the culture of the vine and the knowledge of the intoxicating properties of fermented grape-juice. According to Pliny the first sip of wine which used to be given to new-born Greek babes, was called *bios* ('life'); and in Aramean 'must' is called *merithā*, a word which (just as the Coptic *embriz*) is a very ancient Indian loan-word and identical with Sanscrit *amrita* (Greek *ambrosia*), 'immortality.'

The corresponding conception of the vine being the 'tree of life' can be traced back to Sumerian literature. The Greek and Latin word *caroenum*, *karyinon* for 'boiled wine' (Greek *hepsēma*, Hebrew *yayin mebušal*),—that is, for the above-discussed 'evaporated wine' or *aqua vini*,—is a Babylonian loan-word, the Sumerian *kurun*, which stands for Babylonian *damu*, 'blood' or 'red wine.' The Semitized word *kurunu* ('wine') is written MU-TIN. (MU, *i.e.*, *išu* 'wood' or 'tree,' TIN, *i.e.*, *balātu* = 'life'; that is, precisely 'Tree of Life.' It is also written GAS-TIN, that is 'cup of life.' Similarly *karanu*, which is explained as *ḥunnatu*, 'the vine,' is written ^{is}GES-TIN = 'plant Tree of Life.') Moreover the old Sumerian pictogram TIN for *balātu*, 'life,' is itself nothing

¹ See however *Ecclus.* 34:27: "Equal to life is wine for man, if drunk moderately. What life is there for him who has no wine!"

but the three-lobed vine-leaf. Nin-Geštin-Anna, 'the Lady of the heavenly Vine,' or 'tree of life,' is the old Sumerian patroness deity of the vine, just as Greek mythology knows a nymph Ambrosia (Immortality), who was 'changed' into a grape-vine by the Earth-goddess.

It follows that the 'tree of life' in the Paradise-legend is also *the vine*,—an interpretation which was well known to a number of Rabbis, Church-fathers and early Christian artists. The 'tree of knowledge' was originally identical with this 'tree of life,' the latter term referring both to the aphrodisiac and to the enthusiastic gnosis-giving visionary effects of intoxication. The Rechabite prohibition to taste of its fruit (re-emphasized by Muhammad) is very natural; for by drinking wine man becomes possessed by a 'spirit,' which is not the 'spirit' of Jahweh or Allah; he becomes 'even as a god,' knowing or seeing the future, just as the intoxicated Bessian prophets of Thracia or their Jerusalemite colleagues, against whom Isaiah inveighs in the beginning of ch. 28 (vv. 7, 8). The warning that man will die immediately from consuming its fruit is but a slight, so to say pedagogic, exaggeration of the toxic properties of strong wine drunk in excess in a hot climate,—an exaggeration appropriately corrected by the words of the Serpent: "Ye shall *not surely die*." The vine, as the 'tree which is life throughout,' and as the 'tree which is *manda* (= *gnōsis*) throughout,' occurs time and again in the Mandæan scriptures.

Very probably, also, the 'food of life' and the 'water of life,' which the Babylonian hero Adapa is offered by the gods in heaven, and which he refuses, because Ea, the sober god of water and wisdom, has

warned him against partaking of this 'food of death' and 'water of death,' is nothing else but grapes and wine. The same holds good very probably of the Greek *nektar*, which is a Phœnician loan-word,—*nīq̄tar*, a *nīphal* from *qatar*, to 'fumigate,' and therefore an exact synonym to Aristotle's *oinos atmisas*, 'evaporated,' 'fumed wine,'—that is, *aqua vini* (above p. 469). *Ambrosia*, the solid food of immortality, should be the grape-honey, or thickened grape-juice (cp. Aramean *meritha*, 'must'). Even as in Northern mythology the gods obtain eternal youth from the apples of Iduna (a probable reference to the making and drinking of apple-cider), just so the Greek gods must have fed on the gifts of Dionysos.

If, therefore, 'water of life' is an old ritual term for wine or boiled wine, we have only to answer the further question, how with this '*water*' a baptism of *fire* could possibly be performed.

The solution of this apparently paradoxical problem is found, I think, in some very interesting magical directions which are contained in a collection of pagan practices and receipts brought together by the Catholic Bishop of Rome, Hippolytos of Portus, the great contemporary of Clemens of Alexandria. In his *Refutation of all Heresies* he says:

"Another very useful application of sea-salt is the following: Take [dry] sea-water foam [=natural sea-salt, crystallized on wave-beaten rocks and scraped off from them] and boil it in an earthen pot with sweet wine. As soon as it begins to seethe, bring a lighted torch near it; it will then catch fire and flare up. And if you pour it over the head [of someone] it will not burn it at all. If you scatter manna over the boiling liquid, it will be still more easily inflamed;

even better still, if you add a little of the 'divine' stuff [*theion*=sulphur]."

To understand this, it should be known that the Greeks were in the habit of adding a little sea-water (=sea-salt) to their wines to keep them from turning. The addition of salt raises the boiling point of the water, and diminishes the solubility of the alcohol in the water; both phenomena favour the separate evaporation of the spirituous component *before* the water is transformed into steam—that is, the distillation of alcohol from wine.

The well-known chemist, Prof. Kobert, of Rostock, and his assistant, Dr. Siebourg, experimented in 1913 with this prescription. They found first that an alcohol of 12% strength, when mixed with kitchen-salt and set on fire, could be poured over stuffed cats' furs without singeing a single hair. In the chief experiment strong, sweet Spanish wine containing 15.65-18.54% of alcohol was saturated with salt, and then cautiously heated to a temperature of 80°. This was then set alight and poured over the long-haired furs, when a high flame rose, lasting rather more than ten seconds, so that the furs seemed to burn all over. Nevertheless, after the flame had died down, not the slightest injury to the hair could be discovered. The salt had acted as a preservative against combustion, as the ancient magicians knew very well it would. As a matter of fact, Hippolytos says a few pages later on, that even burning pitch will not hurt the hands if they have been washed several times in sea-water and been dried without wiping off the salt,—which is quite true and well-known even to-day to all steamship stokers.

It is highly probable that it may have been according to this very prescription the Greco-Egyptian

Gnostics administered their baptism of fire. Ordinary strong sweet wine (as almost all the Greek wines were and are), doctored according to ancient habits with sea-water (*tethalattōmenos oinos*), would be heated by the fire on the altar in two jars. Prayers (rather long ones) would be offered, until the wine was properly heated,—just as South German house-wives now-a-days measure the time for boiling eggs by reciting from five to ten *pater nosters*. Then would the favourable ‘sign’ be expected to happen. We can now tell what it was. For Aristotle’s disciple Theophrastus writes that the proof of wine containing fire in water can be seen when it is poured as an offering into the fire of the altar. The fire will at this moment visibly brighten, and most naturally so, since sufficiently strong wine (that is, watery alcohol) is itself inflammable. The same thing, says Theophrastus, will happen, when sea-water is poured over the embers of the sacrificial fire in order to extinguish them,—not because (as he believes) sea-water contains some fire, owing to the sun and the stars diving into it every evening, but because the *natrium* in the sea-salt will impart a shining, bright-yellow glow to the blue reduction-flames rising from the smouldering charcoals.

With the possession of this knowledge it is plain for *what* ‘sign’ the Gnostic adept would ask. He would pour a drink-offering, a small *spondē*, of his wine into the fire, and see whether the flame would light up. If it did not, it was proof that the wine did not contain enough ‘fire’ or ‘spirit,’—that is, in modern terms, not enough alcohol. In such a case he could be sure that the fumes of the wine in the second jug would not catch fire, and that therefore the ‘baptism of fire’ would not be possible. If, on the contrary, the

fire did flare up, he could be certain of the success also of the following final part of the rite.

When the first baptism in the 'water of life',—that is to say, the 'wine changed into water' through part-evaporation, had been poured over the head of the neophyte, his hair would be wet, and moreover saturated with the salt of the sea-water contained in the wine, so that his head would be doubly protected beforehand against burns.

It is thus quite unlikely that anything harmful ever happened in the course of this performance. If, by any mischance, some slight damage were done, it would doubtless have been attributed to a want of the proper contrition, just as in Iranian eschatology the final purification of the world by fire is said to be as painful to the sinner as a bath in molten metal, but to the pious as mild as a bath in warm milk.

There can be little doubt, I believe, that the enigmatic baptism with 'water of life,' 'fire' and 'spirit' was performed after the recipe preserved by Hippolytos. The addition of '*manna*' (a resinous substance) and of sulphur to the wine is not only unnecessary, but positively detrimental to the desired effect, as E. O. v. Lippmann has shown, when discussing the process in a paper on the history of alcohol-distillation. This is a good proof that the prescription is not a secular technical recipe, but from the first a mystic formula. Indeed, sulphur is added, because the ancients confused the pungent ozonic smell left in the air after a stroke of lightning with the smell of the fumes of burning sulphur. They therefore believed,—witness the Sodom and Gomorrha story,—that burning sulphur rained down from heaven in a thunderstorm, and accordingly called sulphur the 'divine' matter (*theion*).

It was therefore most natural to add it to a purificatory liquid. 'Manna,' on the other hand, was appropriately added to the 'water of life,' as the 'bread of life' (John 6³⁵), the 'bread from heaven'; this being obviously a Christian feature of the procedure.

As to the origin of the whole rite, moreover,—it is not difficult to be ascertained. For in the report of the messenger in the *Bakchae* of Euripides (v. 757)—our best witness for the Dionysian cult of the classic age,—the raving worshippers of the god are described as wearing on their heads *a fire which does not singe the hair*. A beautiful head of Dionysos in Leyden shows the god himself with the burning fire- and wind-swept locks of his fire-baptized initiates. This shows that the baptism with burning wine-fumes was a rite of the Dionysian mysteries, probably the very ceremony which Alcibiades and his drunken friends were shown as profaning, in Eupolis' lost comedy 'The Baptizers' (*Baptai*).

This conclusion agrees very well with all the other features of the rite. A well-known often-reproduced vase-painting of Naples shows that the placing of two jugs of wine, a cup of water and a number of little round loaves of bread on the altar, and the adorning of the altar with olive wreaths (exactly as described in the *Pistis Sophia*) were the typical features of an ordinary Bacchic sacrifice.

Such an adoption of a characteristic Bacchic rite by Greco-Egyptian Gnostics is not at all unparalleled in the religious history of Alexandrian Jews and primitive Christians. I have just dedicated a whole volume¹ to the

¹ *Orpheus und Orphisch-Dionysisches in der christlichen Antike*, Leipzig (Teubner), 1925, about 400pp. and 160 figg.; £1. Ch. xv. of this book contains the detailed texts and quotations referring to the subject of this paper.

collection and discussion of such facts. They can easily be explained by the fact that, according to *III. Maccab. ii. 28ff.*, King Ptolemy Philopator had decreed that all Jews should be registered as serfs in Egypt; only those should enjoy full civic rights in Alexandria *who consented to be initiated into the Dionysian mysteries*. "A certain number were easily seduced" by this social pressure, so that a special clause forbidding this practice had to be inserted into the Greek translation of the Deuteronomic law prohibiting prostitution among Jews (23₁₈): "There shall not be an initiatress (*telesphoros*) among the daughters of Israel, nor an initiated one (*teliskomenos*) from among the sons of Israel."

As Orphic poems, with characteristic Jewish interpolations, show the influence of these forcibly converted Jews on the development of Orphic theology in this Alexandrian environment, so Orphic symbols in Jewish and early Christian catacombs,¹ and Orphic mystery-terms used by Philo of Alexandria, prove conversely that the Jews 'converted' to the Bacchic mysteries spread a number of characteristic Dionysian notions even among their orthodox co-nationals. Small wonder then if we find an Egyptian community of Gnostic syncretists, whose scriptures were Egyptian translations from a Greek version of an Aramæan original, using the peculiar wine-baptism of the Dionysian initiates!

ROBERT EISLER.

(Read at an Open Meeting of the Quest Society, Oct. 8, 1924.)

¹ Eisler, *Orpheus the Fisher*, pl. xlv. London (Watkins), 1922.

INSTINCT AND IMMORTALITY.

KATHARINE M. WILSON.

M. FABRE, writing in his *Wonders of Instinct*, tells of the prescience of a little beetle,—to unscientific observation at least, it is a beetle,—known as the Capricorn. At one stage of its growth it tunnels blindly in the oak, a fat segmented wood-worm of lard-like whiteness and about the breadth of a finger. It has, he tells us, no more brain than a bit of intestine, no eyes, no ears, not even, in the most primitive way, a skin sensitive to light. It possesses only one 'sense,' that of touch, and perhaps in a vague degree that of taste. We should hardly say that such a thing lives. It certainly has the beginnings neither of intellect nor of reason. In fact we talk of the mentality that guides it as instinct. It roused Fabre's wonder, because it appears to foreknow the nature of the existence that awaits it beyond metamorphosis,—indeed beyond two metamorphoses, right to its death, if we have any real right to assume this limitation.

Fabre describes the grub preparing the scene of its transformation. It takes care to make an environment that will suit the coming pupa; and, foreseeing its still more distant existence in the form of a beetle, when the boring faculties it now has will give place to other virtues, it cuts a tunnel out of the heart of the tree through all but a film of bark, and then, retiring, completes its pupal house. Not only does the little wood-

worm prepare a way of escape before it retires to wait for its metamorphosis ; it has so secure a sense of its nature in the life to come, that it takes care to lie down in the one way that will allow the metamorphosed beetle to leave the dark tunnel. This last precaution is remarkable, since the grub can turn about his bed or retrace his steps easily enough, and might quite as naturally lie down with his feet at the pillow-end of his couch so to speak. The consummated beetle, having hard intractable armour and lofty plumes—like Lorenzo's too proud for the low masonry—cannot turn in the narrow corridor. So but for the instinct of the gourmand tunneller, living his days in the hope and sure knowledge of another life beyond its obscure terminus in the tree trunk, the emancipated beetle could not escape from his gothic prison.

It may be that mind arose from instinct and not as a development of the senses. In other words, our thinking may be deductive in the first place rather than inductive, and the mind have an *a priori* knowledge in a quite real sense, not based on the empirical. Let us now look at the beetle more intimately. If *we* were oak-worms with the reason of man, but without his intuitive faculties or the instinct of these wonderful little creatures, what should we do when we began to have the metamorphosis feeling inside us. Nothing has ever touched our experience but the taste of the wood that passes through us, the contact and feel of the wood we tunnel and the difference between crawling and lying still. We have seen no other wood-worm prepare its last bed in the tree, have lived a monotonous routine life, with no hint of any universe or style of being other than a universe of edible wood and the being of a wood-worm. We have a reasoning

faculty with only one experience behind it. Our reason has to work on a new and uncomfortable feeling inside us. There is no doctor to help; and heaven only knows what will happen, because nothing has ever felt like this before. We don't know what is the matter; and—Good Lord!—we have burst. That would be all; and behold a world destitute of Capricorns.

The Capricorn's instinct is an *à priori* instinct. It has some sort of feeling about what has never been; its instinct or knowledge is based on the future, not the past. Here is something in the insect-world akin to prophecy. We can hardly believe that instincts of the future have died out during evolution, and that man has lost the most wonderful faculty the animal kingdom has ever had. The Capricorn cannot surely be wiser than man, with a gift of prophecy denied to him; yet it acts as if it knew by instinct the will of its maker and realized that some day it will fly in the sunshine, or at least in a world where the bondage of the oak will no longer hold it. There are many possibilities. Instinct may still survive in the body, though it has died out in the brain, or it may always have belonged to the body: the blinking of the eye, reflex recoils, tropisms, are perhaps a sort of bodily instinct. Or instinct may be but inherited experience. Here we may leave the Capricorn; for this is the weightiest shaft that has sounded on its oak.

The most interesting human instincts, or intuitions, refer, like the Capricorn's, to an existence beyond the grave—our religious instincts, our knowledge of a world of the spirit. Empirical reasoning is not very relevant in problems of religion. The intuitionist is helpless in an argument; he gives no reason for his instincts; one cannot reason about them. His oppo-

nents attempt to question their authority only by looking for irreverent explanations, providing reasons for their origin, or describing them in other terms,—as feelings of reverence based on fear, as a wrong explanation of ecstatic feelings possibly dimly connected with epilepsy, or as feelings of potential power in the world of the subconscious. We feel there are deep wells within us whence we can draw superhuman strength; we feel as if we could sink back into them quiescent in an ocean of restfulness or a peace surpassing understanding. One does not explain away such experiences by describing them as relapses into the subconscious. Of course they are; but as we have not explored the universes of the subconscious very far, we need not be surprised that we have not yet found the God reigning there amidst the chaos. We do have intuitional experiences, best described as experiences of the spirit or the spirit-world, as religious communion, or as a tasting of immortal life. For its consummation the human mind must have some such experience. Life is not worth without it. We cannot disentangle ourselves from our intuitions. This future world, or this other world, and this God haunt us like an incubus that repeats itself for ever. They bear in upon us through the rafters of our firmament; they rise up out of the fire that heats us; we eat them, as it were, with our food. The Hebrews stated the fact something after this wise: Though I fly to the uttermost parts of the earth there art thou still. Every pathway we take to get away from this inexplicable mystery of the night, to hide ourselves from this raging sun of the day, leads us round to it. We flee to the shades of the forest, and there in a pool is the moon reflected. We shut ourselves in the darkest dungeon,

and still by the smarting and straining of our eyes we know that there is light. And yet, our religious experiences might be the reflection of our *need* for them,—not facts but fakes which we cannot do without. Perhaps we are not atheists only because we are all cowards. Can our intuitions, our experiences of the imagination, can instinct lie to us?

If instinct results from hereditary experience, as seems probable with the Capricorn's at least, it cannot lie. Inherited experience is not, like many of our impulses or motives, the result of hereditary sin or lies. It can by its very nature record only the truth. It is the accumulated, authoritative, impartial experience of our ancestors. Instinct links one generation on to the next, and every species to its predecessor. If souls do not transmigrate, intuitions or instincts do. The soul of a worm may not mount up through the spires of evolution till it becomes a man; but the intuitions that inspire men certainly seem to re-incarnate themselves. Emerson shares Plato's soul, and Wordsworth Milton's, only the water of Lethe coming between. This would explain our instincts of immortality. For if our intuitions are recollections of the past experience of our race, the life beyond death must have been visited by our race before we can feel a dim foreknowledge of it.

Perhaps intuitions are not hereditary. The first Capricorn that foresaw, did not foresee because its father did. Yet chance did not lead it out into the life for which it was fitted. The change of form taking place within it, the preparing of its body for the extra-oakal life, naturally brings the instinct of freedom, the intuitive necessity of boring a way of escape. It naturally wants the thing it is made for.

Being formed for the extra-oakal life, it desires and foreknows it.

Instinct, such as that of the Capricorn, sometimes differs from intuitions, such as we have, in appearing mechanical. Fabre's experiment of 'The Pine Processionary' shows instinct guiding with a mechanical control. Pine-caterpillars forage in a chain; the leader prospects and the rest follow head to tail. If the chain breaks, the caterpillar heading the broken portion becomes a leader. Fabre joined the head of one such chain on to its tail, and the deluded creatures walked round and round in a circle, till an exhausted link fell out and broke the sequence on the eighth day. Thus a tiny artifice turned a clever habit into a ridiculous spectacle, and insect nature appeared like the working of a mechanical toy. Life is the motor power; and the little creatures move in a prescribed way until the motor power runs down or a higher hand interferes with the mechanism. Of what value is instinct now? Does not this favour the conception of an external creator? As a tiny child I used to be content with just a doll. Later I wished my doll could speak and act independently like a real baby. It was some consolation that its joints moved, that its eyes shut and opened, or that it cried if one punched it vigorously in the chest. I should have been better pleased with a more developed mechanism, if it had moved as if by its own volition, walking five minutes and resting five minutes alternately, crying at bedtime and laughing at dawn, or opening its eyes in the light and shutting them in the shadow. One can without difficulty imagine the creator, tired of a universe of whirling balls, planting on at least one of his mighty worlds a variety of smaller mechanisms worked by a

marvellous clockwork, and how as the wonder of the new toy became common-place the real baby was gradually evolved, a living thing with the power of independent action. Then there might be the promise and perhaps the fulfilment of a heaven and a hell, and man be left with the interesting problem. Such an instinct of immortality would be like a magnet put into us to give a sense of the poles, that we might fulfil our duty by voluntary effort in this elaborately conceived world. An extraordinary thing now happens. Man outgrows the doll's house he is placed in, and finds himself a better creature than this creator, more merciful and tolerant at least; and the bricks fall away from the optimists among men. Pessimists believe that the creator has outgrown his toy, lost interest in it, or stopped watching it, though its mechanism goes on, a thing without soul or significance; or they go farther and say the world was never created,—it just evolved. Such doubts or pessimisms flit into our mind as strays. They do not touch many of us because we see, intuitively, that they are not the truth. If it is true that man's mentality as well as his physical being is contiguous with that of the ape, which we grant, and if it is true that our intuition is but a half self-conscious development of animal instinct, as seems probable, then it follows that the beetle's instinct is not mechanical, seeing that our edition of it is not. We should not explain an intuition which we do know, by an instinct which we do not.

Let us say that matter is moved by, or even made by, mind.¹ When mind has permeated its matter fully,

¹ To those who believe that matter was before mind, we would ask what made matter? Even if we take mind at its abstractest and as synonymous with 'is not,' then surely 'is not,' or the abstract or mind, was in the void out of which matter took form. It is more conceivable that matter grew out

then the matter, being mind fully incarnated, will act of its own will, act to appearance as if mechanically. We can say that a stone or a fossil incarnates its mind more *completely* than man does, and that its immobility results from the completeness, from the fact that it has *finished* its incarnation. Man is the most spiritual of creatures, only because in him the incarnating is still in process; the divine breath is still forcing its way in. We are conscious rather of the influx of mind than of its steady and equable dwelling in us. After the god has come into us to stay, so to speak, familiarity dims our vivid consciousness of it. We are fully conscious of our divinity only when it is arriving. Once we could not walk; our minds had some little difficulty in teaching us to stand. But now the mentality that takes us across a room, is not any more mental than the instinct that governs the insect-world; and yet a little alcohol will prove that this is not because we are nothing but walking machines. Walking has come to seem mechanical despite a certain amount of mind behind it. Even the worm and the fly show in a crude way the superiority of spirit over matter. The Capricorn practised its transformation æons and æons before man began trying to walk. If the first Capricorn acted on an impulse driving it to crave freedom, with an intuitive perception of its future, we can easily believe that the inherited habit has become almost mechanical, even entirely mechanical, and that, just as we walk upright purely by habit and not at all by inspiration, so the Capricorn's actions, though once inspired, have now become instinctive,—mechanical habits rather than mental intuitions.

of mind than that mind grew out of matter. We can imagine the beginning of matter, and come nearer to discovering it than we can that of mind. The intangible is farther back than the tangible, as is the creator than the created.

Our intuitions then are influxes of the spirit, spiritual suggestions not yet incarnated. Fifty years ago some few men had intuitive perceptions that we could make ships to sail the skies. These perceptions ceased to be intuitive when they were incarnated. Intuitions are the foreshadowings of facts, the arrivings of new mind, the souls of the next birth. Man progresses on the track of this inflowing intangible power. When it comes into our emotion or imagination, we have an intuition. When the god whispers in our intellect, we have a new idea; for a real idea, a fresh palpitating mental birth, is but an intellectual intuition. Intuitions no more than instincts result from past facts; they cause future facts. The Capricorn will one day be a beetle, because it foresees its beetle-dom. We may argue on analogy that we are immortal, because we have an intuitive knowledge of immortality. Matter does not confine us, since we feel unconfined. Our desires, as well as our bodies, are moulded to fit into their universe; it is against natural law to want what we cannot have. The desire argues for the truth of our imaginings. The fact that we wish a transcendental existence proves that it exists.

To concentrate the argument. Our religious feelings are not fakes to fit our need, our sense of deficiency. There is no fallacy in believing because we wish to believe. That wish is our best argument. Just as we do not really wish to do a thing unless we are going to do it,¹ or just as we do not really pray for what we shall not get, so we believe in immortality because we are immortal. If there were no other way, we should make ourselves immortal by believing ourselves so; for, as Emerson says, our prayers are

¹ The weak-willed make an exception, because forsooth they are weak-wished.

prophecies. We do not imagine the unattainable; our religious intuitions result from our human construction, as the Capricorn's instincts from its construction. We possess spiritual wings; therefore we both wish to fly and shall fly.

The reasoning makes a sort of circle, but its centre is fixed. And, indeed, no truth reaches its majority, if it still appears to have a beginning and an end. As long as it remains a semi-circle, it puzzles by being concave on one side and convex on the other; it is only a half truth. Though there may be two sides to every question, there is only one side to a truth,—that which encloses us. We cannot see beyond an ultimate truth. When we come to the bed-rock it is too hard to understand.

KATHARINE M. WILSON.

SOME VERY EARLY READINGS IN THE APOCALYPSE.

To the layman textual criticism is naturally a *terra incognita*; the very sight of its outer paraphernalia suggests to him a wearisomeness to the flesh, and he instinctively turns from it in disgust. But for the scholar it is a matter of prime importance to get at the most primitive form of the text with which palæographical industry can supply him; otherwise the basis of his 'higher' critical judgment remains insecure. So, even if he is not a critic or investigator of the lower stratum himself, he knows the value of such indispensable work and thankfully appreciates it.

Doubtless the majority of our readers are incurious as to the *minutiæ* of the marvellously delicate work of the great textual critics; nevertheless even the most untrained, as we venture to hope, cannot be indifferent to numbers of indubitably ancient readings which differ widely from those of the Received Text of the N.T.—*viz.* that of Stephanus (1550), which was based on only two or three late MSS. lying at the command of the first editors. (To-day it is a question of the comparison of thousands of MSS.—single books or groups mainly.) For it is from this Received Text that our familiar Authorized Version was made; and even the Revised Version of 1881 deals with only a minimum of error, for the best equipped Revisers had

to contend against a crushing weight of conservative opposition from the majority of the Committee.

There has been appearing in the *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, recently (1922-1924) a series of important studies by H. C. Hoskier, entitled 'Manuscripts of the Apocalypse—Recent Investigations.' These are based on the minute inspection of all the 200 MSS. of this document. Of all these MSS., this most thorough-going critic characterizes the new 10th century MS., from the Meteora Monastery in Thessaly,¹ discovered just before the War, as the most arresting. "In fact," he writes, "in the whole range of our documents there is none more important." Mr. Hoskier is in the enviable position of being able to give a practically uniquely authoritative opinion on the respective values of the MSS. of the Apocalypse; for he has selected the book precisely because it was possible for an individual 'to handle the [whole] matter in his life time'; and he has now completed his long labours. As a matter of fact his work constitutes the most comprehensive textual examination by a single pair of eyes of any book of the N.T. which has so far been undertaken. It is a remarkable achievement.

This particular 10th century Meteora MS. Mr. Hoskier demonstrates in minute detail to have been copied quite faithfully from very ancient sources. His study of it (July, 1922) is of course severely technical and intended only for specialists. I have,

¹ This group of what may well be termed 'Cloisters in the Clouds' is perched on lofty cliffs, accessible only by ladder or rope. They are strikingly reminiscent of the Buddhist Himalayan monasteries, especially the Tibetan *gonpas*. I may mention that I wrote the bulk of this paper in Aug., 1922, and sent it down to the printers, but withdrew it in fear that even the educated general reader would care nothing for these things. Chancing recently to see a film of the Meteora, however, my courage returned.

however, been so struck with some of the 'rarer readings' in the new MS. and the nature of their attestation, that I think it may interest many of our readers if I print the R.V. (with occasional rephrasing) in one column and my version of the more arresting rarer readings in parallel.

But before listing the more important of these highly instructive, very early, if not primitive, simpler readings, a very brief word on the Apocalypse in general may be serviceably interpolated. On no other document of the N.T. collection, or indeed of the whole biblical library, has there been so great diversity of opinion, as to origin, content and value. The mass of indubitable nonsense that has been written about it, and the strange aberrations to which it has given rise, are a by-word of theological history. For long it was, sensibly enough, kept out of the canon; and one can perhaps regret the final decision that admitted it to the last place in the authoritatively received documents of the New Covenant *corpus*. This fact alone proves conclusively that until the middle of the second century, at least, it was generally held not to be of apostolic origin; and thus the 'tradition' which asserts it was written by John the Disciple, was subsequently originated and developed. For whole-hearted traditionalists, then, the Apocalypst and Evangelist are one and the same person. But how any trained literary mind can believe that the writer of the fair Greek of the Fourth Gospel and the 'Johannine' Epistles and the crude Greek of the Apocalypse,—not to speak of the utterly different mentalities of the writers of these so strikingly contrasting documents,—could by any possibility be one and the same individual, is beyond my comprehension. The tyranny of this later fictive

tradition, however, gradually obtained so powerful a strangle-hold on Christendom, that until comparatively recently it kept even critical research in a state of unconsciousness. But at last in 1886 the courageous fingers of Vischer got hold of the knot of the halter that was strangling the life out of common sense and began to unloose it. Vischer's brilliant suggestion (published in Gebhardt and Harnack's famous and invaluable series of *Texte und Untersuchungen*), that the N.T. Apocalypse is not a single and simple document, but the elaborate Christian over-working of an originally purely Jewish apocalyptic pronouncement, at long last gave the key to a host of puzzling and contradictory phenomena, and brought some order into the chaos. We may say, therefore, that, just as a penetrating criticism has recognized the 'Little Apocalypse' embedded in the 'first three gospels,' and overworked severally by the triad of synoptic evangelists, so it is now able to discern a similar phenomenon, though on a larger scale, in the confused document known as the 'Revelation of St. John the Divine.' It goes without saying that the '*ad arma!*' of orthodoxy was at once sounded, and that the heaviest artillery of conservatism was immediately turned on Vischer's advance. Nevertheless every new genuinely critical work on the subject shows clearly that the key of the central position lies in this direction, and that those who refuse to go forward with Vischer's pioneer venture remain stuck in the mud of the old entrenchments. How strong is the hypnotic effect of the tradition to which apologetic theologians have grown so used, may be seen even from the very last 'commentary' on the Apocalypse. In the just published first part (chh. i.-v.) of his *Die Offenbarung des*

Johannes (Leipzig, 1924), Theodor Zahn, with an overweight of 'learning' that might have been better employed, labours heavily to maintain *all* the general orthodox positions. It makes one rub one's eyes. After all, what is there so very precious in the document, even supposing, for sake of argument, it could possibly be shown that it was of apostolic origin? It is very confused; though there are passages of beauty, its symbolism is frequently crude, to say the least, and it is not unseldom cruel. It has been prolific of the most fantastic eschatological dreams and second-adventist fanaticism — frequently indeed of sheer insanity among uneducated lay-folk. It is not only among the unlearned, however, that it has exercised its obsessing, warping power; far from it. Zahn himself would probably speed on the recent abortive proposal to honour the memory of Sir Isaac Newton, and of physical science, by publishing a centenary edition of *all* his works. But the trouble is that *most* of Sir Isaac's work was theological; and among his *amateur* efforts in this direction is a portentous commentary precisely on the Apocalypse. His *naïveté* in treating the subject is such that present-day men of science are agreed that it would do Newton's reputation far more harm than good to revive the memory of his now forgotten theological labours. Apart from any other arguments, of which there is a multitude, a number of the following early Meteora readings, as will be seen, is strongly corroborative of Vischer's fact-favouring hypothesis, and fatal to Zahn's contentions. To them we now invite the attention of the careful reader, who will at once notice the greater simplicity of the old readings.

REVISED VERSION.

i. 1 The Revelation of Jesus Christ. . . .

6 And he [Jesus Christ] made us *to be*¹ a Kingdom, *to be* priests unto his God and Father.

8 I am the Alpha and the Omega, saith the Lord God, which is and which was and which is to come, the Almighty.

10 . . . On the Lord's day . . .

11 What thou seest, write in a book, and send it . . . unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamum, etc.

12/18 And I turned to see the voice which spake with me. And having turned I saw seven golden candlesticks; and in the midst of the candlesticks . . .

First a voice,—a 'heavenly voice,' what the Rabbis called a *bath-kōl*, literally 'daughter of the voice,' a phrase sometimes used of an 'echo,'—then a vision. The golden lamp-holders and the altar are the chief Temple-furniture. The former is clearly the *menōrah*, the seven-headed candelabrum (see verse 20 below).

14 And . . . his hair . . . white as white wool, *white* as snow . . .

15 And his feet like unto burnished brass, as if it had been refined in a furnace . . .

18 And I was dead . . .

THE METEORA MS.

The revelation of him . . .

And he made of us a Kingdom, priests unto GOD, yea his Father.

I am the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the End: GOD, the is, the was and the coming, the Almighty.

. . . On Lord's-day . . .

[As to] what thou seest, write a book, and send . . . unto Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, etc.

And I turned to see the voice,—who was speaking with me? And on turning I saw seven golden lamp-holders and an altar, and in the midst of the lamps . . .

And . . . his hair . . . white as though wool, yea as snow . . .

. . ., as from a furnace, . . .

And I became as dead [or as a corpse] . . .

The italics in the R.V. represent words supplied by the translators.

19/20 Write therefore . . .
and the things which shall come
to pass hereafter; the mystery
of the seven stars which thou
sawest in my right hand, and
the seven golden candlesticks.

. . . and the seven
candlesticks are seven churches.

. and the things
that shall come to pass after
the mystery: the seven stars,
which thou didst see on the
lamp-stand.

. . . and the seven lamp-
holders are seven churches of
the Angels, those in Ephesus.

Zahn will have it that the 'angels' here mean simply the 'bishops' of the seven Churches. But the idea of 'angels' of nations and communities is fundamental in the apocalyptic and mystic symbolism of the time.

ii. 1 To the angel of the
church in Ephesus write: . . .

6 But this thou hast,
that thou hatest the works of
the Nicolaitans, which I also
hate.

8 These things saith the
first and the last, which was
dead, and lived *again*.

9 I know . . . the blas-
phemy of them which say they
are Jews, and they are not, but
are a synagogue of Satan.

18 . . . and thou holdest
fast my name, and didst not
deny my faith even in the days
of Antipas my witness, my
faithful one, who was killed
among you, where Satan
dwelleth.

[This is one of the
most corrupt passages in the
document.]

Write, saying: . . .

But have this [sc. the re-
pentance of the previous sen-
tence] and thou shalt hate the
works of the Niko-laitans [=
Ba'alamites] which I hate.

These things saith the
First and the Last who became
dead and returned to life again.

I know . . . the blas-
phemy from those saying they
are Jews, and are not, but of
Satan.

. . . and thou didst master
my Name, and didst not disown
my Faith, even in the days
of me,—Antipas's [days]—
[when] my witness, the faithful
[one], was slain among you,
where Satan dwelleth.

[For the second clause
beginning ' [when], ' see W.-H.
appendix.]

16 Repent therefore; or
else I come to thee quickly . . .

17 To him that over-
cometh, to him will I give of
the hidden manna . . . and
upon the stone a new name
written . . .

. . .; or else I come to
thee as thou rulest [or art
strong] . . .

To the victorious,—to him
I will give the hidden manna
. . . and upon the stone the
Name written . . .

‘The Name’—namely the *Shem Hamephoresh*, YHVH, the so-called *tetragrammaton*, which in the days of the Vth century Aramaic papyri was a *tri-grammaton*. ‘New name’ is the gloss of the over-writer, who would substitute the name ‘Jesus’ for the supreme *Shem*.

22 Behold I do cast her
[Jezebel, the false prophetess,
the fornicatrix] into a bed, and
those that commit adultery
with her into great tribulation.

Behold I cast them [my
servants whom she teacheth
and seduceth to commit forni-
cation] into [torment-] bed,
yea those who fornicate with
her into great affliction.

Harlotry or fornication is the most frequent figure employed by Jews, Samaritans and Mandæans for false doctrine. The Great Harlot is the Mother of all heresy and apostasy.

23 And I will kill her
children with death; and all
the churches shall know that
I am he which searcheth the
reins and hearts.

And their children I will
slay in death; and all the
churches shall know that I am
he who searcheth hearts and
kidneys.

24 But to you I say, to
the rest that are in Thyatira,
as many as have not this
teaching, which know not the
deep things of Satan, as they
say: I cast upon you none other
burden.

But to you I say, to the
rest, those in Thyatira, who
have not this teaching, whoso-
ever knew not the Depths of
God but of Satan,—as it is
said then: I lay not on you
another burden.

'The Depths of God' has been cut out by a revision that deemed it to be too reminiscent of Gnostic notions. The final clause is presumably a proverb; it contains even in Greek an alliteration.

27 . . . And he [sc. who overcometh] shall rule them with a rod of iron . . . ; as I also have received of my Father: and I will give him [sc. who overcometh] the morning star.

. . . and I shall herd them with an iron staff . . . ; thus have even I received [it] from my Father, and I will give him [? back] a star, the morning [one].

'He who overcometh' is a technical term, 'the Victor' or 'the Victorious.' It occurs over and over again in Mandæan (Gnostic John-Baptist) scripture.

iii. 2 Be thou watchful, and stablish the things that remain, which were ready to die . . .

Become watchful, supporting the remaining [works], which were about to die . . .

This appears to me strongly reminiscent of Mandæan nomenclature, where 'works' mean creations or demiurgic constructs, the upholding of which devolved on the watcher and supporter of this world, who is figured as the Oriental Atlas upholding the world on his shoulders, in both the Mandæan and Manichæan traditions.

4 But thou hast a few names in Sardis which did not defile their garments: and they shall walk with me in white . . .

But I have few Names in Sardæ, that they defiled not their garments: and they shall walk with me . . .

5 He that overcometh shall thus be arrayed in white garments; and I will in no wise blot his name out of the book of life . . . !

The victorious shall thus be wrapped with white garments; and I will never wipe off [expunge] his Name from LIFE'S Book.

The mysticism of 'Names' is a wide subject. The Name here is the hypostasized 'spirit' of a man, his

true life, as written by the 'Divine Finger' in LIFE'S Book.

12 He that overcometh,
I will make him a pillar in the
temple of my God, and he shall
go out thence no more; and I
will write upon him the name
of my God . . .

[As to] the victorious,—
I will make him pillar in the
dwelling [or shrine] of my GOD
and he shall never more go out;
and I will write on him my
Name . . .

'Pillar' is a technical term, applied, for instance,
to high priests, as in Mandæan scripture. The 'pillars'
at Jerusalem were, in Pauline language, the heads of
the apostles, whom, he tells us, 'thought they were
somewhat.'

14 And to the angel of
the church in Laodicea write:

And to the Angel of the
church, [the one] in the
[church] of Laodiceans write:

16 I will spew thee out
of my mouth.

I convict thee out of thy
mouth.

One almost regrets the loss of the strong and
graphic 'spew thee out of my mouth.'

17 Because thou sayest:
I am rich, and have gotten
riches, and have need of nothing
. . .

. . . I am rich, though I
have fallen, and want nothing
. . .

19 As many as I love I
reprove and chasten: . . .

Whomsoever I shall love,
I convict and instruct: . . .

The getting 'instruction' is the constant refrain
of the Mandæan 'John-Book.'

20 If any man hear my
voice and open the door, I will
come in to him . . .

Whosoever heareth my
voice and openeth his door, I
will come in after him . . .

21 He that overcometh,
I will give to him to sit down
with me in my throne . . .

The victorious,—I will
grant to seat him with me
upon my throne . . .

iv. 8 . . . and he that sat *was* to look upon like a jasper stone and a sardius.

4 . . . and upon the thrones I *saw* four and twenty elders sitting, arrayed in white garments;

5 And *there were* seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God; . . .

9/10 And when the living creatures shall give glory . . . to him . . . on the throne . . . , the four and twenty elders shall fall down before him . . . and shall worship him . . .

v. 8 And no one in the heaven, or on the earth, or under the earth, was able to open the book, or to look thereon.

5 Behold, the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath overcome, to open the book . . .

8 . . . the four and twenty elders . . . having each one . . . golden bowls full of incense, which are the prayers of the saints.

The 'bowls' are flat ones (*pateræ*); they are not the prayers but the containers-of-the-prayers, or prayer-containers,—which I venture to translate by 'oratories.' In Iranian and Mandæan symbolism the prayers of the righteous ascend in the 'pillar' or 'column of light'—the high-way to LIFE.

. . . and the one seated in like manner, as vision, to a stone or jasper, yea a flesh-coloured [stone].

. . . and upon the thrones, the four and twenty, [I saw] elders sitting wrapped in white;

And [there were] seven lamps of fire; they will be the seven Spirits of GOD; . . .

And when the living ones [animals] gave glory . . . to him . . . on the throne . . . then the four and twenty elders falling down before him . . . worshipped him . . .

. . . one was able neither in the heaven, nor on the earth nor below the deep, to open the book, or to scan it.

Behold, he of the Juda tribe, the David root, was victorious [? successful] in opening the book . . .

. . . the four and twenty elders . . . having each . . . golden bowls which are the oratories of the holy [ones].

9/10 And they sing a new song, saying, Worthy art thou to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and didst purchase unto God with thy blood *men* of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation, and madest them *to be* unto our God a Kingdom and priests; and they reign upon the earth.

Notice the heavy over-working and dogmatic elaboration of the simple earlier form; but this feature is frequently conspicuous.

12 Worthy is the Lamb that hath been slain to receive the power, and riches, and wisdom, and might, and honour, and glory, and blessing.

13/14 And every created thing which is in the heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and on the sea, and all things that are in them, heard I saying, Unto him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb, be the blessing, and the honour, and the glory, and the dominion, for ever and ever. And the four living creatures said, Amen.

vi. 8 . . . and he that sat upon him [the pale horse], his name was Death; and Hades followed with him.

10 How long . . . dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?

. . .

Worthy art thou to take the book and open its seals; for thou wast slain and didst raise up to GOD a Kingdom and priests, and they reign [are Kings] on the earth.

Worthy is the Lamb, the slaughtered [one], to receive the power [or lordship, domination] and the wealth, yea glory and praise.

And every creation (n. sing.) in the heaven and on the earth and below the earth and on the sea, and all those (n. pl.) in them,—I heard [them] on the other hand saying (n. pl.): Unto him that is seated, and to the Lamb, the praise and the honour and the glory.

. . . and the [one] sitting on it—Death; and Hades followed behind him.

How long . . . mayest thou not vindicate [us] and shalt thou [not] take vengeance for our blood from those dwelling on the earth?

11 . . . and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little time, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, which should be killed even as they were, should be fulfilled.

18 . . . and the stars of the heaven fell unto the earth, as a fig tree casteth her unripe figs, when she is shaken of a great wind.

vii. 1 . . . that no wind should blow on the earth . . .

2 And I saw another angel ascend from the sun-rising, having the seal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels . . .

8 saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we shall have sealed the servants of our God on their foreheads

9 . . . out of every nation, and of *all* tribes and peoples and tongues . . .

Here the Revisers' conjecture is in marked contrast to the moderation of the qualifying phrase in the early reading.

10 . . . and they cry with a great voice, saying, Salvation unto our God which sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb.

. . . and it was told them, that they shall rest a certain little time, until their fellow bondservants [lit. slaves] also and their brethren who are going to be slain even as they, should be completed [brought to fulness, perfected].

. . . and the stars of the heaven fell into the earth, as a fig-tree shedding her green figlets, when shaken by a great wind.

. . . in order that wind should not be upon the earth . . .

And I saw another Angel ascending from [the] rising. And, holding seal of Living God, he cried also with a great voice to the four Winds . . . saying: Hurt not the sea nor the trees till we shall seal the slaves of our GOD on their foreheads. [The 'trees' are presumably men.]

. . . out of every nation, yea of many tribes and peoples and tongues . . .

. . . and they cried with a great voice, saying: Salvation to our GOD, sitting on the throne and on the Lamb.

11/12 . . . and they worshipped God, saying, Amen.

. . . and they worshipped our GOD, sitting on the throne, and the Lamb.

A curious cry—this ‘Salvation to God’; but the sitting on the Lamb is still more curious.

14 . . . and made them [their robes] white in the blood of the Lamb.

. . . and whitened them over (ἐπὶ) the blood of the Lamb.

This is a very arresting reading. To whiten ‘over (or at) the blood’ suggests a fiery process.

16 They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more . . .

They shall hunger no more [simply].

viii. 13 . . . and I heard an eagle, flying in mid heaven, saying . . . , Woe, woe, woe, for them that dwell on the earth, by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels, who are yet to sound.

. . . in the midst of the heaven, saying . . . : Woe, woe, woe, to those dwelling on the earth, from the many notes [? blasts] of the trumpet of the three Angels who are about to trumpet [give the signal].

ix. 1 . . . and there was given to him [the star from heaven fallen unto the earth] the key of the pit of the abyss.

. . . and there was given unto him the unlocking [or perhaps ‘keys’ by itacism] of the pit of the deep.

10/11 And they have tails like unto scorpions, and stings; and in their tails is their power to hurt men five months./And they have over them . . .

And they had tails and stings like scorpions, and in their tailhaving [f. pl. agreeing with the main subjects ‘locusts’] authority to injure those men [viz. those without the seal of God on their foreheads] five months. Now they have over them . . .

13 . . . and I heard a [marg. one] voice from the horns of the golden altar which is before God, saying, Loose the

. . . and I heard a voice of One from the horns of the altar, the golden [altar], the [one] before GOD, saying . . . : Loose

four angels which are bound
at the great river Euphrates.

x. 8 And the voice which
I heard from heaven, *I heard*
it again speaking with me . . .

10 And I took the little
book out of the angel's hand,
and ate it up; and it was in my
mouth sweet as honey: and
when I had eaten it, my belly
was made bitter.

xi. 1 And there was given
me a reed like unto a rod: and
one said, Rise, and measure the
temple of God, and the altar,
and them that worship therein.

'Saying'—this is out of construction unless the
Reed is supposed to speak. 'Measure well'—*καλα*, but
probably a doublet from *κάλαμος* (reed).

6 These have the power
to shut the heaven, that it
rain not during the days of
their prophesying . . .

13 . . . and there were
killed in the earthquake seven
thousand persons . . .

18 And the nations were
wroth, and thy wrath came,
and the time of the dead to be
judged, and *the time* to give
thy reward to thy servants,
the prophets . . .

xiv. 8 . . . and they sing as

the four Angels who have been
bound on [the river], the Great
Euphrates.

And I heard a voice again
from heaven . . .

And I took the booklet
from his hand, the Angel's, and
devoured it; and it was sweet
as honey in my mouth; and
when I ate it, my belly was
filled with bitterness.

And there was given me
a reed like a rod [staff]—say-
ing: Rise and measure well the
temple [sanctuary] of GOD and
the altar and those worshipping
in it.

These have the authority
[permission] to close the heaven,
in order that rain shall fall
not during the days of their
prophesying . . .

. . . and there were killed
in the earthquake Names of
males, seven thousand . . .

And the nations were
wroth, and thy wrath came
upon them and the proper time
of the nations to be judged and
to give reward to thy bond-
servants [lit. slaves], the
prophets . . .

. . . and they sing as it

it were a new song before the throne . . .

4 These *are* they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.

Here, as frequently elsewhere, the difference of tense is remarkable, showing the elaborate work of the redactors in their task of adaptation (cp. iv., 9, 10, above).

16 And he that sat on the cloud cast his sickle upon the earth; and the earth was reaped.

xvi. 6 . . . and blood hast thou given them to drink: they are worthy.

8 . . . and it was given him [the sun] to scorch men with fire.

xvii. 2 . . . with whom [the great harlot] the kings of the earth committed fornication, and they that dwell in the earth were made drunken with the wine of her fornication.

4 And the woman . . . having in her hand a golden cup full of abominations, even the useless things of her fornication . . .

9 The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth . . .

11 And the beast that was, and is not, is himself also an eighth, and is of the seven . . .

were a song; and it was before GOD and before the throne . . .

These followed the Lamb wheresoever he goeth.

And he who sitteth upon the cloud smote his scythe [scimitar] towards the earth; and the earth was cleansed.

. . . and blood hast thou given them to drink. [But] are they worthy?

. . . and it was given him to consume men with fire.

. . . with whom [the Great Harlot, Mother of false religion] the Kings [? the Seven Rulers, her sons] of the Earth fornicated, and they who inhabit her [? the Cosmic Mother] were made drunk from the wine of her fornication.

And the woman . . . having a golden cup in her hand filled with abominations, yea [holding] befoulings of the fornication of the earth . . .

There are seven mountains, where the woman sits on them.

And the Beast, he too is eighth and is from [lit. out of] the seven . . .

This seems to me to be a clear reference to the familiar gnostic symbolism of the ogdoad and hebdomad.

18 These [the ten horns/kings] have one mind, and they give their power and authority unto the beast.

15 . . . The waters which thou sawest, where the harlot sitteth, are peoples . . .

17 For God did put in their hearts to do his mind . . .

xviii. 2 And he [another angel] cried with a mighty voice, saying, Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great, and is become a habitation of devils, and a hold of every unclean spirit, and a hold of every unclean and hateful bird.

xxii. 17 And the Spirit and the Bride say, Come. And he that heareth, let him say, Come. And he that is athirst, let him come: he that will, let him take the water of life freely.

As to the 'authorship' of the document, the very well attested early tradition of the martyrdom of John, son of Zebedee, prior to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70/71 A.D.,—which tradition Zahn has of course to do all he can to discredit, though vainly,—cuts clean across the later tradition of the supposed centenarian apostle who was still alive in the middle of the last decade of the first century, when he performed the greatest miracle of New Testament times, and simultaneously composed the Apocalypse and the

These have one opinion and power and authority, and they give their authority unto the Beast.

. . . : These (n. pl.), which thou sawest, where the harlot sitteth, are peoples . . .

For GOD gave counsel [determination] unto their hearts to make [firm] their decision [or opinion] . . .

And he cried with a strong voice, saying: She fell, Babylon the Great fell, and became dwelling-place of demons and prison of every unclean and hated [wild] beast and of every unclean and hated bird [? of prey].

And the Spirit and the Bride say: Come. And he that will, let him come, let him take the water of life freely.

Fourth Gospel. For the compilers of these two outstandingly contrasted documents we who seek for fact are left with the assumption of *two* 'presbyters' of 'Ephesus' on our hands, as the most likely hypothesis up to date. One of these may have been Papias' 'elder,' but which of them—the Evangelic or Apocalyptic—he was, even this we do not know. As to the original Jewish nucleus of the Apocalypse—the supposition that it may have been current in John the Baptist circles is not devoid of all probability.

G. R. S. MEAD.

THE PROBLEM OF SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS.

R. L. EAGLE.

THE Sonnets of Shakespeare have a place beside the play of *Hamlet* in contention for the doubtful honour of being the cause of more perplexity and controversy than any other literary work in the English tongue.

WITH these words Professor R. M. Alden of Stanford University, California, begins the preface to his Variorum Edition of the Sonnets published in 1916. The war between the supporters of the Earl of Southampton and of the Earl of Pembroke lasted a hundred years, and seems to have resulted in the discomfiture of the latter. The theory that Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, is the 'friend' to whom many of the Sonnets are addressed was first proposed by Nathan Drake in 1817. Two years later saw the birth of the theory that William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was the 'beauteous and lovely youth.' An appendix to Alden's Variorum Edition is devoted to the arguments for and against both these principal theories, and in the summing up both are dismissed. Throughout, plausible objections are raised at every step, and the whole body of evidence is seen to be circumstantial and inferential.

John Churton Collins (*Ephemeræ Critica*, 1901) argued that, if anything is to be achieved, some entirely new method must be worked out. No purpose could be served by assuming, rejecting, questioning, suggest-

ing what has been assumed, rejected, questioned and suggested over and over again. He says:

The problem presented by these Sonnets is undoubtedly the most fascinating problem in all literature. The enigma presented by them is as insoluble as ever, and all attempts to throw light on it have served to effect nothing more than to make darkness visible and confusion worse confounded.

Indeed, it may now be said with literal truth that, unless some fresh discovery is made, nothing new whether in the way of absurdity or sense can be advanced on this subject.

If all the scholarship of eminent men-of-letters has failed to clear the air, it must surely seem futile for one outside that select circle to say anything more on such a difficult and thorny subject. But I cannot bring Southampton, Pembroke, Essex or any other of the supposed patrons of the actor into any reasonable distance of being identical with the poet's 'sweet boy.' For me the Sonnets are not addressed to, and do not in the least concern, any patron or friend. Objection will perhaps be raised on the grounds of the familiar reference in Meres's *Palladis Tamia*, published in 1598, to Shakespeare's 'sugred sonnets among his private friends.' There are no Sonnets among those which have come down to us, that are in the nature of 'sugared' sonnets. Meres refers to verses written in sugared ink so that the writing would shine. These were frequently sent as compliments between literary gentlemen, and there is an example of a 'sugared sonnet' written by John Davies of Hereford in 1610 and addressed:

"To the royall, ingenious, and all-learned Knight,
Sr Francis Bacon."

THY *bounty* and the *Beauty* of thy Witt
Comprisd in Lists of *Law* and learned *Arts*,
Each making thee for great *Employment* fitt

Which now thou hast, (though short of thy deserts)
 Compells my pen to let fall shining *Inke*
 And to bedew the *Baies* that *deck* thy *Front* ;
 And to thy health in *Helicon* to drinke
 As to her *Bellamour* the *Muse* is wont :
 For thou dost her embozom ; and dost vse
 Her company for sport twixt grave affaires ;
 So vtterst Law the livelyer through thy *Muse*.
 And for that all thy *Notes* are sweetest *Aires* ;
My Muse thus notes thy worth in eu'ry Line,
With yncke which thus she sugers ; so, to shine.

Had there been any such connection between the Sonnets and a nobleman, such as Lord Southampton, there would surely have been some evidence or tradition about the story. But Shakespeare's contemporaries apparently knew nothing about it, and the Earl's letters have thrown no light on the mystery. Were Lord Southampton the addressee, we should expect to find some reference to the promise of a distinguished political and military career. No more acceptable medium of complimenting his 'patron' upon the gallantry with which he acquitted himself on the Azores expedition of 1597 (for which he was knighted) could have been desired. But the youth is admired for his 'woman's face,' and his 'woman's gentle heart' (*Sonnet xx.*)—the most inappropriate description of the Earl that could possibly be written.

When John Abraham Heraud, in *Shakespeare and his Inner Life* (1865), wrote that after a careful study of the Sonnets he had come to the conclusion that "there is not a single Sonnet which is addressed to any individual at all," he came a little nearer to the truth. If he had added "apart from, or distinct from, the poet's own person and genius," I think he would have hit the mark.

It seems to me that Shakespeare is soliloquizing; treating his genius or 'better part' as a separate being. It is sometimes difficult to know when he addresses his own person, and when his poetic genius. In his own words the problem which confronts us is :

One of these is Genius to the other,
 which is the natural man,
 And which the spirit ? Who deciphers them ?
 (*Comedy of Errors*, v. 1.)

The argument of the first nineteen Sonnets is the respective advantages of renewing one's image in children, and of dedicating one's life to the production of works for the benefit of future ages. The decision is made in Nos. xviii. and xix. in favour of the image of the *mind* :

My love shall in my verse ever live young.

It is the argument that we find in Bacon's *Essay Of Marriage*, and in the *Essay Of Parents and Children* :

And surely a man shall see that the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to express the images of their minds where those of their bodies have failed; so as the care of posterity is most in those that have no posterity.

Bacon considered he was born for the service of mankind and described himself as 'the servant of posterity,' and a similar idea was in the mind of the Sonneteer. Forty winters had left their mark upon his features. On the table before him he sees himself as a handsome youth in a 'painted counterfeit,' and from this we get the description of the beautiful youth of these Sonnets. The painter could not draw the poet's mind. Only Shakespeare himself could attempt that task, and this he proceeds to do :

And you must live, drawn by your own sweet skill.

Lord Southampton was of a tempestuous and quarrelsome nature, and he was primarily a soldier. This being so, it is impossible to see on what grounds the important lines of the twentieth Sonnet can be reconciled with the theory accepted by Sir Sidney Lee and others. The first eight lines read:

A woman's face, with Nature's own hand painted,
 Hast thou, the Master-Mistress of my passion ;
 A woman's gentle heart, but not acquainted
 With shifting change, as is false woman's fashion ;
 An eye more bright than their's, less false in rolling,
 Gilding the object whereupon it gazeth ;
 A man in hew, all hews in his controlling
 Which steals men's eyes and women's souls amazeth.

Now, if this strange being with a woman's face and the 'hew' or form of a man, with an eye constantly rolling and gilding every object that catches his gaze, and with all 'hews' or shapes in his control taking possession of our hearts, is not the correct delineation of an ideal poet, according to Shakespeare himself, then I am much mistaken. It is 'the poet's *eye* in a fine frenzy *rolling*,' and turning 'the forms of things unknown' into shapes that are immortal. In *Love's Labour's Lost* (ii. 1)¹ we have a description of the philosopher-poet, Biron, whose "*eye* begets occasion for his wit," gilding every object it catches:

That *aged* ears play truant at his tales
 And *younger* hearings are quite ravished ;
 So sweet and voluble is his discourse.

In his *Apology for Poetry*, Sir Philip Sidney tells how the poet comes with a tale "which holdeth *children* from play, and *old men* from the chimney-corner."

¹ See Mr. Eagle's 'Shakespeare's First Play' in the July number. 1924.—ED.

How could the Earl of Southampton be compared with a treasure which the poet had not "locked up," but "left the prey of every vulgar thief" (xlvi.)? Surely Lord Southampton could look after himself! But not so Shakespeare's poetry. And how can we apply the wording of Sonnet liii. to such a theory? The lines could only concern the very essence of poetry itself:

What is your substance, whereof are you made,
That millions of strange shadows on you 'tend?
Since every one hath, every one, one shade,
And you, but one, can every shadow lend.

These shadows or shapes, attending on the object of the poet's worship, are surely identical with the 'several strange shapes' which wait upon the command of the 'magician' Prospero, who is undoubtedly a personification of Shakespeare at the period of bidding farewell to his art.

The Sonnets are a monument to the poet and his genius, and nobody else has any glory in them:

So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see,
So long lives this, and this gives life to thee.

This is 'self-praise'—a fault that Shakespeare always condemns—and so we find him suggesting an imaginary separation of his muse from himself, so that he can praise himself whilst seemingly bestowing his worship on another. In *All's Well that Ends Well*, he writes: "Then we wound our modesty and make foul the clearness of our own deservings when *of ourselves* we publish them." The identical thought appears in Bacon's *Essay Of Friendship*; the philosopher adding that it is "graceful in a friend's mouth," though

“blushing in a man’s own.” So we find Shakespeare writing :

O, how thy worth with manners may I sing,
 When thou art all the better part of me ?
 What can mine own praise to mine own self bring ?
 And what is it but mine own when I praise thee ?

It would have been no lack of manners for the poet to have praised *another* individual. But by ‘the better part’ of himself he clearly means his own immortal part. Ovid uses it for his poesy in his *Metamorphoses* and *Amores*, and Horace in his famous Ode to ‘The Poet’s Immortal Fame’ has the same expression.

If further confirmation is needed that self-praise is the theme of these Sonnets, we shall find it clearly stated in lxii. :

Sin of self-love possesseth all my eye,
 And all my soul, and all my every part ;
 And for this sin there is no remedy,
 It is so grounded inward in my heart.
 Methinks no face so gracious is as mine,
 No shape so true, no truth of such account ;
 And for myself mine own worth do define,
 As I all other in all worths surmount.

Lord Southampton would scarcely have regarded this as a compliment to himself ! Those who fondly imagine that these Sonnets were addressed to the Earl have overlooked the key to the interpretation of the lines given a little further on :

’Tis thee (*myself*) that for myself I praise.

Sonnet cxxiv. is also significant, for we are reminded that the poet’s ‘dear love’ is not like a mere ‘child of state’ (meaning a patron such as Southampton

or Essex), with whom Time does what he pleases, now raising him to the highest dignities, and now dragging him down to the scaffold or disgrace :

No, it was builded far from accident,
It suffers not in smiling pomp, nor falls
Under the blow of thrall'd discontent,
Whereto the inviting time our fashion calls.

It is as clear as anything can be that he is writing of something not 'subject to Time's love or to Time's hate,'—as Southampton and Essex proved to be—but of his poesy and the immortal 'heirs' of his 'invention.'

Assisted with the key to these Sonnets, there will be no difficulty when we come to the 'dark lady' series. The allusions are to a period when the poet abandoned contemplative ends for the feverish pursuit of Fortune—'the guilty goddess of his harmful deeds' (cxi.). Many of the ideas about the lady were evidently borrowed from Chaucer's description of "the love that cometh of Dame Fortune" in *The Romaunt of the Rose*, where the old poet rails upon her and her false and fickle nature in 'good set terms.' Indeed, as Bacon said, "inconstancy of fortune, with inconstancy of mind, makes a *dark* scene."

There are other allegorical poems of Shakespeare which have scarcely received the attention they deserve.

The immortal love of the Phoenix and Turtle is very likely symbolical of the love of Shakespeare (the Phoenix) for his poetry or philosophy (the Turtle-dove).

The poem *A Lover's Complaint* (printed with the Sonnets in 1609) is certainly an allegory concerning poetry. Here we have a similar beautiful youth in the

shape of an Apollo who represents the seductive charms of poetry :

To make the weeper laugh, the laughter weep,
He had the dialect and different skill
Catching all passions in his craft of will.
That he did in the general bosom reign
Of young, of old, and sexes both enchanted.

Surely an echo of Sonnet xx. :

Which steals *men's* eyes, and *women's* souls amazeth.

The setting of the poem has all the associations of the region of Parnassus—the two-peaked hill, the river (Hippocrene) and the horse (Pegasus). All the secrets of the poetic art and craft are contained in this short poem. That our poet should have been a master of allegory has not been suspected in the past. But here is a new field of research, promising most interesting discoveries, which will considerably affect Shakespearean criticism in the future.

R. L. EAGLE.

HUMAN PROGRESS.

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THE Idea of Progress in its relation to human life has been widely discussed during recent years, notably in Professor Bury's book, *The Idea of Progress*, in Dean Inge's Romanes Lecture on the same subject, in *Nature* by Sir E. Ray Lankester, and lately by Mr. Julian Huxley in *Essays of a Biologist*. Mr. Marvin (the editor) and others have also dealt with various aspects of the subject in the Unity Series of books.

But the series of ideas relating to social movement has hardly yet been completed and systematized. We may go somewhat further back than do Professor Bury and Dean Inge; and there are some lacunæ to fill and connecting links to supply before the full, continuous story can be presented, and its full significance recognized as a chapter in the history of thought.

The dates of many early historical events are still unsettled. But we know that a few centuries after civilization, with organized state-government and writing, had fairly begun in ancient Egypt, the earliest recorded social thought appeared. It is contained in the *Prisse Papyrus* of the XIIth Dynasty; but this is held to be a copy of a more ancient work, the latter part of which was written by a prince or official of the time of King Assa of the Vth Dynasty, probably about 2900 B.C.

In this work, the 'Proverbs of Ptah Hotep,'—'the oldest book in the world,'—we have, evidently, the thoughts of a contemplative old sage, registering the intimate ideas of the time. He indicates that the Egyptians, even then, were tiring of the supposed degenerate age in which they lived, and were looking back to the 'good old days,' when, as it seemed to them, they were a great people.¹

The earliest view was therefore that of degeneracy. It is fairly evident that the idea of a fall from a superior state became diffused in the ancient world, and that the idea underlies the numerous stories of the fall and destruction of mankind: witness the legend of the Egyptians, in which the catastrophe followed on a tendency to speak contemptuously of or blaspheme Ra, the Sumerian-Babylonian-Hebrew story of the flood and the Deucalion myth of the Greeks, which were similarly associated with the growth of impiety or wickedness. With these we may compare what is doubtless the most archaic form of all such legends,—that of the Kurnai, a tribe of Australian aborigines, and probably the lowest existing group of mankind, in which the destruction of man by fire and flood is said to have been consequent on the impious revelation of the sacred mysteries of the initiation-ceremony.²

It is well known that the ancient Greeks received some of their ideas from the Egyptians, the Babylonians and other peoples of the Orient; and the theory of degeneracy appeared among the Greeks within a few centuries of their establishment in Troy. It is well developed in Hesiod's *Works and Days* (c. 750

¹ *Historians' History of the World*, vols. i. and ii.

² Sollas, *Ancient Hunters*.

B.C.), with a distinct flavour of modern archæology, though with a different conclusion.

In order to account for Hesiod's system we must remember that the tradition of the time included something about the metals which were then in use, and of their discovery or appearance among the people. Hesiod mentions a time when men "knew not dark iron," and he put most of the metals in the correct order of appearance. Gold was probably discovered toward the end of the New Stone Age, bronze a little later, and iron, of course, toward the close of the Bronze Age. Silver probably came in late in the Bronze Age.

Gold and silver, being comparatively soft, easily workable and highly lustrous, were naturally enough associated with the superior social and moral condition, while bronze and iron evidently suggested 'hardness,' 'stubbornness,' 'darkness' and the like.

Hesiod describes five races or ages of men, the Golden Race being the earliest and highest type :

First of all a Golden Race of mortal men did the immortal dwellers in Olympus fashion. . . . Like gods they lived, having a soul unknowing sorrow. . . . Neither were they subject to miserable old age. . . . And they died as overcome with sleep. All good things were theirs . . . rich in flocks and herds and dear to the blessed gods.

An inferior and irreligious Race of Silver come next ; then a break in the 'fall' occurs, owing to the interpellation of a Heroic Age ; after which degeneration again proceeds and, following a stubborn and insolent Race of Bronze, the lowest condition or type of mankind, that of Hesiod's time, appear :

For now verily is a Race of Iron. Neither by day shall they ever cease from weariness and woe, neither in the night from

wasting, and sore cares shall the gods give them. . . . This race also of mortal men shall Zeus destroy. They shall give no honour to their swiftly ageing parents, and shall chide them with words of bitter speech ; sinful men, knowing not the fear of the gods. . . . Might shall be right, and one shall sack the other's city. Neither shall there be any respect for the oath abiding, or of the just, or of the good ; rather shall they honour the doer of evil and the man of insolence.

We find, however, another view emerging about 450 B.C. with Empedocles, who seems to have been the first Greek writer to put forward a system which may be called evolutionary or progressive, in a somewhat archaic sense. He made some attempt to explain the genesis of organic beings, including mankind ; he combined 'elements, forces and deities' so as to produce very quaint results, such as semi-human creatures with horned heads, beings of double sex and the like, which subsequently died out, leaving normal humanity.

Other Greek writers adopted the progressive view, at least so far as early man is concerned. In the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus we find a notable advance on the primitive scheme of Empedocles, and some approach to our modern ideas of the ascent of man :

When men first crept from out earth's womb, like worms,
Dumb speechless creatures with scarce human forms,
With nails or doubled fists they used to fight
For acorns or for sleeping-holes at nights
Till words and names were found, wherewith to mould
The sounds they uttered, and their thoughts unfold
. and began
To build them cities, guarding man from man,
And set up laws as barriers against strife,
That threatened person, property or wife.

The approach to the present-day anthropological idea is still more prominent in the work of the Roman

poet-scientist Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things*. Lucretius not only adds additional features of the life of primitive man, but adopts and puts in correct order the stages which are now fully established by recent archæology :

Yet man's first sons, as o'er the fields they trod . . .
 Nor crooked ploughshares knew they, nor to drive,
 Deep in the earth, the rich returning spade . . .
 Nor knew they yet the crackling blaze t'excite,
 Or clothe their limbs with fur or savage hides,
 But groves concealed them, woods and hollow hills . . .
 Yet when at length rude huts they first devised,
 And fires, and garments, and in union sweet
 Man wedded woman, the pure joys indulged
 Of chaste connubial love, and children rose,
 The rough barbarians softened.

.
 Man's earliest arms were fingers, teeth and nails,
 And stones and fragments of the branching woods,
 Then fires and flames they joined, detected soon ;
 The Copper next : and last, as latest traced,
 The tyrant Iron.

This substantially correct outline of prehistoric human life was, however, not based, except perhaps to a very slight extent, on ascertained knowledge, and it was doubtless easy to overturn it. Though the work of Aristotle plainly pointed toward the developmental idea, biology was not sufficiently advanced to allow the formulation of a clear evolutionary view. Pre-historic archæology was, of course, unknown, and remained so until about the middle of the nineteenth century. The progressive idea, except so far as it is included in the cyclic theory (which was commonly adopted by the Greeks) disappeared, and with the spread of Christianity the doctrine of the creation and fall of man,—substantially that which had been held

by the peoples of the Orient for two or three thousand years,—reappeared, and it has, of course, held the field almost to our own day.

During the Middle Ages in the West, as Professor Bury remarks, the general orientation of thought was unfavourable to the idea of natural human progress. The predominant idea was that of a world in decay, of a world which would soon come to an end. It was not until the sixteenth century that Bodin put forth the earliest modern progressive theory. He was followed by many writers on social affairs, notably Condorcet, Comte and Spencer. But their views, though influential, lacked a sufficiently definite inductive basis, and it was still possible, in the middle of the nineteenth century, to deny, with some plausibility, that the doctrine of progress could be established historically, that is, on the facts of history which were then fairly known, the history that is from Greek to Modern times. General support was then furnished by the establishment of the principle of evolution; and this support was enforced by the growing recognition of the fact of human evolution. It was not, however, until the disclosure, during the last two or three decades, of the general course of the prehistoric life and progress of mankind, based on archæological discovery, in conjunction with recent discovery and interpretation in ancient history, and the clear continuity existing between them, that an adequate basis became available.

Let us contemplate the notable advances made during the Stone Age and the period of ancient civilization: the increase in the size of the brain and the rise from the lower bodily condition to the modern type of human posture, feature and stature; the

acquisition of articulate speech, the discovery of the use of fire; the passage from the wild, unsheltered, unclothed state, to the more social life, with skin, and then textile, clothing, to prepared hearths, huts and pile-villages; the appearance and development of primitive art and architecture (megalithic tombs or temples), which, in conjunction with ceremonial burial, indicate the rise of religious or magico-religious cult; while the few rough and simple tools increased in number, workmanship and complexity, progressing to the bow and arrow, harpoon, stone-lamp, awl and needle, to pottery, basketry, net- and cloth-making, to the domestication of animals and to agriculture; the primitive surgery (unearthed bones show that injuries were treated, and that while some operations failed, others were clearly successful); the communal and divided labour, evidenced by the working of flint-mines and the erection of the megaliths and villages; followed during the early historic period by the formation of the organized nation, the invention of writing, the rise and extension of written literature, science, philosophy, education and other familiar features. When we contemplate these advances, there appears to be no further room for doubt that progress has not only prevailed, but that it has been fairly constant during a long period,—indeed of, probably, not less than 250,000 years. For though the Near East and much of Europe fell to the more or less barbarous Teutonic peoples, Arabs, Tatars and Turks, such incidents may be considered relatively ephemeral; and the civilizations of China, India and Central America¹ have persisted,

¹ Where, as is now known, the Mayas evolved a system of writing a calendar, associated with greater mathematical and astronomical accuracy than any other but our modern Gregorian calendar, and also a system of numerals, with place-value and zero (Kroeber, *Anthropology*), at about the time when Rome was declining towards its fall.

in all probability, for not less than 4,000, 3,000 and 2,000 years (or more) respectively, unmoved by the débâcle in the West.

We may now, therefore, reasonably reject the opinion of Dean Inge that belief in progress is a 'superstition,' and the conclusion of Professor Bury that such belief is an act of faith, like, for example, the belief in immortality; and we may accept the views of Sir E. Ray Lankester and others, that the degenerative, static and cyclic theories are superficial, because they are based on the consideration, at most, of a few thousand years of history, and that when the longer historical vista is contemplated the progressive conviction becomes irresistible. Finally, for the various reasons given, we shall concur with the conclusion of Prof. Pringle-Patterson,¹ that generalizations such as 'the normal law of growth and decay' of civilizations, based upon the history of the West, as put forward by Spengler, must be rejected.

J. REEVES.

¹ *The Philosophy of History.*

EDUCATION AND RHYTHMIC MOVEMENT.

E. JAKUES-DALCROZE.

EDUCATION does not consist in creating faculties which the pupil does not possess, but rather in enabling him to obtain the utmost possible benefit from those he does possess. The teacher who succeeds in this difficult task will at the same time develop freedom of action and thought in his pupils, thus stimulating them in the direction of creative effort. To attain this end, all teachers should understand, among other things, the difference between instruction and education. Instruction is passive ; it is a means of accumulating knowledge. Education is an active force working upon the will and tending to co-ordinate the various vital functions. The teaching profession has fallen into disfavour on the Continent more than in England. It is nevertheless well to remember that many of the finest intellects have grappled with the problems of child-education. We recall Plato, Fénelon, Montaigne, Rousseau, Schiller, Goethe and Spencer, to mention only a few, and the remarkable thing is that all agree in regarding early childhood as the critical—and yet the most interesting—period from the educational standpoint.

One of the most recent developments in educational theory regards education as the study of physical and moral qualities in their relation to life. It is not so

very long ago that the child was found to have a sort of physical consciousness,—one that had been too long and too utterly neglected. In certain recent text-books indeed I have come across the expression ‘rhythmic education’; but on closer examination, I have found the phrase corresponded to no practical reality whatsoever. My practical experience is that the majority of the children I teach have not been prepared for the kind of instruction I wish to give them. Of course one does not expect to find the body of a child of five or six years of age perfectly formed and fully developed; but one is frequently amazed to note how greatly it has been neglected during the first few years of life.

From about the age of ten months the child learns to imitate the movements shown him and also to link on some idea to each movement. The utmost possible advantage should be taken of this natural aptitude. A baby, for instance, cannot too soon begin to understand the meaning of ‘right’ or ‘left.’ In teaching him, it is not enough to point to his right hand and then to one’s own, while saying ‘right.’ At a very early age the child should be taught the meaning of direction by his instructor standing behind him and making him bend the whole of his body to right and to left. Every movement should be encouraged; yet parents frequently make the mistake of completely neglecting this particular phase of education. Children ought to be urged and encouraged to move, not only their arms in response to a word or an idea, but also their legs, their head, neck, shoulders, eyes, etc. They should learn the meaning of ‘horizontal’ and of ‘vertical’ by being made to lie flat on the ground and then to stand upright. The parents’ words should

rouse their motor consciousness ; simultaneously with the growth of this particular consciousness will develop the power to perform each of the movements dwelt on in the mind. It often happens that parents attach too much importance to certain special organs, with the result that other organs are neglected. For instance, they educate a child's ear and neglect his eye. Very few children are trained to distinguish the various shades of one and the same colour. As regards the ear, it is of utmost importance, in my opinion, to teach children to distinguish, not only the various gradations of the musical scale, but also the direction from which a sound comes—from front or behind, above or below. What distance has the sound traversed? What is its intensity? Be it noted that a child is enormously interested in any game which appeals to his instinct for analysis. It is important then to utilize this tendency, and to keep his curiosity constantly alert by supplying him with fresh subjects for analysis,—under the form of amusement, of course, and taking every precaution against brain fatigue.

To return to the problem of body-movements,—it is a matter of regret that so few mothers know anything about anatomy. Occasionally indeed it happens that even specialists are incredibly ignorant on this matter. By 'specialists' I mean, for instance, teachers of the piano who know absolutely nothing of the mechanism of the hand, or masters of singing who know the larynx only by name. A mother who is instructed in the anatomy of her child's body, will assuredly stimulate quite instinctively a far greater variety of movements in the child than will a more ignorant mother. One can never insist too much on the importance of unreservedly encouraging children, from earliest infancy, to

experiment in all their powers of contraction and relaxation, of motion at varying degrees of speed, etc. The greater and more diversified the child's physical experience, the more numerous the facets, so to speak, which will reflect the child's imagination. The sure result—in addition to an excellent physical development—will be a certain intellectual quickening that brings out the faculty of benefiting by experience. No sooner has the child experimented on a number of movements than he unconsciously begins to classify them and to choose those most useful to him. The power of choice is the basis of the sense of freedom. If a child knows only one way to do some particular thing, his action is compulsory in its nature; he ceases to be a free agent. As an instance of early educational routine,—all babies, at birth, are potentially ambidextrous; and yet, taking children of seven years of age, scarcely more than one per cent. will be found to have developed this potentiality. One need not insist on the advantage of displaying the same skill in both limbs symmetrically, instead of imposing on a single hand the task of working for both. It is also unnecessary to dwell on the fact that the parallel development of both hands naturally implies superior equilibrium.

In the instruction of quite small children, what I call 'inhibition exercises' should not be neglected. All the same I would recommend parents not to check a movement of their children except for a definite purpose,—for example, to attract their attention or induce them to imitate some fresh movement. The development of attention in children tends to strengthen their brain-capacity. It is as important for the child to be able to fix his attention instantaneously as not to do this in an exaggerated way.

Thirty seconds of attention at a time is sufficient for a child of twelve months; from two to three minutes should be regarded as a maximum for a child between two and three years of age. The natural qualities which benefit by education of the attention are chiefly memory and concentration; and the best means of training the attention of children is to play intelligently with them. Games should be joy-giving; I look upon joy as the most powerful of all mental stimuli.

It is, therefore, erroneous to imagine that the task of parents has come to an end when the child begins to play. On the other hand, no action retains its virtue as a stimulus if repeated so frequently as to become automatic. This is why care should be taken to have the greatest possible variety of games played, and why every opportunity should be seized of introducing fresh elements. Lack of variety brings about stagnation. The ideal form of play is that between two children; the second child supplies opportunities for emulation. The main thing to remember is that the function of parents and teachers is to strengthen and develop the child in such fashion that mind and body form a perfect instrument whereon to learn to play the song of life.

* * *

The period of child-development dealt with up to this point is the one preceding the time when the child becomes really capable of thinking. When this moment arrives, he begins to observe his sensations and gradually learns to co-ordinate them. If at the same time he has the chance of being taught rhythmic movement, he learns, not only to set up relations between his acts, but to give them an object definitely perceived, thus strengthening his will-power. The

greater the variety of movements taught him by his mother, the better equipped will he be for taking full advantage of the lessons both of school and of life itself. And when this truth has become more widely known and practised, there will come about a considerable amelioration in the human race, and the many problems of education will be more easy to solve. For, after all, the aim of education is to do away with harmful and useless habits, to encourage those that are beneficial and profitable. Brain, nerves and muscles ought to thrill with an intense vital stream, whose function it is to transmit sensations, emotions and ideas. The power that sends forth this stream and regulates its output is rhythm,—sovereign master of movement and rest, of sound and silence, of light and shade, of joy and pain, of defeat and victory.

* * *

The first intellectual exercises of children should be precisely measured; for measured movement is either the inevitable prelude or consequence of rhythmic movement. Any break of equilibrium, any unexpected interruption of uniform movement, produces rhythm. Once this rhythm is created or awakened, it is the part of the sense of metre to order it and assign to it its place. Children should learn to perform the same movement at varied degrees of speed. Many people do not reflect that a slow movement implies a greater complexity of muscular efforts than does a rapid movement, seeing that it introduces the equilibrium-factor, which necessitates the balanced operation of antagonistic forces. The mechanism of running differs essentially from that of walking. The difference between apparently similar movements performed at varying degrees of speed is so great, that the fact of

a child being able to execute a movement at a given speed in no way helps him to do it at a greater or a less speed. Consequently, it is to be desired that children should learn to perform the greatest possible number of movements *at all degrees of speed*. As a rule, they take the utmost pleasure in such exercises; for the study of degrees of speed teaches them about the gradations of muscular activity. There ought to be established a relation between slow and rapid movements, between short and prolonged gestures, between movements that are sudden and violent and those that are simple and protracted. The study of these relations is nothing else than the study of rhythm.

Charles Lalo says somewhere, that rhythm is a muscular phenomenon. To this I will add that the rhythmic instinct is the ability which our muscular system possesses of perceiving the duration and the gradations of bodily movements, and that the science of rhythm is the power of appreciating the relations of movements to one another, of bringing measured movements under the control of the mind. Rhythm, consequently, is by no means an exclusive appanage of the musical art. Indeed, the teaching of rhythmic movement, although based on music, is not solely a preparation for musical studies, but rather a system of general culture. Manifestly, the musician will benefit greatly from studies in rhythmic movement; though these will be equally beneficial to the future painter or to any other future creator. Musicians who are anxious to teach it, will possess, at the outset and from the rhythmic point of view, only one superiority over other classes of artists: they will already be familiar with time-notation and with certain other intellectual elements. But, on the whole, the simple

knowledge of music does not constitute a preparation more favourable to the study of rhythmic movement than does the simple knowledge of bodily rhythms to the study of rhythmic sounds. Rhythm and sound ought to complement each other, just as in the study of the fine arts rhythm, line and colour complement each other. The aim of rhythmic gymnastics is to develop mind and feeling in everything connected with art and life. Its study is all the more indispensable to the musician; since music without rhythm is lifeless, whereas rhythm and movement are essential factors of every form of art and are indispensable to every thoroughly cultured human being. Consequently, the study of the laws of motion is necessary for every child, as well as for teachers and parents.

Children are of widely differing temperaments, and the relations between the movements of each particular child differ accordingly. Some children are restless, others apathetic; some always strained, others limp and flaccid. These differences of character should be observed and taken into consideration; for if children do not learn to struggle against the defects of their nature, they will commit faults which will hinder and retard their development throughout life. One cannot struggle against each fault separately; it is the root cause of the defects which must be sought. Once this root cause is removed, the partial manifestations will disappear of themselves. Therefore exercises for children must not be chosen in haphazard fashion. In my system each lesson is most carefully broken up into distinct 'chapters,' as it were. To teach it properly, each chapter should figure in each lesson, even though it be as a simple exercise. This latter, however, should always be given to the child in two

distinct ways: first, to awaken spontaneity of mind and body, and diminish the interval of time between the conception of an act and its realization; second, to bring order into the child's spontaneous bodily manifestations.

Instruction thus given will stimulate intuition and will endow the pupils with perfectly organized bodies, both mental and physical. It is unnecessary to remind educationists how wide is the field of action if they aim at performing their task in a manner creditable to the profession; but I should like to recommend to their notice one of the criteria I apply to myself. I ask myself: "Am I happy,—I whose task it is to educate tiny children and prepare them for the future?"—Confronted with this question, we are all sometimes constrained to silence, to bow the head. On the other hand, when we are able to leave the class with the feeling that we have given of our best, and have done all we could to hand on to the coming generation an ideal towards which we, for the most part, have done no more than vainly try to reach, then we can exclaim with conviction and in all earnestness: "Yes, I am happy, perfectly happy."

E. JAKES-DALCROZE.

(Authorised Translation by FRED ROTHWELL.)

BEAUTY FOR ASHES.

THE amazing thing about beauty is that it lays its divine gesture upon our souls when we sometimes expect and deserve not beauty but ashes. Some meanness has taken hold of the thread of our actions and caught us at a moment when the nobler instincts within us have been sleeping, wearied perhaps with the incessant strain of battling for the high citadel of our hearts. The cruder elements of our so human nature have gripped us till, hurt with the pain of resistance, we succumb to the easier and weaker way, leaving a trail of sorrowing angels to cover up the path of our failure.

The same chink in our spiritual armour that betrays us to the soul's relentless enemy, is the very path that beauty takes to reach us in some unexpected region of our being that the broad daylight of life could never pierce. The subtlety of this approach is but another proof that the heart of man is ever vulnerable, whatever the keeper of the mind tries to dictate. It is a realm beyond our mental ken, where the ordered processes of psychological fact cannot penetrate. The dust from the ashes of sin is blown against the portal but cannot enter. There is a deeper thing than sin, there is a more potent power than the brain: a few chords of divine music, the slender artistry of a flower, the dear call that love alone can answer . . . these are the paths of beauty to the soul, these are the magic keys to the shining door of immortality.

When we condemn the ashes of life we forget that they once were flame, leaping burning desire. Beginning with a spark and ending a cinder to shed its dust in unremembered tombs; so are our sins, and so our noble works,—the end the same, a spent and broken dream; the only difference being the colour of the flame, the one scarlet and the other the pure gold of high endeavour. Yet each consumes the soul from whence it came; the once bright ecstasy is passed either to be a memory of good or evil, leaving its blazoned sign for history to praise or to condemn. And how shall we judge? By what eternal standard shall we give merit or demerit, when we ourselves, the poor phantoms of a worn-out creed, can only call in our helpless way upon the God of our vision for deeper understanding and patient forgiveness?

The wise speak to us from a land afar; theirs is a dream we cannot catch, a breath that steals upon our hearts like the now faint memory of a poem we've half forgotten. The rhythm and cadence are lost to us, but we try to clasp the beauty that was in the poet's soul when he wrote his glamorous words. The worth or failure of our days is just the depths to which we can plunge our souls into this beauty, taking its strength and purity for our own, yet leaving the source as rich and plenteous as when we dipped our pitcher into its crystal mass. That is the nameless wonder of all beauty, the limitless shores against which the ebb and flow of our visions press, governed by the moon of our desires.

Do we falter into the ill abodes of fear and hatred, we are not fortuitously damned by the ignorant passion that led us there; for beauty is in all places, spread like a fragrance in the very haunts of hell, saving us

despite our foolhardiness and heedless indifference. In the dirtiest hovel, be there just the tiniest crack in the plastered wall, the blaze of sunlight will pierce the gloom, lighting the dark of each heart that dwells there, until somewhere, sometime, the "vision-call" is answered and eternity is safe at last.

"There is a vision that I cannot see
Although it haunteth and it troubleth me ;
There is a sense I cannot feel aright,
There is a day that endeth not with night.

"Some phantom dream it is that will not stay
To let the morning intercept its way,
A subtle sign that cannot be gainsaid,
A secret I may learn when I am dead."

This morning in my garden, just before the dawn, there was a moment of stillness that told me more of the drama of life than a crowded hour in the heart of a city. The waning crescent moon, riding the shadowy waves of the dark pine tops as they rose and fell in tune with the whispering breeze, emerged from a mist of cloud. A lonely star followed this stately barque on its eternal trail, while Time wound out for each of us our lonely destiny. There is no beginning and no end, only the passing through of souls on pilgrim-paths, meeting now joy now sorrow but ever striving to an end they will not know. I saw a moon freighted with human souls that here are known no more, but now each spark of beauty that shed its gleam upon this old earth's gloom in other days returns in quiet moonlight, reflecting peace.

For beauty never dies, but traces its immortal mystery over all the ages until this world does end.

JAMES S. MARSHALL.

THE SONG OF THE SIGHTLESS.

NAY, pity me not as if I were a barque
That in a night of fog across the dark
Hears the hoarse voice of ships that onward go
Into a daylight I can never know !
My world of light is now a world of sound,
A world of music ; and when Spring comes round
All Nature talks to me. The blatant crows
Whose noisy love-affairs the whole world knows
Din in my ears their amours. Lovesick herds
Speak in discreeter tones, and shy blackbirds
Confide in me their earliest longings, ere
Their love grows bolder with the lengthening year.
Each naked bough contains its chorister,—
From dawn to dark the whole air is astir
With song. I note the blackcap's tuneful grace,
The jay's falsetto, the hoarse raven's bass,
The lark's high alto and the wren's soprano,
The lesser whitethroat's scarcely heard piano,
The brisk allegro of the morning thrush,
The robin's scherzo in the neighbouring bush,
The playful starling's whistling obligato,
The nuthatch and his ceaseless pizzicato,
The wood-lark's long drawn-out arresting close,
The garden warbler's swift arpeggios ;
While through this joyous maze of turns and trills
I catch the low laugh of the daffodils.
And as I skirt the hedgerow, the primrose's
Faint scent its modest hiding-place discloses ;

The violet's incense in the sheltered dingles
With the rich perfume of the cowslip mingles,
Their cups abrim with April showers that sound
Like dancing fairies' footsteps on the ground.

I hear the lispings of the budding trees
Babbling their young joy to the mothering breeze,
Tree after tree stringing its swelling lyre
Until the full-fledged forest like a choir
Rehearses its deep anthem. The cuckoo
Starts its sly game of hide-and-seek anew,
Calling now near, now far. Its sad romance
The nightingale like a lone nun descants
From vespers until matins. The bee's hum
Reveals more plain than sight that May has come.
The lilac's nard-like smell, the heady fumes
Of the ripe vintage of laburnum blooms,
The elfin murmur of warm-scented meads,
The busy-body whisperings of the reeds,
The harsher note of bullrushes at play,
The dawdling river's sleepy roundelay,
The roses' honied breath, the ring-doves' croon,—
Announce the advent of melodious June.

The deathlike hush at noon, whose blistering heat
Drives awestruck bird and beast to seek retreat,
Ordaining a siesta none may break
(Only the grasshopper remains awake),
The cisterns of cool air that fill the dim
Wood's vaulted sunproof arches to the brim,
The tempest's stealthy raid, the tingling flash,
Unseen yet felt, the thunder's answering crash,
The rush, like myriad birds, of whirling rain
Beating its wings against the window-pane ;

The storm's sullen retreat, the fresh tart air
That tastes like wine, the soul subtly aware
Of earth aglow with new-born life, divine,
Glistening like Venus stepping from the brine ;
The sharper scent of mignonette and musk,
The wild things stirring in the growing dusk,
The whir of bats, the distant owl's ' cooe,'
The night breeze blowing inland from the sea,
The sense that almost seems a second sight
Of full-orbed moon and star-bespangled night,
O'er which a peace illimitable broods,—
Tell of proud Summer and her changing moods.

The asp-like hissing of the ripening wheat,
The fragrant apples pattering at my feet,
The soft accompaniment of falling leaves,
The pleasant crackle of the sun-scorched sheaves,
The flick of gossamer across my face,
Softer than lawn, more delicate than lace,
The clean aroma of the upturned tilth,
The pungent odours of the farmyard filth,
The reek of burning quicks that chokes the plain,
Smouldering like funeral pyres of the slain
Upon a stricken field, the zig-zag lane,
Littered with chestnuts bursting from their rind,
The birds' deserted chantries where the wind
Now trolls its ribald songs, the fetid fogs
Rising like noisome genii from the bogs,
The sousing dews, the sloppy mud and mire,
The lowing cattle gathered in the byre,
Jack Frost restarting on his nightly rounds,
The huntsman's ' View Halloo !,' the baying hounds,
The distant guns' ' tic-tac,' the pheasants' cry,—
Tell me of Autumn and her passing by.

The leafless trees that 'gainst each other grate
Their clashing antlers, or erect vibrate
Like giant tuning-forks that stab the skies,
Or with their long antennæ vocalize
The North wind's dumb lament, clawing the air
Like monstrous insects brandishing their bare
Lean tentacles, the scarifying cold,
The steamy whiff of sheep within the fold
Close-packed for warmth, the faint, weak chirp of birds
Half famished—far more pitiful than words,
The outlawed gulls' shrill keening overhead,
The brittle snow that underneath my tread
Makes muffled music, and the moss-like hoar
That sprouts around my lips, the cheerful roar
Of sizzling logs, the children whispering
Of Christmas and what Santa Claus may bring,
The goose with toothsome gravy basted thick,
The hiss of hungry snapdragons that lick
The luscious pudding with their lecherous tongue,
The oranges and nuts scrambled among
The younger folks, the glasses' rhythmic clink
As to each other's health the elders drink,
The bells' brisk salvos and the droning waits,—
Proclaim that Winter is within our gates.

Thus as the seasons change, my thoughts keep pace ;
And yet the old world in me holds its place
With the new world harmoniously blent
In one, since each remembered sound and scent
Calls up the scenes my mind can ne'er forget,
Like moving pictures in my memory set,
Living, yet immaterial, being such
As grimy-fingered Time can never smutch,
Transfigured by the heightened sense of touch,

The deeper intuition of strain and stress,
The finer sense of poise I now possess,
To such a tense embodiment, they seem
As true as to a dreamer seems the dream,
Nay, just as real to me as my own soul,
And with me forming part of some Great Whole.

If to the town I go, as in a swoon
I walk its streets, my thoughts half dazed and drowned
Through a Niagara of rushing sound,
Which lessens towards night, yet like the deep
Rests not, but murmurs even in its sleep ;
Its magic cadence like a lullaby
Enfolds me in a drowsy ecstasy,
Which, as it bathes my tired spirit, laves
Away my weariness with lustral waves,
While through this phantom orchestra I hear
Like plainsong soothing to my listening ear,
Man's hearty speech and woman's gentler tone,
That tell me here too I am not alone.

For, as the boundless Ocean's thundering swell
Is caught and prisoned in a tiny shell,
So I entrap and register each tone
And like an echo make it all my own.
But as all sound is closer still than sight,
These waves of sound pierce through the walls of night
That compasses my being round, and turn
To waves of light that with a radiance burn
That nought can tarnish, since this listening-in
Draws from the wide world and from all akin
Its music, nay, takes tribute of the spheres,
Of time not yet and of the long-lost years,
Till 'mid this flood of harmonies diverse

I hear the heart-beat of the Universe.
And so like one by lights and music led
Down Time's dim corridors my way I tread
With cheerful steps until my latest breath
To that low postern whose password is Death.

CLOUDESLEY BRERETON.

SLEEPING OUT ON THE QUANTOCK HILLS.

They have neither speech nor language but their voices are heard.

THERE are no words at all O stars, O stars,
No words at all,
But only voiceless whispers of the soul,
Evasive, small.

Only a silent crying to the night,
A longing tense
For wrapt communion with the Hidden Light
Of deeper sense.

Wide-eyed . . . and strange . . . and madly sensitive,
Outstretched and still,
Wondering and mazed I watch you, hung above
This heathered hill.

Till slowly from the darkness and the sky
Is Wisdom drawn,
And with it lifts behind the dew-drenched hills
The white moon-dawn ;

Till as a very part of me I *know*

 This holy place :

This heather-sprig that, ghostly-pearl'd and cool,

 Leans to my face ;—

The body of the earth that holds me close ;—

 Its living hair,

That to my body is a chosen bed ;—

 The cloud-cool air,

That breathes of open cleanness and all wild

 Unmeasured things . . .

And They who have no image come, and pass ;

 I feel their wings . . .

Yet I can never tell of this love-wisdom,

 This spirit-call :

There are no words at all O stars, O stars,

 No words at all !

F. H. ARNOLD ENGLEHEART.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

HERMETICA.

The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings which contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus. Edited with English Translation and Notes by Walter Scott. Vol. I.—Introduction: Texts and Translation. Oxford (Clarendon Press); 549 pp.; 80s. net.

IN 1906, when I published my translation of the extant sermons and fragments of the Trismegistic literature with prolegomena, commentaries and notes in three volumes, I expressed a hope that some one (preferably himself) would complete the work that Reitzenstein had so ably inaugurated in giving us a critical edition of the text of five (out of the seventeen) of the treatises of the so-called *corpus hermeticum*. In addition there were the texts of the (Latin translation of) the *Asclepius*, and the numerous excerpts in Stobæus and the rest of the scattered fragments, for which one had to depend on the latest edition of the respective authors in which they were found. The collection of all these texts under one cover was a prime necessity of Trismegistic study, and this has now been carried out by Walter Scott, the first volume of whose painstaking labours now lies before us. The work is planned to consist of four volumes (Vols. II. and III. of Commentary and Vol. IV. of Testimonia, Appendices and Indices), which, we understand, will shortly see the light. It is an irony of fate, a most tragical happening, that Scott passed away just as the first volume of his life-work was coming from the press; and so the hand that wrote the piles of MSS. which we remember to have seen heaped up on a large deal table in his study at Oxford, is no longer with us to give the finishing touches to so great an undertaking. *Sit ei terra levis!* The first volume cannot be properly judged before the rest of the work is issued, and the reasons and detailed arguments for the summary opinions in the Introduction and the manipulations of the texts are laid before us. Our estimate must be provisional. Scott seems to take up the position that the type of philosophizing throughout the Trismegistic movements is purely

Hellenic—Stoic-Platonic, and not Hellenistic. He admits at best a faint aroma of a 'something' else; but whatever it was, this 'something' was not Egyptian. Here he comes into strait antagonism with the high authority of Reitzenstein (*Poimandres*, 1904), not to speak of others. For instance, he dismisses with contempt not only the opinion of Sir Flinders Petrie that the prototypes of the documents are pre-Christian, which is somewhat problematical, but also this distinguished Egyptologist's judgment that they reflect or overwork in part Egyptian notions. This partly Egyptian background, however, cannot be waved out of court in so cavalier a fashion. But before saying anything further on the subject, we must have Scott's grounds for his opinion before us. Again, just as we find Legge lately with the *Pistis Sophia* making the earliest of the documents in that Gnostic miscellany the latest, so we find Scott making the *Poimandres* treatise late in the order of sequence of Trismegistic tractates. The trouble with our religio-philosophers is that they are nameless, and that, save in the Latin *Asclepius*, there is no mention of anything in their tractates that can be deemed historical. Hence our difficulty in defining the time-frame of our documents. Probably, as we have them, they fall together within the compass of the first three centuries; the oldest of those extant may very well be contemporary with Philo, while there may have been once still earlier specimens of the same literature. They are indubitably Alexandrian; and Scott, who would place *all* of them late—third century at best—is not averse from thinking that an Ammonius Saccas may have written some of them. The famous prophetic lament over the coming downfall of the Egyptian religion and the persecution of its followers, in the *Asclepius*, Scott would refer definitely to the occupation of Egypt by the Palmyrene forces in 268/69-271, in the days of Zenobia. It is an interesting hypothesis, but is not very convincing; for the problem differs from similar problems in the Sibylline books, which purport throughout to deal with history, and in which we can tell with fair certainty where the author-poet of a certain section comes to the end of his 'history' and begins to 'prophecy.' In the Trismegistic tractates there is no history to guide us at all; and some of us at any rate cannot rule out the possibility that a school and tradition with strongly mystical interests and experiences may have been keenly apprehensive of the future, and have forecasted a lurid picture of what they felt coming.

To come to the text and translations. Outside the *corpus*,

Scott depends on the last critical texts of Stobæus and the rest. For the *corpus*, he has used three Oxford MSS. (which, however, yield little), in addition to those collated by Reitzenstein together with the printed texts. On this foundation he proceeds to erect a complicated structure of 'emendations' of a highly speculative nature. I have never come across a more drastic 'emendation' of texts in classical literature. Whole clauses are frequently transposed; and over and over again a term that makes quite good sense, nay, arrests the attention and infuses a lively meaning into the discourse, at least for any reader who is sensible to mystic thought, is replaced by a banality, a commonplace. Scott would have the Poemandrist write what he thinks he ought to have written from his (Scott's) standpoint, which may be comprehensible in a pedestrian way, but which only too frequently takes all the poetry out of the original. This, I venture to submit, is not the way to 'edit' a text, and above all a text savouring of mystical thought. The term as found should stand in the text, and the conjecture be left to the footnotes. I frankly prefer the text of Reitzenstein. As to the translation, I can perhaps do no better than append the opening of the first tract of the *corpus* in my own version, followed by that of Scott, and leave the readers to judge for themselves. I used Reitzenstein's legitimate critical text, and did not venture to pull the traditional phrasing about and deform it. For me there was a certain beauty and dignity about the original, when rendered closely and sympathetically, and I do not find that Scott has improved upon that original.

"1. It chanced once on a time my mind was meditating on the things that are, my thought was raised to a great height, the senses of my body being held back—just as men are who are weighed down with sleep after a fill of food, or from fatigue of body.

"Methought a Being more than vast, in size beyond all bounds, called out my name and saith: What wouldst thou hear and see, and what hast thou in mind to learn and know.

"2. And I do say: Who art thou?

"He saith: I am Man-Shepherd, Mind of all masterhood; I know what thou desirest and I'm with thee everywhere.

"3. [And] I reply: I long to learn the things that are, and comprehend their nature, and know God. This is, I said, what I desire to hear.

“He answered back to me: Hold in thy mind all thou wouldst know, and I will teach thee.

“4. E'en with these words His aspect changed, and straight-way, in the twinkling of an eye, all things were opened to me, and I see a Vision limitless, all things turned into Light,—sweet, joyous [Light]. And I became transported as I gazed.”

“Once on a time, when I had begun to think about the things that are, and my thoughts had soared high aloft, while my bodily senses had been put under restraint by sleep,—yet not [a speculative new reading] such sleep as that of men weighed down by fullness of food or by bodily weariness,—methought there came to me a Being of vast and boundless magnitude, who called me by my name, and said to me, ‘What do you wish to see and hear, and to learn and come to know by thought?’ ‘Who are you?’ I said. ‘I,’ said he, ‘am Poimandres, the Mind of the Sovereignty.’ ‘I would fain learn,’ said I, ‘the things that are, and understand their nature, and get knowledge of God. Those,’ I said, ‘are the things of which I wish to hear.’ He answered, ‘I know what you wish, for indeed I am with you everywhere [a violent and quite unjustifiable transposition from § 2] ; keep in mind all that you desire to learn, and I will teach you.

“When he had thus spoken, forthwith all things changed in aspect before me [another violent transposition], and were opened out in a moment. And I beheld a boundless view; all was changed into light, a mild [an unnecessary ‘emendation’] and joyous light; and I marvelled when I saw it.”

Where I am most heartily in agreement with Scott is that he will in no way countenance the view that the Trismegistic literature owes anything to Christianity. But until the remaining volumes are published, it is impossible to do more than write a very general note on so vast an undertaking, involving a labour which few can better appreciate than myself. If in other respects, apart from text and translation, it helps us better to understand this very remarkable tradition of Hellenistic gnosis, no one will be more grateful than the pioneer collector and surveyor of the whole material. The volume is remarkable as seemingly the only work of substance written by the deceased scholar.

G. R. S. M.

PISTIS SOPHIA.

Ein gnostisches Original Werk des dritten Jahrhunderts aus dem Koptischen übersetzt. Im neuer Bearbeitung mit einleitenden Untersuchungen und Indices herausgegeben von D. Dr. Carl Schmidt, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Berlin. Leipzig (Hinrichs); pp. xcii. + 308. Gm. 10.50 (paper), 12 (bound).

Pistis Sophia (Text) neu herausgegeben, mit Einleitung nebst griechischem und koptischem Wort-und Namenregister, von D. Dr. Carl Schmidt. Copenhagen (Gyldendal). Vol. II. of *Coptica consilio et impensis Instituti Rask-Oerstediani edita.*

THE so-called *Pistis Sophia* miscellany of original gnostic documents in Coptic translation, which gave us for the first time the possibility of making immediate acquaintance with Christianizing gnostic speculations undeformed by unfriendly hands, cannot complain of being neglected in the last four years. In 1921 I published an entirely new edition of my early pioneer attempt at Englishing the documents (in 1896), based on the Latin and French versions, before Carl Schmidt's indispensable labours on the subject had seen the light. To him I owe the far greater accuracy of my now greatly improved version. At the end of last year Legge's Introduction and Horner's Literal Translation appeared. This was reviewed in our last issue; and we are pleased to see that in all essential points the unfortunately unfavourable opinion we felt compelled to express on Legge's views is confirmed by the high authority of the man who is best capable of forming a judgment. We have now before us a revised edition of Schmidt's Text and Translation (first published in 1905) and an entirely rewritten and enlarged Introduction. Schmidt has once more collated his text with the original; but so well had he done the work already, that only a very few emendations could be gleaned. Equally so for his translation; here the most striking change is in connection with the mysterious words written on the Glorious Vesture of Jesus in his final mystical Ascension. These were given as 'five' in number by all previous translators; but this distinctive number is now found to be an error, and the mystic syllables no longer appear broken up into five groups. The new Introduction is an admirable piece of work. One of the most important results arrived at is in regard to the composition

of what I have called this Gnostic Miscellany. In Schmidt's judgment the Askew Codex consists of two distinct works. Of these the longer one further contains three treatises; but these are of the same character, and are only externally separated from one another. And here comes in a very acute bit of critical palæographical work and an arresting example of scientific insight. They were originally divided up on three papyrus-rolls before they were copied out in the parchment book-form of the Askew Codex. Hence perchance the colophons 'The Rolls of the Saviour.' The second, independent, work was appended to fill up the lengthy space of the third roll which remained empty. In all we can distinguish five documents and a fragment; these are as a whole incomplete and must be regarded as excerpts from more extensive writings. Two of these (1 and 4) are written by different authors, and the same holds good also more or less of two others (3 and 5). As to the date of the Askew Codex copy, Schmidt would give it as early—namely the 2nd half of the 4th century, reverting in this to the judgment of Woide. The original language of the *P.S.* was indubitably Greek, and Schmidt most trenchantly criticises the view of the few voices who have ventured to express an opinion to the contrary. As to the time of composition of the Greek originals,—for Bks. I.-III. Schmidt agrees with Harnack that the 2nd half of the 3rd century is the most probable date; I can, however, see no reason why they may not equally well be assigned to the 1st half of that century; Harnack's argument does not seem to me at all decisive. The Books of Yew of the Bruce Codex, referred to and quoted from in *P.S.*, must be older. Indeed Schmidt himself would assign Bk. IV. of the *P.S.* Miscellany to the 1st half of the 3rd century, and therewith would place the two Yew-books at the very beginning of that century. But this seems to me not to allow sufficient time for a tradition of their great antiquity to have developed, and I see no difficulty in putting them 50 years earlier. Much labour and ingenuity has been expended on the problem of determining to what special school of the Christianizing Gnosis,—as far as we know such schools,—the *P.S.* is to be assigned. But precision of name seems here out of the question. We are, however, able now to state the general features of the problem far more accurately. It is a problem which concerns, not only the treatises of the Askew Codex, but also those of the Bruce Codex, and also, still more widely extensive, of the (as yet untranslated) Berlin Codex. All the Coptic Gnostic works known to us are thus contained within a single ring. The

whole of these writings, from the earliest to the latest period of this tradition, stand in close connection with one another. This is new; and no one but Prof. Schmidt, who alone knows the contents of the Berlin Codex, could have arrived at this summary. Further, he tells us that they all arise within the widely extended group of the 'Gnostici.' So much is certain; but to assign any of them to a special name, such as the Sethians, is neither feasible nor necessary. But above all he hopes that, as the surest result of his researches, the death-blow will have been given to the Valentinian hypothesis.

Of that, no one who reads his acute analysis and far-reaching survey with intelligence will have any doubt. This short notice is incapable of doing justice to the excellence of Dr. Schmidt's labours. It requires one who has toiled in the field himself to appraise them at their true value; but to set them forth adequately requires, not only space, but an ability equal to that of the *doyen* of Coptic Gnostic research himself. And both these unfortunately fail us.

G. R. S. M.

A PHILOSOPHICAL STUDY OF MYSTICISM.

An Essay by Charles A. Bennett, Assist. Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. Yale University Press. London (Humphrey Milford); pp. 194; 12s. 6d. net.

IN memory of Amasa Stone Mather, who graduated from Yale in 1907 and died in 1920, a Publication Fund was established by his father, Mr. Samuel Mather. The book before us is one of the publications of this Foundation.

Its author candidly describes his work as 'an essay, everywhere tentative and incomplete,' and there is truth in the description, for we do not come away from its perusal with any clear-cut and positive theory of Mysticism; what we have is rather a series of suggestive and stimulating studies in the subject, arranged indeed upon a plan sufficiently clear, but not so rigidly systematic as to deprive the writer of freedom in dealing with his problems.

Professor Bennett is a philosopher, and it is in this temper that he writes. He comes to his subject *ab extra*, giving no hint that he has himself entered the 'enchanted garden' or shared the experiences of those with whose writings he is so appreciatively familiar. Perhaps the book's central point of interest is its attempt to understand and define the place and value of mysticism

in relation to other phases of human activity and experience. For, however true it is that the mystic element is *sui generis* and loses its quality and character so soon as we attempt to translate it into terms of philosophy or morality or our external interests or even into language, it is not less true that the mystic experience may not be left wholly and permanently in isolation. Our scheme and theory of life must bring it into some sort of relation with other elements of value. And here is the purpose of Professor Bennett's essay: mysticism has its relation alike to knowledge and to conduct (p. 6). And yet, while convinced of the reality and of the importance of mysticism, the Professor is under no delusion as to the scant appreciation with which it meets in the modern world. Our love of action, our naturalism, our secularism, are all rival and even antagonistic influences. They render us careless of the mystic claims. And we can adopt this attitude only to our loss.

The ambition of mysticism is Union with God. This is the subject of the first part of the essay. It is not a very definite description, but it rules out by implication certain other mistaken estimates, while it is compatible with the common religious experience that we live between two worlds, that the soul has an eye for eternity and an eye for time, that Martha and Mary have each their place in the spiritual household. There must be active moral preparation, but a certain passivity is also needful: "Remain steadfastly in thyself until thou art drawn out of thyself without any act of thine."

We pass on to consider Revelation. This is the second portion of the book. The mystic claims an illumination, a clue to the meaning of the universe, a certainty of the Presence of God. What may be implied in other knowledge and experience becomes here a matter of immediate realization. In this the action of the mind is intuitive, synoptic; there is a 'total-working' as well as a 'part-working' of our intelligence. The chapter on 'Intuition' and the later one, in which the relations of Intuition and Philosophy are discussed, especially deserve the reader's attention.

The mystic's claim to an immediate experience of reality being in principle admitted, it remains to bring the experience into relation with other factors. Such is the purpose of the third part of the essay, which deals with Religion and Morality, showing how mysticism like Art and Nature provides a refuge and alternative when moral issues tend to be too dominant and exacting. We are told something of the relation of mysticism to the problem

of Evil and to Institutions; a little also, not very explicitly, as to the prospects of mysticism in the future. In this last chapter the writer has made use of an article previously published on 'Art as an Antidote for Morality.' The intrinsic interest of this discussion does not, we think, entirely justify its place as the conclusion of Professor Bennett's essay.

On the whole, however, all who are interested in the subject will be grateful for this suggestive study. It is at once critical and constructive, marked by philosophic insight, yet not robbed of positive outlook by the detachment which sometimes accompanies philosophy.

Perhaps the central sentence of the book is the admission (p. 109): "The mystic has a right to his certainty." It is this point on which some readers will possibly feel that a little more might have been said. It is obviously fundamental and, though it has been often dealt with, the interest of the essay as a whole is so great that we are assured that Professor Bennett could say much more that we should be glad to read on the grounds for his acceptance of the mystic's claim. The hint, "the testing of it is another task" (p. 82) might be taken to promise what is hardly here fulfilled. But there is still time. We shall look for other books from the same author.

Another *desideratum* has struck us. Or possibly it is a particular phase of that already mentioned. We hear of Revelation in the central section of the essay; we hear also of Intuition. The direction of the processes implied by these two terms is different. In Revelation truth is 'borne in upon us' (p. 91). Reality makes its way into our consciousness. A certain passivity, as we have seen, marks the attitude of the recipient. But in Intuition, just as truly as in the judgments of discursive reason, though in a different manner, we are active. We grasp, apprehend, discover. After seeking we find (p. 109). Truth does not come to us; rather we go after and capture truth. In what relation do the two processes stand one to the other? Are they really the same event viewed from different standpoints? or are they complementary? or alternative? or in what connection are they to be harmonized in any general account of our experience, in particular, of that of the mystic? The bearing of this question upon the validity of the mystic claim is not difficult to see.

If there be amongst us, able to breathe the atmosphere of our modern western world, successors equal in spiritual attainment to the great mystics of the past, their estimate of Professor Bennett's

essay would be of singular interest. It may be suspected, however, that our age produces rather students of mysticism than spirits richly endowed with the genuine mystic's gift. However this may be, we count it of hopeful omen for the future that a writer who approaches the subject with such philosophic candour as this essay displays, should be so evidently convinced of the value and the validity of this phase of experience, and so assured in his belief that it is not irreconcilable with other more recognizable factors in the variegated complexity of the present life of man.

R. B. TOLLINTON.

NEW BOOKS ON THE HISTORY OF ASTROLOGY.

Wilhelm Gundel: *Stars and Constellations and the Beliefs of Ancient and Modern Times concerning them.* Bonn and Leipzig (Kurt Schroeder); pp. viii + 353; 10s.

Erwin Pfeiffer: *Studies in Ancient Astral Religion.* Leipzig (Teubner); pp. vi. + 132; 6s.

Abr. Warburg: *Paganist Prophecies in Words and Pictures in Luther's Time.* With 30 Text-illustrations and 5 Plates. Heidelberg (Winter); pp. 102; 6s.

LAST year, to the great loss of science, Professor Franz Boll of Heidelberg passed hence. As is well known, it is to Boll we owe the revival among classical scholars of interest in ancient astrology and kindred mystic lore. If anything can console us for the premature death of this great and fertile scholar, it is the knowledge that a number of able pupils are continuing his researches with obvious devotion and success. All three books sub-headed above are deservedly dedicated to him.

Gundel's book is invaluable; for the wealth of material collected and analysed between its covers is not confined to classical antiquity, but gleaned with equal diligence also from mediæval and modern sources. He treats, first of all, the typical primitive ideas of man concerning the constellations as bound up with naïve cosmological ideas, the animistic interpretation of stars as living beings (zöomorphic or anthropomorphic) and the laws governing the primitive naming of stars. The second part deals very fully and ably with the main conceptions of astral religion. The third, fourth and fifth parts treat of what the ancients considered the natural science of the stars, the physics

of the interaction of heavenly and terrestrial beings. Finally, the alleged possibility of magically influencing the stars, of freeing oneself from the domination of astral fate, etc., are discussed. A good index adds to the value of this well-produced book.

Erwin Pfeiffer is chiefly concerned with astro-meteorology,—that is, with the views of antiquity about the influences on terrestrial life, not of the planets, but of the fixed stars; together with the time-honoured problem, whether the heavenly bodies 'cause' (*poiein*) or simply 'indicate' (*sēmainein*) what happens or is going to happen on earth. He first develops the popular ideas on the subject, then the opinions of the Presocratics and, thirdly, the theories of the philosophers from Plato to Plotinus. There is a number of appendices, which treat special problems, such as the legends of philosophers who are said to have been able to influence the weather. The chapter on the soul and the stars (pp. 113ff.) will specially interest our readers.

Professor Abraham Warburg of Hamburg is a scholar of long established renown, whose interest in these questions is due to his studies in Renaissance art. For the purpose of studying these fascinating problems he has formed a huge special library, which is probably unique the world over. This he has thrown open to all scholars, who may come there to work under the guidance of its specially equipped librarian, Dr. Fritz Saxl. A number of invaluable discoveries have already been made by Prof. Warburg, and these have been elaborately published either owing to his own exertions or by the labour of his devoted pupils and helpers. Of these I will mention here only the 'find' of the principal handbook of medieval magical lore—the so-called *Picatrix* (=Pseudo-Hippocrates), from which most of the popular talismanic, hermetic and cabbalistic lore of the Renaissance artists and humanist scholars is derived. It will be published by H. Ritter (Arabic text and translation) and by W. Printz (Latin text with translation and commentaries). Prof. Warburg is also preparing a publication and full discussion of the astrological paintings in the *Salone* of Padua, an analysis of the astrological scheme underlying Raffael's famous frescoes in the Villa Farnesina, etc.

The essay before us is dedicated to the astrological and teratological speculations indulged in by Luther's friends as well as by his adversaries. The pictures, which he analyzes and compares with contemporary documents, have been neglected by the ordinary historian of the fine arts because they have no artistic

merits. Yet will they doubtless fascinate many of our readers, not only by their sheer quaintness, but also because of their far-reaching importance for the history of modern mysticism. We most sincerely hope that Prof. Warburg, who has but lately recovered from a grave illness, may be permitted to continue for long years to come his researches; that it may so please the mysterious powers of fate which overshadow the destinies of mankind now as of old, for his work is specially valuable.

Friedr. Normann. *Myths of the Stars*. Collected, edited and commented upon by F. N. With 17 Figs. in the Text, 12 Plates and a World-map. Gotha (Friedr. Andr. Perthes A. G.); pp. viii + 522.

THIS book belongs to another category than the three preceding works. The author has endeavoured to collect representative astral myths from the most different times and places, to group them systematically and to illustrate them by a number of well-chosen and extremely interesting reproductions. In a well-written introduction he attempts a general survey of the development of primitive cosmology. A congenial feature of this part of the volume is the sympathy of the author with the so-called primitive races and his criticism of misplaced missionary efforts. The work as a whole makes a very pleasant popular text-book for the general reader.

R. EISLER.

THE FOUR GOSPELS: A STUDY OF ORIGINS.

Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship and Dates. By Burnett Hillman Streeter, Hon. D.D. Edin., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, Canon of Hereford. London (Macmillan); pp. 662; 21s. net.

THIS is a very valuable contribution to the difficult subject of gospel-research, and chiefly because of the able summary and presentation of the MS.-tradition. Canon Streeter is to be heartily thanked by students of Christian origins for the able way in which he has set forth and examined the complex problems of the lower or textual criticism of the four canonical documents—'lower,' if you will, but fundamental and foundational; for unless you have recovered the actual literary foundations, on what can you reconstruct, if not the very first building, at any rate the earliest

possible that can be inferred from the existing documental remains? So much work has been done since Westcott-and-Hort's praiseworthy pioneer efforts to supply the textually ignorant 'Revisers' with a purged text (which for the most part they rejected) that even the guiding principle (the so-called 'Western text') of these two fine scholars has not only greatly to be modified, but, according to Canon Streeter (and we think the case he has made out is unanswerable)—entirely to be abandoned. Not, however, that the subconscious, blindly-working conservatives, reactionaries and apologists will have anything really to crow over, because W.-&H. is shown in general out of focus; on the contrary, the teeth of the obscurantists are for ever drawn. When we pass to the analysis of document-contents—the literary objective side of the so-called 'higher' criticism—we can also largely praise Canon Streeter's painstaking labours. He shows plainly, and rightly, that the famous symbol Q (Germ. *Quelle*, or Source), used to designate the second main source on which 'Luke' and 'Matthew' drew—in addition to the very considerable use they made, each in his own way, of our existing 'Mark,'¹—cannot be a single document, and that, therefore, all the efforts to 'reconstruct' Q have failed, and, according to the textual evidence, must fail. There were at least *two* forms of the Q-material (chiefly sayings, with very brief narrative, or what amounted to little else than headings), and 'Mark' may very well have already used yet another for some part of his exposition. But this is not all even with respect to literary fundamentals. Apart from the Birth and Childhood stories (pertaining most clearly, we may add, to what the Rabbis call *Agādōth* or oral *Legenda* and to *Toledōth* or Genealogies), there is to be detected a second special narrative-source in both 'Matthew' and 'Luke' (apart from their use of 'Mark'), and that too a differently composed source in either. Again, 'Matthew' takes the framework of 'Mark' into which to order his various materials; whereas 'Luke' takes his second source as his framing, and entirely sets aside 'Mark's' 'order.' All this is of much value, and is highly probably correct. But when our learned expositor comes to his own special pet theory (outlined a couple of years ago in *The Hibbert Journal*) he 'nods' very considerably, in our opinion, and joins, subconsciously, the ranks of apologetic writers. Canon Streeter will have it that 'Luke,' when a young man, wrote a short gospel, and that this supposed document is no less than

¹ The once favourite hypothesis of a Proto-Mark is now generally admitted to be otiose and contrary to all the evidence.

his second narrative-source. 'Luke' is thus held to be overwriting and expanding himself in the existing 'L.'-gospel. 'Proto-Mark' has, as we have seen, to go by the board; but 'Proto-Matthew' ('M.'s' second narrative-source) is independent of our 'Matthew.' Perhaps this at present nebulosity might be argued for by cheery optimists in the traditional camp as the real historical Matthew-document originally supposed to have been composed in Aramaic. But the 'Matthew' of Papias produced a collection of *logia* (oracles), not of *logoi* (sayings), which everyone rendered as best he could (from Heb. or Aram.) into Greek; and this collection, as Proff. Rendel Harris and Burch have shown once for all, belonged to, or was the original of, the type of the very first 'Christian' document. It was simply a collection of 'proof-texts' from the O.T., as so-thought 'testimonies against' the Jewish doctors, to prove that Jeshu ha-Notzri (Jesus the Nazarene) was indeed the fulfilment of the very varying 'prophecies' subsumed under the indiscriminating title 'Messianic.' (Here we may remark that as, according to Clement of Alexandria, the Genealogies (in 'Matth.' and 'Lk.') were 'written first,' these were probably contemporary with the 'proof-texts'-collection, and intended to make out the best case possible for Jesus being a 'son (i.e. descendant) of David.' We have in them evidently two attempts, with which their compilers even were unsatisfied, for they badly contradict one another.) To return to Canon Streeter's 'Lukan' fictive notion,—he holds that Luke as a very young man chanced to journey to the seaport of Cæsarea, in Samaria, and that there he picked up much valuable information—mainly oral. *Credat Judæo-christianus Apella!* This sort of thing will not do; there is not a scrap of evidence for such a supposal; and indeed the whole 'Lukan' authorship theory in its most general and now over-developed form, is, in our opinion, nigh breaking the camel's back of legitimate hypothesis. As we peruse Canon Streeter's closely packed, and often most valuable volume, we are for ever asking ourselves, as we con his 'Lukan' pages and references: Has this fine scholar completely repressed into his subconscious the very distinct and formal opening statement of the compiler, expander and editor of the existing 'Luke' document: "Forasmuch as *many* have taken in hand, etc." *Many* prior gospel-attempts were in existence when this evangelist, whoever he was, wrote—not a few only. How then possibly could a man, who in his early years (i.e. according to Canon Streeter's fancy, somewhere about 40 A.D., ten years only after

the events) had already written himself at next to first-hand a gospel-account, have penned these very striking introductory words? Such self-suppression is quite inconceivable. Finally, full as the volume is of references, we are surprised to find so little notice taken of Continental, especially German, scholarship.

BLAKE'S VISION OF THE BOOK OF JOB.

With Reproductions of the Illustrations. A Study by Joseph H. Wicksteed, M.A. Second edition, revised and enlarged. London (Dent); pp. 248; 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is not the place to discuss that vexed question as to whether art should be self-expressive, or if it is legitimate for the artist to use a symbolism of which the meaning must be learned before his work can be fully appreciated. Indeed this fine book leads one towards the view that theories about art are like children's castles,—put up to give some one the fun of knocking them down again. Certainly a genius of Blake's peculiar type could never be bound by any rules but his own; and it is more useful to find out why his work is such a remarkable contribution to the creative thought-treasure of the world than to attempt to measure its worth by small canons of criticism. It is in this larger understanding that Mr. Wicksteed helps us. To begin with, he makes us vividly apprehend the value of Blake as Blake, that unique personality, more prophet than poet or artist, and yet both poet and artist in a remarkable degree. He makes us see Blake in his completeness, and recognize the fact that to appreciate his work in detail we must first study it as a whole, rather than the other way about. He helps us to this end by a fine selection of quotations from Blake's other works in the footnotes and appendices, and with comments illuminated by his own great knowledge of his subject.

In endeavouring to attain a standard for the appreciation of this unique type of expression the mind flies for comparison to Wagner's music-drama; and Blake's symbolic convention suggests a parallel with the Wagnerian *motif*. It is different from the more direct symbolism of the early Italian painters, who, for instance, drew St. Lawrence with a gridiron because he was roasted to death—a form of story-telling which was suited to the instruction of illiterate people. If Mr. Wicksteed is correct—and he certainly is very convincing—in his understanding of Blake's

symbolism, it is a language for grown-up people, an expression of ideas, exceedingly simple in itself, but so intensely subtle in its application that we feel a deep respect for the writer's ingenuity in unravelling it.

This second edition of Mr. Wicksteed's book should be, not only a fine contribution to Blake-literature from the standpoint of connoisseurs and instinctive lovers of Blake, but also a book for the beginner, a guide to help those who at first sight find their imaginations staggered by the novelty of vision and peculiarity of expression of this truly original mind. One cannot help feeling that Mr. Wicksteed might have been of great use to Crabb Robinson!

The visionary type of genius is one that can never appeal to a large public. People in general love 'reasonableness' and, even in art, like to have ideas presented to them ready cut-and-dried; they like to have a good deal of their thinking done for them. The work of a painter, the substance of whose inspiration is abstract ideas, expressed, as these must be, in symbolic form, will always present difficulties that many people will never attempt to solve; but those who desire to solve them, to whom the peculiar genius of Blake appeals as bearing a message from a very beautiful and subtle region, will be exceedingly grateful to Mr. Wicksteed for the new edition of his book.

The volume is tastefully got up, with a pleasant simply designed cover, good paper and print. Above all in importance, the reproductions of the drawings are finely done.

M. LEGGE.

THE MAKING OF MODERN INDIA.

By Nicol Macnicol, M.A., D.Litt. Author of 'Indian Theism,' etc.
Oxford (The University Press); pp. 235; 7s. 6d. net.

DR. MACNICOL'S earlier works have proved him to be a genuine scholar: this confirms what is far more important and which those books have suggested, that he is a personality of sound moral and spiritual health. It is clear that he writes of India and things Indian because of a real love of and a genuine concern for them. The frankness of his criticism is equalled by the fairness of his praise. This is a book, charmingly written, which should appeal to any who have not merely lived among but 'lived with' the people of India. It should also arouse an interest in others in

problems which are fraught with enormous consequences for ourselves as well as Indians. Dr. Macnicol's subjects range from 'The Diversions of an Indian Villager' to 'Hinduism and the Way to God,' including outstanding essays on 'The Hindu Ideal of a Holy Life,' 'Indian Ideals and Present-day Realities,' and 'The Conflicts of Religions.' Were it not for the out-standing and predominant feature of poverty, it might be said that his two papers, one written in 1908, the other in 1928, show marked differences in the political situation. Poverty is the root cause of India's unhappiness. And closely related with this are ignorance and class-prejudice, which militate against the co-operation so urgently needed. The author, with a true realism, brings into juxtaposition two immense factors of Indian life: "There are two typical figures in this Indian landscape—the one, the money-lender, implacable, knowing no law but his own profit; the other, the 'holy man,' to whom the world and its gains are but a little dust under his feet. The first is he who to-day—and one doubts if it was ever otherwise—holds the East in fee, lending the poor cultivator five rupees, and then at a year's end compelling him to take his bill and write four score. The other—a far rarer discovery, but not altogether vanished from the land—has passed beyond good and evil, 'above the battle,' to a region of indifference and calm." There are many voices in modern India: there are, for example, those calling for political self-government, for industrial and commercial advance, for the military training of all her male youths; and then also for the quietism of mystical peace and abandon, the rejection of mechanical industrialism and the return to the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom, the revival of Hindu mysticism, and the worship of the divine Mother. Truly there is a difficult problem here, one which few have yet answered for themselves—the estimation of the relative importance of the wealth and values of terrestrial life and civilization, and the beatific vision of eternal realities compared with which all else is as it were a dream in the night. The tendency of the West, and of the Westerner in the East, is to over-estimate the comforts and the education and æsthetic enjoyments of our three-score years and ten. Dr. Macnicol, as most of his co-missionaries, is not free from this. Living here again in the West, I am beginning to think seriously that we have to save the non-worldliness of Hindu ideals for the ultimate salvation of the West.

A. G. WIDGERY.

THE GROWTH OF THE MIND.

An Introduction to Child Psychology. By Kurt Koffka, University of Giessen. Translated by R. M. Ogden, University of Cornell. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 383; 15s. net.

THE International Library of Psychology, Philosophy, and Scientific Method has already established itself as of merit and importance equal to that of the older Library of Philosophy, edited by Professor Muirhead. Both editor and publishers deserve to be congratulated. We regret only that the prices are inclined to be high. Professor Koffka's work, which is here excellently translated, is distinguished by the freshness of the treatment of the subject, never being hampered by any over-crowding and confusing discussions of opposing views. His critical considerations are always centred on the fundamental principles, thus making it a book of great value to students and others wishing for a knowledge of the main lines of psychological discussion. There is no room in this short notice for a summary and criticism of the details of his work. Our author shows the insufficiency of 'Behaviourism' in psychology, that "instead of reporting about experience, we may only admit reports about behaviour in certain situations, where both the behaviour and the situation can be controlled by natural-scientific methods." He insists that there must always be some element of interpretation, based in some degree upon what we may call, with the earlier psychology, 'introspection.' He discusses the part played by reflex action as against a sort of mechanical view of learning by trial and error, and he insists on the reality of an element of intelligence in such learning. Prof. Koffka's criticisms of Behaviourists in this connection are sound and important. He also gives a long and careful discussion of the problem of memory. Those less technically concerned will be especially interested in the concluding chapter on the 'World of a Child.' Here Prof. Koffka insists on "the relative independence of different configurations" in the child's world, which may "exist side by side without disturbing one another," so that, though they may be in contradiction logically, "there is no such contradiction in the child's mind." "The configuration of the adult world constantly assumes a greater extension, so that the complete independence of different worlds is no longer possible." Such an account, clearly in the main correct, cannot but make us reflect what children we

all still are; how little we do or can at this stage in fact bring into a significant whole the different worlds of particular things and of the eternities with which the human consciousness is related. There is much to learn concerning not merely the present, but also the possible future growth of the mind. A student could scarcely do better than begin his enquiries in this subject with Professor Koffka's 'Introduction to Child Psychology.'

A. G. WIDGERY.

COMMUNITY: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY.

By R. M. Maciver, D.Phil. London (Macmillan); 3rd ed., pp. 446; 15s. net.

THE fact that a 3rd ed. of such a work as Prof. Maciver's *Community* has been called for, is the best proof of the importance of this book for all serious students. The principal additions are two appendices: 'The Mortality of Cultures,'—this with special reference to Spengler's *Untergang des Abendlandes*, and 'The Correlation of Life and Environment in the Sphere of Heredity.' It would be both unnecessary and impossible to give any account, and impertinent to attempt any general criticism of, the book within the available limits of space; but a few remarks may be ventured in defence of that dogma of 'popular' Sociology which Prof. Maciver so severely criticizes both in the text and in the appendix—the dogma, namely, that nations, like individuals, have normally a period of rise and progress followed by a decline and fall. The author's arguments here seem to me to want something of his usual calm reasonableness and cogency. I feel that they rest finally on ethical, rather than on logical, grounds. The question, as I would raise it, is not whether each and every society (churches, nations, schools of thought, religious orders, philanthropic societies) must necessarily and inevitably die, but whether they all have an implanted tendency to go through a cycle of changes analogous to the youth-maturity-old-age cycle which the individual undergoes. Does a society require periodical renewals of its life *from without*? Would a society left to itself exhaust, *in the long run*, its stock of vitality? Even the 'induction by simple enumeration,' which is what impresses popular Sociology, yields a fairly impressive argument. How long does it usually take a philanthropic society to decline from the 'great day' and 'the glory new' of its pristine ambition to reform the world, to the more modest aim of supporting the Secretary in

modest comfort? The *à priori* reason for this, *not* inevitable fate, *but* natural tendency, I take to be: that societies, like individuals, have a natural self-poisoning function—that they ‘naturally’ deposit within their organisms, as by-products of their normal activity, secretions which are eventually fatal to the continuance of that activity.

G. CATOR.

THE BEAUTIFUL.

By Henry Rutgers Marshall, L.A.D., D.S., Author of ‘Pain, Pleasure and Æsthetics,’ etc. London (Macmillan); pp. 328; 15s. net.

A REALLY satisfactory treatise on the philosophy of the beautiful or on the science of æsthetics has yet to be written. Mr. Rutgers Marshall is a painstaking student and well acquainted with the literature of the subject and with ancient and modern theories; but we close his last volume with the feeling that, though he has a lot to say, and says it common-sensibly enough, we have not got anywhere in particular. He is strongly anti-Crocean and seeks an objective canon of beauty; but when he comes to formulate his hypothesis or tentative definition of the beautiful (p. 78), instead of being stimulated on reading it, we feel flattened out. Here it is, except that we have changed the original imposing ‘s.c.’ of the print into ‘l.c.’: “Beauty is relatively stable, or real, pleasure. Any pleasant element may become part of the field that is relatively stable. We call an object beautiful which seems always to yield pleasure in impression, or contemplative revival”—whatever the latter may mean. Here our author follows Sully’s hedonistic theory of beauty as being a specific kind of pleasure-experience. The specific in which beauty-experience differs from all other kinds is, according to Mr. Marshall, its relative stability or reality. If this is all that can be said of the beautiful, it does not amount to much, and leaves us cold. Our evaluator of this so potent essential ideal seems to be able to keep the ‘three persons’ of the great Platonic ‘trinity’—the Good, the Beautiful and True—in absolutely water-tight compartments; but this is bad philosophy, bad æsthetics and bad theology. They are one with another, inseparables, if distincts for the purpose of intellectual analysis. Abstract any one of them and the reality of the others evanishes. When then Mr. Marshall writes, as he

does on p. 814: "The Beautiful and the Moral Good being mutually exclusive, are also independent,"—we are tempted to be rude, but refrain from the layman's privilege of using strong language out of consideration for our author's laborious endeavour to do his best to grapple with the difficulties of an unsolved problem.

LOVE SONGS OF SION.

A Selection of Devotional Verse from Old English Sources adapted by Neville Watts. London (Burns, Oates & Washbourne); pp. 164; 5s. (cloth); 7s. 6d. (leather) net.

THIS little volume is No. 3 of 'The Orchard Books,' described by the publishers as 'A Series of Spiritual Classics,' and edited by Dom Roger Hudleston, O.S.B. It consists of a selection of English devotional verse of the 14th and 15th centuries, adapted for general reading by Mr. Neville Watts, who claims that they belong to the class of popular and spontaneous poetry, and represent the spirit of their own age more truly than any other literary survival between Chaucer and Shakespeare. Like the generality of such poems, they are nearly all anonymous. Though often expressed in terms of earthly love, they are for the most part free from the touch of sensuousness, so frequently to be found in the writings of more famous Christian mystics. In many of them there is considerable literary merit, and in not a few the rare beauty that belongs to simplicity combined with truth of intuition. The following exquisite lines from the poem entitled 'I Sing of a Maiden' (p. 133) may be quoted:

"He came all so still
Where his mother was,
As dew in April
That falls on the grass.

"He came all so still
To his mother's bower,
As dew in April
That falls on the flower.

"He came all so still
Where his mother lay,
As dew in April,
That forms on the spray."

S. E. HALL

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGIOUS MYSTICISM.

By James H. Leuba, Professor of Psychology, Bryn Mawr College,
U.S.A. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 386; 15s. net.

THERE are a few writers on religious subjects who are taken seriously. Professor Leuba is one of them. But I imagine and hope that it is only by himself. The industrious and mechanical manner in which he piles up his material in book after book shows how important he considers his treatment of his subject. And yet his method is singularly inappropriate: a sympathetic participation in even a briefly enduring mystical experience might teach him more than all his pseudo-scientific analysis. He writes as the sort of person who, knowing that a disordered liver occasions effects of mental depression, is intent on reducing all other emotional and spiritual states to analogous causes. May I recommend to him a statement from the latest book of an eminent biologist, Professor J. A. Thomson: *Science and Religion* (London, Methuen, 1925)? "The religious concept refers to a Spiritual Order, which can only be spiritually discerned." He that hath eyes to see, let him see. For the rest, I am unable to take Professor Leuba seriously as a student of religion.

A. G. W.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF WITCHCRAFT.

By Ian Fergusson, Author of 'Mr. Kells.' London (Harrup);
pp. 219; 5s. net.

THIS is a disappointing book. We have in vain tried to discover any 'philosophy' in it. The author is a Scots chauvinist, and sees everything from this angle. *Witchcraft in Scotland* would be the more appropriate title. The exposition is prim and trite, Early Victorian, Sunday-schoolish, and written in the old-fashioned 'historical' style. It fails entirely to treat of the wizard-element in its one-sided survey of a confined witchcraft. Mr. Fergusson has apparently swallowed whole the theories of Miss M. A. Murray's recent volume, *The Witch Cult in Western Europe*, which is certainly a contribution to one side of the subject, but written from a standpoint where the writer turns her back almost entirely on the most important facts,—namely, the psychical.

FIR-FLOWER TABLETS.

Poems translated from the Chinese by Florence Ayscough, Hon. Mem. North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society. English Versions by Amy Lowell. London (Constable); pp. 227.

THOUGH published in 1922, we cannot refrain from calling the attention of our readers to this delightful volume. It is remarkable in two ways: both for the beauty of Amy Lowell's renderings,—that charming writer of *vers libres*, who has just passed away to the wider world of those fair things she loved, and also for Mrs. Ayscough's remarkably clear and helpful initiation of the reader into the mysteries of Chinese poesy. We do not remember having seen anything on the subject that is quite so illuminating. Chinese poetry is an entirely unknown world for students of Western verse, and indeed for those familiar with much other verse of the East. The difficulties in rendering the originals into English are stupendous, and can hardly be surmounted by a single-handed worker, for he would have to be not only a profound scholar and knower of the vast and varied world of Chinese poetry but also a poet himself. How then have these difficulties been overcome? By co-operative work,—and not only that of the two ladies whose names grace the title-page, but also by the help and encouragement of Mrs. Ayscough's Chinese teacher, Mr. Nung Chu, who speaks no word of English, but who has a profound knowledge of the poetry of his gifted countrymen. Mrs. Ayscough with his help provided Miss Lowell with a minute analysis of the characters of the original and also with the scope of meaning of each of those characters; and then Miss Lowell reconstructed their meaning in fair English, the copy not being passed until it had circulated several times between the ladies and been communicated to Mr. Nung. The result is adequate to the loving pains taken.

CONCERTO IN A MINOR.

By Charles Whitby, B.A., M.D. (Cantab.) London (Watkins); pp. 81; 8s. 6d. net.

THIS poem, which first appeared in *THE QUEST*, is a drama, in three acts, of the inner life of a poet, fancifully compared in regard to its form to the three movements of a Concerto—a fancy

which is assisted by variation in the metres used. The first movement, or act, centres round the vision of the Muse, who calls on the poet, as one pledged to the service of the Nine, to disregard men's praise and blame, and to look to her alone for aid, with the warning that "Solitude, hunger and scorn are the dole of my vassals to-day." In the second act, or slow movement, we have an impressive vision of Saturn, lord of the Destiny of human kind, who "colossal on a throne of ebony faced me, terrible and sublime," and who foretells the terrors, failures and sufferings which the human soul must endure. The finale, or third act, opens with a fierce struggle between the powers of good and evil for possession of the soul, the victory remaining with the celestial guardians. In spite of the terrors of the maelstrom of life, which are passed in review in a somewhat turgid passage, the poet finds no spell to steel him against "the enchantress Life." "Ecstatic urgencies of aspiration" survive, and the drama ends with a third vision, that of "The Priests of Thought, the Kings of Art, the Lords of Life, the Gods of Song," of whom it is said that "To cyclic things beyond our dwarfed imaginings their quenchless fires are dedicate." Thus the poetic re-birth ends in the regeneration of the soul through the bitter experience of the rule of Destiny, till it is "refashioned godlike in form and stature." It is a powerful picture of one aspect of this profound subject, but excluding, as it does, any suggestion of the union of the human and the divine, and pointing rather to the 'superman' way of salvation, its appeal is to one side only of human nature. The poem contains many passages of striking imagery, and the musical effect produced by the treatment of metre is very pleasing.

S. E. HALL.

ASTROLOGY: THE LINK BETWEEN TWO WORLDS.

Suggestions concerning the Origin and Significance of Star-lore.

By S. Elizabeth Hall, M.A. London (Watkins); pp. 59;
1s. 6d. net.

THIS is a scholarly, well-written and interesting essay on a theme that has been for innumerable millions one of the most fascinating of subjects, and which is for the comparative study of religions a very important page in the history of the development of most of the great faiths. Miss Hall has read with profit the relevant works of such leading authorities as King, Jastrow, Boll, Cumont

and Eisler, and in addition has imbued the presentation of the matter with a lively yet sober interest due to her own fortunate blend of sympathetic insight properly focussed by careful observation and close study. We are glad to welcome so convenient an approach to the study of sidereal religion and hope that it may do something to improve what is the neglected education of the vast majority of present-day professional and amateur casters of horoscopes.

APOLOGIA ALCHYMIE.

A Re-statement of Alchemy. By R. W. Counsell. London (Watkins); pp. 88; 5s. net.

THE author of this small treatise is at pains to set forth a defence of Alchemy solely in its material aspect, both as the forerunner of chemistry and as, in the persons of its best exponents, being possessed of genuine knowledge of some of Nature's profoundest physical secrets, to the discovery of which the latest researches of modern science are, in his judgment, fast tending. Mr. Counsell has read somewhat widely in the vast literature of alchemy and that too with discrimination; and the chief value of his essay is that he has selected for the delectation of his readers a number of salient and really choice passages from the best authorities. We cannot, however, follow his frequent argument (repeating that of Mr. Stanley Redgrove) in defence of secrecy—namely, that if gold-making could be cheaply effected, financial chaos would follow. 'Money-value' in its fundamental sense does not depend on any metal. Personally we are unconvinced that the exaggerated and inflated language of the alchemists with regard to their art and the maddening *camouflage* of symbol and allegory in which they wrapped up their proceedings could have concealed no higher end than the making of gold, or indeed the effecting of any purely physical transmutation. But that is another story.

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