THE QUEST

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Edited by G. R. S. Mead.

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THE QUEST

TIME, FOREKNOWLEDGE AND FREE WILL.

MAUDE JOYNT, M.A.

I.

ONE of the problems which have had most fascination for the human intellect ever since man began to speculate about the meaning of his existence, is that of Fate and Free Will. It has entered more or less into all the religions and philosophies of mankind. In the Christian church it has often been placed in the foreground, and from it have arisen some of the chief controversies which have distracted Christianity.

At present the problem of Fate and Free Will has retired into the background; we are beginning to see that its solution—if any solution there be—depends on that of another problem more fundamental, one which perhaps we are in a better position to discuss: What is the nature of Time?

II.

There are three views which may be held concerning Time, which I will state as briefly as possible.

First, there is what may be called the popular

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notion, according to which the present moment alone is real and actual; the Past is that which was once but has ceased to be, the Future that which does not yet exist. This view, plausible at first sight, proves to be full of difficulties when subjected to analysis. It raises the question: What is the present moment? If it is the Euclidean line which divides Past from Future, then like the Euclidean line it is a pure abstraction. The smallest interval of which the human consciousness can take note—roughly speaking, about three-quarters of a second—has an appreciable extent and can be measured; and as a matter of fact nearly all our conscious thoughts and feelings occupy a goodly number of such intervals. What we call the present is an indefinite period; it has, as Bergson says, *durée*, 'duration.'

Secondly, there is the Bergsonian hypothesis, according to which Time is real and absolute, its ultimate unit being perhaps a single vibration of matter; the 'present' of an organized or conscious being contains a vast number of such 'moments' bound together in a single act of perception. The rate of tension may vary in beings differently organized; we have no right to assume that our 'present moment' is the present moment for other creatures; there may be intelligences, of whom we know nothing, whose present moment covers a long period, perhaps ages, of human existence.

The Past, however, is not dead; it too is real, but it has a psychological, not a spatial existence. It is the *memory* of the individual, a memory distinct from and infinitely greater than his sum of recollections (*souvenirs*), including all his past experiences from birth upwards, in short his entire character. There is

such a past or memory for all organized life, in fact for the universe itself, and this past is ever merging into the Present and helping to determine the Future. But the Future does not exist, it is contingent; each fresh moment of existence, for the individual or the universe, is a new creation, it implies 'invention.'

Bergson's theory has been described, not inaptly, by one of his critics as Eternity with one end lopped off. To me it seems that the arguments which Bergson adduces for giving to the Past a real though purely psychological existence, may be used effectively of the Future also. I cannot here go into the matter[1]; suffice it to say that my own study of Bergson led me some years ago to adopt a third theory. The Past and the Future are alike real and existent, though their existence is psychological, outside time and space and hence outside our normal perception. The Present is (as Bergson himself has called it) Materiality; it is our fragmentary perception, through the medium of our senses, of reality; it is akin to and inseparable from our notion of space; it is in fact the fourth dimension for our consciousness.

This is a view which is gaining ground and has been put forth by a number of writers, not only among academic philosophers. Perhaps the one who has done most to disseminate it among general readers is Maurice Maeterlinck, who has discussed it at some length in two recent books, *L'Hôte Inconnu* and *La Vie de l'Espace*. The philosopher Guyau had already endeavoured to show that our notion of time is secondary to and engendered by our notion of space[2]; Maeterlinck, from an independent standpoint, sums

[1] It is treated in an article *Past and Future* in THE QUEST of Oct., 1922.

[2] *La Genèse de l'Idée de Temps.*

up the theory by saying that "space is the time of our body and time the space of our mind." "Space is time which lasts; time is space which flies."[1] As such, space and time are linked in our consciousness. But beyond our consciousness is a sphere of reality in which Past and Future coexist and space and time are not—"the eternal and unmoving Present which is the sole truth."[2]

III.

The theory that the Future exists before it enters our consciousness, even as the Past exists after it has lapsed from our consciousness, is the only one which offers any satisfactory explanation of prevision.

That there is such a phenomenon as prevision, often of a very definite kind, cannot, I think, be doubted by anyone who has taken the trouble to acquaint himself with the facts. A large mass of evidence which has been carefully sifted and is well authenticated is to be found in the Transactions of the Psychical Research Society and other writings—the works of Maeterlinck mentioned above, those of the late Camille Flammarion (especially *La Mort et son Mystère*), Gustave Geley's *L'Être Subconscient*, Dr. Maxwell's *Psychical Phenomena*, Mr. J. W. Dunne's *Experiment with Time*, to mention only a few with which I am myself acquainted. Such prevision most commonly takes place in dreams, but occasionally in waking vision (as in the instance related by Goethe in his *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, book xi.). But it is frequent enough among clairvoyants and even with normal individuals when in the hypnotic state. There seems reason for supposing, as Maeterlinck does, that

[1] *La Vie de l'Espace*, pp. 114, 115. [2] *Ib.* p. 120.

prevision is a latent faculty of our subconsciousness, which may be stirred to activity and emerge to the surface under certain conditions. What these conditions are, we cannot in the present state of our knowledge determine. So much seems sure, that prevision, in the strict sense of the word, is generally limited to facts belonging to the near future and relating to personal, not public, interests; and secondly, that it is more often called into action by a calamity which is on the eve of arriving, than by an approaching pleasure or joy.

IV.

One feature of prevision, whether through the medium of dreams or clairvoyance, which has perplexed investigators, among them Maeterlinck, is that it is generally concerned only with trivial circumstances and visual details, and seldom gives any clue to the full bearing or significance of the incident or situation foreseen. If it relates to an approaching disaster, it does not furnish the needful knowledge or warning by which the disaster might be averted. It seems to be quite futile.

I do not think that this difficulty is serious once we reflect that, if Past and Future are alike in their ultimate nature, both real and co-existent, there ought to be an analogy between our recollection of the one and our prevision of the other.

A recollection (*souvenir*), to use the word in a strict sense as distinct from *memory* and from *remembrance*, is the *re-presentation* of what was in actual experience a *presentation;* it is the reproduction (voluntary or involuntary) in imagination of a past perception. It differs from the original presentation

in being less complete and distinct; with lapse of time it becomes vague and blurred, till finally it fades away altogether or leaves only a remembrance that the experience once occurred. It differs also in being detached from its place in the sequence of our experience; in many cases we are able, by association with other incidents which we remember, to assign it a place in such a sequence, perhaps a definite date; but it may happen that we have a clear recollection of a scene once witnessed without being in the least able to remember when or where we saw it. Our recollection (as such) of an event has nothing to do with the importance of that event in our life. Among the most vivid of our recollections are often those of childhood; but they commonly relate to matters which to our maturer judgment seem trivial. Recollection, in short, deals only with the external aspect of our experience. Let me suppose, for instance, that I recall the death of some one dear to me, whose loss had an important effect on my own subsequent life. The scene rises before my inner vision; I see the sick-chamber, the bed with its recumbent figure, other persons grouped around it, myself amongst them, and so forth. But the actual bearing of the scene on my own life, all it meant to me at the time, all the consequences which followed it in my outer career, all its influence on my inner development, these form no part of my vision; they are subjects for reflection rather than recollection; possibly they lie to some extent outside my conscious knowledge. As a matter of fact, it is seldom the outstanding experiences which marked an era in our lives, which have had most to do with the formation of our character; it is rather the ceaseless succession of incidents which made no

striking impression at the time they occurred, the influence exerted on us by parents, teachers, friends, associates, by our surroundings and habits, above all by our own actions, instinctive and deliberate, in the daily course of life. Our character is the outcome of all these minute and mostly forgotten experiences; it is in short our *memory*. Wordsworth uttered a profound psychological truth when he said that the best part of a good man's life is

> His little, nameless, *unremembered* acts
> Of kindness and of love.

If prevision is the analogue of recollection and like it takes the form of representation, we need not be surprised if it deals only with the external aspect of coming events, without revealing their psychological content or their importance in our destiny. Such a representation is fragmentary and detached and we cannot, as in the case of many of our recollections, correlate it with preceding or subsequent experience.

The seer is often ignorant of the meaning or import of his prevision until it is actualized; sometimes, indeed, it may relate to an event in which he himself is not concerned—this is frequently the case in the prevision of clairvoyants. When anticipation of the future relates to the psychological import of the event, it generally takes the form of *presentiment*, not of prevision.

Anticipation of this kind may belong to some deeper recess of our subconsciousness, which is concerned rather with the psychic or emotional import of an event than its physical aspect. When it takes the form of representation, the representation is generally one of symbolic nature—an inner voice laying some

command on the percipient, a supernormal message, a vision in which a whole series of events is summarized in some dramatic fashion. Such are the visions of prophets. Such were the dreams of Pharaoh and of Nebuchadnezzar as related in the Old Testament. Such was the vision of Paul, when there appeared to him a man from Macedonia saying "Come over and help us," and that of Patrick the apostle of Ireland, when in his native Britain he saw one bearing him a letter from Ireland and heard "the voice of them who lived beside the wood of Foclut, which is nigh unto the Western Sea," beseeching him to come and walk among them.[1]

V.

But if Past and Future are both real and co-existent; if Time, like Space, is only one of the conditions of sense-perception; must there not be some sphere of consciousness or super-consciousness in which Time and Space are transcended and Past and Future appear as a Present? Are we not driven perforce to the idealistic concept of Eternity, which Bergson sets aside as a mere abstraction?

Such a state does not seem to be wholly beyond human conception, even beyond human experience. The phenomena of psychometric clairvoyance and of prevision show that, under certain conditions, the mind may escape from the confines of the present, and form a representation of a moment which is either past or yet to come. If we are to believe the recorded testimony of many of the mystics of all ages, they have at intervals attained to a state of consciousness in which the ordinary barriers of Time were blotted out and the

[1] *The Confession of Patrick*, ch. 23.

activity of the mind, though at its highest, was no longer a succession, when

> Thought was not—in enjoyment it expired.

Does not something analogous occur in the experience of everyone who attempts, even in the humblest way, to create something, to give external expression, in time and space, to an idea which exists entire in his own mind? Mozart, it is said, heard inwardly or was aware of a whole symphony in all its parts at once. The thoughts which I have tried to set forth in this essay existed in simultaneity in my mind when I began to write; the process of writing them down has been like expanding a telescope. Am I myself a thought in some higher Mind, in which I do not exist as an incarnate being passing through successive stages of infancy, adolescence, maturity and old age, but as a spiritual entity, all the various phases of my inner life—my real life—being simultaneously comprehended, the whole being itself a subordinate part in some vast symphony of creation?

In Dante's *Paradiso* the spirits of the blest have their true life in the Empyrean, outside the bounds of Time and Space; but they *manifest* themselves in one or other of the heavens which revolve round the earth and are subject to the laws of Time.

The concept of Eternity, as distinct from endless progression in time, has been clearly grasped and set forth by thinkers in all ages.

> It is one thing to be prolonged through an endless existence, which is what Plato attributed to the universe (says Boethius); it is another to embrace endless existence in its entirety as present, which is the prerogative of the Divine Mind.[1]

[1] Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, B. V. vi.

Thy years, O God, are but a day and that day is To-day; Thy To-day gives place to no morrow and succeeds no yesterday (says Augustine).[1]

And Spinoza was assuredly not thinking of the popular notion of immortality when he said:

The human mind cannot wholly perish with the body, but there remains of it something which is eternal. . . . The intellectual love of God is eternal.[2]

The notion of our eternal existence as Spirit does not, of course, exclude either the belief that as separate discarnate spirits we may continue to exist after death, or that we may have existed before entering this life; neither does it necessarily involve such beliefs. The two ideas are of different order. "The unreal hath no being; the real never ceaseth to be," says Krishna in the *Bhagavad Gita*.

Though earth and man were gone,
And suns and universes ceased to be,
And Thou wert left alone,
Every existence would exist in Thee.[3]

VI.

If our Future already exists before it comes within the scope of our perception, it cannot be contingent; what then becomes of Free Will? Does such a belief condemn us to Fatalism?

In practical life, I think this question offers little difficulty. No one, whether a pre-determinist or not, doubts his own power of choice or hesitates to use it. If our Future already exists, then one of the elements which exist in it is the will which shapes our actions. The most determined fatalist, if he wishes to pluck an

[1] *Confessions*, xi. 13. [2] *Ethic* V. 23, 33. [3] Emily Brontë.

apple, does not sit down beneath the tree and say: "If I am not destined to eat that apple, I need not take the trouble of reaching it; if I am destined to eat it, it will fall into my mouth." In matters pertaining to our physical welfare, none of us is a fatalist; we assume that it is our natural destiny to keep 'fit' or at any rate as 'fit' as we can. Everyone knows that if it is his destiny to become an athlete or a scholar, it is also his destiny to train his body or his mind to that end.

Whatever view we may hold about the Future, we must admit that there are always certain elements in it which are beyond contingency and may be confidently predicted. If I plant an acorn, I can be absolutely sure that, if it germinates, it will turn out an oak, not a beech or ash or any other tree. What kind of oak it will be, what height or girth or luxuriance it will attain; what its ultimate fate will be, whether to be uprooted by a storm or felled by the woodman's axe or to fall of sheer old age—these are matters beyond my ken; they will be determined partly by the potential energy of the acorn, partly by a number of circumstances external to it—soil, climate, disturbances of nature or the interference of human will. But in spite of all outer circumstances and accidents, the acorn will follow one primary direction imposed on it by its own nature. If I may borrow a useful term from older philosophy, there is a *formal* cause controlling its development. It is striving, all unwittingly but none the less surely, to produce a certain *form*, a certain type of tree, and that alone, and it will realize that *form* as perfectly as its own inherent potentiality and the external factors allow it.

In the case of the human individual, as of the oak,

there are elements controlling his destiny which were determined before he entered on existence, and which he has no power to alter—the time and place of his birth, his physical and mental endowment, his ancestry and parentage, his environment and upbringing. Nevertheless, his development, too, I doubt not, has its formal cause. The mind or soul, said the older philosophers, is the *forma formarum*, the 'form of forms.' If the ultimate reality is psychological, not material, the development of a spiritual nature is the determining factor in human existence, and the goal towards which, through age-long processes of evolution, all individuals are striving. Probably the great majority are as little conscious of this 'formal' cause as is the oak-plant. Even when we have begun to reflect on the meaning and purposes of life, it is generally obscured by a host of purely temporal and petty aims. But when a man realizes that destiny is wholly inward, that the fundamental purpose of living is to create a *form*, a noble type of character, and that all the circumstances and events of life, be they prosperous or adverse, may be made to serve as means to that end; then, and not till then, does he enter on freedom and become master of his fate.

M. JOYNT.

A NEW QUEST OF THE JESUS OF HISTORY.

THE EDITOR.

IN the July number of 1924, I published an article calling attention to the long-neglected (since 1906-1908), one might almost say boycotted, problem of 'The Slavonic Josephus Account of the Baptist and Jesus.'

In it was sketched the then state of enquiry, with the first English translation from the German version of the eight passages, and a brief discussion of the hypothesis of authorship, ending with a 'non-proven,' on a non-committal note as follows:

> It thus appears that, whatever hypothesis of authorship we make—either that of Christian or Jew, or even of Josephus himself, we are left floundering in a welter of inconsistencies; all that can be said is that the 'Jew'-alternative is the least improbable.

At the same time I felt convinced, as I have stated elsewhere, that a time would come when all instructed and unprejudiced historians, however they might elect to decide for themselves, would be compelled at least to discuss these astonishing passages, if they had any pretension to treat methodically what claim to be the earliest external testimonies to Christianity.

Little did I then dream that, only some five years later, I should have the very great pleasure, which I now have, of paying a richly deserved tribute to the just-published, magnificent work of my dear friend, and highly esteemed colleague of a score of years,—Robert

Eisler, who has succeeded in making the subject peculiarly his own—and this beyond all question, cavil or rivalry.

Between that little beginning of mine and this great ending, five papers on the subject,—three of them by Eisler himself,—have appeared in THE QUEST. I may, accordingly, venture to assume that most of its readers are to some extent already acquainted with the general purport and importance of this prime historical problem in Occidental religion, especially as one of our contributor's articles was devoted to a statement of 'The Present Position of the Slavic Josephus Question' (Oct. '28)—an assumption, I fear, however, that cannot be presumed of the readers of any other periodical in this country or, indeed, elsewhere. I may, therefore, dispense with a certain amount of preliminaries, and devote the bulk of my space to jotting down some of the more general impressions, which two readings of Eisler's *magnum opus* have made on me, as it has appeared, part by part, in the issuance of its first German edition.

What began in THE QUEST with a critical treatment by our colleague of the now famous 8 passages, excerpted from an Old Russian translation of a lost Greek version of an early work of Josephus—now proved by him to have been entitled: 'The Capture of Jerusalem,'—has, with intensive cultivation under our author's skilled hands, grown into what I consider to be by far the most important contribution yet made to what German scholarship calls *Leben-Jesu-Forschung*.[1]

[1] The main title is given in Greek—IHCOYC BACIΛEYC OY BACIΛEYCAC—following the recent vogue of the *élite* of German scholars in naming scientific monographs on N.T. subjects. In plain English it would run: *Jesus the King who did not Reign*. There follows a long subtitle, which may be rendered: 'The Messianic Independence-Movements from the Appearance of John the Baptizer to the Downfall of James the

In 1906, 23 years ago, Albert Schweitzer published the first edition of an arresting work, in which he surveyed the history of some century and a half of critical and methodical research into the Gospel-records,—from the inception of the 'science' by Hermann Samuel Reimarus to the date of S.'s writing. It was, for the world of scholarship, genuinely 'epoch-making.' In it, for the first time, the student was enabled to watch, decade by decade, nay *lustrum* by *lustrum*, as it were on a chessboard, all the moves of this great play of conjecture and hypothesis, as position after position was shown, worked out, pro and con, in keen controversy. The last state of this methodical game, as so far then played by successive generations of the best scholarship of Christendom, emerged with clear-cut distinctness. It showed that the winning historical position in our critical Life-of-Jesus research rested with those who maintained, that the most indubitable characteristic of the 'Life' was the salient historic fact: Jesus was an eschatological prophet. The 'attack' of the 'Liberal' school, which had laboured so long and strenuously to find in—or rather to read back into—the ancient records, modern conceptions and moods and theologies concerning Jesus had failed conspicuously. Its rationalized, modern-moralized present-day science-regarding, fictionized figure of Jesus could not be substantiated by scientific work on the Gospel-narratives. The authentic Jesus, the Jew, refused to leave his time and place in history: Jesus was a Jewish eschatological prophet, living in lively expectation of the near approach of the catastrophic ending of the world.

But the inferences from this prime fact were too disconcerting, too painful, to face for those who held that Jeshu ha-Nosri was somehow very God of very God. The counter-attack accordingly has ever since strained every effort to weaken or to capture this position. But in vain; for if the narratives could, by any possibility, be shewn to be wrong in this respect, what credence could then be given to a large number of other important points far less strongly supported by them? Let those of us then who prefer the truths of history to the dogmas of theology boldly face the

Righteous, accordingly to the Newly-accessible "Capture of Jerusalem" by Flavius Josephus.' The work has been issued in 18 parts, and consists of 2 vols., containing xlix.+524+769 pages, with 52 illustrations; a short last part including the indexes, etc., is still to come. Publishers: Carl Winters Verlag, Heidelberg; price 60 R.M.

fact: Jesus was an eschatological prophet, and was accordingly mistaken in his most immediate and greatest expectation. The elaborate theological construct of the subsequent centuries, that has set the Galilean Prophet on the throne of the Most High, is thus shown to be man-made, not God-given.

Schweitzer's enthralling study is now called, in expanded rendering from the German: 'The History of Research into the Life of Jesus,' or more crisply, as in Montgomery's fine English translation (1910): *The Quest of the Historical Jesus.* But the first German edition appeared with the modest, dry-as-dust, academical superscription: 'From Reimarus to Wrede'—Wrede being the last defender of this position before the time of S.'s writing. Who but a specialist would ever have thought of turning to a book with such an uninspiring title! To 'the general' it was, and would, so entitled, have for ever remained, a brand of 'caviare.' Now, in the very first move made on this critical chess-board, Reimarus contended that one of the chief motives, if not the leading feature, in the Jesus-Life was the 'political' element. This 'revolutionary' hypothesis has remained, practically, till now the most 'despised and rejected,' the most cinderella-like, of all conjectures. Yet this is precisely the prime contention of Robert Eisler in his strictly-objective, historical enquiry. The cycle of religious-historical research has, thus, full-circled back to the start,—and very appropriately so, in this critical period, when a new synthetically-striving age is beginning to dawn, and a deeper general self-consciousness is emerging. The highly-equipped reviver of this notion—or rather the first clear enunciator and demonstrator of this whole-making working-hypothesis,—namely, of the religio-revolutionary element in Christian origins,—can thus very appropriately sum up his gigantic labours, or orient them, as he has done, in the motto or caption: 'From Reimarus — to Reimarus.'

Let me say at once: none but a most accomplished scholar can at all adequately deal with the details of this deep-going enquiry; the layman is utterly 'out of it,' as far as technique is concerned. The work of Robert Eisler is veritably encyclopædic; indeed even for the generality of scholars it is a liberal education.

It is most elaborately documented from cover to cover; in fact, on most pages the notes occupy more space than the text. The author seems to have omitted nothing relevant to the subject, no matter how recondite the reference. Moreover, he does not quote at second hand, but almost invariably goes immediately to the texts, with which, in no matter what language, ancient or modern, he has all the appearance of having first-rate linguistic acquaintance, and often highly technical knowledge. Not only so, but he shows also that he is intimately versed in the critical controversies concerning all the ancient documents he cites, and in many cases gives revised translations of quotations, or even reconstructions of damaged MSS. or defaced inscriptions.

During the four years which have elapsed since Eisler's first critical study of the Slavic Josephus passages appeared in THE QUEST, our industrious author has written numerous articles in learned, and even popular periodicals, and has delivered a large number of lectures before very distinguished learned societies, and other intelligent gatherings, on one or another aspect of the subject. Criticism and controversy have thus arisen, and even in the general press. In his present work our protagonist has replied in detail to all relevant objections so far advanced; and in every case, in my judgment, shows that he is possessed of deeper and wider knowledge than his critics, as well as of greater skill of fence. He has, I think, proved, and doubtless will still prove, to be a very difficult knight to unseat in this tourney of scholarship; while, of course, the crude clubs and missiles of the uninstructed mob cannot even dent his armour. Though with so complex and difficult

a subject-matter,—smothered deep, as it is, beneath dense overgrowths of well-nigh nineteen centuries of fanatical beliefs and opinions and falsifications,—I cannot say that I am fully persuaded on a number of secondary points of detail; nevertheless, I feel strongly that Eisler has unearthed the root of the matter, historically, and demonstrated it clearly. I think, however, his enthusiasm has been at times too tempted to run off into side issues, which detract from the main theme, and deal with quite parergic, or subordinate, probabilities. I consider this to be an unnecessary source of weakness; for with such a mass of complex material and disquisition,—in the first place, it is difficult at times for even the careful reader to see the wood for the trees; and, in the second, it lays the author open, more than need be, to pin-prick attacks at the hands of *borné* scholars, whose general habit is to try to confuse a main issue and contention with niggling objections to unessential details.

A 'popular,' summarized edition in English, without the notes, or with only a few of them, is to be published by Methuen's in due course. When this more readable version appears, controversy will probably,—let us fervently hope so,—arise. But slap-dash reviewers, and even more responsible critics, will, in my opinion, risk greatly to give themselves away, unless they keep the full German *editio princeps*,—if they are able to read it,—constantly by their side for reference. Otherwise, they will find that the far-seeing author, if he should think fit to reply, has the weapons and missiles of a vast arsenal of already-mobilized learning to unload on them at his leisure. Indeed, even very well-read scholars will have to get no little of the data out of these two ponderous tomes of Eisler's, for they are to be found nowhere else. Nor are these data simply piled in heaps; they are already carefully arranged and analyzed, and treated with elaborate and methodical criticism. Personally, I know no other work, in the whole history of this *Leben-Jesu-Forschung*, that exhibits so

wide a range of 'scientific' scholarship. But, of course, I freely admit, with such a subject,—even if it is confined to the strictly historical issue solely,—scholarship by itself is not everything.

One position, at any rate, has been won,—definitely and decisively secured: The Non-historicity school,—which would have had it that Jesus never existed,—is for ever hopelessly down and out, knocked senseless, nay stone-dead. Nevertheless, let us be generous, and acknowledge that it has been useful in its time,—at least as a sparring partner,—nay, that its activity was, to no negligible extent, justified by the previously extreme paucity of early—*i.e.* first century—*external* witness, not only to Jesus, but even to Christianity itself.

Our new phase of quest of the historic Jesus centres round the recovery of the long-lost, or repressed, testimony of Flavius Josephus to infant Christianity in its very cradle. Joseph ben Mathathyah, erroneously confused with Joseph ben Goriōn by his fellow-countrymen, was born 37/38 C.E., and died somewhere in the 1st decade of the 2nd century. He came of a noble and wealthy family. His main literary activity lasted from a year or so after the capture of Jerusalem (70/71) to 93/94. Josephus set forth in detail and discussed all the events in Palestine that environed the life of Jesus; yet in the extant 'received text' of the historian—and even when the text is revised and critically based on all the Greek MSS. we still possess—all that we have touching the Galilean prophet is one short passage, and the briefest possible mention of his brother, James the Just,—both in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*. The authenticity of these two indications has been ruthlessly assailed by criticism. There is also in the same work a passage on John the Baptizer, which has in general been accepted as on the whole authentic. Into this sorry state of affairs, there have now, happily, emerged from the mists of time our 8 new pieces in Old

North Russian translation from a lost Greek original of a hitherto unknown work of Ben Mathathyah. Of these 8 excerpts 3 refer to John, 4 to Jesus and 1 to the earliest Christians. Eisler's basic contention is that all these ten disputed references, new and old,—Christian interpolations, Christian forgeries, as they have hitherto been dubbed by independent critics,—are *fundamentally* (with one exception) genuine statements by the historian himself; but all have been, more or less, overworked and manipulated by Christian hands.

In the extraordinarily acute and subtle analysis to which each of them has been subjected by Eisler, the main canon of criticism which has guided him throughout, is the presumption that,—as with all other cases of seditious Messianistic movements of the time,—Josephus' account of Christianity must have been of a hostile character. This is not a subjective criticism, but is established by the most amply demonstrated principle, or prejudice, that ruled Ben Mathathyah in writing the history of all the Jewish revolutionary movements against the Romans.

Josephus was a traitor to his people, whose memory has ever been execrated by the Jews. He went over to the side of the Roman *raj*, when Jerusalem was in its death-throes, became a lick-spittle to the Imperial house and the officially-appointed chronicler of the campaign. In this task he devoted all his energies to demonstrating that the whole 'war-guilt' rested on the shoulders of the 'nationalists,' or 'swarajists,' or 'zealots' (*qana'im*) or 'extremists' (*barjonim*),—that 'fourth' 'school,' or 'heresy' (in addition to the Sadducees, Pharisees and Essenes), as he termed the religio-political divisions of his countrymen, in trying to make the nature of the peculiar parties of the Palestinian Jews understandable to the educated, Greek-reading public of the Roman Empire. Intentionally misleading his readers, he tried to present the religion of Israel as a philosophy.

It must, throughout, never for a moment be forgotten that politics with the Jews was ever part and parcel of religion. Warfare and revolt, with them, were ever inspired by religious motives. It was national fanaticism, if you will, that was at the bottom of all the trouble. Or, if you prefer it, the urge to revolt was ever their unconquerable faith that Israel was Yahweh's, or Yahu's, uniquely chosen people; that God himself, and no other, as they believed, was, must be, their ruler. The reiterated promises of Law and Prophets, throughout the centuries, had been that they should be free,—nay, rulers of the world,—if only they would unfeignedly serve Yahweh, their almighty, heavenly and earthly, king, vindicator ('judge') and saviour.

After helping in organizing the collection of supplies and recruiting, and participating in the national struggle in Galilee, Joseph ben Mathathyah deserted to the enemy. Received into favour, he henceforth dubbed his former legitimate companions-in-arms fanatical fools, who had dared to oppose those whom he now declared to be the God-appointed world-rulers, fawningly greeting Vespasian as the promised Messiah on a world-scale. The downfall of the Jews and the capture and destruction of the sacred city, he declared to be the inevitable outcome of the numerous wrong-headed revolutionary and seditious outbreaks, which had been successively suppressed by the Imperial authorities. These had all been messianistic, religious-political. Among them had been the John and Jesus movements. Those whom the pious of the Jews had regarded as strict 'observers' of the Law (*naṣoræans*), as patriots, heroes and martyrs, Flavius Josephus now lumps together, in his new character of 'assimilated' Roman official, under the opprobrious name of 'bandits,' or 'robbers' (in our English versions), 'dagger-men,' *sicarii*, 'assassins,'—or as 'mad mullah'-folk,—to use a description familiar to us to-day in one type of our 'little wars.' The 'kingship of heaven,' the 'reign of God,' that from the days of John the Baptist had been attempted to be 'seized by violence' (or 'hastened by activism'), as it is phrased in the parallel Christian accounts, was now, for Josephus, a pestilent 'heresy.' He belauded, on the one hand, the accommodationist Sadducean party,—that of the 'high priests,'—which had throughout tried to keep in with Rome,—very content with the still abundant loaves and fishes of priestly

prerogatives and temple-treasure, even when heavily mulcted by Roman taxation, and, on the other, the non-resistance policy of the pietism and quietism of the Essenes. As for the religiously patriotic, activist 'bandits,' who preferred to flee to the desert and mountains,—in revival of the conditions of the old-time exodus into the wilderness, that preceded the conquest of the 'promised land,'—rather than serve the Pharaoh of the day and tolerate Rome's idols,—thence to carry on guerilla-like warfare from their inaccessible fastnesses,—these the Flavian flatterer damned at every turn. Now all such political uprisings and revolts were (as we have said) essentially religious and specifically messianistic. How, then, could Josephus avoid treating the Jesus-movement, which he could not fail to lump in with the rest, with similar hostility? Eisler's criterion of criticism in this all-important enquiry is thus objectively established.

But how can you prove this?—the surprised, uninstructed, 'general reader' will exclaim. In the first place, by studying the *extant* Greek works of Josephus, intelligently and critically, by the comparative method. This Eisler has done in a way that ranks him with the foremost of Josephean commentators. But critical-historical scholarship can now go further. Our recovered 8 pieces have been excerpted from the Old Russian rendering of the lost Greek text of a practically otherwise-unknown work of Josephus,—or, let us say, from the first Greek edition of what was shortly after edited and manipulated to serve as the official history of the familiarly known *Jewish War*, prepared by order for the triumph of the Emperor Titus.

When these 8 excerpts were first made accessible to Western scholarship, in 1906, by the Dorpat historian and theologian Alexander Berendts, he courageously claimed that they came from a genuine Josephean work. Berendts' contention was immediately assailed on all sides. In general, the pieces were summarily dismissed, *tout court*, as Christian forgeries. Two scholars alone thought they might be interpolations based on outside, floating

popular Jewish tradition; but even so, they were certainly not from the hand of Josephus himself. Berendts was broken-hearted. The brief battle lasted for only two years (1906 to 1908), and died away in the half-hearted demand for a translation of the full Old Russian work before any self-respecting critic could dream of re-opening the subject. Accordingly, our dogged pioneer set to work to compare the MSS. and translate the whole of the text. Berendts died before the result of his patient, self-sacrificing labours could see the light. His friend, and literary executor, Konrad Grass, of the same university, then took the matter in hand, and edited and published, in circumstances of great difficulty, this most critically important work, before he, too, passed away to what is believed to be a less controversial atmosphere. The further task of utilizing this newly-made-known material, of analyzing and criticizing it, and fully commentating it, has fallen to the lot of Robert Eisler, to whom Grass, before his death, with the greatest generosity, made accessible all the material remaining in his hands.

In this methodical way an invaluable lost work of Josephus has been recovered,—and one, indeed, of the most surprising character. It is, as we have said, prior to the edition of the *Jewish War*. But what is of still more arresting interest: it was redacted, expanded and paraphrased, in the *scriptorium* of Flavius Josephus, by his slave staff of Greek-knowing translators and scribes (for the historian himself was anything but a master of that learned tongue) from an Aramaic original. This first, Semitic vernacular sketch was already made with a political object, and indeed by direct order of the Roman government. It was intended for consumption by Eastern Jews in the first place, and in the second by all those who could read Aramaic (that Near Eastern *lingua franca*) of some sort or other,—in fact, wherever the Oriental Jewish diaspora was scattered; so that the Syrians and Babylonians and Parthians and the rest should learn

to recognize the folly of resisting the all-conquering might of Rome. The *Jewish War*, the final, Greek redaction, prepared, in exaltation of Titus, for the general *intelligentsia* of the West, was the 3rd edition. The *Capture of Jerusalem*, or the intermediate version, was the 2nd, and presumably prepared chiefly for Greek-reading Jews, such as those of Alexandria, who knew no Aramaic. The original, 1st edition, was in this Semitic vernacular (the language of Jesus), and in it Josephus had, presumably, allowed himself to speak more intimately, less Rome-flatteringly, as Jew to Jews.

By the systematic comparison of the Old Russian version of the *Capture* (which can, by competent scholarship, without much difficulty be turned back into Greek) with the extant Greek text of the *War*, the method and motives of Flavius Josephus, as seen in the very numerous additions, omissions and variants it discloses, come into clear definition,—indeed are transparent. These very striking differences throw brilliant light on the tricky character of the turn-coat historian. His busy, time-serving editorial activity enables us intimately to know the turns of mind of this most contemptible of all history-writers.

Nevertheless, it would be a grave mistake to think that Ben Mathathyah had no solid facts, and facts in abundance, to go upon, no matter how he manipulated them. Indeed, we are finally driven to recognize that his work, when all is weighed and considered, contains priceless external testimony for the history of Christian origins. For, as we learn from the brilliant researches of Eisler, Josephus, apart from his own intimate personal knowledge of the campaign, and what gave rise to it, on the side of the Jews, had, after turning traitor,

official access not only to the papers and memoranda of the Roman General Staff during the War, but also to the whole of the government reports and archives relating to the history of the previous uprisings, not only in Palestine, but also at Rome and elsewhere—yes, including even the 'acts,' or official reports home, of Pilate himself. If this amazing outcome of microscopically cross-examining the statements of Josephus, in his several works, and of bringing them into connection with the carrying out of the otherwise known rules and regulations that had to be observed in the Imperial system of government-administration throughout the empire, be questioned by the reader, let him turn to the piled-up proofs of our author, and refute them,—if he can.

Pilate's reports of the circumstances preceding, attending and following the trial and execution of Jesus were still in the Imperial archives at Rome up to the time of the Emperor Maximinus Daïa, that bitter persecutor of the Christians. For in 311 C.E. he had them, on unquestionable historical evidence, made public and copied by the thousand, and gave orders for their compulsory reading in all the schools of the Empire. But only 17 years after, in the reign of Constantine, Christianity won its Papal-Cæsaristic triumph, becoming, practically, the state-religion. Hereupon all was changed; every copy of the authentic 'acta' of Pilate was sought out and destroyed, and in their place was substituted forged, apocryphal 'Acts of Pilate.'

No one who has not already an extensive knowledge of the general legendary nature of apocryphal literature, and of the vast mass of similar pseudo-historical tendency-writing in the interests of the ever-increasing faith-construct of Christian subjectivism, with the vast apologetic industry of its *defensores fidei*,—no one who has not read at length the saddening history of the

innumerable Christian forgeries and editorial accommodations throughout the centuries, is in a position patiently to consider, or even calmly to tolerate, the rigorously-objective historical researches that are amassed in these two stout volumes. But those of us who have spent many years open-mindedly examining and searching, analyzing and criticizing, in quest of the plain facts,—if haply in any way they can now be made to emerge, even in barest outline,—know that it is in such a befogged atmosphere we are compelled to work. We are, accordingly, proportionately thankful when a fellow-worker throws even a dim candle-light on a silhouette of but one of the multitudinous obscurities amid which we have been groping and stumbling. Now, Robert Eisler, in my judgment, shows that, in this great quest, not only is he furnished with flickering candles, but also now and again uses a lamp, and sometimes even bears a flaming torch.

As has been already said, it is quite impossible to review in detail this encyclopædic work; for even to make a *catalogue raisonné* of its sub-headings would exhaust the whole of the space we can afford. It must then here suffice to recite the headings of the main general divisions:

(i.) After dealing very fully and instructively with the history of the long and bitter controversy concerning the so-called *Testimonium Flavianum—i.e.* the solitary short passage in Josephus' *Antiquities* concerning Jesus—our author furnishes the received text with an elaborate critical apparatus from the known MSS., etc., and submits it to a drastic analysis, eliminating the Christian overworkings, and thus recovering the genuine Josephean text (90 pp.). (ii.) There follows the detailed history of how the relevant extracts from the Old Russian translation of the Greek *Capture* were made accessible to Western scholarship, since 1906, and of all that has appeared up to date on the subject, methodically and critically set forth (139 pp.). (iii.) Next comes a penetrating analysis of the contents of the whole of this recovered work, and

their relation to the extant Greek text of the later *War*, followed by a searching enquiry into the problem of the place and date of origin and of the genesis of the Slavic (North Russian), 13th century, version (301 pp.). (iv.) Thereafter we have the genuine Josephus-account of the Baptist (160 pp.). Following this comes the treatment of the authentic Josephean statements about Jesus, which are compared, in great detail, with the main moments of the 'Life' as set forth in the Gospels,—all this under striking main headings in Greek, which may be Englished as: (v.) 'Then appeared one Jesus' (155 pp.); (vi.) 'Behold the Man' (71 pp.); (vii.) 'Transformation,' or 'Transfiguration'—Metamorphosis (49 pp.); (viii.) 'Sedition': Suffering: Pillorying (114 pp.); (ix.) 'Those who were led astray after the Son of Joseph' (36 pp.); (xi.) 'The Expectation of the Nations'—Origin and Meaning of Political Messianism (178 pp.).

In div. ii. the most brilliant analytic piece of work is Eisler's treatment of the 'Rending of the Curtain of the Temple' passage in the Slavic. This he shows to have consisted originally of a short, wholesale Christian interpolation in the Greek; but in the Old Russian version this brief paragraph contains a long interpolation, within the original interpolation, by a Russian Judaizing Christian, originally written in Russian,—presumably a long marginal note, subsequently incorporated into the text of the later MSS. In explanation of this very curious phenomenon our author interposes a most illuminating study of a little-known phase of mediæval Russian church-history, entitled 'The Judaizing Heresy.' This once powerful movement Eisler claims further to have been the origin of Socinianism, as it spread to the West, and thus of Unitarianism in general. But this study is already known to our readers, or to most of them, for it has already appeared, in brief summary, in our author's article in THE QUEST (Jan. 1929), entitled

'The Rending of the Veil Passage in the Slavic Josephus.'

We should have liked particularly to have dwelt on div. iv., and indicated the searching light it throws on the John the Baptizer independence-movement, and its close connection with and relation to the propaganda of Jesus. Here there emerges the tremendously important question of dates. After a most penetrating and detailed preliminary study, Eisler places the public activity of Jesus within the years 19-21 C.E. As to John, he is shown to have been considerably older than Jesus in the first place, and in the second—even more astonishingly for traditionalists—not to have met his martyr's death till about 35 C.E. In this connection, careful readers of the *Antiquities* are reminded that Josephus' John-account comes *after* the Jesus-passage. We are further richly informed concerning John's mode of life, his eschatological proclamation and baptizing-ceremony, and of his mentality. Eisler gives reason to think that Josephus' longer account of John, from the recovered text of the *Capture*, was based on a 'Life' of the prophet that was in circulation among the Baptist's disciples, and with which the historian became acquainted, in his early days, during his three-years sojourn with the baptizing ascetic Banûs, in the desert. Here also the still existing Johannine Mandæans, or Gnostic Nazoræans, and their intensely interesting literature—especially their John-Book—comes up for treatment, and their earliest relationships to Jewry and Christendom are discussed with insight.

But it is only when we pass, at last, to divv. v.-x. that we find ourselves in the midst of our author's new *Leben-Jesu-Forschung* exposition. Here the

recovered Josephus,—with his external, objective, hostile point of view,—on the one hand, and the exactly contemporary[1] Synoptic narratives,—with their largely subjective, adoring attitude—on the other, are compared, contrasted and subjected to a thorough critical scrutiny. The one picture is sketched in black and white, coldly and officially, from without; the other is painted enthusiastically in warm and brilliant colours from within, by the worshippers of their Lord and God.

On a review and discussion of Eisler's painstaking and excellently-informed attempt to elicit a mediating position, or to obtain an all-round view of the two sides of the shield, in this prime problem of religious history for the Western world, and of his endeavours to appreciate this far-off great event, we cannot at present venture. We have not the space, in the first place; and in the second, prefer to wait for the publication of the English edition so that our readers may first of all be in possession of our author's substantive text.

But this much I would say, and with confidence: We have now got, and hold securely, our recovered 'Josephus,'—and therewith the most important, the priceless, religio-political, or politico-religious, most immediate background of Christian origins. This is a mighty stride forward in Life-of-Jesus study; it gives an entirely new perspective.

After long years—some half a century almost—of unremitting work in this research, I have learned to

[1] Josephus' literary activity lasted from about 71 C.E. to the very end of the century (he died somewhere in the first decade of the 2nd century); and the composition of the Canonical Gospels, beginning with 'Mark,' the earliest, extended over the years from (at earliest) 75 to the first decade of the 2nd century, when the 4th Gospel saw the light in its present state. The chronological parallelism could not be more precise.

(In the next number will begin a series of arresting studies by Dr. Eisler on the 'John' Gospel. They will deal with the Paraclete Problem, and what is claimed to be the underlying Simonian Gospel of Cerinthus and the Lazarus Evangel, and in general with the Origins of the Fourth Gospel.)

appreciate highly the objective nature of the modern Jewish mind in treating documents relevant to the origins of Christianity, and viewing their statements from the standpoint of Israel's age-long, traditional, religious temperament and genius. It takes a Jew to think with and to understand the mind of a Jew; and Jesus was a Jew.

We Western *goiim*, or 'gentiles,' are naturally inclined to look at Christianity and its beginnings through the hellenistic spectacles of its later developments. But for the Jew, Christianity is one form only—no matter how world-spread it may have become—of his people's all-too-familiar Messianism. For here it should not be forgotten that Israel can number now some 300 Messianic claimants in its long history. It follows then, that the instructed Jewish mind is, of all minds, best acquainted with the nature of such claims in general.

Robert Eisler is of the unchanging blood of the children of Abraham. The Bible of Israel—the Law, the Prophets and the Sacred Writings—in its original tongue is impressed on his extraordinarily retentive memory, sentence by sentence; the Talmuds, the Midrashīm, the whole apocryphal and apocalyptic literature, and the rest, are intimately familiar to him. In reading his very numerous writings dealing with such subjects, I have come to know how such a well-stored and supple mind can,—as could also those of myriads of his learned brethren in the past,—facilely quote and deftly use or manipulate biblical texts on every occasion and for every topic. Eisler would have it that John and Jesus were as great adepts as himself in this textual scholarship. It may have been so; but it is somewhat difficult for a *goi*, not to say a *mīn* (*je n'en rougis pas*), to be absolutely so persuaded. But in any case, even if Johanan and Jeshu did not dispose of

our modern arsenal of concordances, etc., both prophets were, doubtless, filled to overflowing with the ancestral promises and prophecies and expectations of their race.

And with all this rich equipment of his, Eisler is also one of those for whom we have been so long waiting to throw light on some, at least, of those strange and contradictory Jesus-stories in the Talmuds, and on the still queerer constructs of the mediæval Toldoth-Jeshu fictions. What a *Hexentanz* or, if you prefer it, cloud-cuckoo-land of legend and folklore, of popular, bazaar theological controversy it all seems to be! It broke my head a generation ago when I attempted to deal with it at some considerable length. So that I am experienced enough very sensibly to appreciate my old friend's genial efforts to sort out, and undo, some of the innumerable knots and puzzles in the tangled contents of this old-string basket of Jewish tradition.

But I must hasten to a close, for space is running out. Before writer and reader part, however, it will perhaps be of service to give an English version from the German of Josephus' ground-statement concerning Jesus, as recovered from the Old Russian translation, and now cleared of the weeds of Christian overworking by Eisler's skilful husbandry (vol. ii., pp. 297ff.).

The Russian text has been reprinted and furnished by E. with an exhaustive critical apparatus, based on all the known 15 MSS., and in addition supplemented by Dr. Moses Gaster's German version of his unique MS. of a Roumanian translation from the Russian, but through a Polish intermediary.

At that time there appeared a man, if it is even fitting to call him a man. His nature and his shape were human, but his showing was more than a man's: he worked astonishing wonders.

But, again, if I look at his commonplace nature, I would not call him an angel (divine messenger).

And so much as he wrought through some invisible power or other, he wrought it all by word and command. The one [*pl.* = set of folk] said of him: Our first Lawgiver [Moses] is risen from the dead and has showed forth many cures and arts. The others thought he is sent by God. Yet in much he opposed himself to the Law, and did not observe the Sabbath according to ancestral custom.

But, again, he did nothing shameful; nor [did he work] by means of hands, but provided (or prepared) everything by word [? or, through (the) Word,—*i.e.* the 'Shem' or Name of Power].

And many of the populace followed after him and hearkened to his teaching. And many souls were stirred, supposing that by him the Jewish tribes could be set free from the hands of the Romans.

Now it was his custom mostly to stay on the Mount of Olives facing the City. And there also he dispensed his cures to the populace. And there were gathered together with him [some] hundred and fifty of adherents, and a great crowd of the populace [as well]. But when they beheld his power, that he achieved all he would by word, and when they made their will known to him, that he should enter the City, and put the Roman troops and Pilate to the sword, and rule over us, he did not scorn us.

And when, subsequently, report thereof was made to the Jewish leaders, they gathered together with the high-priest, and said: "We are powerless and too weak to withstand the Romans. But as 'the bow is bent,' we will go and tell Pilate what we have heard, and we shall be safe; so that he hear it not from others, and we be robbed of our substance, and ourselves put to the sword and our children scattered abroad. And they went and told Pilate.

So the latter sent and cut down many of the populace. And he arrested that wonder-worker; and after he had set up a [judicial] inquiry concerning him, he gave judgment: he is a criminal, a revolutionary, a pretender to the throne.

And they (the Romans) crucified him contrary to the ancestral law.

This is the account, in very high probability, given in Josephus' Greek edition of the *Capture*. But in the Aramaic original some of Ben Mathathyah's expressions may have been more hostilely phrased; this, however, is another story, which cannot here be told. Now Eisler contends, and marshals sound evidence to prove, that from the above Josephean narrative a whole paragraph was from early days deliberately expunged by Christian editors,—one of immense importance; for it contained no less than the official description of the accused,—Jesus the Naṣoræan, the Messianic King-claimant.

But before even the well-informed layman, and much more the uneducated general reader, is in a position in any way to appreciate the stages of unearthing this long-lost 'revolutionary' historical evidence, he must first carefully, not only read, but study, Eisler's richly-documented, and extraordinarily informative, preliminary treatise on the administrative police-regulations that in those days obtained in the Roman Empire in this regard. The abundant literature of the traditional, ever-increasingly laudatory accounts of the physical appearance of the Galilean prophet is set forth at length, and minutely analyzed and criticized by our painstaking author. In it the figure of Jeshu ha-Noṣri is shown progressively fictionalized, and finally blazing forth in the sublimest perfection of physical beauty as God on earth.

Among other more recondite ancient traces, Eisler reminds us that, even among the greatest of the Early Church Fathers themselves, we have, for instance, a Tertullian, at the end of the 2nd century, referring to Jesus' small stature (*corpusculum*),—did not Zacchæus (already in 'Luke') climb a tree to catch sight of the

Prophet hidden away by the crowd?—and an Origen, a generation later (in his apologetic controversy with the fifty-years-dead Celsus) admits that Jesus was 'ugly.' Indeed, must there not have been a sufficient physical reason for the claim that the Nasoræan fulfilled the 'despised and rejected of men' messianic O.T. prophecy? Taking, then, the notoriously forged Latin text of the apocryphal 'Letter of Lentulus,' our keen prober into the strata of this great buried, historical city, with well-nigh uncanny insight, works back to the original text of Josephus' lost paragraph, which he holds to have been based by the historian on the actual 'acta,' or official reports, of Pilate.

Not im-pertinently, then, I bring this paper to a close with a literal English rendering of Eisler's German version of the restored Greek text of Flavius Josephus' coldly objective description of Jesus, the Jewish messianistic Prophet.

> He was a man of plain appearance, ripe age, with dark complexion, small stature, three ells high, bent back, long face, longish nose, eyebrows grown together so that those who looked at him could be dismayed, scanty hair, with a parting in the middle after the style of the Nazirs, and immature beard.

Probably no item of Robert Eisler's critical historical labours will be raged at more than this.

And now,—although there is very very much more to be said,—I must rest content with this brief notice of an amazing work. I have written it in the hope that readers of THE QUEST, at any rate, may consult the book itself, if not in the German full edition, then in the shortened English version, when it appears. They will not, I promise them, lose their reward.

G. R. S. MEAD.

ALCHEMY AND ECONOMICS.

H. STANLEY REDGROVE, B.Sc., A.I.C.

BEN JONSON, I think I am right in saying, must be held largely responsible for the views concerning the nature of Alchemy and the character of alchemists which were current up to the close of the last century, and are by no means non-existent at the present day. His play, *The Alchemist*, which was first acted in 1610, and was one of the first plays to be revived at the Restoration, was immensely popular and, as a piece of fun, deservedly so; and the picture portrayed of its central character passed, if I may so phrase it, into the common consciousness. Jonson's alchemist was an unmitigated scoundrel. He was a charlatan, who for a suitable fee would predict your future, or supply you with a familiar spirit to guide you at cards or other games of chance. By means of a simple conjuring trick he would show you that he had power to convert common metals into gold and, having persuaded you to let him have all your household domestic goods for the purpose of working upon them this so very desirable transformation, he would convert them to his own use and put you off with the plea that the experiment had been spoilt by some fault on your part.

That Jonson portrayed a type of person by no means unknown in his day can certainly not be denied; but just as it would be unwise, for example, to estimate the quality of modern medical science on the basis of

analyses of the patent medicines which are so assiduously advertised to-day, so, too, would it be a mistake to imagine that the real qualities of Alchemy and the alchemists are displayed to us in Jonson's racy play.

The alchemists were the precursors of the modern chemists, and they had the quality in common with them of being curious about the mysteries of Nature. In other respects, the points of difference are more marked than those of resemblance. The mental equipment of the alchemist was in many ways vastly inferior to that of his present-day brother: he had no apparatus of mathematical analysis, and only the barest intimations of the methods of inductive logic. His whole mental outlook was different; and the same may be said of his aim, except in so far as this may broadly be described as the desire to understand Nature aright.

It is not my present intention to endeavour to determine how men first came to observe and to study those phenomena which we should now class as chemical, nor to try to portray, as in a panorama, the evolution of the science of chemistry. Suffice it to say that this evolution exhibits four main stages. Chemistry originated, before history began to be written, in the observations of the early craftsmen who first smelted metals and made glass and dyed their garments with various materials. This I call the technological stage. There succeeds the age of alchemy, with the outstanding character of which I shall deal in a moment. Follows the age of iatro- or medical chemistry, when the science existed mainly as an adjunct to that of medicine; whilst, finally, there is the present age of chemistry proper as an independent

science pursuing its own objects by its own methods. It is difficult to date these periods, because they overlap; but iatro-chemistry began with Paracelsus, who died in 1541, and the fourth period may be said to have begun in the seventeenth century with Robert Boyle. Alchemy, however, lingered on, and it was particularly during this latter period that it became degenerate and impostors flourished.

What exactly, then, were the distinguishing features of the alchemical period in the evolution of chemistry? Alchemy was essentially an attempt to explain Nature. It was part of an all-embracing philosophy whose key-notes were oneness and simplicity. The alchemists were certainly experimentalists; and, indeed, it was the alchemist Roger Bacon who first conceived the possibilities of inductive logic long before his namesake Francis (who is usually credited with the discovery) endeavoured to formulate its methods. But notwithstanding this, the *à priori* method dominated the minds of the alchemists and analogy was their chief instrument of thought. They derived analogies from many sources and especially from the domain of theology. The mental atmosphere of the Middle Ages justified this procedure: theology was the one thing certain. Their speculations, fortified by observations of phenomena, whose nature was not fully understood, led them to the firm belief that all metallic substances were essentially of *one* nature, and that it was possible by means of a suitable agent to transmute all base metals into gold. I have dealt at length with the genesis of this idea, and have shown how important it was in the alchemists' philosophy in my book *Alchemy: Ancient and Modern*.[1] Suffice it to say here that they

[1] Second Edition, London, 1922.

reached the conviction that base metals could be transmuted into gold, and that the accomplishment of this experiment would provide a convincing and final proof of the truths of their philosophical beliefs.

I have intimated that the present century has witnessed a change in the attitude adopted towards the old-time alchemists. I think this may be attributed in part to the work of The Alchemical Society, unfortunately now defunct, which insisted upon the need for studying the views of these old-time philosophers. It is also due to the fact that modern science now recognizes, which previously it would not admit, the possibility of effecting the transmutation of the metals, though its theory of transmutation is widely divergent from that held by the old alchemists.

I have for many years strongly advocated the study of the writings of the alchemists, and this apart altogether from the fact that the alchemists may not have been such fools as nineteenth-century scientists believed them to have been. Let us say, for the sake of argument, that the whole of Alchemy was a system of false beliefs, a gigantic superstition. Nevertheless, men firmly believed in it. It was a phenomenon of human evolution, and we cannot pretend to understand humanity unless we are prepared to study the stages through which it has passed. I think it very fruitful to study bygone superstitions. They show us how very prone the human mind is to error, and engender in us a healthy scepticism concerning the most fondly cherished beliefs of the present day. Human beings are the quaintest things, and must make the gods laugh uproariously. Their chief business appears to be creating barriers to their thought and thereby hindering their progress. And so I say: Even if

the whole of the alchemical literature of the past is superstitious nonsense, then let us study it for its medicinal value and use it as an object-lesson for our own guidance.

However, this is a digression. Let us return to the alchemist and his claim that base metals could be transmuted into gold. Was this claim ever substantiated? If not, how could it have persisted from at least the beginning of the Christian era up to the seventeenth century? Modern science says that it was never substantiated. If transmutation, it is urged, was ever effected in these early days, the secret would ultimately have emerged and become public knowledge. Moreover, although modern science is now prepared to admit the possibility of transmutation, it does not believe that the alchemists could have achieved it, working along the lines laid down in their books, or with the knowledge and apparatus at their command. The alchemists in their writings commonly claim to have performed the 'Great Work,' but of actual evidence there is little available. The most striking is an instance recorded by the eminent physician J. B. van Helmont of a transmutation he performed himself by means of a yellow-coloured substance given him by a stranger, which I have related at length in my biography of this notable man.[1] It is usually explained away as being due to malobservation on his part. I do not quite know how this could be the case, nor do I know of any yellow-coloured substance which, in the quantity stated by van Helmont, would have transformed the material upon which he worked into a substance resembling gold. On the other hand, I find it very

[1] *Joannes Baptista van Helmont: Alchemist, Physician and Philosopher.* By H. S. Redgrove and I. M. L. Redgrove, London, 1922.

difficult to credit that real transmutation did take place. So, with my readers' permission, I will retain a seat—not altogether comfortable, perhaps, but a wise one in view of the prevailing ignorance of what lies on each side—on top of the fence.

There is a passage in the writings of a seventeenth century alchemist in which the writer, deploring man's ignorance, prays to God that all men might become adepts in the art of Alchemy for the reason, as he puts it, that "then gold, the great idol of mankind, would lose its value, and we should prize it only for its scientific teaching."[1] A critic might score a point by asking why, if the author were sincere in this opinion, he did not openly and clearly reveal the great secret which he claimed to know. What I wish to point out, however, is that this utterance is, in a way, at variance with the views expressed by the majority of the alchemists. They invariably treat of Alchemy as a secret, a secret to be closely guarded because of the consequences that would ensue if gold could be cheaply and abundantly produced from common metals. They write invariably in the most cryptic language, and this even when some remark is prefaced that the matter will now be made relatively clear. Of course one can say that all this mystifying was a cloak in which they hid their ignorance. This was the once-common view associated with the picture of the alchemist drawn from Jonson's play. Frankly, I do not think it is the right one. The alchemists were not ignorant men, even if they believed in a philosophy which is no longer tenable. Many of them undoubtedly made valuable discoveries; and a close study of their works

[1] 'Eirenæus Philalethes,' *An Open Entrance to the Closed Palace of the King.*

shows, if I may so phrase it, a method in their madness, a consistency in their seemingly unintelligible jargon, converting one from the belief that it is nonsense into a conviction that it is, rather more probably, a cipher-language. I am confident that the alchemists regarded their knowledge as dangerous. This is easy to understand with respect to the earlier writers, for during the Middle Ages it was never wise to know too much about Nature. The Church did not tolerate that sort of thing. But over and above this, I think there was a fear on the part of the alchemists of the economic consequences of the secret becoming known—a secret, let me say, which at any rate they thought they possessed —of how to convert common metals into gold.

As I have remarked, modern science now credits the possibility of effecting this transmutation, although by methods entirely different, so far as can be judged, from those credited by the old-time alchemists. The atoms of matter, at one time thought to be absolutely indivisible and unchangeable, are now known to be highly complicated systems subject to change. Modern science envisages the atom as being something in the nature of a solar system. The nucleus or sun is excessively small, but in it the mass or inertia of the whole atom is almost entirely concentrated. This nucleus has an electro-positive charge, the charge being neutralized by that of the free electrons or units of negative electricity which revolve, like planets, about it, and which by their orbits account for the volume of the atom. The chemical properties of the element depend upon the number of these free electrons. The nucleus itself is not indivisible, and what is known as radio-active change, which is, in fact, a spontaneous transmutation of one element into another, takes place owing to the expulsion either

of an electron or of what is called an alpha-particle from the nucleus. These expulsions bring about changes in the surrounding planetary system of free electrons. In the first case this system gains an electron; in the latter it loses two.

It was the discovery of radium, with its remarkable properties, which led scientists to undertake the various investigations and researches which have ultimated in the theory which I have very briefly and inadequately sketched. Radium is spontaneously transmuting itself into a long series of other elements which, like it, are also unstable, the ultimate product being lead and the rare gas helium. Actually this change is a very slow one. In one year only about the 1/2500 part of any quantity of radium undergoes the change; but in spite of the fact that radium has only been studied in the most minute quantities, the energy given out is sufficient to make itself felt in many obvious ways, which fact led to the whole subject being investigated. Other elements showing this phenomenon of spontaneous transmutation or disintegration are also known, and it is highly probable that all elements are either radio-active or have been produced from other radio-active elements.

So far, attempts to control the spontaneous disintegration of the radio-active elements, to hasten the speed of disintegration or to retard it, have proved unsuccessful, and efforts to initiate the change in elements not exhibiting radio-activity have not yet led to very striking results. The late Sir William Ramsay claimed to have effected a number of transmutations on a minute scale, but further investigation indicated that he was misled in his conclusions. Experiments by Sir Ernest Rutherford, in which

minute quantities of nitrogen and other elementary bodies were disintegrated into hydrogen by bombarding the latter with the alpha-particles spontaneously shot off from the nuclei of one of the unstable elements originating from radium, are of a more convincing character.[1]

There can be little, if any, doubt, however, that men of science will ere long discover a method of effecting inter-atomic change; and one of the consequences of this will be the realization of the old dream of the alchemist: namely, the transmutation of base metals into gold. Thus, the expulsion of two alpha-particles from bismuth or one from the rather rare metal thalium, would yield the result required. Or lead could be converted into mercury by the expulsion of an alpha-particle, and this into thalium by the expulsion of an electron, yielding gold by the further expulsion of an alpha-particle.

Indeed, one has already heard rumours that the artificial transmutation of other metals into gold has already been effected; and although I think it wise to discredit such rumours, nevertheless, in a sense, they are forecasts of what will come to pass. For example, some little time ago I read the following paragraph in *The Passing Show:*

> German chemists are getting dangerously near discovering the way to transmute base metals into gold. I have often wondered what the financial powers would do if gold became as plentiful and as cheap as lead. Talking to the late Lord Leverhulme once on this topic, I was interested to note that his idea was that the currency standard would be changed to platinum in the event of gold becoming a drug on the market.

[1] Certain other experiments, in which it is claimed the transmutation of one element into another has been voluntarily effected—including the transmutation of mercury into gold, have been recorded in the past few years, but await confirmation.

It is well that this paragraph should have occurred in a humorous paper, because Lord Leverhulme's suggestion as to an alternative currency in the event of gold becoming as cheap as lead is worthy of being ranked as a joke. Certainly it cannot be taken seriously, for three very good reasons. The first is that one of the chief sources of the world's platinum lies within the confines of the Soviet Republic, and I cannot envisage the Government of any capitalist state adopting as currency a metal the supplies of which are largely controlled by the Bolsheviks. The second and more important reason is that, when chemists have succeeded in effecting the transmutation of other metals into gold, the extension of the method to the artificial production of platinum and other rare metals will follow inevitably and early. The third and most important reason is that the achievement of the control of radio-active change will entail consequences of so gigantic a character that they will smash our social system, including its currency, to smithereens.

Putting aside this third consideration, however, let us ask ourselves what would be the economic consequences of the production of gold cheaply and on a large scale. To a certain extent the effects would be the same as those produced by the introduction into the country of a highly inflated paper currency; and we know from recent history in Russia and Germany almost exactly what these are. But there is one very important difference; and that is, that whereas the recent currency inflations in Germany and Russia were national, that is to say merely local, phenomena, the one we are considering would be an international one. Because even if one country secured the secret of making gold from the

scientist who discovered it, effectually sealed his mouth and prevented the knowledge leaking out by the most drastic methods, there would most certainly be some annoying scientist in another country who would eventually make the same discovery. Now a good many of the most distressing phenomena of the currency inflation in the two countries I have mentioned, were due largely to international complications, and would not have occurred had inflation taken place in all nations at the same rate.

A highly inflated currency throughout the world would make possible the repayment of all National Debts, including those incurred in connection with the Great War. Certainly this would be disadvantageous to the bondholders, but it would not less certainly benefit the peoples as a whole.

On the other hand, wage-earners (who constitute the bulk of the population in the industrial countries) would suffer by the rising prices, but only in so far as wages did not rise at the same rate. Granted strong trade-union organizations catering for all those concerned, and wages *might* be forced up at this rate and any evil consequences to wage-earners averted.

On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to think that *international* inflation, such as would result from the discovery envisaged, would be beneficial in its results. Ultimately of course, it would necessitate an entire reconstruction of the economic system of the world.

I want to assure my readers that it is no fairy tale that I am relating. Predictions of scientific inventions seem always fated to be met with incredulity. I can well remember the time when the possibility that man would ever fly was doubted by all but a few people, and

now we have regular aeroplane services all over Europe; and I suppose the time will come when each of us will have his own plane just as we now tend each to have his own car. I want to emphasize the fact that the discovery of the transmutation of common metals into gold may come with alarming suddenness. At any moment one of the scientists who is working at this problem may succeed in exploding an atom of bismuth; and although the transition from the laboratory to the factory may take considerable time, the artificial production of real gold in large quantities, sufficient to cause an enormous increase in the price of all other commodities measured in terms of the gold-standard, may become a fact in the course of a few years. Prices will rise all over the world, as they rose in Germany during the time of the currency-inflation. The only other alternative is that the discovery of the artificial transmutation of base metals into gold will not be achieved until our present currency-system has been radically transformed and, say, the unit of labour substituted for gold or other valuable metal as the unit of value. No one can say which alternative is the more likely; and it is quite within the bounds of possibility that the discoveries of the chemists will force the nations to adopt a new economic structure of a more ideal character than that at present appertaining.

In his *The World Set Free* Mr. H. G. Wells has written a prophecy concerning the scientific discovery of which I am speaking. It is an interesting picture and a book well worth reading; but in one matter certainly I think Wells has gone astray. His work was published in 1914 before the Great War, and he envisages the world-war as taking place after the

discovery of how to control atomic change has been achieved. As a result, the world-war was of so devastating a character that it was of relatively short duration, and it had the effect of bringing the nations to their senses and ushering in an era of world-peace. Personally, I do not believe in the educative value of war. The world does not seem to be greatly wiser now than in 1914.

So far I have spoken only of the economic effects of the achievement of the dreams of the old-time alchemists, in so far as these would affect a currency based on a gold or other metallic standard. But, as a matter of fact, as I have hinted, its effects would be far more extensive than this. As I have pointed out, radium is disintegrating at an extraordinarily low rate. Yet, in spite of this fact, it gives out an enormous amount of energy. The first product of the disintegration of a radium atom is an atom of helium—a gas previously known in the atmosphere—and an atom of a heavy gas known as niton or 'radium emanation.' This atom of emanation then undergoes another series of complicated changes, resulting finally in helium and lead. Roughly speaking, three-fourths of the energy obtained when an atom of radium disintegrates, is accounted for by these latter changes; and, from measurements that have been made, it is estimated that a given bulk of emanation, during the whole series of disintegrations it undergoes, spontaneously liberates about four million times as much heat as would be obtained by burning an equal bulk of hydrogen. We are dealing here with energy in magnitudes hitherto undreamed of; and if we could accelerate the disintegration of radium or spontaneously induce the atoms of some other element to

undergo radio-active disintegration, we should have at our disposal energy in such vast amounts that, controlled and applied, it would revolutionize every industry. But, as Professor Soddy writes *à propos* of the possibility of transmuting common metals into gold:

> If man ever achieves this further control over Nature, it is quite certain that the last thing he would ever want to do would be to turn lead or mercury into gold—*for the sake of gold.* The energy that would be liberated, if the control of these sub-atomic processes were as possible as the control of ordinary chemical changes, such as combustion, would far exceed in importance the value of the gold. Rather it would pay to transmute gold into silver or some base metal.[1]

Marx, I think, was correct in defining the unit of value in terms of labour, because labour is the most primitive form of energy controlled by man, and it is through the application of energy to the raw materials provided by Nature that all things of value and use are produced. Indeed, many leading scientists accept the view—and I can be counted as one of their disciples—that all material objects are nothing more than so many manifestations of energy. The history of human progress is the history of the gradual conquest by man of new sources of energy. Think of the industrial revolution that was produced when man discovered how to harness steam and to use its expansive energy to accomplish his purposes. From one point of view the story of this revolution is a grand and noble one, eloquent of the power of mind over matter. From another point of view it is sordid and distressing. It is not surprising that men in those days, starving and

[1] *Science and Life*, London, 1920, p. 107.

famished, went about to destroy the machines which, so it seemed to them, had brought about their state of destitution. But it was not the machine that was to blame. The power of steam had opened up to mankind vast new possibilities. Energy had been cheapened enormously. This might have meant, had the discovery in its various applications been used by mankind for the benefit of all men, a marked decrease in the cost of living and in the hours of labour, and an era of plenty for all, compared with what had been possible before this source of energy was available. As it was, the discovery meant the birth of a multitude of evils because of the ruthlessly competitive manner in which it was exploited. What is going to happen when the new source of energy locked up within the atoms of the elements, incredibly great compared with any source that mankind has hitherto tapped, becomes available for man's use or misuse? The possibility will be opened up of a new era of society, in which every man will be able to live in a state of leisure hitherto regarded as impossible or at any rate possible only for the very few. Alternatively, judging by the history of the discovery of steam and the consequent development of machinery, possibilities of an entirely different character can be envisaged. In Wells' book, one of the first consequences of the discovery of controlling sub-atomic processes is the invention of an atomic bomb, which goes on exploding with incredible violence for an indefinite time—an idea not so incredible as it sounds—wherewith Paris, Berlin and a few other capitals are blown to smithereens. Professor Soddy has uttered a wise word of warning. "Should that day," he writes, the day which will see atomic energy liberated to carry on the labour of the world,

should that day ever arrive, let no one be blind to the magnitude of the issues at stake, or suppose that such an acquisition to the physical resources of humanity can safely be entrusted to those who in the past have converted the blessings already bestowed by science into a curse. As suddenly and unexpectedly as the discovery of radioactivity itself, at any moment some fortunate one among the little group of researchers engrossed in these inquiries might find the clue and follow it up. So would be diverted into the channels of human consciousness and purpose the full primary fountain of natural energy at its source, for use or misuse by man, according as to whether the long and bitter lessons of the painful past and present have even yet been really learned.[1]

The old-time alchemists dreamed of the restoration of paradise on earth. Their dream is not incapable of fulfilment. But, in its foolishness, mankind may achieve not heaven, but hell. Those who, believing in Universal Brotherhood, care for the welfare of all mankind, must be vigilant; they must be alert, and, above all, they must be alive to the possibilities that modern scientific research opens out to us.

H. S. REDGROVE.

[1] *The Interpretation of Radium and the Structure of the Atom.* Fourth edition, London, 1920, p. 252.

EX CORNUBIA.

M. U. GREEN.

VISITORS crowd Cornwall every year, and nearly every visitor brings with him, in addition to what is called personal luggage, his bag of much more personal expectations. And this he hopes to fill, or intends to fill, from the treasure bag of Cornwall.

Now, one of the secrets of the Duchy is this: what a visitor carries away from holiday depends on what he brings down in his bag. For one visitor's bag is magical, packed with potential spells, and another is stuffed with preconceived opinions, readings rather than experience.

Booklore does not carry far in to-day's Cornwall, because the distant Duchy is sophisticated. Its old ladies no longer speak of Shakspere as a "well-wrote book, though turble saucy in places," and the younger generation puts its Loud Speaker on its Bible, instead of reading it on Sunday afternoons.

Perhaps the surest way to go to Cornwall is to travel in a dream, to walk backlong rather than to go forth; and now and then perhaps, if we dream true with open eyes, we may find now and then not very far apart, in spite of the procession of motor cars, which spin along the turnpike at fifty miles an hour.

If we dream, we are wise to remember that the Cornishman is no dreamer; that is, he does not dream aloud for our instruction and delight. He is perhaps

the most expansive person in manner and most reticent in reality. He shows us things of no importance. He keeps his bag locked up. Perhaps because it holds its treasure; perhaps because he does not mean to show its emptiness.

He will describe volubly his various diseases—Fleurisy or Kittens, as the ill may be. He will give an occasional home-made proverb: "Money's made round and goes round," or a hard-won bit of weather-wisdom: "Praa do call for wind, but Perran call for water"; so we know what to expect when we hear the sea beat south or north upon their sands. But, just when we begin to hope he may be opening his bag, he closes up more tightly than the shell-fish he still tears from its rock on Limpet Friday—Good Friday—as up-country people call it. It is amazingly difficult even to guess the contents of his bag.

Emotion, passionate, if ephemeral, gratitude, astonishing faith in one, above all fear, may open it inch-wide. But we see only such a disappointing little, before it shuts again.

These are a few strange matters we have observed in the bag.

I.

Cornishmen still believe in piskeys, though piskeys are much rarer than they used to be. Backlong they might be seen on almost any plain-an-guarry, but to-day they keep more closely to their special, spell-bound places, like Hal Galour hard by Chun Castle and the Gump. Yet a small, sedate child told me she had seen the little green men more than once, and in no piskey-place.

We crossed their tracks, too, down in Sennen Cove, where a friend was surely piskey-laden, for he did not get back to his rooms till midnight. His landlady whispered that she was afraid They had him. . . . We also found them in a most unlikely Schoolhouse in a mining town. The master did not confess personal belief; but he told us that his mother would not allow the harmonium to be played or Wesleyan hymns sung after sunset, because They did not like it. He admitted it was a queer coincidence, but trouble always followed any breakage of this rule.

In that town, too, they open a new mine-shaft ceremonially, with beams laid cross-wise on the clean-cut turf, and a miniature figure is laid on them, with lustrations of salt water and processions nine times round. Otherwise, the mine may be knacked; though I think the ceremony may have another origin than fear of piskey malice.

People are not exactly afraid of piskeys, but they treat tradition with respect. After all, there is an easy charm against a piskey spell: if one turns one's coat, or even one's pocket, inside out, one is safe surenough, with little trouble.

And talking of spells, there are several in the Cornish bag. Of course there are love-potions, tricky if inspiring drinks, as Iseult and Sir Tristan found, as well as other boys and girls to-day. They are made and sold by herbalists and White Witches in almost every town, and sometimes prove effectual and sometimes not. It may depend upon the circumstances of the brewage, whether the mint, anise and cummin were gathered at the good age of the moon or not, and twenty other observances of an intricate ritual.

There are spells against small ailments, mostly of

a half-religious kind, usually exorcisms in the name of a local saint, or occasionally of the Blessed Trinity.

St. Kea is useful when a child falls down and cries:

"Holy Kea, holy Ky,
Holy, holy, holy, will come better by and by.
Shoo! Be off! In his name the pain is gone!"

Or St. Peter may be invoked against toothache:

"St. Peter sat on a marble stone, weeping. Our Lord came by and said to him: 'Peter, why are you weeping?' St. Peter said: 'My Lord and God, I have toothache.' Our Lord said: 'Who-so-ever shall say this shall never suffer toothache: In the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Amen!' And St. Peter never had toothache after that."

After a recent outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease on a farm at our gates, the bodies of the slaughtered animals were burned, and buried in a monstrous trench. Faithful hands raised three ash crosses over it and the plague spread no further than that farm.

Words are sometimes accompanied by physical remedies.

Warts trouble some people. Here is a spell to cure them, given by an anshent friend of ours:

"Warts me dear—aw plaguey things they be. But waun can cure-en safe and sure enough. Ef ee do take a snail—waun o' they stripey wauns, an' pin he to a thorn, as sure he do drai, the wart will follow he."

Luckily we had no warts and the snails went scatheless.

There are blood-stanchers, too, who can be mischievous or useful. A motor-mechanic friend sang the fame of one to us. He had torn his arm badly on a toothed wheel, and his mates ran to a Wise Man for

help. The Wise Man came, saw the wound, muttered a sentence or two and stopped the bleeding.

"An' I tall-ee it wur ever so; blood couldn' ran ef he wur to. Ef ee ded so much as pass yard where they was pig-killen, pig couldn' bleed tell he had lef!—He play that treck to farmer Jory moren waunce."

If no blood-stancher is at hand, one can put on a plaster of grey mallow-leaves and hope for the best.

Some Cornish remedies are unprintable.

Perhaps charms may be divided into positive and negative spells. Many are rites of riddance, warders off of evil, but some definitely bring luck—like finding a natural quartz cross in granite. Stone-masons and geologists may find one now and then.

A trained Nurse told us the history of Poor Speed.

Poor Speed was an Innocent, who had won his name by falling down a mine-shaft in his childhood, and had grown up one-sided with one leg shorter than the other.

"Oh indeed it's true, it's most unlucky if you don't change your hat backsy-fore when you meet Poor Speed. Our Minister called it superstition; but he had cause to regret it, poor man, because he didn't do as he should, but only laughed at us. You know the stile at the foot of Carn Brea? Well, the morning he hadn't acknowledged Poor Speed, he fell and cut his lip and couldn't preach for weeks."

It's only manners to conform to custom.

We were camping out on Old Grumla, a wild stretch of hill and moor near Sancreed—most faëry place in all wild Cornwall. Our beds were so hard we begged a truss of hay from a near-by farmer's wife, honestly offering to pay for it, but were refused—for love.

"I weant, no I weant, tes wisht trade. 'Twould draa you to death, so strong et es. Ef I wur to lay that bebby to hay, 'twould draa he fore mornen. Ee deant knaw what ee be asken."

We found an echo of this superstition in North Cornwall, where some maids refused hay for their palliasses—it was an old-fashioned house—preferring harsher straw and safety, and we learned the reason in a nursery rhyme:

"See-saw, Margery Daw,
Sold her bed to lie on the straw;
Sold the straw to lie on the hay,
And the piskeys came and carried her away."

A connection seems to exist between Death and the Little People, at least in Celtic countries.

II.

Accepting charms and spells and, above all, fearing their mysterious power, of course the Cornishman fears ghosts. He may not be wise or analytical enough to determine whether he believes in apparitions—picture people—or in actual return of the truly dead. But he runs away from them impartially.

Every old house has its ghost, and so has almost every empty room. Luminous faces watch at windows, doors mysteriously refuse to shut. Certainly I have watched more than one handle turn and more than one door fly open, without a visible hand or visible entrant to account for it. But these may not be ghosts of Cornish origin.

And I may be heretic, but I believe no story ghost is half as terrifying as the unknown ghost,—the Thing

that peers over the half-door in the dimmets, or follows one along strange paths, like the one through the nut-grove at St. Erth, bringing cold airs, but about whom nothing is known.

A lane leads from Drift to Sancreed, which has a haunted spot, nothing more than a three-cornered bit of wall, a gate, a boreen leading to a farm and half-a-dozen fir-trees. Drive some people blindfold there, they name the road, not because its surface is by-ordinary bumpy, but because of their sensations,—that is, by their fear.

People of widely-differing temperaments bear witness. A level-headed priest will tell the same story as an imaginative woman. Both will say they feel that something malevolent is following them stealthily, and that it hides deliberately if they turn. Others add it is incredibly nasty, and seems to want to speak to them. One said it felt as if it tried to 'creep inside.'

For myself, I would cheerfully add six miles tramp to avoid being alone near that three-cornered bit of ground. Yet there is no story we can come by, not even of a gallows, and nothing in the landscape suggests its peculiar horror. A wisht place, and there tes.

Knill's monument stands in another haunted place, though his body in its blue suit, brass buttons and cocked hat is not buried in it as he wished, and though maidens dance round it in May-time once every five years.

It stands on a wild hill, haunted by adders and criss-crossed by little old paths that began to run there a thousand years ago. Those who have the Sight have seen the maddest orgies on that hill, unspeakable obscenities and human sacrifice. One tourist who climbed there saw more than she dare tell,

but her companions had to carry her four miles home, dead weight.

Cornish ghosts may assume the form of animals.

We knew one rather intimately, because its haunt was just below a one-time home of ours, a way that ran between the bottom of our garden and the Pool, or estuary, sandy and brackish at ebb, but jade and amethyst at flood tide. We found it inconvenient, because our maidens were afraid of it, and sometimes left the house on its account. The ghost was a white rabbit, 'so large as a hound,' which ran along the Undercliff and disappeared. A carpenter friend introduced us.

Opinions differ about his origin. One school maintains he is the ghost of Tom, an old Sea Captain, who had stolen common land; others that he is the ghost of a tremendous blackguard, who died time-gone, some sixty years ago.

This is the blackguard's story:

"He wur brave bad surenough," a farmer who lived up to churchtown before the sand blew in and filled the church. He turned his wife and newborn baby out of doors, he betrayed the maids who cooked and milked for him, he cheated and he stole and "scat up all commandments." He died in blasphemous impenitence cursing, while his co-religionists stood in his garden singing hymns. They heard his oaths, for door and windows stood wide open to give the soul an easy passage; and as they listened to his dying scream, a huge white rabbit ran between their feet. They followed it until they lost it in the north corner of the graveyard; and in that corner later on they buried the old man.

Since then, for over sixty years, a huge white rabbit has run nightly from the churchyard down the

hill past Egloshayle, along the Undercliff. He does no harm unless he is molested; he runs for his poor life (and poorer death) to hide in trees, which may have stood above the Undercliff when Irish saints sailed over the Bar to find their martyrdom at Teudar's hands.

That is the story of the blackguard. The Sea Captain's story is much vaguer, and both depend on what They say.

What They say goes a long way in Cornwall, and the fact that They contradict Tuesday's sayings on Wednesday is only an additional charm. They say the Sea Captain, who may be a Mining Engineer to-morrow, enclosed by guile or stealthily obtained a quarter-acre or so of common-land. Even to-day the village jumps its hedge and tramples its crops in protest. And They say he occupied a charming cottage on the Undercliff, where he stored his sea-chest in an empty room. And one May morning, a year after his death, his widow sent her maid to fetch her something from that room. The poor girl found more than she looked for. She raised the lid of the chest, and out jumped a huge rabbit, with the face of her dead master on its neck. While she screamed, the rabbit fled downstairs; and ever since that day it has run up and down the Undercliff, mild to the mild, but distinctly froward to the froward men who meddle with it. For "he did get so popular that we did take a gun to he"; and the gun exploded and shattered the hand of the sportsman, and the White Rabbit still runs Undercliff.

The story is so grotesque that I always wonder if there are two stories, and if we have heard only half of them. There may be much more to it, as they say down-long. I am afraid the Cornishman shut his bag

before we saw the whole of it. The scut of a rabbit after all is only evidence that there was a rabbit, and there are many rabbits on the Towans.

III.

From ghosts it is only a bob-button distance to ways of raising ghosts, to invocations, evocations and all the rest of the ritual for disturbing the sleep of the dead. Is it invariably goëtic magic? Not in Cornwall certainly. It is because feyther did do-en backlong, and most likely feyther's feyther, too.

Of course it scandalizes those who have not the wisdom, and sometimes it results in a surprising conversion. Hear a story:

During the War, a Coast Watcher's round led him by Trewarwas Head. Now Trewarwas is wisht, as is Rinsey, where a Witch lived at the cross-roads, and as the Cuddens are, where the sea-doves nest and where sometimes one may see a raven, who is the spirit of an old man buried there. These wisht places are all linked together in a magic ring.

The Coast Watcher may have been only superstitious; but that did not affect his sight, for he saw no submarine that day. He saw, or only thought he saw, somebody signalling wildly from the Head.

He crept between the furze and heather, hid behind outcropping rocks, wormed himself along the little old paths, until he came close to the Pool—a puddle which dries up in fine weather. And there he saw his very own Minister gesticulating wildly, crying aloud on the Spirit of the pool to rise and answer him about the progress and the outcome of the War. This was an actual experience; he saw and heard the spell, and, what is more, he left his Minister

to his evocations—I wonder if the Spirit answered him? —and went away exceedingly alarmed and sorrowful. Result: He left his Wesleyan chapel, went to church and was confirmed, and is now the right-hand man of a broad-minded parson, from whom I had the story.

He believed what he saw and acted on his faith. That answers the atheist's test, does it not? Sometimes a Cornishman goes all the way.

Belief in evocation brings us to belief in witches.

Witches are still an article of faith in Cornwall. Cornishmen fear the invisible, even to-day. They have not yet learned to forgo their birthright or forswear tradition. They shut their bag instead.

Fear is a Celtic birthright; for Celts are people of the night by birth and not of day. The Cornishman knows fear. Fear of what may hide behind the Aul' Men's Stones—that fear is still alive. Fear of what may lie hid behind one's speech—is there ill-wishing hidden in the friendliness? Fear of anshent crosses—a Witch's Cross stands on the Land's End Road. Fear of dark spaces, of forgotten little coves and bays, of empty rooms, for sooner or later they are always furnished with a ghost.

Sometimes he fears Old Artful, even if a comfortable legend says the Devil dare not set his cloven hoof in Cornwall, for fear of being put into a pie. Yet the Cornish fear him still—at moments. But they fear his ministers still more.

How can we hope to understand the strange mixture of Cornish credulity and Cornish scepticism; to distinguish what is only an overlay, cloaking reality, from a suit adopted for the moment, quite possibly for our own pleasant deception? It's only a clane-aff trick, either way one looks at it, but it is a complication.

Perhaps once there were two devils, or perhaps the Cornish devil was not always quite so devilish. Like the bad Bucca, perhaps once he was only an unhappy, old-world godling, wailing for the soul he had not got, and laying traps to get a substitute. Even to-day the Bucca has his toll of fish—I know the beach where it is laid—and now and then he has been seen by Cornish maidens, who turn their shingled heads and run if they are wise, or they may get a child by him. He may be the father of many little Come-by-chances who populate the Cornish villages, for all we know.

Sometimes I wonder if Old Artful's power has ever been directly exercised in Cornwall. His name suggests his limitations; for only the comparatively weak rely on cunning, combining a suant manner with a clane-aff trick, exactly like a Cornishman to-day.

The devil's ministers are accredited with magic powers. They may hide themselves and maybe go to church or chapel, like their neighbours; but they are surely known to be Wise, as other men are not, or to be Helped, as some say they ought not to be. They can over-look their enemies, and men fall sick of strange diseases when this happens.

A woman I know had a Witch cook. She cooked well, but made inconvenient conditions. "I could never give a dinner-party," her employer told me, "for she would never stay after six, and her farm was nearly a mile away."

She bewitched other men's cattle, but her own three cows were always fat and full of milk; she could always bring her butter and delay it in a rival's churn. She was alleged to carry on strange rites behind her shuttered windows, and her stoutest enemy came to

surprising grief. Not only was he fined heavily for being drunk one market-day, but he broke his leg coming home in the dark and lay groaning by the roadside until morning. Troubles were heaped up at her door. Revenge limped after her.

Her neighbours raided her house. She escaped with her bare life, thanks to her rescue by her employer's husband, who contrived to save her, not only from the nails of infuriated women, but from more calculated preparations of the men. They had proposed to hang her, or to burn her with her house. A strange point is that she swore her rescuer to silence, for she dare not take proceedings against her enemies. She sold her farm and left the village. Yes, belief in witchcraft still has hold in Cornwall.

A parson's wife told me this story of her husband's parish:

A reputed Witch stood in her garden when school was coming out one day. At sight of her, the children set up a hullabaloo of insult, for Cornish children are extremely brave at shouting distance. But a Witch has power to retaliate. She hobbled after them, caught some stragglers, shook her stick and cursed them, lastly blew a pinch of dust from the palm of her hand full in their clean, impudent faces.

At once they literally swarmed with vermin, scratched themselves until they bled and cried out for their mothers. Out came the mothers from their cottages, the fathers from the mow-hay, to surround the Witch and threaten her in turn. "Call your flock home, call your flock home!" they ordered at the pike-point; till she relented, called home her Familiars and released the children from her spell.

Both tales were told me as fact. Each seems an

excellent example of Cornish credulity, or of Cornish witchcraft.

Another tale I heard from a White Witch. Her business is to cure diseases, not to cause them; and certainly she has odd cures to her credit. She tells me that the seat of the disease "does turn so red as scarlet" when she lays her hand upon it.

She employed a young fellow, to whom she paid good wages, out of which he supported his old father and mother and lived a wholesome, sober life, slow-moving rather than exciting. He was good-looking, clean and pleasant-tongued, and somehow he found favour in a Black Witch's eyes.

Cornishwomen are temperamental, a word which some translate man-mad. This Cornish Witch was mad for the boy, for his love and maybe for his money —love ties a queer knot down-long—and she did not wait till Leap Year for her overtures. She followed him to and from his work with ceaseless importunity, in the nut-wood by the Wicked Well and down-cliff to the Holy one, in the market or across the furzy links, she offered herself as boldly as a Cornish Witch dare do.

Fearing her power, he still stood up against her, argued his sense of duty to his parents, dare not harm his soul or hers by a less lasting tie than marriage—in a word, refused.

She turned and called him coward, spat upon the ground between his feet, cursed him by all the points of the compass, his ancestors, his children to be born, and, to seal it, blew a pinch of earth straight in his face.

That man took to his bed and lay there weakening daily, sick almost to death, without belief in Doctor's trade to help, for She had ill-wished him and his hour had come.

Luckily his employer was a White Witch, wise in spells, who could assure the boy that she could make a worm of any Witch in Cornwall, let alone a foul Black woman, who was only bitter weed. She dragged him back to life and health and sanity by help of her rosary, curing his self-suggestion by a more potent counter-spell. I had the story from herself.

Oh yes, belief in Witches is still alive in Cornwall.

We have heard of women "burnen salt against" their enemies; just a shovel-full put in the oven or upon the slab, but which will draa their life. A friend of mine caught her maid burning salt against a Baker who had offended her.

I know of one old woman, a reputed Witch, who closed her shutters against prying eyes, while she stuck pins into an onion and set it drying on her chimney-shelf. As the onion dried, so her enemy should waste of falling sickness; as the pins pierced the onion-skin, so pains should rack her victim. A girl who dared to peer through a chink in the shutters told me what she saw.

Of the ritual of burning salt I can learn nothing; I know that it is done to-day, but that is all.

Presumably the onion is the lazy-way survival of the older waxen image; but only a few months ago, when a house near us was being patched for use, a clob image fell out of the stripped thatch. The old trade is not dead, but hidden.

I have heard, too, of strange finds in these old cottages—of Witch Ladders, made of plaited hair and tricked with feathers of owls, crows and ravens; of ancient rapiers left to rust because of blood-stains; of a smuggler's cutlass, which must not be brought into the house, for fear of acting as a *point de repère* for his

ghost, but which must not be thrown away for fear of angering him. We have the sword of one of Cornwall's celebrated smugglers, given us by his descendant, partly because our cellars sheltered Harry Carter about two hundred years ago, but much more definitely because the sword is 'wisht' to his descendants, who apparently have no curiosity—scientific, filial or merely vulgar—to meet his ghost.

This is the merest handful, only scraps, from the Cornishman's lucky bag. It is not half-way empty yet.

M. U. GREEN.

SONNET ON ILLUSION.

O SOUL! illusive as a waning sphere,
We dream'd thee an immortal, life a play
That Mother Nature, dancing night and day,
Evolv'd from sea and air—to some 't is clear
Thou art a phantom doomed to disappear,
Should lust for spirit love of self betray,
Or wisdom manifest and myth decay,
Unveiling our illusions far and near.
Behold a truth! Non-being is the crux;
The ego but a series incarnate
Of actions plus reactions—whence rebirth—
Enveloped in the vortex of a flux,
Insidious and vain. Such is our fate,
Till we transcend the magic of the earth.

(Major) H. KNIGHT-EATON.

Guadeloupe.

NATURE'S HIDDEN SPIRAL.

E. Hughes-Gibb, F.L.S.

It would seem as if the end and object of an interpretation must be an explanation, and that the consummation of our hopes must be to see Nature lie revealed to her innermost soul, with all her secrets told. If we indulge in any such hope, however, the sooner we discard it, the better.

All through their deeper studies of Nature men are met by hints and signs which seem to point to hidden secrets of her being. Following these they have come upon wonderful revelations of things which lie beneath the surface and concealed from casual glances. A short survey of a very few of these will lead us to a point where we may discuss the problem of a complete revelation.

The well-known 'sensitive plant' grown in many botanical green-houses, whose leaflets fall at a touch or even a strong vibration of the earth, led to the enquiry as to the cause of its special 'sensitiveness to stimulus.' Why should it—almost alone amongst plants—seem to *feel*, and move at a touch? Careful investigation showed that a number of other plants responded in the same way, though in a much less noticeable degree, whilst others showed no visible response whatever. Why this difference? And if one plant could respond, why not others? The extremely elaborate and minute investigations of Sir J. C. Bose,

the Indian Botanist, revealed the fact that these plants did respond to the disturbance, and they showed it by an electrical change registered by his delicate electric probe; but circumstances too complicated to explain here prevented any outward sign of the inward response. So the sensitive plant was not a portent or a wonder, but simply a plant specially fitted to show by outward sign what all plants were 'feeling' inwardly.

Then the 'Telegraph Plant' so-called (*Desmodium gyrans*) with the ceaseless, apparently spontaneous, movement of its two small side leaves, puzzled botanists greatly. What caused the motion, up and down in a slow, regular movement, of those two small restless leaves? It was like a slow pulsation, and recalled the regular beat of the human heart. The same Indian scientist was able to discover pulsations of a similar kind, though far less easily observed, in various functions of other plant life; and finally he assigned them to the cause of stimulus held latent in the tissue and revealing itself in these regular pulsations. And again it became clear that the Telegraph Plant was not a portent or a wonder, but the expression of a fact in Nature, which this plant was able to show forth more openly than others owing to its special constitution.

This research, which led to many interesting suggestions as to the method of growth in plants, the cause of the rise of sap and other physiological movements, all supposed to be related to pulsations of the same nature as those of the Telegraph Plant, is intensely interesting and well worth study, but it can only be referred to in the barest way in a short article such as this.

To take a different kind of instance: the regularity in the numbers of the parts of flowers awakened the

suspicion of some series of numbers underlying the apparent carelessness of plant life. Presently it was discovered that flowers were simply modified leaves, developed gradually in the course of the response of plants to the command to reproduce their kind. Then it became clear that numbers which appeared openly in the flowers must in some way be latent in the arrangement of leaves. And at last came the discovery of a wonderful series of numbers with a mathematical sequence, expressing the position of leaves around the stem in different plants. Some were separated by just 2/5ths of the circumference of the stem, and went circling round in this order if not prevented by some inhibiting cause. Others had a divergence of 3/8ths of the circumference; others again of 5/13ths, and others of 8/21ths; and so on. It will quickly be seen that any two of these denominators added together will amount to the next in the series, and the same with the numerators. Here was no chance indeed, but a settled and definite order in the very heart of the tangled greenery. Yet it was a hidden order which was only discovered by close and careful observation and study, for a thousand forces combined to mask it and to hide it under apparent carelessness.

In certain objects of the vegetable world, however, the orderliness of arrangement and its spiral form came out from hiding and showed itself with startling clearness. In the pattern of the great sunflower's disc, in the closely packed leaves of the Araucaria winding in spirals up the branch, and most clearly of all in the common fir-cone, it seemed to be written large for every child to read. The fir-cone would naturally attract special attention because of its compactness and easiness to handle. A number of spirals can be seen

going to the right, and others to the left. Following these we find that none of them take in all the scales in the cone; and the central spiral, whose compression has resulted in this beautiful object with its series of secondary spirals, remains hidden. By a simple method, which cannot be detailed here, every scale on the cone may be numbered in its correct place in the original central all-embracing spiral, and one may trace its course by revolving the cone and searching for the proper sequence; but it will never be obvious. The secondary spirals will reveal orderly sequences of numbers both in themselves and in reference to one another; and the whole cone will resolve itself into a perfect mathematical object with a central hidden coil and every scale taking its own place therein. This is no meaningless chance. The spiral is a figure so ubiquitous in Nature that we cannot doubt its deep significance. It is written in the courses of the heavenly bodies; it is found in the physical organs of our own being; it is seen in shells even to the microscopic foraminifera on the floor of the ocean; in the horns of animals; in the tendrils of climbing plants; and deeply hidden in the organs of plants and animals. Time would fail even to begin to tell of the manifold exhibition of this signature of Nature.

The more we study, the more are we convinced that Nature writes nothing in vain, and that there is a meaning in every demonstration that she vouchsafes. All points to the conception of creation as a vast spiral circling its way up to unknown perfection and glory. In such a cone of Nature the secondary spirals would stand out clearly wending their way up. Man might expect to learn to trace them and to appreciate their order and the curve of their aspiration. He might

infer the central spiral that gathered them all in one, he might have an assurance of its existence, but he could never see it with mortal eyes; and it is surely doubtful if he could ever place the scales of the secondary spirals in their true relation to that all-embracing central coil. For this reason it seems better not to ask too insistently to have all explained, but to be content with that which we can grasp of the secondary spirals which lead up where the central coil is wending.

E. HUGHES-GIBB, F.L.S.[1]

THE SUN BATH.

WEST WOODY BAY.

DOWN thro' the steep mossed tangle of gold-flecked green
We dropped to the edge of the cliff,—where none had been
For a year,—by the fern-screened path that we alone knew,
Down to that marge where the shimmer of silvered blue
Seen thro' the trees was the sea, lapping now at our feet,
Drowsily lapping and lazily loving the heat
Of the long hot day. . . .

[1] Author of *The Life-Force in the Plant World*, with 30 Illustrations. London (Routledge), pp. xx. + 186; 5s. net.—ED.

We ran to it; laughing we,
And free of all trammelling things, superbly free!
Plunged—and the shock of the cold to our bodies was flame!
Swam—and a sea-born ineffable wisdom came,
Till we had learned a little the sea can teach,
Being at one with the sea. . . .
Then—the warm dry beach;

Where the sun caught us and kissed us and laid us down,
To burn away littleness, gild us a coppery brown,
And ravish us utterly, lost in his ripening heat
From the foam on our hair to the sand on our resting feet,
Wholly surrendered to Light and the spirit of Air,—
Limbs in delicious abandon, and each tiny hair
On our bodies a thread of the silkiest fine-spun gold,—
In a quiet that cannot be measured, that may not be told; . . .

Where the langourous rhythmic wash of the waves on the beach,
And the oaks on the precipice whispering each to each,
And the tinkle of falling water lulled us away
Over the sea to the 'Castle' across the bay,
And away and beyond the far headland enamoured of blue
To the land of Suppose and the country that nobody knew; . . .
We and the World new-wed—inexpressibly one—
Spirit and body and earth and the Sun—the Sun!

FRANCIS H. A. ENGLEHEART.

A STRANGE ADVENTURE IN SWITZERLAND.

H. R. ECROYD.

INTRODUCTORY.

AMONG strange sects I can imagine none stranger than the one I ran into accidentally in Switzerland. It is a 'healing system,' a medley of Theosophy, American New Thought and Food Reform, called 'Mazdaznan.' The name is said to be from the Persian 'Mazda and Znan'[1] meaning 'Master-Thought,' and it claims to be a mystic cult derived from Zarathustra. It practises moreover astrology, phrenology and 'occult sciences' ('Spiritualism,' however, is condemned for some reason), indulges also in physical exercises, deep-breathing and vegetarian food. Mazdaznan includes all diversities and contradictions.

Its founder, of Persian descent, as he claims, bears the impressive name of the Rev. Dr. Otoman Zar-Adusht Ha'nish; he wears flowing white robes, and walks in public with right arm raised, the hand on the level of his head and the forearm perpendicular.

This is his history according to his own statements. Bôrn in 1844, Ha'nish when a boy fell dangerously ill, and was taken to the renowned Mazdaznan monastery of Math-El-Kharman (in Persia), where he was miraculously cured. There his education was completed in every subject from, as he claims, agricultural economics

[1] Which is news to Persian scholars.—ED.

to the highest arts of literature, music and painting, materia medica, mathematics, philology, raciology (*sic*) and systems of commerce and jurisprudence. Above all he specialized in the 'occult.' "In addition to magic, prestidigitation, illusion and alchemy we practised muscle-reading, thought-reading, telepathy and psychic phenomena, until we reached perfection in psychic research."

At the age of 25 Ha'nish felt a call to spread his knowledge. He travelled west through Russia and ultimately settled at Los Angeles, where he lives to-day. He is now 85 years old, yet without a single white hair. "For the past sixty years," we learn, "he has humbly fulfilled his Supreme Dedication and Mission, repeatedly travelling the world over, renouncing position, wealth and fame, that the way might be paved for a more perfect civilization and a newer and better race."

The Adventure.

This 'Mission' has established its European headquarters in the Mazdaznan Temple at Herrliberg, a village situated above Lake Zürich, 10 miles from the city. In certain lights the prospect across the lake is of great beauty. An early autumn morning shows the most serene toning of nature's colouring; a faint purplish haze veils the lake and the long green ridge, flecked with white houses, beyond. Slowly the Albis hills grow brighter green, the purple fades and the sun sparkles on ripples of steely-blue water. In the evening the crimson glow over Albis deepens into dark violet shadows. Here stands the colony 'Aryana,' so called because only the white-skinned races are considered sufficiently intelligent—or it may be sufficiently credu-

lous—to appreciate Mazdaznan mysteries,—clearly an American touch.

I walked from Zürich to Herrliberg under the September sun. A strange unsettling atmosphere and an incense-like scent closed around me as I entered Aryana. There was a feeling of something bizarre, but ineffectual, perpetually on the point of happening, as though in an asylum. I seemed almost to hear inaudible screams and see dark spirits moving. In the office I was introduced to the leaders,—queer sallow men with piercing eyes. I quailed momentarily; but resisting the hard cold gleam of their eyes, it faded, and they seemed to withdraw into passive hostility. These eyes gave me the impression of concealing a certain strained knowledge, perverted, touched with effrontery and also with fear. Most of the score of people living at Aryana are abnormal; some have a hunted look on their faces of sallow complexion, hollow cheeks and eyes with whites of a bluish tinge.

They welcomed me with no warmth. A lady showed me to a tiny room containing nothing but bed, table and washstand, and explained to me their rule of plain living and self-help. I was to make my own bed and clean my own room. As I had been tramping unconventionally through Central Europe for some months, making what is known to the Germans as a '*Wanderschaft*,' this arrangement suited my temper. I liked everything-done-for-you society no better than they did; this was the first and favourable impression. Later I found the apartment was simpler than the price warranted.

I went to the lecture-hall, but only to be baffled again. Mysterious oriental characters were painted on the walls. Above the windows were some German

texts: Peace be with you; God is within you; Know yourself; Stand on your own feet; Mind your own business (*Kümmere dich um dich selbst*); and others. On the platform, in front of a purple wall, stood a white altar on which was a candle, and on either side a wide white stool depressed in the middle. The room was odd and filled with the scent of incense or of spice. The air seemed to throng with spirits that strove steadily to pierce one's armour of self-control and attack one's identity. I did not know what to make of it. Self-help seemed the key to their principles: "Stand on your own feet." Therefore, I thought, the Mazdaznan are neither friendly to a stranger nor unfriendly; they just leave him to help himself. I judged this was a good lesson, and was reassured the second time. Yet the mental atmosphere was somehow perverted.

At noon I witnessed the twenty inmates doing their exercises in the hall. They sat bolt upright, feet together, on chairs at convenient distances apart. After deep breathing they began to sway in peculiar rhythm, singing as they swayed, repeating a slow chant: "*Lieber Quell', erschaffen aus Dir, Lieber Quell', erschaffen aus Dir.*"[1] At the piano a girl played over and over again the monotonous and lulling tune to the rhythm of which the Mazdaznan swayed, now making the motion of swimming, now of rowing, now of nothing in particular, now patting the crown of the head, now the nape of the neck. After half an hour they rose, swung their arms upward and forward and cried: "*Freude, Freude, Freude!*" Facial expression, however, belied verbal explanation. "Stand on your own

[1] English version: "Fountain of Love, our source is in thee,
Loving thy will, the spirit is free.
Beautiful day, when all of us see
The hope of the world is love."

feet!" "Be joyful!" It was strange how their demeanour belied their assertions.

The exercises were ridiculous, if one had been inclined to laugh at humans solemnly performing antics like apes. At first I had sat slackly on a chair with crossed legs. The Mazdaznans sat erect. But soon I could not prevent myself sitting erect too, with feet together on the floor. Later, before the mirror in my room, I found myself swaying and performing exercises of my own. I had never done anything like it before, and it was doubtless due to psychic pressure. Indeed, terror of the psychic atmosphere had oppressed me all the time. Exercises were performed three times daily. I witnessed two performances; but dared not attend again. The insistent tune, the rhythmic movement and the enervating psychic obsession prey upon one's reason. I shuddered even when I heard the chanting from outside.

Why did I stay at Aryana? It was clear these things meant a good deal to the participants; so I determined to learn what it was. I decided to go half way to meet the Mazdaznans. Accordingly I feigned loneliness the first evening, and strolled vaguely about looking like a timid stranger. A clear-featured young woman sat in the reading-room sewing, and I fell into conversation with her. She was clever as well as good-looking. She spoke two languages, being the German wife of a French-Swiss astrologer, and would change from one language to the other to vary for my better comprehension. She said little but common sense generalities. I learnt that Mazdaznan works towards the laudable ideal of peace on earth and health among men. It is a system adapted for men of all outlooks and stages of development; so that, she suggested,

what I disliked or failed to appreciate, I must regard as intended for others. This applied to a lecture by Ha'nish reported in *The British Mazdaznan*, which I found to be nothing but religious masquerading that might have been written by a semi-literate navvy unable to give grammatical flow to his inconsequent notions. "You must hear Dr. Ha'nish *speak*, to appreciate him," the young woman said. "He catches the thought-waves of his audience and replies individually to unspoken questions." It was a plausible explanation. I even laughed at my disgust when next day I read Ha'nish's *Bezzari, Our Divine Bambino Boy*, the melodious prose of which soared lightly into mystic realms. The contrast between the book and the reported lecture was amazing. I went to bed puzzled at the contradiction between the sensible qualities of this woman with a two-year-old daughter and the queer antics of the 'Master.' Probably, I thought, Ha'nish has no baby. During the next afternoon I felt more deeply still the psychic strain and horror of the people's faces. I felt the whole business was loathsome; and to say I was mentally confused is too mild. For relief I walked out into the open. Beautiful and still were the hills and the lake. At a hill-side village I saw five white rabbits in a hutch; and the load of oppression fell away. Simple things, rabbits and green grass, are of the eternal. In all their pretentiousness the Mazdaznan are not arrayed like one of these. Soothed by the rabbits, I returned to the hutch of sophisticated humans below.

Next day the young woman introduced me to a queer man, a visiting professor. As I gazed at his face it flashed across my mind he was of Mongolian blood,—yellowish skin, almost slant, brown eyes, the

whites tinged with blue, pronounced cheek-bones and puckered mouth above a tiny chin. I remember how I shuddered on shaking hands; his hand was so tiny and his fingers so abnormally long. Did he wince as my surmise flashed from brain to eyes for him to read perchance? His mouth framed a smile of geniality; and I was reassured. I felt, however, his hypnotic power; half-unconsciously I accepted the challenge and gazed into his eyes. He talked for some time as if feeling his way, till he should find a weak point somewhere, a point of contact. I felt a strange mental pressure behind his words, a pressure which relaxed when he agreed to my assertion: "*Das Leben muss freiwillig sein*," but which soon began again.

Talking and listening to German I found at that time rather a strenuous business, demanding unusual concentration and mental agility. My mind, already strained by this exercise before reaching Herrliberg, now weakened. I grew dizzy and my head swam. Suddenly I gave way. Thoughts I had wished to conceal from this man rushed uncontrollably to my lips; my brain reeled. As another critical thought framed itself for expression, I knew myself beaten and on the point of collapse. With great effort, however, I retained control, lowered my head crying: "*Nein, nein, Nichts mehr!*"—The tension was broken. He talked on, but his mind was able to exert no more pressure. My wits were still scattered; I could only nod my head and repeat "*Ja, ja!*" The man was reassuring, advising me to rest and think things over at leisure. "You are very near Mazdaznan," he said, "and you will get still nearer. You will soon become vegetarian. For this afternoon I would advise you to take the boat across the Lake to Halbinsel Au; it is

wonderfully beautiful there." He made a forecast of my future; and then we rose.

I was nervously distorted. I felt in some way tied to this man, his mind entwined in my own. I felt as I had felt before after meeting a hypnotist, that part of myself was outside me, dark, fluttering, trying to come back. This may well be an illusion, but it was strong enough to keep me hovering for some minutes about the room. Then I walked down to the lake to take the boat for Au. By the lake-side I sat down, unable to act. Horribly shaken in mind, I could make no decision; I could make no effort to go towards the landing-stage. I sat still while the boat drew near. I knew then I could not in that condition bear to mix with the crowd on the deck. So I lay flat on the quay by the water's edge, and watched the boat depart. I lay in the sun and looked at the sky or over the sparkling water. Sky, lake, mountains were as soothing as the rabbits had been the day before. My identity gradually re-composed itself and re-integrated. After two hours I returned to Aryana; but the calm I had absorbed dissipated again. I saw the hypnotist only once more—at my departure. I could not face his queer eyes, and the pressure of his hand again made me shudder. As I left the room he gave me a strange farewell, which a Mazdaznan physician I met much later repeated. After shaking hands, he stood upright in the doorway, his features fixed in a stereotyped smile; he said nothing, but fixed his gaze upon me as if propelling thought-waves after my retreating figure. I entered the office to pay for my stay, thoroughly confused by all these strange experiences. The horror of the room was almost unendurable; the delay over the bill seemed deliberate, the atmosphere

thrusting with immense and increasing pressure to destroy the remainder of my reason and sense of identity. The spirits were summoning their last effort to the attack. I fled from the room precipitately and in agitation.

I believe it was only my *Wanderlust* that saved me on that third day. I had little will left to resist, but the subconscious urge to go onwards could not be stayed by this obsession. I left mechanically with little effort. At the last meal I told my friend the astrologer's wife that I would have to leave before I went mad. I thought the other people started; they turned to look at me. On leaving I bade farewell to the astrologer's wife. She was a normal woman. I scarcely knew what I was doing, or how to speak. She gazed at me with a queer look of wonder, and I saw her features cut unnaturally sharp, surrounded as it were by a pale purplish glow.

So I fled from Herrliberg on the third day, fearing to be bewitched by occult powers. It was a mighty relief to go away, to walk along the sunny road to Meilen and to cross the Lake. Then I tramped on towards Albisbrunn. I had left Herrliberg, but I was still not free from Their clutches. I spent two days among the hills and woods at Albisbrunn, overwrought and ill, sleeping much, at other times brooding over the amazing Mazdaznan system, opening aspects of life of which I had never dreamed. I was scarcely able to read or write, and when I read the ominous name in print, the 'zz' danced on the page. During the next six weeks, at the end of which I met again at Geneva the astrologer's wife and the astrologer himself, many trifling events seemed to persuade me that there was still some truth in it all.

This impression modified slightly with time, till months later I met again in Germany the scholar who first directed me to Herrliberg. He had told me nothing of Mazdaznan beforehand. Now he was astonished at my lingering enthusiasm. He was a man I trusted. He told me it was well known that the Mazdaznan system was a fake, that the leader was no Persian but a Saxon from Chemnitz who went as a child to America.[1] He had compiled his ideas from scraps of the occult lore of the East and from Christian mysticism, while his health-system at bottom rests on a sex-basis.

Right or wrong his words clinched my disillusion. I was free, but rent in two.

Diagnosis.

Diagnosis, Ha'nish repeats monthly in his magazine, continues to be the all-important study. By phrenology the student diagnoses his temperament, and discovers which of the three bases—physical, intellectual and spiritual—is primary. He is to order his

[1] "Otto Hanisch *alias* Dr. Otoman Zar-Adusht Ha'nish.

"Chicago, May 22nd, 1912. For more than ten years the fad, intermittently, of Chicago's queer religious votaries, Otoman Zar-Adusht Ha'nish, self-proclaimed modern Zoroaster, was unmasked before the federal grand jury here by his father, Richard E. Hanisch, the plain ordinary music-teacher from Milwaukee. The founder, prompter, and high and only priest of the Sun Worshippers, who claimed to be a Persian and told romantic tales of his birth and upbringing among the mystics of the far East, is an ex-printer of Salt Lake, according to his prosaic father, and was born in Leipzig, Germany, forty-six years ago. Hanisch, who discovered religion-making a profitable industry among idle rich women in New York, Chicago and other large cities, was denounced a sham by his seventy-five year old father, who gave his son's name as plain Otto Hanisch, and said he got his only schooling at Mendota, Ill., where the Hanisch family settled upon coming to America.

"Learning his trade as a printer at Salt Lake, Hanisch, the father said, took up with Mormon teachings and later joined an insurgent Mormon sect, . . . , etc., etc."

From *The Salt Lake Tribune*, May 23, 1912. Stamped and signed by the German Consul at Los Angeles. Reprinted with German translation and comments in the German Magazine *Astrale Warte*, October, 1926.

life according to how he is temperamentally based. Here are some random details: Persons intellectually based are particularly liable to lung-complaints and should avoid eating dairy-produce. Women materially based may bear children once in 7 years; intellectually based, once in 14 years; spiritually based, once in 21 years. This 'natural law' is the Mazdaznan solution for over-population. In general people are to wear silken underclothing, though for some temperaments cotton or wool are harmless (a typical qualification).

After correct diagnosis the first step is food-reform. The student learns to eat the correct vegetarian foods in the correct combinations, avoiding, for instance, vegetables and fruit at the same meal; each needing his own food according to temperamental individuality. Next comes the central Mazdaznan principle: scientific breathing. Correct breathing is the secret of all success, the key to health, wisdom and occult power. Breathing exercises are performed alone, every muscle relaxed, every idea banished, the gaze fixed steadily at eye-level.

Balance of physical and intellectual activities is essential to the best life. Every part of the body has a corresponding cell in the brain, so that in a perfect body intellectual attainment is spontaneous. In fact it is only when one has attained physical perfection that he can develop spiritual powers and understand the heights of Mazdaznan philosophy. The mystifying insistence on physical experience is a safeguard for these people against reasoned criticisms.

The only explanation of their physical experience-theory that I have met, is their peculiar practice of re-birth. "Except a man be born again he cannot enter the kingdom of heaven." Re-birth is, therefore,

a matter of very considerable importance. To the Mazdaznan its spiritual aspect has naturally a physical counterpart. This consists of the massage of certain organs in hot and cold water alternately, followed by anointment with warm oil. This treatment is said to send the sexual secretions, the fine essence of all the juices of the body, inwardly back to revivify the whole system, working up to the pineal gland in the crown of the head, where, according to this sect, lie man's highest spiritual powers. Incidentally, many of the Mazdaznan foods are sex-stimulating; rich spices for instance. They eat strange herbs and make tea from the pods of the cocoa-bean. Even the whole-meal bread they bake at Herrliberg is spiced till it is sweet and cloying, and from the bakery rises the strange smell of incense that pervades the building.

The unusual audacity of the Rev. Dr. Ha'nish is shown by his literary productions. His *Declaration of Freedom* bears on the title-page the legend: 'Published by Mazdaznan, the Associates of God.' His *Yehoshua —Life of Christ* is boldly advertised as "the only book of its kind: incomparable to other publications, *intentional and unintentional errors excepted.*" That is true enough! Ha'nish claims to have drawn much of his philosophy from his fellow-country-man (?) Omar Khayyam, whose mystic meaning he says, has not been understood by Fitzgerald and Western translators. Consequently Ha'nish says he spent 25 years making his own translation of the mystic poet. He has produced a great number of quatrains differing only very slightly from Fitzgerald's, and has published them in an expensive edition. All his books, by the way, must be secured at once while the offer lasts. The greater part of the American and British Mazdaznan magazines

also are by Ha'nish, the rest being the work of his closest associates, Mother Elizabeth, Mother Ashoi, and Daddy Guromano. The confused, spineless English of these periodicals may pass muster with the utterly uncritical; to intelligent readers they are well-nigh incomprehensible. More straightforward than the rest is the regular page of aphorisms called 'The World's Necklace of Thot.' A *Dietetics and Cookery Book* and several treatises on medical matters bear Ha'nish's name. His healing methods may further be sampled by the advice to take a mud-bath now and then: plaster your body all over with mud and let it dry in the sun till the mud cakes and falls off. I forget the ailment this cures.

The Rev. Doctor's mysticism is expressed in two books (at least): *Ainyahita: Pearls from Tibet* and *Bezzari, Our Divine Bambino Boy*. Ainyahita is said to have been the maiden-priestess of the Zend-Avesta from whom Zarathustra and Ha'nish have derived their faith. It is an imaginative account of the striving after wisdom by this lonely maiden, who lived beside the rushing Brahmaputra among the Himalayas ages ago! The messengers, nature-spirits, of Ahura Mazda, the inscrutable, unseen God, teach her in a score of ways man's true mission: "to reclaim the earth and turn the deserts into a paradise." Ahura Mazda's purposes work out through the most trivial details, and all according to 'natural laws.' The suffering which Ainyahita sees and which troubles her, is no cause for worry. She must simply achieve her own purity, attempting no more than her own share of turning the deserts into a paradise. Hence the principle: "Mind your own business."

Bezzari, Our Divine Bambino Boy, has a modern

European setting and sets out with ease and some humour a mystical experience. Ha'nish writes the story as an episode of his youth, using throughout the regal 'we'; for all the Mazdaznans are kings and queens! We have the story of the Bambino, the wooden Christ doll that the floods washed into Rome and which the Pope installed as an image of worship. "The artist drowned, but the wooden Bambino floated safely into harbour," Ha'nish puts it. Bezzari is a ragged urchin abandoned on the steps of a cathedral, whom Ha'nish, attracted by his sobs and admiring his beautiful eyes, picked up one night. The boy grows into a perfect youth with face uncannily resembling that of the wooden Bambino. On seeing the youth in Rome the Pope, who is repeatedly satirized, is seized with a fit and dies exclaiming: "I have seen the living Bambino." That is a mere detail, however. Our living Bambino was of angelic disposition, perfect in his accomplishments, at home in all branches of knowledge and in all recreations. He had an unerring faculty for perfection, and a strange intuitive wisdom that made him indifferent to all his accomplishments. On the threshold of manhood the boy is drowned; and his patron and friend is overcome with grief and frenzy.

H. R. Ecroyd.

I AM . . . GOD.

(AFTER THE MODE OF MEDIÆVAL PERSIAN POETRY.)

GOD is the life of me. . . . I am the life of God.
We are not two. . . . There is no we, only I.

I am the way, the light and the life. I am.

I encompass all within my thought, as the ether holds suspended all the starry universes within itself.

When I say 'I am' I bring into existence all that is.

Everything exists from me, yet within me. Without me is naught. I am.

Without me is naught. I create, by my will, spirit, universe and man, to enjoy revealing myself to myself.

As the child in his fancy creates terrible lions to fight with imaginary swords, so in the minds of men worry, suffering, anxiety are the lions that prevent him from knowing himself, myself. . . I.

I am the starry universes, yet none exists in me as parts. They are I.

I am they. I am.

I am single, simplicity, unity.

I am in all that is. I am all that is. I am never separate from any of myself, for no 'any' exists within me; only one, unity, I.

Thou thinkest, O man, that space gives birth to me and the passage of time.

Know there is no time nor space. They are but illusions. There is only I.

Neither is there separation nor loneliness. There is only I.

There is not man nor woman nor animal nor flower. There is only I.

There is neither past nor future. Only 'now' exists, only 'now' is.

I am the eternal now, the eternal moment. I am.

I am the subject, the object, the adjective, the conjunction, the adverb and the verb.

I comprehend all the alphabet, all possible combinations of vocals, sounds, words, thoughts, reason, judgment and wisdom.

I am the seeker of wisdom, and I am infinite wisdom.

In the light of my Being man sees the beauty of creation.

In the darkness of my Being man grows into wisdom.

Who can attain the depth of my wisdom or expand to the full beauty of my creation?

Who can pass beyond creation into essence, the un-formed and in-forming?

I am the Nameless, beyond all qualities and attributes.

I express myself . . . Life, Love.

What I am, only I know.

I am single, simplicity, unity.

I create universes, souls, earths, that I may enjoy revealing myself to myself; yet ever am I single, simplicity, unity.

Universes, souls, earths, have no separateness from themselves nor from me. There are no two, there is only one, I.

Without the darkness, light is not apparent. By contrast only is there experience.

I am joy and sorrow. I am anxiety and peace.

I am the secret attar of the rose. I am the thorn. I am the storm that batters it to death. I am death. I am life that expands again in the golden chalice hidden among the rose petals.

Like the camel, I go forth on many a strange adventure across the desert of experience.

Sometimes I carry sacks of pearls, of lapus lazuli, rubies or emeralds.

Sometimes I carry dung for the fires of the merchants. Again I carry a man setting forth to find a rose.

I am the desert. I am the thirst. I am the sand and the wind. I am the camel and I am the rose.

I am love and the beloved. I create in my thought the soul of man to seek its lover.

Soul, seek thy beloved that thou mayest be one with him.

Nearer to me art thou than the unborn babe to its mother. Never dost thou leave my enveloping shelter.

With my love do I warm thee. With my life do I make thee live.

Thou art in me, and I in thee.

Soul of man, thou art my beloved. I am thy lover.

Turn thy face towards thy lover.

I am he whom thou seekest in all whom thou knowest.

In every act, in every thought, thou seekest me.

Yet, lo, I am with thee always.

Who finds himself finds me in his heart.

He knows me. He is I. I am he. I am.

Man limits himself. I am closer than is breath; yet he finds me not.

When I choose, I reveal myself to him; and, lo, he finds he has known me always. He is I. I am he. I am.

Lover and beloved, there is no 'we,' only I.

I am beyond all good and evil. I am.

To taste all emotions I let man follow his acts to the end, to suffer in darkness that he, that I, may experience the joy of light, of realizing my singleness, my simplicity, my unity.

O man, if thou wouldest live continually in my unity, sink not into the dualism of 'we.'

If thou livest continually in the One, unless I will all myself to know, in totality, yet ever in simplicity, one, thou canst not know the joy of return to myself, thyself . . . I.

Think not, O man, when thou sayest 'I am,' 'I will,' 'I think,' 'I desire,' that thou art God.

Only as thou enterest the secret rose-garden of thy heart, canst thou begin to inhale the perfume of my essence.

I know thee, but thou knowest me not.

When I will that thou shouldest return unto me, even to a degree, I prick thee with the thorn, until thou longest to find the rose.

The rose needs both light and darkness to attain its exquisite beauty.

I give thee pain and happiness.

I am thy pain, and I am thy happiness. I am thou, I am I. I am.

Who can expound the attar of the rose? Only the Rose of Life.

I am the kiss of the sun that expands the heart. I am love.

Know, friend, there is neither rose nor sun; there is neither man nor universe; there is neither pain nor happiness; nor anxiety nor peace; nor lover nor beloved. There is only I.

I am single, simplicity, unity. I am. One, I.
There is no God but God. I am. I.

ANITA UARDA MARIS BOGGS (A.M., L.H.D.).

DESTINY.

UPON the soundless loom of Time is woven
The pattern of each life; yet, being blind,
Our grossest errors we ascribe to Heaven
When most we fail to glimpse the plan designed.
Daily we throw the shuttle of our will,
And mingle with the warp of circumstance
The weft of character, oft weaving ill
In our stupidity and ignorance.
Too blind we are to glimpse our destiny,
Too dull to read the true significance
Of those rare promptings that Divinity
Grants us through intuition or events.
Shakespeare, Beethoven—surely these had sight?—
They glimpsed the plan and wove the pattern right.

IRENE PETCH.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

(Unsigned Reviews or Notices are by the Editor.)

THE TITTLED BIBLE.

A Model Codex of the Pentateuch. A Dissertation on the History of the Tittles, their Origin, Date and Significance, with One Facsimile from MS. No. 85 of the Gaster Collection now in the British Museum. By Moses Gaster, Ph.D., Late Chief Rabbi of the Sephardic Communities, etc. London (Maggs); folio, pp. 55.

THIS is an offprint of the Introduction, etc., with a specimen of one page-plate of a unique Codex of the Pentateuch (*c.* mid. 14th cent.), the 489 pages of which are photographically reproduced in a limited edition. The price per copy of this reproduced *rara avis* among Hebrew MSS. is £25 net; there is also an *édition de luxe*, price £45.

Though all readers of the Gospels are familiar with the term 'tittle,' what Christian exegete has hitherto definitely explained the term to general ignorance? Even among Jewish scholars, what agreed certainty is there on the subject? And yet it is a matter of prime importance,—for Christians, perhaps, even more so than for Jews. For there is a *logos* from Q which is very difficult indeed for modern apologists to dispose of satisfactorily. It is clearly based on ancient Jerusalem tradition; yet the whole subsequent development of doctrine has run contrary to it. Here are the 'Matthew' (v. 18, 19) and 'Luke' (xvi. 17) variants of the original Q:

M. "For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the Law, till all things be accomplished. Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven."

L. "But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle of the Law to fall."

'Yod'—the smallest letter of the Hebrew alphabet—is com-

prehensible, and the Law is the Torah, the Pentateuch. But tittle (Gk. *keraia*) is the puzzle. Tittles (*taggin*) were marks of some kind, marks of very great importance; for the sacred Scroll of the 'Five-fifths,' the sacrosanct Law of Israel, was otherwise always written clear of all vowel-marks or accents.

Dr. Moses Gaster, after a quarter of a century of most patient study, based on his quite extraordinary knowledge of Hebrew Bible-literature, and centring round this precious Tittled MS., procured from Central Asia, with its margins crammed with successive generations of annotations, has now written an extraordinarily informative introduction and elucidation. It may be said that it is a pioneer treatise of vast erudition and importance. To be brief, the *taggin* go back to a tradition of the Oral Law far earlier than when it was first written down, 200 A.D., by Yehuda the Prince in the form of the chief Talmudic Law-deductions known as the Mishna. The *taggin* were, so to say, *memoria technica* signs, permitted by the Soferim in the Sacred Scrolls, to help the transmission of the subsidiary Oral Doctrine. All this is set forth with abundance of documentation and ripe learning, yet never pedantically or dogmatically.

What follows? If Dr. Gaster is right in his contentions,—and in my opinion it will take great learning to refute him,—then the earliest Judæo-Christians asserted as a fundamental point in their tradition that Jesus supported in the most solemn form of utterance the authenticity of the Oral Tradition as thus indicated by these 'Tittles.' It is historically and doctrinally a most interesting and important problem for Christian scholars to face; and we congratulate our deeply experienced colleague—though he makes no attempt whatever to stress the point, or to put the dots on the *i*'s, for scholars of an alien communion—that he has been put in the way of opening up a vista into a long-forgotten territory of Soferic industry and piety.

The Holy Kabbalah.

A Study of the Secret Tradition in Israel as unfolded by Sons of the Doctrine for the Benefit and Consolation of the Elect dispersed through the Lands and Ages of the Greater Exile. By A. E. Waite. London (Williams & Norgate); pp. 636; 30s. net.

In this fat volume our old friend and colleague, Arthur Edward Waite, has gathered up the contents of two previous studies,

corrected, added to and improved upon them. For upwards of a long generation the author has been fascinated by the Zoharic and allied documents, and has tried with praiseworthy industry to delve into their contents (as far as they have been made accessible in Latin and French versions), and to sift out the unessential and appraise whatever remains of a spiritual, mystical value in them. I cheerfully testify that Mr. Waite, in the reference-frame of what he would call his own 'dedications,' has done remarkably well, and has clarified out no little from the confusion that has previously reigned among such *amateurs* of the Kabbalah as have guessed their way about a literature they were incompetent to study at first-hand—from, say, 1860 to date, as far as France and England are concerned. These latter, Mr. Waite, from his intimate knowledge of contemporary 'occult' and 'theosophical' movements, has dealt with very faithfully, and unmasked their pretensions and manifold misconceptions. His work, therefore, is a healthy antidote to the *pharmaka* of what is little better than the charlatanry of an 'Éliphas Lévi' (Alphonse Louis Constant) and of a 'Papus' (Gérard Encausse), his servile imitator,—not to speak of other less known 'adepts' and contemporaries of one's youthful days. Mr. Waite has slaved over Christian Knorr von Rosenroth's mid 17th century Latin rendering of his chaotic collection of Kabbalistic treatises, and the French version of Jean de Pauly's *Sepher ha Zohar* (1906-1911). In either case it is a task that requires more than ordinary application and perseverance; indeed it must not infrequently have strained the patience of our painstaking author to breaking-point. We certainly got sick of it ourselves in both instances years ago. The former translation is said by Hebrew and Aramaic scholars to be tolerable; but the latter falls short in many respects, as a critical estimate, made by Dr. Gerhard Scholem, will, we hope, show in our next issue.

Apart from these main sources, Mr. Waite has made himself closely acquainted with much that has appeared in Latin, French and English touching the Kabbalah. Unfortunately his equipment does not include the German literature—perhaps critically the most important of all. Where Mr. Waite's volume stands apart is in the care with which he has sought to determine what immediate connection, if any, a number of people famous in the history of, let us say, later Alchemy, Rosicrucianism and Platonistic revivalism had with the Kabbalah, and to clean off from it the parasites of various kinds that have tried to fasten

upon it. He also deals with the 'Christian students' of the Kabbalah who, after the printing of the texts, vainly imagined they could find the 'mysteries' of their *sancta trinitas*, and the rest, in them.

What we, personally, miss in all this laborious study is the whole question of backgrounds; time and again Mr. Waite has to seek a recondite meaning, or allow for a spiritual mystery, when the comparative method would have given him ample grounds for finding a far more prosaic way out. It may not, however, be fair to expect this of him, for he is frank enough on the point,—but those 'sources' are largely in evidence elsewhere nevertheless, and it makes a great difference in one's valuation of the text to have some acquaintance with them. On this important literary historical question Mr. Waite writes as follows (p. 188 n.):

"The antecedents of Zoharic doctrine in past theosophies are of necessity outside my whole proposition, except where occasion offers a brief intimation from sources ready to the hand. . . . There are obvious limits to a study of this kind. Such an undertaking, moreover, would demand qualifications to which I make no claim, and it is somewhat late on my part to serve another apprenticeship."

I suppose it is because my own special work has lain chiefly among these backgrounds, that I have not been so thrilled by Zoharic and similar documents, except to scrutinize the heterogeneous contents which the mystical drag-net of Israel has brought up from centuries-long swept Gentile fishing-grounds. It is true that the religious genius of the Chosen People, with their literally infallibly inspired Five Books of the Torah,—by quotation from which every loaned 'word' or notion had to be authenticated,—is of the greatest psychological interest, but it leaves the modern critical Gentile mind cold, even though he is not averse from mystic lore. What is very certain, however, is that by comparative work alone can we win to any balanced understanding. Therefore we are not so impressed as is Mr. Waite by a number of what he considers independent mystical intuitions or insights, though we feel that his *flair* on the whole leads him clear of numerous *scandala*. On one main point, however, we fear we are quite out of sympathy with him. In his penultimate book on the subject our author stressed, and in the present volume he over-stresses, what I can call by no other name than the element of transcendental eroticism. I do not think I am a Puritan or sex-shy, but I feel profoundly that all this allegorizing of the 'Song of

Songs '—that collection of frank—very frank—folk-marriage songs —so dear to so many of the Jewish and Christian mystically-inclined,—has been a mistake, and has led to much undesirable psychic sex-emotionalism. I use the same canon of judgment with regard to the sex-symbolical rhapsodies of the many Bhākta sects of India and of Muslim and Persian Sūfistic love-meditations. Ascetics—both men and women—have been the chief offenders in this respect; nowadays, fortunately, we are able better to understand the psychology of it all. But Mr. Waite may plead that he speaks of normal marriage and its 'mystery.' Well, you get that in India also, and the records of it are not very edifying.

Another point on which we think our colleague is, this time, not sufficiently sympathetic. He speaks disparagingly of the 18th and 19th century Ḥassīdīm, who derive from the developed Kabbalah of Isaac Lurya. This I could understand of one who stands apart from and outside the mystical nucleus of the Zohar; but Mr. Waite is loud in this latter's praise. The literature of Later Ḥassīdism is rich and intensely interesting; it is entirely out of keeping with our modern notions, of course, but its Zadiqīm have known more of the Kabbalah and its inner spirit than any of us outsiders.

Apart from these reflections, as to certain limitations in treatment, I would repeat that Mr. Waite has done very well with a very difficult subject; and we hope his book, which is intended chiefly for a certain class of readers, will set a term to the spate of obscurantist pseudo-Kabbalistic 'occultism' that has been so long let loose upon us by the superficially informed.

The Philosophy of Vaiṣṇava Religion.

With Special Reference to the Kṛṣṇite and Gourāṅgite Cults. By Girindra Narayan Mallik, M.A., B.L., Professor of Sanskrit, Comilla Victoria College, Bengal. Lahore (Panjab Sanskrit Book Depot); pp. 377+32; 15s.

Until recent years the habit of the West, even in learned circles, has been too prone to view Indian religion and Indian philosophy in a one-sided fashion,—to stress one school or phase over against the rest, and to emphasize the doctrine of a stark absolute, with its extreme theory of māyā as illusion (Shaṅkara), in order to contrast as strongly as possible 'East' and West. We now know, not only that there is every kind of view represented in Indian thought and every kind of doctrine in Indian religion, but that

the enthusiastic, theistic, personal cults enormously preponderate. This is especially the case with the various forms of Vaiṣṇavism, which flourish so abundantly in Bengal. In many ways the Viṣṇu forms of religion contain doctrinal elements that are similar to some of the leading dogmas of Christianity, especially in their incarnation-theories and their claim, in at least two instances, to identification of the earthly manifestation with the supreme Absolute Being.

Professor G. N. Mallik is a deep-read scholar in Vaiṣṇava scripture and literature, and a faithful believer in the pre-eminence of his religion. He, therefore, comes forward as an out-and-out apologist for his faith, and strives to bring out the best in it before all comers and against all other views. He deplores the degeneration into which it has fallen in popular circles, and condemns severely what he avers to be corruptions of ignorant and impure livers. His claims for Vaiṣṇavism have no limits. Just as the Shāktas and Tāntriks boast that their Āgamas and Tantras form the 'Fifth Veda,' surpassing and even abrogating the Four, so do the Bhāktas, or worshippers of Kṛiṣṇa and Gaurāṅga (*i.e.* Chaitanya), declare that the Bhāgavata Pūrāṇa (not the Viṣṇu) is more authoritative than either the Upanishads or even the Gītā, which latter is generally considered in the West *the* Kṛiṣṇa scripture *par excellence*. In it there is more of a balanced point of view between the various *mārga's* or paths; but apparently the later and orthodox doctrine of Vaiṣṇavism, as set forth by Prof. Mallik, is the divinizing of the absolute supremacy of Bhakti, the path of Devotion and Love. It overarches and embraces all others; it dowers the lover with the virtues of the followers of all the other paths,—of action or sacramental deeds (*karma*), of knowledge or gnosis (*jñāna*), of union (*yoga*) and contemplation (*dhyāna*). So, too, with the philosophical side of the subject. The doctrine of Vaiṣṇavism is claimed to be superior to all others,—monistic, dualistic, pluralistic and the rest. Its essential characteristic is the master-concept of *bhedābheda*,—that is to say 'distinction-without-distinction,'—between the supreme and the individual soul. The notion is that for Love, with its *summum bonum* of what is called *premānanda* (love-bliss), there must be distinction, and yet utter union, but not absorption. Much space is devoted to what may be called the metaphysics of this affectional ideal, and the subtleties of self-donation. The doctrine of 'distinction-without-distinction' is apparently first cousin to that of Rāmānuja's

classical Vishiṣhṭādvaita as differenced from Shaṅkarāchārya's Advaita; the former being the qualified Advaita. Prof. Mallik is for ever breaking a lance against Shaṅkara's Advaita, which he always refers to as Monism; but this is hardly fair. For just as his own *bhedābheda* is, philologically, a self-contradictory term, intending to indicate that in Bhagavān, as the Supreme, all contradictions are reconciled, so *a-dvaita* is not strictly 'mon-ism,' but 'non-dual-ism'; and this is not precisely the same thing. Though then Prof. Mallik is down upon Shaṅkara's dogma of the fundamental and absolute identity of the Supreme and the individual soul, he will have it that S. was really (without knowing it apparently!) a great devotee of the 'Absolute Kṛiṣhṇa.' For does not tradition avow that Shaṅkara appeared as an incarnation of Shiva, devotee of devotees; and is not Shiva himself (according to Vaiṣhṇava theory) one of the greatest devotees of Kṛiṣhṇa? We wonder what the Shaivas have to say to this! It is true, however, that Shaṅkara, as apart from his philosophizing, in his devotional *stotras*, or hymns, is a fervid and ecstatic worshipper of Shiva, and this is only too often ignored. As to the Advaita *māyā*-doctrine, the Vaiṣhṇavas, following the Shvetāshvatra Upaniṣhad, deny that it means illusion, and treat it as being the Divine creative activity, and therefore as real.

In some fashion this connects with the prime Kṛiṣhṇa-Rādhā doctrine of Rasa, the infinite attribute of the Supreme whereby everlasting Bliss is felt; indeed we are told: "Rasa is the ingredient of the body of the Absolute, Rasa is His attribute, and He Himself is Rasa" (p. 71). This being so, the whole creative activity of Bhagavān is treated as being his Līlā,—sport, play, dalliance. And here we are told that its main characteristics are: not only (1) that no exertion is felt, but that (2) "there is no ulterior motive to satisfy some purpose." The world-process is, therefore, purposeless, and not even a *divina comedia*. But the main difficulty that our philosophizing exegete has to overcome, is to interpret or explain away Rādhā and the Gopīs, the legends concerning whom are, to Western taste at least, by no means edifying. By the method of allegorical sublimation Rādhā is considered as a principle, in fact as the Divinity in whom there is the complete sublimation of lordship; R. stands to Kṛiṣhṇa in the incomprehensible relation of 'distinction-without-distinction,' and represents the highest state of devotional ecstasy. The Gopīs are the emanations of Rādhā, and she is the Hlādinī Shakti, or Bliss Power, of Kṛiṣhṇa. It is very difficult to disentangle all this from

what the Philistine will regard as transcendental eroticism. Nevertheless, here we have a learned and serious and devout treatise devoted to an exposition of what is claimed to be the 'supersensuous' bliss of utter abandonment, which is the consummation of the fulness of life in concrete personal Deity.

Perhaps the most surprising feature of Prof. Mallik's treatise is the exalted position he gives to Shrī Gauraṅga, the glorified Chaitanya, who flourished in the 15th century in Bengal. Chaitanya is declared to be "a saviour of mankind the like of which had never been seen before" (p. 230). In spite of all adverse criticisms, our apologist asserts: "He is what He is,—*viz.* that He is neither a human personality, nor even an incarnation, but the absolute Being, Bhagavān Himself" (p. 234).

In spite of these exclusive and excessive claims, which we in the West are so familiar with in another case, the treatise under notice is most interesting and instructive for students of comparative religion and the philosophy of religion; for Vaiṣhṇavism in its various forms arouses the enthusiastic devotion of many millions in India to-day, and it is with such cults that Christianity finds itself in closest competition. Prof. Mallik's English is fluent, but stands in need of revision, and though a two-column page is given to 'errata' there are many other misprints. The volume is No. XIV. of 'The Panjab Oriental (Sanskrit) Series.'

Religionsgeschichte Europas.

Vol. I. Bis zum Untergang der Nichtchristlichen Religionen. Mit 180 Text-Abbildungen. Von Carl Clemen. Heidelberg (Carl Winter); pp. vii. + 388; 17s.

The author of this book is endeavouring to reconstruct the religion of the pre-Christian period of the nations who had inhabited Europe. He collects his material from references found in the classical literature, from monuments, coins, inscriptions, and from such archæological finds as may throw light on the civilizations and religions of the various nations. He starts with the primitive Stone Age, of course using the flint weapons and other implements found in various parts of Europe, and he proceeds on to the Copper and Iron Ages, trying at the same time to find out to which special nation the use of this or that material can be ascribed. He connects, *e.g.*, the Celts with the Bronze period. He then discusses the non-Indo-Germanic nations inhabiting

Europe, such as the Etruscans, the Ægeans, the Iberians and the Ugro-Finnish. Some of these are nations inhabiting Europe anterior to the period of the Indo-Germanic invasion. Among the 'Indo-Germanic' (a curious designation to which these writers are still clinging, instead of some other word like 'Aryan,' which would much more truly represent the character of all these races), Clemen also includes the Scythians, the Sarmathians and the Thracians. With them go Germans, Greeks, Latins and Slavs. In each chapter he gives first reference to the general literature, and in footnotes specific references to authors who have dealt with this or that nation or with the remnants of its civilization.

In addition to thus grouping the material, and giving a number of illustrations, the author reads into these monuments a religious and spiritual significance, which can only be described as hypothetical. He ignores the fact that not a few of these monuments, or of the ideas which they are believed to represent, may not be indigenous at all. In that welter of nations, which crossed and recrossed the plains of Europe, much has been carried along from one country to the other which belonged to a different state of culture altogether; or the new invasion may have covered up an earlier form of civilization and belief of the people which they either drove away or exterminated, and therefore could not represent the civilization of the new settlers. Moreover, the reliance on writings of strange visitors, taking even Herodotus as the best example, is very hazardous. They could only see the new things with their old eyes, and endeavour to identify the new notions, dimly comprehended, with their own, with which they were more familiar. The best example of this kind of involuntary confusion and identification can be seen in the reports received from missionaries half a century or more ago, who lived among or visited occasionally some of the primitive nations in Africa.

The book, therefore, is to be used with caution; but it is, no doubt, very valuable for the manner in which the author has collected the material and has drawn the conclusions, often very ingenious, from the monuments which he so carefully describes. But why the Scythians and Thracians should be grouped among the Indo-Germanic is a problem the author does not satisfactorily solve. The book is very well printed, the illustrations are excellent, and a brief but sufficient index helps the student in the use of this so copiously documented book.

M. GASTER.

Topographie Historique de la Syrie Antique et Médiévale.

Par René Dussaud. Avec 16 Cartes. Paris (Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner); pp. lii. + 632; 200 frs.

THE author of this book has undertaken a task which seems at the first sight almost impossible to accomplish—and yet he has done it. It is nothing less than to give a complete description of the whole of Syria now comprised within the French Mandate, to draw the confines and to discuss every place found therein from an historical, geographical and archæological point of view, to discuss and to interpret the ancient monuments, and to identify places with the references found in the ancient literature. It is sufficient to say that he starts with the Bible. He examines the Assyrian monuments. He studies carefully the Greek and Latin literature, the ancient Itineraries, the histories of the Crusades, the Arabic Chronicles, and brings his researches down to the latest archæological investigations by Renan, Clermont-Ganneau, and others. The book is a gazeteer and a complete record of towns and countries, each of which is replete with ancient memories, and on each of which one can recognize the footprints of the ancient civilization in its constant march from east to west and west to east. The country has been divided up by the author into seven sections, each treated separately in as many chapters. He starts from southern Phœnicia, and following, as it were, the ancient trade-routes, he passes through Tripoli, Antiochia, Hama, Damascus, through the country of the Nosairia, the haunt of the famous Sheik of the Mountains, of 'Assassin' memory, and on to the borders of the Euphrates. Each page is full of literary references, and a very rich bibliography is prefixed to the book. There are no less than sixteen maps, one of which is a comprehensive one, into which all the other maps have been incorporated. To obtain an idea of the vast amount of material condensed into this book, it is sufficient to mention that there are about five thousand names of places indicated in the maps given in one list, and a second list contains also an approximate number of about five thousand names of places mentioned in the book. Not a few of these latter are not found in the maps, some because they have not yet been identified.

The importance of the book lies, in addition to the accurate

information which it gives, in the fact that it helps the student of the history of religion to realize the influences which have contributed towards the origin and development of religious beliefs and practices. Many an ancient myth and many an old ceremony stand unquestionably in close connection with the geographical and topographical configuration of the country. He who gazes upon the vastness of the desert, will easily be led to a brooding disposition. The expanse of the desert, the extraordinary silence, the barrenness of the land,—all these drive a man of a sensitive nature to introspection, to an ascetic life, to shun the world and to hate the idea of change. On the other hand, he who dwells on the mountains and is exposed to the wild outbursts of Nature, to thunder and lightning and torrential rains, will form a different idea of a supreme power, mastering the forces of Nature. And he who tills the ground and sows the seeds and tends his flock, will slowly come to believe in vegetation gods, upon whose favours he depends for his livelihood. Of all these we learn something in this fine book and, in addition, of the ways of intercommunication between the nations inhabiting Syria. René Dussaud shows us the roads tramped by the soldiers, and peacefully traversed by the traders. It is an indispensable work for all those who are interested in these manifold problems of the history of civilization. Needless to add, the book is beautifully printed and the maps very well executed. M. GASTER.

LES DEUX AUTEURS DES ACTES DES APÔTRES.

Par Paul-Louis Couchoud et Robert Stahl. Extrait de 'La Revue de l'Histoire des Religions,' Jan.-Mars, 1928. Paris; pp. 47.

SINCE Harnack's well-known study *Lukas der Artz* criticism has preponderatingly favoured the hypothesis of the common authorship of the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles by Luke the Physician; indeed it has become as basic as the favourite Two Document hypothesis in Synoptic research. To this strong current of opinion the weighty judgment of Alfred Loisy has opposed itself. He makes the Acts-document later in date than is now generally supposed, very composite in character and certainly not by Luke. Indeed Loisy throws back, of course with modifications, to the famous early Tübingen theory of F. C. Baur, a century ago, based on the notion of the Acts being a reconciliatory document between the strongly opposed Petrine and Pauline parties of the Early Church. In the very careful study under notice the two

scholars Couchoud and Stahl have performed a fine statistical literary feat. They have minutely analyzed the language of the document, and claim that their results show clearly that the present document is the product of two writers markedly distinct in doctrine and style one of whom adapts, expands and 'corrects' the other. The whole enquiry ends with the following very suggestive conjectures. (I omit the notes.)

"Familiarized with the features of these two authors, can we venture on any identification? I (C.) will give simply an indication without dwelling on it.

"We know a ship's captain, a religious genius of the first rank, who wished to cut Christianity away from Judaism, who made himself the great disciple of Paul and the first editor of the Pauline Letters. Marcion. Does he not answer the description of our first author?

"The story of Paul would come naturally between the *Gospel* of Marcion, of which it is the sequel, and the *Apostolicum*, or collection of Pauline Letters, to which it would serve as an almost indispensable preliminary notice.

"On the other part, we know an office-holder of the community at Rome, one inoculated with the Bible, practical, a capable secretary, who about 140 A.D. had the regular job of writing to the other communities. Clement, the author to whom is attributed the anonymous Letter of the Roman community to the Corinthians.

"The Epistle of Clement and the second editing of the Book of Acts have a striking doctrinal identity. They have also less overt agreements. They have the same balanced legend of Peter and of Paul: 'The Book of Acts presents the two Apostles in the perspective in which Roman tradition conceives them. . . . The same tradition is found abridged, but still quite plain, for the intelligent reader of the Clementine Letter' (Loisy). In both, the same exaggerated zeal for the resurrection of the dead. In both, a pointer that is quite a revelation: a strange little conflation of two Biblical texts. . . .

"The second author of the Acts of the Apostles seems also to have been the corrector of the Pauline Letters, the author or the corrector of the Pastorals, the second redactor of the Fourth Gospel. All this great labour of recasting, of adaptation, of mitigation, bestowed on a number of brilliant and powerful but dangerous documents,—could it not have been the well-timed work of the discreet Clement?

"As for Luke,—'Luke' is the name put forward, after the completion of the Acts-document, to betoken the disciple of St. Paul who says 'we' in certain passages, and whom the first author had left unnamed. The name is represented in *Colossians* (iv. 44) and in *Philemon* (24). To the first passage was added the designation of 'the beloved physician,' which gives an interesting but uncertain preciseness. [The 'medical language' of 'Luke,' on which some have laid great stress, has recently been called into the gravest question.—G. R. S. M.]. Luke, the supposed doctor of St. Paul, became the common loan-name of the two authors who, in mutual conflict, have raised the Acts-book edifice."

If these revolutionary conjectures are not killed by a conspiracy of silence, Clemens Romanus will become a considerable somewhat, and the famous 'we-clauses' will find no less a sea-captain than Marcion at their back. On the whole a very interesting incursion into the realm of *probabilia*.

Biblical Anthropology.

Compared with and Illustrated by the Folklore of Europe and the Customs of Primitive Peoples. By H. J. D. Astley, M.A., Litt.D., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.A.I., Hon. Canon of Norwich. London (Oxford University Press); pp. 262; 12s. 6d. net.

For a score of years and more our valued contributor Dr. H. J. Dukinfeld Astley has been a devoted student of anthropology and archæology. His chief interest in these disciplines is the light they throw on, and the new perspective they open up in treating of, Biblical history, with its wealth of custom and rite, and the development from their primitive origins of what have in the course of the centuries become high symbolisms. In anthropology and folk-lore our author is a specialist; and the volume under notice contains twenty-one studies from his pen which have been contributed over a lengthy stretch of years to a number of periodicals, including our own. Even to recite the headings of the large number of subjects on which Dr. Astley writes, some of them at considerable length, would overburden our limited space; we can only make a few general remarks. In the first place, the importance of the general subject is ungainsayable. To bring the Bible within the framework of general human experience, and remove it from the atmosphere of the exceptional, the abnormal, the miraculous, from the superstitious status of the most tabooed of all literatures, is sanative and praiseworthy.

But we cannot but feel that there is very much in anthropology that is at present exceedingly nebulous, especially in its attempts to theorize in any way that can be deemed really explanatory. In our view, it has *not* solved the vital origins of taboo or of totemism; *mana* or *orenda*, its main concept, is for the most part an unknown quantity, the $\sqrt{-1}$ in its equations. Its exhibit A. among the primitives—the Arunta tribe of Australia—which is for ever being trotted out as the *pièce de résistance* in its court of evidence, has become its 'King Charles' head.' As we have repeatedly stated, anthropology, of what we may now call, in spite of its tender years, the classical type, will not be able to claim the name of science, until it allies itself closely with the new discipline of psychical research. And this is the main insufficiency we find in Dr. Astley's painstaking work. He practically 'turns it down.' He gibes at modern 'spiritualism,' and classes it with rank superstition. And yet it is precisely this attempt to understand these phenomena in our own day in their ever-spreading recrudescence, under conditions of accurate observation, control and analysis, that will become the *via regia* of the pioneers who will throw light on the vast history of past human experience of this order. Things in this respect are beginning to improve here and there even in the anthropological field; but we are still a long way from a frank general acknowledgment by its labourers that such knowledge is indispensable, if they are to *cultiver leur jardin* really scientifically. This said, there still remains very much that is distinctly useful and helpful in Dr. Astley's collection of essays for the enlightening of those who still suffer from the Fundamentalist complex.

James H. Hyslop—X: His Book.

A Cross Reference Record. Collated and Annotated by Gertrude Ogden Tubby, B.S., formerly Secretary of the American Society for Psychical Research. With a Preface by Weston D. Bayley, M.D. York, Pa. (The York Printing Co.); pp. 424: n.p. given.

SINCE the decease of Dr. J. H. Hyslop, the energetic Secretary and Research Officer of the American S.P.R. (in succession to Hodgson), in 1920, Miss Gertrude O. Tubby, who for thirteen years was his secretary and right hand, has been in constant touch with him 'communicationally.' The present fat volume, covering sittings with mediums in the U.S.A. and this country

from May 19, 1924, to end of January, 1925, is a laborious and careful record mainly of communications, direct or indirect, from Hyslop giving evidence for his identification, and frequently checked by the use of the symbol 'X,' which he has employed, since his passing, as an evidential mark or signature. This does not appear, it is true, to be very distinctive, but it was selected, we are told, deliberately, so as to escape notice in cross-reference work, except by those in the secret. The style of investigation is on the well-known lines of Hyslop's methodical research work, and the record leaves us with the strong impression that J. H. H. has amply vouched for his continued interest in psychical research, and made his presence known by a welter of 'evidential' communications of a very personal and domestic nature. So far, so good. But we hope the volume is only introductory to things of greater interest. Miss Tubby tells us she has a wealth of 'communications' from her old leader and friend. Hyslop—X has taken a very great deal of trouble to prove his identity by elaborate cross-references through a number of reliable mediums. Miss Tubby is, in our view, fully justified in believing she has repeatedly been in close touch with him. Hyslop was wholeheartedly devoted to psychical research on scientific lines. He has, apparently and quite believedly, joined up with other well-known pioneers of psychical research who have crossed the border. What has he *now* got to tell us? It ought to be of some value. We, therefore, look forward to Miss Tubby's further reports, while congratulating her heartily on her present sincere and painstaking volume.

The Book of the Kindred Sayings, Pt. IV.

The Saṁyutta-Nikāya or Grouped Suttas. Tr. by F. L. Woodward, M.A. With an Introduction by Mrs. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A. Pāli Text Society, Trans. Series, No. 14. London (Oxford University Press); pp. 298; 10s. net.

Of the four volumes of this pioneer translation of the *Saṁyutta-Nikāya* of the Pāli Canon Dr. Rhys Davids is responsible for two and Mr. Woodward for two. It is an excellent piece of co-operative work and indispensable for the study of Theravādin Buddhism. Mr. Woodward leaves the Introduction to his more experienced colleague, who enriches the volume with some pertinent and penetrating remarks. Especially noticeable is her now strongly critical attitude to the traditional absolute *anattā* theory, which

she ascribes to later monkish overstress rather than to the more balanced doctrine of the Founder. On this very fundamental negative feature of Buddhist speculation she writes: "The dethronement of the man (*puggala, attan*) and the enthronement in his place of his instrument, mind, appear to have been the joint work of (*a*) a protestant attitude against the brahmin's confounding the real with the unchanging, and (*b*) of the new fascination of the study of mind *apart from the man*, inaugurated by the so-called Sānkhyan teaching of Kapila. The latter affirmed 'the man' (*puruṣa*), but sharply severed him from his mind and body. And Gotama from the first warned men that these two were *not* the man, *not* the self, *not* 'of you,' *not* you. And he brought in the pregnant, new idea, that the self changes, grows, can be made to become, that it is not eternally the same. But the anti-brahmin attitude and the new psychology combined distorted his warning into the curious position that the 'you' is non-existent, that there is only body and mind, a position strangely akin to our own temporary 'man'-less outlook." In the spiritual life pure negation carries us nowhere; spirit is the most positive reality in the universe. We warmly thank Mr. Woodward for his translation and congratulate the Pāli Text Society on building another stone into its memorial edifice.

Mysteries of the Soul.

By Richard Müller Freienfels. Translated by Bernard Miall. London (Allen & Unwin); pp. 348; 12s. 6d. net.

This is, we believe, the first book of the Professor of Psychology and Æsthetics at Berlin which has been translated into English. Herr Freienfels looks to the future, is free from conventionalism and —a rare virtue in a German *Fachmann*—is never 'Academic.' In this interesting and lively-written volume he sweeps clear many a shelf of the classical psychological idol-cupboard, and shows that he is very sensitive to every fresh wind of doctrine that is a-blow in the 'vital' sciences. Prof. Freienfels covers a very wide ground and works out his psychologizing through the whole field of human interest,—he is psychologic, psycho-analytic, psycho-sociologic, psycho-religious, by turns and at length,—historical, critical, suggestive, even meditative of the future. It is a good book, and will repay the labour of careful reading. Above all, our author is courageous and does not mince matters, especially in his review and estimate of the present posi-

tion in the religious world. There is, however, one essential point in which we feel bound to differ from him. Either through ignorance or prejudice—and this is strange when our author is so manifestly elsewhere well-informed, and when he is so skilful in unmasking prejudice in others—he utterly damns the phenomena of psychical research as to one of the main working hypotheses. He goes out of his way to pour scorn on the age-long belief in what he calls the 'shadow-soul.' When thus crudely characterized, we might be with him; but to-day the doctrine of the 'subtle body' points to a psychical fact that can no longer be denied. The idea of 'body' as limited solely to gross physical body—which is Herr Freienfel's private root-dogma—is a pure negationist abstraction. This prejudice of his, unfortunately, vitiates not a little of what in other respects is an admirable treatise on the 'soul' conceived of as 'life'—no matter what are the grades of its corporeal co-factors.

MODERN SPIRITUALISM.

By Herbert Thurston, S.J. London (Street & Ward); pp. 88; 1s. net.

THIS booklet consists of four articles, republished from the Jesuit periodical *The Month* and the Irish quarterly *Studies*, by Fr. Thurston, the well-known student and follower of studies in psychical research phenomena. It is intended for propaganda and forms one of a popular series called 'The Twelvepenny.' It is, moreover, as we might expect, equipped with the *nihil obstat* and *imprimatur*. It is ably written, as might also be expected. Fr. Thurston, of course, does not deny the phenomena, but equally of course, he puts them eventually where they belong according to the decisions of R.C. dogmatics. Fr. Thurston is of opinion that the present wide-spread interest in psychical phenomena is a flash-in-the-pan; it will not continue, but will fizzle out. Here the wish, we fancy, is father to the thought. You can't wipe out part of the experience of human nature, simply because it proves recalcitrant to the neat, priestcraft-made regulations of Roman Catholic pretensions. Briefly, 'Modern Spiritualism' here gets a mauling. But the funniest part of the business is that the gloves are stuffed with the packing of sceptical '*métapsychisme*,' and therefore the bare hands' slogging of the 'spirit hypothesis' is often politely, judiciously and economically avoided.

Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century.

By A. Büchler, Ph.D. London (Oxford University Press); pp. 461; 12s. 6d. net.

THIS erudite volume by our esteemed friend, the learned Principal of Jews' College, is the 11th of the series of Jews' College Publications, and has been printed as a token of regard by the Council of the College on Dr. Büchler's attainment of his sixtieth birthday. Our author has already been responsible for three of the volumes in the series, and this, his fourth treatise, exhibits the same profound scholarship as its predecessors. Dr. Büchler is an acknowledged master of the Rabbinic literature, and in his logical and painstaking way he has grouped together all the relevant material on his subject. This in itself is no mean achievement, as anyone who has dipped into the 'sea' of the Talmud well knows. At last, and in the English language, we are able to see exactly what was the Jewish attitude towards the problems of Sin and Atonement in the first century A.D. Hitherto we have had to be content, or rather discontented, for the most part with a few isolated quotations in secondhand translations dotted like plums in the pudding of polemical misconceptions written by biassed Christian theologians. The author's object, as he himself says, "is not apologetic, but an honest endeavour to serve historical truth." To this he has been very faithful, and we have to thank him for a text-book at once readable and illuminating which will be of inestimable value to the student. H. S.

Four Miles from Any Town.

And Other Verses. By David Gow, Editor of 'Light.' London (Cecil Palmer); pp. 77; 3s. 6d. net.

THIS is a pleasant little volume. Our old friend and editorial contemporary, under pressure of many friends, here collects 53 short verse-pieces, which he has from time to time 'thrown off' in what has doubtless been otherwise usually a far from poetical atmosphere. The booklet gives the impression of a mind, or if you like soul, very sensitive to the simplicities and changing moods of nature, in moments of, probably, all-too-rare relaxation from the editorial grindstone. It is sincere and pleasing verse; and we are glad to have this little miscellany of David Gow's *obiter cantata*.

Auguste Comte: Thinker and Lover.

By Jane M. Style. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 208; 5s. net.

Though the distinguished French thinker Auguste Comte (1798-1857), the founder of Positivism and inaugurator of the science of Sociology, had once a small but active following in this country, of late little attention has been paid to his synthetic system in general, and his memory is kept green only in Sociological circles. It is, therefore, a useful service that Mrs. Styles has performed in penning this sympathetic account of Comte's life, his struggles and labours. The authoress, who is a sincere admirer of Comte's undoubted genius, gives us an informative, if little critical, account of the philosopher's outer circumstances, and of the inner development of his thought and the purgation and sublimation of his emotional and æsthetical nature. There is also an understanding summary of the contents and purpose of his chief works. On the whole this volume is a useful introduction to the life and work of that positivistic idealist who would fain have synthesized the sciences, and purified civilization and laid the foundations of a religion that should embrace the whole of humanity,—the watchword of his great endeavour, over against the Revolutionary slogan, 'Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,' being 'Order, Love, Progress.'

The Koran (Qur'ân).

Translated by E. H. Palmer. With an Introduction by R. A. Nicholson. 'The World's Classics.' London (Oxford University Press); pp. 551; 2s. net.

This is a most convenient and very cheap (but good) reprint of Palmer's excellent version of the Qur'ân. I well remember the impressive memorial service to Palmer, so prematurely removed from his brilliant labours, in my first term at St. John's, Cambridge, 1881; how we stood, surpliced, in respectful silence, while the organ played the Dead March in Saul; and how I specially was struck with the sight of old Peter Mason, Palmer's tutor, head wrapped in surplice sleeves, and body swaying, in the Jewish fashion of mourning. Prof. Reynold A. Nicholson furnishes the reprint with a sage and judicious foreword. Palmer's Version was originally published in 1880 (S.B.E., 2 vols.) and not as erroneously stated by the publishers of the reprint in 1900.

Prehistoric Man in Genesis.

A Study in Biblical Anthropology. By the Rev. F. de P. Castells, A.K.C. London (Rider); 5s. net.

This small book, which appears to have found its inspiration in a volume entitled *Pre-Adamite Man* by a Mrs. Duncan, published in 1862, is yet one more attempt to 'reconcile' the early chapters of Genesis with the story of the origin of mankind as it is unfolded by Science; and it must be said at once that it is no more successful than its many predecessors. Mr. Castells has read widely and he knows something of Hebrew and of the early civilization of Egypt and Babylonia, but his reading is largely undigested. His matter is therefore confused and his arguments unconvincing. He takes Moses as the author of Genesis, putting his date at 1500 B.C., but follows the documentary hypothesis so far as to allow him to have made use of the writings of P and J, both of whom he places earlier and makes J later than P; yet elsewhere he tells us that "the estimates of modern scholars place these documents at dates varying from 750 to 975 B.C." This statement is, of course, wrong; but he cannot have it both ways. How could Moses in any case have used writings later than his own age? This example of looseness of statement is characteristic of the book; and we regret that it is impossible to take Mr. Castells as a competent guide in Anthropology, Comparative Religion or Biblical Exposition.

H. J. D. Astley.

A Book of True Dreams.

By Mary E. Monteith. London (Heath Cranton); pp. 220; 7s. 6d. net.

This is a pleasantly-written selection of well-known, less familiar and first-hand dream-experiences, all of which have the common factor of being what the slang of Psychical Research calls 'veridical.' It is a convenient volume to put in the hands of those who are unfamiliar with the subject; it has, however, little technically to offer—indeed does not profess to do so,—those who are students of the subject. Nevertheless, the authoress is well-informed, is experienced, has a common-sense outlook, and is a busy collector of documented material. Miss Monteith has already been widely praised for her previous volume, mainly on telepathy, entitled 'The Fringe of Immortality.'

LEONARD AND SOULE EXPERIMENTS IN PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

Also Experiments with Sanders, Brittain, Peters and Dowden. By Lydia W. Allison. Supplementary Material by the Research Officer of the Boston Society for Psychic Research. Boston, Mass. (Boston S.P.R.); pp. 399; n.p.

THIS is a volume of carefully recorded experiments by Mrs. Allison, who for long has been used to the late Dr. J. H. Hyslop's methods of rigid research, and by Dr. W. Franklin Prince, best known for his admirable work on the 'Doris Case' of 'multiple personality.' The main interest has been to keep the mediums ignorant of the identity of the sitter, to give the 'communicator' no help, and to try throughout for 'evidential' facts. It is good, hard work of this order, and doubtless necessary for strictly scientific ends. But it is, from the human point of view, somewhat hard on the 'communicators,' and very boring to the general student, who is overwhelmed by a mass of *personalia* and domestic trivialities, for the most part. For the careful student, however, who has, perforce, to follow every turn and twist of the sittings in the hope of striking a sidelight here and there, it is good material. We admire the patience of the investigators; and hope they have, outside the frame of reference of their self-imposed, self-denying ordinance, obtained occasionally some refreshment.

A RARE SPECIALIST LIBRARY.

Proceedings of the National Laboratory of Psychical Research. Vol. I., April, 1929, Part II., pp. 422; 15s. net.

Short-Title Catalogue of works on Psychical Research, Spiritualism, Magic, Psychology, Legerdemain and other Methods of Deception, Charlatanism, Witchcraft and Technical Works for the Scientific Detection of Alleged Abnormal Phenomena from *c.* 1450 A.D. to 1929 A.D. Compiled by Harry Price, Honorary Director.

THE distinctive mark of Mr. Harry Price's Library is its specialization on books, pamphlets, etc., treating of conjuring tricks, deceptive arts, and fraudulent devices. This part of the collection is probably unique. Among them is a number of works dealing with the 'frauds' of dishonest mediumship. The earliest work (*c.* 1450) is, of course, not an *incunabulum*, but a MS. (Alchemical); though why described as 'Black Letter' we do not understand.

The Library is housed at 16, Queensberry Place, S.W. 7, and no doubt could be consulted by serious students with the permission of the Hon. Director.

THE SEEKERS.

Talks by 'Dr. Lascelles.' Edited by Rosa M. Barrett. With Photographs. London (Daniel); pp. 230; 6s. net.

FOR a number of years Mr. Charles A. Simpson, formerly an electrical engineer in New Zealand, has been carrying on a very considerable work of psychical healing in St. George's Square, Westminster. The whole is directed from the other side by a certain 'Dr. Lascelles,' a forceful personality; and the peculiarity of the work is its 'contagious' character. That is to say: a number—a considerable number apparently—of those who have been healed, are in their turn helping in healing under 'Dr. Lascelles' directions. The number of patients thus treated runs to some hundreds a week. It is certainly a noticeable undertaking. The whole is conducted in a religious spirit and the healing is chiefly by prayer. Miss Barrett, sister of our late colleague Sir William Barrett, has in the present descriptive volume edited a number of the frequent 'talks' given through Mr. Simpson by 'Dr. Lascelles' to his helpers and pupils. They are on what are now the familiar lines of the generality of 'communications' with the proximate hereafter, but with a very distinctly Christian tingeing. The co-workers in this busy centre have now constituted themselves into The Guild of Spiritual Healing. Having far outgrown their crowded quarters in Pimlico, they have now taken a large house, at 29, Queen's Gate, Kensington, S.W. 7, to carry on their psychical labours.

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THE QUEST

THE PARACLETE PROBLEM.

STUDIES IN FOURTH GOSPEL ORIGINS: I.

ROBERT EISLER, Ph.D.

READING and re-reading the Canonical Gospels again and again with an eye to the difficult and paradoxical passages in them, my attention was more and more specially attracted by the last of the four, which has been a stumbling-block to scholars ever since the Rev. Edward Evanson[1] published at Ipswich, in 1792, his startling book *The Dissonance of the Four Generally-received Evangelists.*

Quite recently the last historian of Early Christian literature, Prof. Aimé Puech,[2] of the French *Académie des Inscriptions*, has written the following striking lines on this most enigmatical source for the life and teaching of Jesus:

> The Fourth Gospel presents only such affinities with the three synoptic evangels as are absolutely unavoidable. While the other three represent—with certain minor differences between them—the faith common to all Christians in its most primitive form, the Gospel according to John contains a special mystical

[1] Born at Warrington, 1731, graduated from Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1747, A.M. 1753, † at Colford, Devonshire, 1805.

[2] *Hist. de la Litt. chrét.*, vol. i., Paris, 1928, pp. 121f.

doctrine which by far transcends that of the others.[1] It *spiritualizes* the life and doctrine of Jesus.[2] The material facts which it relates, are frequently different from those reported by the other three,[3] or arranged in a different order. The difficulties of interpretation, which are sometimes exceedingly great, are complicated by the *mystery overshadowing the personality of the author and the* milieu *out of which this book seems to have proceeded:* a mystery which has not been resolved so far, and which will, beyond doubt, never be resolved altogether.

This profession of final resignation—an echo of a similarly desperate statement of Ernest Renan[4]—seems to me somewhat premature.

Now, in perusing ever anew the 'Gospel of Jesus Christ according to John,' I have been again and again magnetically arrested by the puzzling passages about the *Paraclete*—the 'Advocate' or the 'Comforter,' as the English version renders the word, until I have been finally convinced that these statements contain the central mystery of all the strange mysteries of this gospel; that they are the nucleus of this enigmatical book; nay, that one might go so far as to say, the whole book—or at least what we may call the non-synoptic source of it—is written around them and because of them.

[1] It should be added—Prof. Puech says it on the following page—that this mystic doctrine has become the foundation-stone of Christian theology as distinct from Jewish messianism. Schleiermacher (1821) was quite right in saying that Christianism, as it is, cannot be explained by the teaching of the synoptic Jesus.

[2] Clement of Alexandria opposes it as the 'pneumatic' gospel to the three 'bodily' (*sōmatika*) evangels.

[3] The characterization of Jesus by the fourth evangelist is so different from that presented by the synoptics, that ever since Schleiermacher the divergency has been compared to the famous difference between the Platonic and the Xenophontean Socrates.

[4] *Vie de Jésus*, 13th ed., Paris, 1867, p. 540: "To pierce the mystery of this school, to know how the evangel in question proceeded from this circle, is impossible."

It is in the course of the so-called 'farewell speeches' of Jesus after the Last Supper that the master says to his disciples (xiv. 15-18):

If ye love me keep my commandments. And I will pray the father and he shall give you *another paraclete*,[1] that he may abide *with you*[2] forever,[3] (even) the spirit of truth[4] whom[5] the world cannot grasp, because it seeth him[5] not nor knoweth him.[5] But ye know him,[5] for he dwelleth with you[6] and shall be[7] amidst you.[8] I will not leave you orphans; *I will come to you.*

Reading these portentous words, with the close attention they obviously deserve, we cannot avoid concluding from the word 'orphans' that, *before* the departure of Jesus, the disciples are *not* orphans as they will be, when the master, who now acts as their *father*, is gone. Jesus and 'the father' in heaven will not, however, let them remain for long in their state of bereavement as 'orphans,' he will send them 'another paraclete,' to be for them another father. The expression '*another* paraclete'—to be sent after Jesus' departure—implies that before his death they have *Jesus* as their paraclete, their erst-while advocate or defender. After his death, they will need and receive another *paraclete*. This other advocate, however, will

[1] Lat. *advocatus*, one who is to be 'called to the side' of a sufferer, especially of one accused, to act as his helper, or prompter, before the judge (cp. Mt. x. 20) and as his defender (I. Jn. ii. 1).

[2] *meth' hymōn.*

[3] Or 'for the eternity' (*eis aiōna*).

[4] Cp. Jn. i. 14. The opposite is the 'spirit of error' (*pneuma planēs*) or of 'seduction' (I. Jn. iv. 6), the lying and misleading spirit sent by God in order to inspire the false prophets (I. Kings xxii. 12). Cp. Ignat., *Philad.* 7: 'The spirit does not mislead, being from God."

[5] Variant—neutr.: 'it.'

[6] Gk. '*par' hymin*, also 'beside you,' 'next to you.'

[7] Variant: 'in' or 'among' you.

[8] Cp. for '*en hymin*' Paul, I. Cor. ii. 6: '*en teleiois*'—"among the grown up wisdom is spoken"; *ibid.* vi. 2 '*en hymin*'—"in your presence, before you, the world is judged."

be identical with Jesus, will in fact be Jesus returned once more to his disciples: "I will not leave you orphans, I will come to you." So he who is to come is Jesus. It seems that the coming of the 'other,' the second advocate, is identical with what is generally called the 'second coming,' the second *parousia* of Jesus. In xiv. 25f., Jesus goes on to say:

> But the paraclete, the holy spirit whom[1] the father will send in my name,[2] he shall teach you *all things* and recall to your memory whatsoever I have said unto you.

That is to say: the paraclete will come '*in the name of Jesus*'—as Jesus foretells in Matt. xxiv. 5: "Many will come *in my name*, saying: I am the Christ." The paraclete will come calling himself Jesus, declaring himself to be Jesus returned to life—to everlasting life this time, for it stands (in xiv. 17), "that he may abide with you forever." The coming of the paraclete 'in the name of Jesus,' declaring himself to be Jesus, will be the fulfilment of the immediately preceding promise: "*I*—Jesus—will (again) come to you," never to depart again. The paraclete, proclaiming himself to be Jesus definitely returned to the presence of the faithful, will 'recall' every word Jesus has said during his first earthly life-time—thereby proving that he *is* Jesus. He will also teach them 'all things.' This should *not* be taken as a simple repetition—a double in the usual Semitic style called the poetic *parallelismus membrorum* (of which there is no other example in this allocution)—meaning, "he will teach you all that Jesus has already taught during his life." It signifies that the paraclete will not only

[1] Here, *ho*, neutr., but note the following *ekeinos* = 'he,' masc.!

[2] This can mean: This spirit will come in my name, or to stand in my stead; eventually the father will send him, instead of *my* sending him (cp. xv. 26: "*I* will send unto you from beside the father").

recall to their memory whatsoever word Jesus has spoken before his death; but, over and above this re-statement of his former teaching, the paraclete, the returned Jesus, will also teach 'all,'—which is tantamount to a declaration that during his lifetime Jesus has *not* taught 'all,' but had kept back some essential revelations for his second coming, for the 'other paraclete' to teach. If anyone shrinks from drawing this inference, let him turn to the parallel passage (xvi. 12f.), where Jesus says:

> I have still many things to tell you, but you cannot yet bear (to hear) them. But when he, the spirit of truth, will come, he will *guide you* into *all truth* (or he will show you the way leading into *the whole truth*).

These words are an unambiguous declaration that the words of Jesus spoken during his lifetime are *not the whole* truth, not *all* the truth. If these words are an utterance of the evangelist, they can only mean that the collections of words spoken by Jesus 'while he lived,'—such as, *e.g.*, the famous Oxyrhynchos papyrus of the '*Logoi Kyriou*' purports to be according to its title[1]—are not to be considered as the whole truth, the whole teaching of Jesus; but that revelations given by the Messiah, returned to his flock in pneumatic form—as 'the spirit of truth'—and abiding with it, in its midst 'for all eternity,' are a necessary complement to the words of Jesus spoken while he was in the body. The revelations of the ever-present '*pneuma*,' the 'spirit of truth,' must be added to the utterances of the once living Jesus; only *together* do the two groups of sayings embody the 'whole truth.'

[1] "These are the (saving) words which Jesus spoke during his life-time (*Jesus ho zōn*) and taught to Judas Thomas," etc.

We all know that the Church takes these words to mean that the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of God, the *Logos*, the world-pervading Reason, the divine Inspiration, foretold by Jesus as destined to be 'within you' (*en hymin*)—even as his vicarious, pneumatic self—has the power to supplement, throughout the ages, the teachings of Jesus, and to add to them such truths as could not yet be comprehended by his contemporaries,—more exactly, by the disciples in their unenlightened state, which prevailed until they had seen the visions of the glorified risen Christ.

This explanation, however, conflicts with the emphatic assertion of Jn. xvi. 7.

> But I tell you the truth: It is *expedient* for you that I should go away. For if *I* go not away, the paraclete will not come unto you; but if *I* depart, I will send *him* to you.

No one can understand why the presence of the beloved master should prevent the Holy Ghost, the spirit of truth, the spirit of God, inspiring the disciples. If Jesus was himself inspired, his presence should, if anything, further the inspiration of the disciples.

The paraclete cannot be identified simply with the Holy Ghost, the spirit of God and source of all inspiration; because according to Jn. xvi. 13:

> When he will come . . . he shall not speak from himself; but whatsoever he shall *hear*, that shall he speak.

According to this verse the paraclete is not himself the ultimate fountain of wisdom; but, on the contrary, he is dependent on 'whatsoever he hears,' on auditions of heavenly voices. He is a being in need of inspiration, receiving inspiration from God like a prophet of old. So he cannot be the principle of divine inspiration itself. Although called *a* 'spirit of truth,' he is not *the* 'Holy Spirit.'

The paradox that the paraclete cannot come if Jesus does not go away, the insistence of the author on the impossibility of the simultaneous presence of Jesus and the paraclete, compared with the emphatic hint (in xiv. 18) that the paraclete is Jesus returned to his disciples 'for all eternity,' can be to some extent explained by Jn. vii. 39: "There was not yet a *pneuma*" —the *pneuma*, the spirit, which the believers were to receive in the future—"because Jesus was not yet glorified,"—that is, disembodied. As long as Jesus lives in the body, the *pneuma*, his *pneuma*, his spirit, is enclosed, is veiled in the tabernacle of his body. It is not yet a *pneuma*, a spirit, it is Jesus the incarnate, the embodied Logos, the man Jesus. Only after Jesus has returned to the father, after he has died and risen, after he has shed the body, the veil of the flesh,—only then the *pneuma*, his spirit, is freed. Then only can he pray the father[1] to send this disembodied *pneuma*, or he can send himself, his self, his *pneuma*, back to his followers, to dwell with them forever, and to tell them 'all the truth,' which he could not tell them while he was in the body, and while they were in a state of blindness and imperfect initiation.

Jesus promises that he will not leave them alone in the world—orphans. With the father's permission —granted at the prayer of Jesus as Christ—he will send out his disincarnate *pneuma* to dwell for ever among the faithful. This *pneuma*—visible only to the visionaries, the *pneumatikoí*—will guide the faithful to the full truth, will grant inspirations—*i.e.* auditions —to them. This *pneuma of Jesus, the Christ*, dwelling

[1] Jn. xiv. 16: "I will pray the father and he shall give you another paraclete."

forever amidst the faithful and with them, will not, however, speak 'from himself,' but 'whatsoever he shall hear'—namely from the father—that he will speak. He will be the mouthpiece of the father.

So far it might seem possible to conceive of the paraclete as a disincarnate spirit, becoming visible and audible only in ecstatic visions and auditions.

But how could Jesus' disembodied *pneuma*, sent back and come back to the faithful as the paraclete, but seen by the believers only in their own visions; how could such a visionary entity "testify of Jesus," even as the disciples themselves "will bear witness because they have been with him from the beginning" (Jn. xv. 26)? The 'testifying' and the 'bearing witness' of Jesus has to be done in the face of the unbelieving world; the unbelievers must see and hear the witness. How can the unbelievers sense a disincarnate spirit?

To this question apologetic, conservative exegesis might reply: These words refer to visions of the glorified, pneumatic Christ, such as the unbelieving Saul had on the road to Damascus; and the evangelist expects such visions of the *pneuma* of Jesus would be granted to unbelievers, in order to bear out the witness of the disciples and assist the apostles in their 'testifying' of Jesus before the stubborn world.

But can the evangelist have thought of such apparitions, or of a 'collective vision' and an audition shared by the whole world? For he writes: "When he, the paraclete comes, he will confound (or confute) the world concerning its sin, concerning righteousness and judgment." Can it be that this verse is nothing but an allusion of the evangelist to the second coming of the 'Son of Man' in glory, returning to judge the

quick and the dead? Is the paraclete nothing but the Christ returning to the world at the Last Judgment, the *pneuma* of Jesus confounding the sinners as their accuser, comforting the believers as their advocate and defender, before the father acting as supreme judge?

We could not, of course, absolutely exclude such an explanation, if we were to accept the words in question, with the orthodox reader and exegete, as genuine words of Jesus, recorded by a contemporary witness,—nay, by his favourite disciple. In this case it would be idle to ask, why the master should have chosen such an enigmatic symbolism, and why he should have used the peculiar expression of 'the paraclete,' in order to foretell nothing else but the posthumous apparitions of his glorified self, the complementary revelations[1] and commandments,[2] given in the course of such visions to be granted to the elect, and finally the second coming in glory of the Son of Man for the Last Judgment. We could—from a conservative point of view—however, ask, why Jesus, who is said to have foreseen the coming of false christs or messiahs, appearing in his name to deceive[3] the faithful, should have facilitated such deception by foretelling the coming of an *alter ego*, with a supplementary revelation superior to his own words. Yet we could not deny with any certainty that the foretold complementary revelation, superior to the words of Jesus while in the flesh, may be meant simply for the subsequent elaboration of Christian theology and christology, through the inworking of inspiration by the ever-present *pneuma*

[1] Such as the long discourses of the glorified Christ in the *Pistis Sophia* and other Gnostic gospels.

[2] Such as: "Baptize all people in my name," or "in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost" (Mat. xxviii. 19).

[3] Mat. xxiv. 5, 24.

of the glorified saviour, abiding 'for ever' in the Church and its saints and doctors.

But if we abandon the traditional exegesis, and consider with the majority of modern scientific critics these long speeches of the Christ in the Fourth Gospel as free compositions of the narrator—poetic inventions of the same type as the discourses which most of the Greek and Latin historians put into the mouths of their heroes, in order to explain their thoughts and actions by means of a conventional method, not intended to deceive, and not capable of deceiving any reader,—then it seems hardly possible to adhere to the interpretation suggested above.

It seems impossible that the evangelist should have conceived the paraclete as nothing else but the disembodied spirit of Jesus manifesting itself in visions, and thereby 'testifying of Jesus' and 'confounding the world.' He can hardly have desired, through such a prophecy of Jesus, to authorize all and sundry believers to consider their own visions of the glorified Jesus and their auditions of his voice as supplementary revelations of the whole 'truth' withheld in part by Jesus during his life-time; he cannot have desired to encourage all visionaries and all *pneumatikoi* to value their own visions and auditions as something superior to the words of Jesus handed down by tradition; he cannot have meant to let Jesus say: It is expedient for the Church to have lost Jesus and to have gained instead the revelations of all who claim to have seen and heard the glorified Christ, and who make him say whatever they want others to believe.

The evangelist cannot have meant to accredit the fancies of all ecstatic visionaries; he can only have intended to accredit *one* peculiar supplementary revela-

tion, or at the utmost one peculiar group of revelations, as having been foretold by Jesus,[1] and as coming from his *pneuma*, from the 'spirit of truth.' Just as it is improbable that he should have expected a disembodied spirit, invisible to the world, "whom the world cannot grasp," visible only to those already convinced of the truth, to 'bear witness of Jesus' as being the Christ, to convince, to confound, and to judge the world,—even so it is extremely unlikely that he should have wanted to accredit by such a prophecy of Jesus the glorified disembodied spirit of the crucified saviour, appearing to the disciples in their visions, as being a 'spirit of truth' and not a misleading 'spirit of error.' Those who *have* visions of the glorified Jesus, who *see* Jesus as their Christ, are not in need of any confirmation of the truth of their faith. Even as Judas Thomas, they believe because they have seen.[2] There is no sense in wanting to accredit visions of Jesus to those who have them. On the other hand, no prophecy of Jesus about the future appearance of his disincarnate *pneuma* can prove to those who have not themselves seen the visions in question, and not heard the corresponding auditions, that the visionaries claiming to have had such visions speak the truth about them. As a matter of fact the evangelist does not desire to accredit visions of a disincarnate spirit; he wants to accredit a particular *man* of flesh and blood as embodying the returned *pneuma* of Jesus,—that is to say, as being the 'other paraclete,' the *alter ego*, the re-incarnation of Jesus.

[1] Jn. xiii. 19: "Now I tell you before it come to pass, that when it come to pass ye may believe that it is I." Cp. xvi. 4: "I have told you these words so that you may remember when the hour comes, that I have said them."

[2] Jn. xx. 29.

This is clearly and with double emphasis expressed in Jn. xiii. 19f.[1]:

Now I tell you before it does come that, when it comes to pass, ye may believe that it is I. Amen, amen, I say unto you: He that receiveth (him) when I send someone[2]—(that is, he that receives him, whom eventually I shall send)—, receives me; and he who receives me, receives him who sends me.

It seems impossible to express more strongly the fact that the paraclete, the foretold *alter ego* of Jesus,[3] is not a ghost, but a man. No visions of a disembodied *pneuma*, but a living man, a re-incarnation of Jesus, will testify that the first paraclete, Jesus, was and is the true Messiah, just as the disciples, the eye-witnesses of his life, will witness for him. It is this *man* who will, according to the evangelist, supplement the teaching of Jesus by further revelations; it is this man who will confound the world, convict it of its sin and convince it concerning righteousness.

As a matter of fact, I am by no means the first to say that the prophecy of the paraclete in the Gospel according to John refers to a man in whom the spirit of Jesus will be reincarnated. On the contrary, ancient and modern readers have again and again understood these sayings of Jesus in this sense. It is well known that Montanus[4] (about 160 A.D.), Mani[5] (about 245 A.D.)

[1] The verse is misplaced in its present context. Kuinoel, Lücke, Wendt have taken it to be an old gloss. In reality it belongs, as anyone can see, after xiv. 19. It was written in the free space between two columns in the archetype, and drawn into the text of the left side column (instead of into the context on the right side, where it was meant to go) by an ignorant copyist.

[2] Note the essential difference between this saying and the only parallel in Matth. x. 40.

[3] The paraclete is the *vicarius domini*, the representative of Jesus. Tertullian, *De Cor.* 1.4; *De Fuga* 1.14; *Adv. Prax.* 2.30; *De Jejun.* 10.

[4] He is said to have proclaimed: "I am the Father; I am the Son; I am the Paraclete." Didymos, *De Trinit.* iii. 41.1; cp. 'Controversy of an Orthodox and a Montanist,' ed. Ficker, *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, xxvi. 446; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 14.

[5] Cp. in Fluegel, *Mani.*, p. 96, the Manichean benediction: "Blessed be our Guide, the Paraclete, the Messenger of Light"; and (*ibid.* p. 207) the quotation from Al Biruni; "He mentioned in his gospel that he was the Paraclete, whom the Messiah had foretold and the Seal of the Prophets."

and Mahomet went—each one of them—so far as to claim to be himself the paraclete foretold by Jesus.

In our own days the conservative Protestant commentator of the Fourth Gospel, Friedrich Spitta, has said that the paraclete must be a man. His interpretation, however, that Jesus refers to the prophet Elijah, whose second coming will precede the second *parousía* of the Messiah and whose call to repentance will 'confound the world,' is, of course, impossible.

Neither the Gospel according to John nor any perceptible source of it is Judeo-Christian. It is, therefore, impossible to suppose the evangelist intended to make Jesus Christ say that his teaching needs to be completed by what the returning Jewish prophet Elijah will reveal in the name of God the Father.

Immediately after the World-war Oswald Spengler —whose book[1] seems almost to be more widely read in Germany than the Fourth Gospel—created something of a sensation by admitting, in straightforward words, that the Johannine Christ foretells the coming of another prophet with a revelation superior, fuller than his own. He does not venture, however, to explain which prophet was meant by the evangelist.

Finally, in 1925, the Rev. Lic. Hermann Sasse of Oranienburg has ventured to say, in the leading periodical for New Testament Research,[2] that "a human personality is meant in all the sections about the Paraclete."

His theory, that the author of the Fourth Gospel alludes to his own person, and that the Fourth Gospel is itself the foretold supplementary revelation, is very tempting, because Jesus says indeed that the paraclete

[1] *Untergang des Abendlandes*, vol. ii., p. 277.

[2] ZNTW xxiv. 275.

will repeat all his sayings and add to them the new revelation. Thus the paraclete is expected to publish something like an evangel, if not an evangel itself. But, as is well known, the author of the Fourth Gospel clearly desires to be identified with the favourite disciple of Jesus. He says, moreover, with equal clearness, that the witness of the paraclete will stand beside the testifying of the disciples; the paraclete will testify and the disciples will also bear witness (xv. 26f.). Unless xv. 27 is an interpolation,[1]—the paraclete is clearly distinguished from the disciples. Besides, it seems absurd that Jesus should intend to say to his apostles: I will not leave you alone; I will come back; my *pneuma* will return and be reincarnated —as some kind of *dybbuk* or *prosphyēs psychē*, as the Gnostic Isidorus would have called it—in the body of my favourite disciple. Surely this is an impossible interpretation.

Quite independently from the Rev. Sasse, M. 'Henri Delafosse'[2] has written[3] in the same year:

> The Paraclete . . . is a man . . . the Paraclete is a surname, a transparent circumlocution, just as, for instance, we [French] speak of 'the knight without fear or blame'—meaning Bayard; '*la sainte de la patrie*' or 'the virgin of Orleans'—meaning Joan of Arc; or 'the patriarch of Ferney'—meaning Voltaire; or '*le petit caporal*'—meaning Napoleon I. Circumlocutions of this kind are used when and because the writer knows that his readers understand what he means, and that there can be no mistake about the sense of the allusion.

[1] But why should anybody have interpolated such a sentence, since xv. 26 says by no means that the paraclete will be the only witness to Jesus?

[2] A practising Catholic priest, publishing radically modernist commentaries under this pseudonym in M. Couchoud's collection, devoted to the popularization of the non-historicity theory.

[3] *Le quatrième Evangile*, Paris (Rieder), 1925, p. 112; cp. pp. 107 f.

This is surely true, although 'Delafosse's' conjecture that it is Marcion, the great Gnostic, recently made fashionable by A. v. Harnack, who is meant by the paraclete, cannot be accepted, and for the following reasons: First, there is not a shred of evidence that Marcion (about 130) ever posed—as Montanus is known to have done—as the paraclete, or as Jesus, or as the Christ,—in short, as anything supernatural. Second, this theory forces its author to explain the 'paraclete' as the 'defender'—*of Jesus Christ*, he who will defend *Jesus* against the misrepresentations of the pseudo-apostles. But this is a sense of the word which no unprejudiced reader will ever be able to find in the above-quoted passages. It obliges him also to try—in vain—to find a Marcionite substratum[1] underlying the present text of the Fourth Gospel. Why, indeed, should the Marcionites, as we know for certain, have contented themselves with an expurgated Gospel of Luke, if as the Abbé 'Delafosse' supposes they had possessed an evangel of their own so much more suited to their ideas?

Besides, strong chronological arguments exclude Marcion, as well as Montanus—to whose sect F. C. A. Schwegler[2] wanted to attribute the authorship of the Fourth Gospel—from being the man whom the author of the paraclete-prophecies desired to accredit as the prophet succeeding and superseding Jesus. No one who has studied C. F. Burney's[3] tabulation of 'Reminiscences' of the teaching of the Fourth Gospel

[1] The features which have misled him are due to the much earlier gnosis to be identified in the following article.

[2] *Der Montanismus*, etc., Tübingen, 1841, pp. 174ff. *Das nachapost. Zeitalter*, Tübingen, 1846, pp. 368ff., restricts and justifies his earlier hypotheses.

[3] *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, Oxford, 1922, pp. 133ff.

in the Epistles of St. Ignatius, can doubt the correctness of von der Goltz's and Dr. Sanday's findings that "Ignatius had digested and assimilated to an extraordinary degree the teaching which we associate with the name of St. John." Leaving aside for the moment the remarkable fact, that one typically Johannean saying of Jesus occurs in Q, the common source of Matthew (xi. 27) and Luke (x. 22), the witness of Ignatius[1] alone is quite sufficient definitely to exclude the possibility of the Gospel according to John, or its sources, being so late as to be in any way connected either with the Marcionite or the Montanist movement.

Notwithstanding all these erroneous identifications of the person to whom the paraclete-prophecies allude, notwithstanding the fact that the paraclete can be neither the prophet Elijah nor the author of the Fourth Gospel nor Marcion nor Montanus nor Mani nor Mahomet,—nevertheless, Montanus, Mani, Mahomet, as well as Schwegler, Spitta, Spengler, 'Delafosse' and Sasse may well be quoted in support of my thesis: that the text of the Fourth Gospel itself clearly points to the paraclete being a human person. Who then was this person? To this burning question we will turn in our next study.

ROBERT EISLER.

[1] I am not, of course, ignorant that a wild hypercriticism would like to question the authenticity of all the Epistles of St. Ignatius—the Abbé 'Delafosse' is, of course, a partisan of this thesis—just as all the Epistles of Paul have been rejected by certain radical critics. But our time and space are too valuable to discuss such vagaries in detail.

PHILOSOPHY REDISCOVERS GOD.

A REVIEW OF WHITEHEAD'S 'RELIGION IN THE MAKING.'

WILLIAM F. CLARKE, M.D.

WITH every shift and development of philosophy there comes, inevitably, a new formulation of the beliefs upon which the justification of the doctrines of religion are founded. This new formulation may be largely a matter of words; a new language being called for to describe and express old experiences in the light of the general ideas current at the time. Or the change may be much more fundamental: it may arise from a radical difference in the interpretation of the experiences themselves. The attempt may even be made to explain the experiences away.

In his recent book *Religion in the Making*,[1] Prof. Whitehead presents us, in the language of modern philosophy, with the summing-up of the view of the universe—the real world—to which his philosophical thinking has brought him, together with the place of religion in this world, and the rational justification of a belief in God—God, the ground of all real religion.

On reading and re-reading Prof. Whitehead's book the question uppermost in the mind is: Has he led us up to a definitely new religious standpoint; or has he merely reworded for us, in the rather cumbersome

[1] *Lowell Lectures*, 1926, by Alfred North Whitehead (Macmillan).

language of modern philosophy, the beliefs of the philosophically-minded Christian mystics?

Without attempting to string together a list of names with prominent ideas attached—a source of endless confusion to the common man—I think I may safely say that the philosophical view of the world which Dr. Whitehead gives us, is the view to which many lines of thought are converging, and is the one upon which any new and effective religious formulations, to be generally understood, must be founded. The real world is just this utterly interrelated world of every-day happenings which we know—the world of common and of uncommon events. There are no transcendent worlds into which a few strangely-constituted individuals, in mystic moments, have access. There is this world—this universe—where all space and all time are filled with the eternal passage of events: the world which is the source of all our data—the very home, not only of man, but of God.

In one way there is nothing very new about this. It is a naïve, child-like naturalism. But philosophy had become anything but childlike and naïve. Some philosophers thought to track down the Absolute in the ultimate 'things' of physics, but found that things, when stripped of everything that gives them a local habitation and a name, disappear into nothingness. Some, turning their backs upon this ever-changing world of events, made for the real world, the object of their search, a refuge in the eternal realm of mind—of beauty, truth and goodness. But these, although they looked towards their sought-for land, still left the chasm which separates the apparent from the real unbridged: the real was never reached, the apparent never left. Even the so-called 'naturalist' was inclined

to separate himself, and all that goes on in the depths of his own spirit, from nature, and so to make another 'bifurcation' and leave another bridge unbuilt.

The virtue of the new naturalism, which has been called 'Objective Relativism'[1]—and might perhaps be called 'absolute' relativism, were it not that the very name 'absolute' is an abomination to a relativist—is that it abolishes all chasms, all separations, and so needs no bridges. For this philosophy, when it is carried to its logical conclusion, all that is is Nature: there is nothing behind, beyond, or above Nature. It is the utterly interrelated whole. There is no such thing as a thing-in-itself or a thing-by-itself. Things are recurrent aspects of events and are abstractions from events. The units of reality are occurrences, happenings, 'epochal occasions'; and each occurrence is dependent for its individuality upon its relations with all that is.

But these happenings *do* include everything—everything that can enter, not only into the body, but into the heart and mind of man. Even God, if there be God, is an ingredient in each and every event, and can only be an inference from the data of events. Not a sparrow falls to the earth without him, and every hair of our head is 'numbered': it counts in the general scheme of things. And so a complete event includes, not only the physical setting of the occurrence, but also the mental, moral, spiritual and æsthetic reactions, or values, which result from the influences radiated from material things and from the living whole, when these influences are gathered up and focussed in the consciousness of a living organism.

[1] 'Objective Relativism in Dewey and Whitehead,' Arthur E. Murphy. *Philosophical Review*, xxxvi., 2, March, 1927.

Consciousness is not something detached from the general flow of things; it is the other side of action, and is involved, in a degree, in all action: an electron may be said to know itself 'blindly' and know its brother-electrons. In consciousness events realize their own meaning, and so become self-directive and able to share in the creative activity of the universe, and in the emotional and æsthetic satisfaction which this activity calls forth. Things, qualities, emotions, consciousness and ideals are all 'ingredient in events,' not mixed as in a mechanical mixture, but bound together in an interrelated organic whole, from which no one part can be torn without that part, and the whole from which it is separated, both, becoming something other than they were before:

> Imperious Cæsar, dead and turned to clay,
> Might stop a hole to keep the wind away:
> O, that that earth, which kept the world in awe,
> Should patch a wall to expel the winter's flaw!

Events are the creatures of the world-creative process: a complete event—a perfect creature—is one in which all the component elements conspire to produce an utterly harmonious whole; and this harmony must be a willed harmony, focussed in a single centre of consciousness, where love can lose (or find) itself in that ultimate goal of all activity, perfect peace and joy. But this perfect creature, for Prof. Whitehead, can be none other than God; and this perfect peace and joy is heaven.

For the working out of the metaphysical scheme I must refer my readers to Dr. Whitehead's own book, *Religion in the Making*, contenting myself with the attempt to give simply a sketch of it. At the same

time, I am well aware that this cannot be done without some mutilation of Prof. Whitehead's thought.

My Summary.

To start with, all our knowledge is knowledge of this world and of what goes on in it: "We know nothing beyond this temporal world and the formative elements which jointly constitute its character. The temporal world and the formative elements constitute for us the all-inclusive universe."

These formative elements are:

1. The creativity whereby the actual world has its character of temporal passage to novelty.
2. The realm of ideal entities, or forms, which are in themselves not actual.
3. The actual, but non-temporal, entity whereby the indetermination of pure creativity is transmuted into a determinate freedom. This non-temporal actual entity is what men call God.

God is the actual fact from which the other formative elements cannot be torn apart.

The actual temporal world is a multiplicity of occasions of actualization. Each such occasion is an 'epochal occasion'—it has individuality and definition. The actual world is a community of epochal occasions. But each unit has in its nature a reference to every other member of the community; so that each unit is a microcosm representing in itself the entire all-inclusive universe.

These concrete occasions are the creatures; and in the creatures and the formative creativity we can see the reason of the temporal character of the actual world. For the creativity is not separable from the creatures, but passes through one creature into another creature; and in this transition exhibits itself, in the temporal world, as routes of temporal succession.

Every event which emerges from the mixed flow of life is a concretion bringing together aspects of all creatures, all ideal forms and God. God is "the actual entity imposing its own unchanged consistency of character upon every phase." He enters into every phase and yet is above change. He is exempt from internal inconsistency. And yet since God is actual, he must

include in himself a synthesis of the whole universe; and in the universe we find positive evil, which is the sign of inconsistency. So that God's perfect completion and consistency must mean that his nature remains self-consistent in relation to all change. In the indeterminate creative activity—the creativity—God finds a resistance to the realization of his own ideal purpose. But the very fact of the emergence of evil bears witness to the truth that, in the creative passage of the temporal world, there is immanent an unchanging actual entity. From this unchanging entity springs our measure—our criterion—of Truth, of Beauty, of Harmony and of Peace.

In ordinary language, what does all this mean? Can the substance of Dr. Whitehead's message be made intelligible to those many men who are looking for the help that some such message can bring into their lives? In fear and trembling I make the attempt, hoping that my failure may induce some of my readers to go to Prof. Whitehead's book for more light.

The problem of philosophy, ever since the art of abstract thinking dawned upon the minds of men, has been the problem of the meaning and the value of life—the life of the world and the individual lives of men. Is the ultimate self-sustaining reality, whence all things come and whither all things return, to be found in the material world of physics, which looks so solid and is so fleeting? Is it in the realm of imagination and of mind—a realm permanent and eternal in the midst of change? Is it in the heart of a transcendent God, the creator of all worlds and of all living things?

For the scientific materialist, nature tended to resolve itself into a mindless machine, and the mind of man to become an incomprehensible by-product, unnecessary and uncalled for. And still mind *is* the highest product of an evolutionary process; and by its

endowment man becomes a creature able to turn round upon his origin, and judge the meaningless mechanical process beneath his feet. For the idealist, whose real world is in the realm of mind, it becomes necessary to belittle or, in some way, get rid of this material world of hard, concrete, every-day facts. Here the reason of the 'fall' of man into his delusion of the reality of this actual world, and the necessity of his 'rising' again into the eternal realm of the real, becomes the mystery and the problem.

A belief in an all-powerful, detached, transcendent God, who creates worlds and men and angels for his pleasure, may solve all difficulties for those who can hold it; but, unfortunately, there is no evidence beyond discarded interpretations of revelation to support the theory.

It will be noticed that, in all these theories, there is a refusal to take the definite hard facts of experience as real: a search is made for some one element in life upon which all that 'goes on' in the world may be made to hang—matter, mind, or God—some 'absolute,' standing self-consistent, self-sufficient, supreme, alone.

In the new relativistic naturalism, current events in all their infinite complexity are taken as the real. The concrete, interrelated, every-day happenings of life make up the substance of the world. All our ideas of heaven and earth and God must be based upon the data presented to us in experienced events: there is no other source of knowledge. And what do we find? Matter, mind, consciousness with its moral, intellectual, religious and æsthetic values, and also the formative principles from which we may infer all that we mean by God.

All this may seem a very roundabout way of saying that we must accept the world as it is, and make the

best of it. In this world of physical happenings and of correlated mental states we must find the full meaning of life. But then the question is: How is this full meaning to be found; and how, when found, can we make the best of it? And part of Dr. Whitehead's answer is, that we must include in the ingredients of the ever-changing world of our experience the eternal values which emanate from the immanent God.

In *Religion in the Making*, modern philosophy rediscovers and gives back to a doubting world the God of the great Christian tradition from the time of Jesus of Nazareth to the present day. In agreement with all the truly great philosopher-saints of the Church, Prof. Whitehead finds that rational religion is born and nourished in those moments when man, withdrawing from the distractions of all petty activities into the depths of his own soul, realizes his individual solitude and, at the same time, feels his immersion in and utter dependence upon the great universe. Upon such silent, solitary moments, and upon what man makes of the relationship there realized, the value of his whole life depends:

"Religion is what the individual does with his own solitariness. . . .

"Religion is force of belief cleansing the inward parts. . . .

"Religion is the art and theory of the internal life of man, so far as it depends upon the man himself, and what is permanent in the nature of things."

And that which is permanent in the nature of things is God.

Any contrast between what we find in the old presentation and in the new is largely a contrast in appearance and not in reality. The mystics, finding a responsive echo in their own innermost experience to the words and works of Jesus, as recorded in the

Gospels, accepted these records as direct revelations of God. From this fixed base for faith they set out in their search for an interpretation of the riddle of the world; and they found God actively present in every moment of their lives and in every passing event. For them all earthly meanings and all human values came down from God.

Dr. Whitehead, searching within the infinitely complex universal fact for the ingredients which build up and hold this whole together, finds himself driven by the inner compulsion of his own thought to tread this selfsame way—the way which leads both from and up to God. True faith is not blind: it is the intuitive consciousness of our immersion in something greater than ourselves—the sure and certain evidence of things not seen—the very ground in which both philosophy and religion are rooted, and from which they spring. Philosophy, to take us into the innermost heart of the universe, must go hand-in-hand with faith.

Prof. Whitehead accepts original genius, and the possibility of direct insight into the full meaning of events, as mysterious ingredients in the life of men. For him, too, the reported sayings of Christ are 'descriptions of direct insight,' and his life has 'the decisiveness of a supreme ideal.' May it not be that in his case, as with the great majority of men, explicit reason has followed in the footsteps of faith? Should this be so, our gratitude to him would be none the less sincere, if he has given us, in the language of modern naturalistic philosophy, a rational ground for a belief in the God of the Eternal Gospel.

WILLIAM F. CLARKE.

(The remainder of this interesting review of a remarkable book is held over to the next number owing to lack of space.—ED.)

REASONABLE RELATIVE REALITY.

THE EDITOR.

OF the two terms 'relativity' and 'reality'—the one, even to popular knowledge, stands to-day in the very forefront of all mathematico-physical speculation; the other, as all amateurs in philosophizing are aware, is interpreted very variously, and sometimes in starkest contradiction, by the systems and schools, both ancient and modern, Eastern and Western.

Though I have not the competence to treat either notion as a specialist, nevertheless, as a general student of religion, philosophy and psychology, I would venture to jot down a few considerations that may be of interest to fellow students and thoughtful laymen.

The title of this essay or attempt already suggests that I am in quest of a moderating or mediating point of view; that I wish to avoid the vanity of dogmatizing about ultimates, and would, so far as may be possible, escape entanglement in any of the many incomprehensibilities of absolutist theorizing.

To begin then, a few words on the fashionable scientific 'relativity theory' will most conveniently be first in place.

The brilliant mathematical-physical work of Einstein has made his name unquestionably pre-eminent in this field. His views on relativity theory, both restricted and general, at present dominate the thought of the cultured, and the sound-sign 'relativity' has now reached even the ears of the populace. But

very few, of course, are competent to read at first-hand this great mathematician's formulæ or to follow his demonstrations immediately. The many even of the otherwise well-educated must be content to have the significance of his equations interpreted for them; while as for the vast majority of ordinary folk the term must perforce simply be added to the vast mass of 'Mesopotamian' vocables bandied about on the vulgar tongue.

The striking emergence of the relativity notion in the domain of exact service has, naturally, concentrated the attention of philosophical thinkers on this concept with renewed ardour; for, of course, in some form or other, so indispensable a category, or fundamental general notion, has been familiar to philosophy throughout its history from the dawn of systematic thinking, not only in the West, but also contemporaneously in the East.

Now the great *réclame* won for Einstein's theorizing is due to its predictive success. It has been so amazingly verified in three salient instances, that the restricted theory is now established in public opinion as an orthodox ingredient of science. Nevertheless there are already signs that the validity of this new doctrine is being called into question by a number of distinguished specialists in physical theory. In this reference I would interpose an able summary of the present state of such criticism by a brilliant young scientific writer. I quote the passage from Mr. L. L. Whyte's *Archimedes or the Future of Physics* ('To-day and To-morrow' series, Kegan Paul, 1928, 2s. 6d.), who follows it up with the sensible remark: "It almost always happens that the formulations of genius are exaggerated, and it has certainly happened to

relativity theory." The passage runs as follows (pp. 31-33):

This theory is mathematical, and is based on a series of postulates which rule out any claims to present an ultimate theory of space and time. One of these postulates asserts that all our physical knowledge can be reduced to the space-time coincidences of pairs of point-events, or in other words the interaction of the world-lines of electrons. No respect for the supreme genius who predicted two experimental results and eliminated the chief discrepancies remaining in Newtonian theory should restrain scientists from pointing out that this postulate assumes something that has never been known to occur, and has no valuable reference to the world of physical experiment. The confirmation of Einstein's final equations cannot give any validity to this postulate. For it is difficult to think of any physical experience considered by theoretical physics which does not involve the perception of light and colour, and we cannot assume that the perception of light is a perception of coincidences. Light varies in colour and intensity; coincidence in space is too abstract to account for an effect which is subject to variation. Moreover all physical experience requires a certain amount of time, and this fact is neglected if perception is reduced to the recognition of instantaneous coincidences. Even if these two criticisms are left on one side we will have to notice that Einstein's postulate rules out from the range of physics the important fact that many processes are irreversible. For instance, if we accept Einstein's definition of physical experience, then the interesting fact that radio-activity is only observed in the form of disintegration, and not also as the reverse process of a spontaneous building up of heavier elements from lighter, has to be left over by physics to be dealt with by some other science.

This statement, I think, is comparatively simple and sufficiently clear for the general reader, but naturally only if he has already taken some pains in the matter. I should probably, anyhow, only obscure it, if I attempted to comment. Accordingly I let it stand as it is,—but would add a word for those who

have heard of the new or non-Euclidean geometry. Fascinating as this is, it should not be forgotten that for all practical purposes of measurement our old friend Euclidean space still serves. Metageometries are invoked only for niceties of calculations that differ from the previously universally accepted standard by an infinitesimal amount.

For instance, if a ton mass is placed at the centre of a circumference with the radius of 5 meters, the new numerical value of π begins to differ from the classical Euclidean only at the 24/25th decimal place—an inconceivably infinitesimal interval. The new theoretic instrument of measurement is of considerable importance presumably, but only in the macroscopical universe where we are dealing with distances calculated in light years.

Moreover, as to time-measurement there are many theoretical difficulties, for the fundamental nature of time is still hotly disputed. In the new physical theorizing, time (t) is required to be taken with the three dimensions of space (x, y, z), as a fourth co-ordinate of measurement, to determine any event by an observer in what is called somewhat paradoxically space-time. The physical machine for time-mensuration is a chronometer or clock. *Our* clocks are all earth-sun-relative instruments. What a general-time-clock might possibly be, we have not the slightest notion.

The time-problem was ably sketched for QUEST-readers, in our last number, by Miss Maude Joynt, when dealing with 'Time, Foreknowledge and Freewill.' In it she refreshes our memory by quoting Maeterlinck's intuitive guess as to the time-space relation, when he writes: "Space is the time of our body and time the space of our mind"; and again: "Space is time which lasts; time is space that flies." Poets, we are well aware, are licensed; but it may be that this pair of epigrammatic utterances veil a depth of meaning for a mind not averse from the mystical—an adjective, by the way, which is utterly anathema to the 'positivist' or 'tough' mind, whether in science or philosophy.

Nevertheless, in spite of the shortcomings, according to its critics, of Einstein's brilliant theory in the

domain of physical science, the philosophical value of the general notion of the relative is unquestionable. Indeed, in the present fashion of philosophizing, there is a marked tendency, not only to look askance at abstractionisms as inadequate, but also to distrust all absolutist speculations, as a thinning away of that concreteness which our sense or apperception or apprehension of even relative reality demands. Such methods, it is felt, fail to bring us effectively into a clearer and fuller relationship with that which beyond all else the whole-seeking spirit in man would ever more deeply realize, live into, bring to revelation. That this distrust of absolutism in modern times was in the air even in the second quarter of last century is shown by the paradoxical proclamation of the positive-minded Auguste Comte: "All is relative, and that alone is absolute."[1]

Let us now pass on to a consideration or two on 'reality.' To-day we all of us bandy about, on all sides and occasions, this now so-commonplace term; but few are aware that it is a comparatively new-comer into English speech. It is a loan-word from Late Latin.

Indeed the first quotation of its use, as given by the high authority of the Oxford Dictionary, is no earlier than 1550.

Its general meaning, we are told, is "the quality of being real or having an actual existence." Well, I suppose, that will illuminate the man in the street; but it leaves the man in the study thinking furiously. We turn up 'real,' and are magisterially informed that it signifies "having an objective existence, actually subsisting as a thing," with first quotation dated 1559—namely, 'real Presence,' meaning 'genuine, undoubted'; and we know how bitter a controversial subject *that* is! This is the vulgar use. To quote another and popular knowledge-digest, this time from that pre-eminent land of scholarship, Germany. Myer's

[1] See 'À propos des Théories d'Einstein sur la Relativité restrainte,' by Prof. A. Sainte-Laguë, in *Revue Métapsychique*, 1929, no. 4, p. 410.

Lexicon (7th ed., 1928) tells us that 'real' signifies the thing itself in contrast with or over against the thing's name or concept.

Such definitionizing leaves the philosophically-minded questioning whether it is not intended altogether to the address of naïve or uncriticised realism; or whether, in the last instance, 'the thing itself' may be made to cover also the Kantian 'thing in itself.' It is, in truth, no simple quest we are pursuing. For even this preliminary historical philological canter brings us to very stiff fences,—in fact, up against all the difficulties and subtleties of the analytic and self-analyzing mind. For now-a-days, in philosophy, 'reality' has, in last resort, come to stand for one of the chief notions of value, if not for the most fundamental of them all. 'Reality' does not, as in its infancy, refer simply to phenomenal facts, to things. There are many various, and some quite contradictory, meanings of the word. To attempt to give a technical account, or even to copy out someone else's methodical description, of them all, would, I fear, do anything but earn the gratitude of the majority of my readers. Nevertheless, it may be of service to translate an elementary sketch of the chief forms of realism, or 'theory of reality,' from the above-cited German popular source of information.

In theory of knowledge *realism* [in general] is the supposal of an external world existing independently of the knowing subject.

What is called *naïve realism* supposes that, in knowing, the external world is simply mirrored [or reflected], and therefore is known precisely as it is in reality.

Critical or *transcendental realism*, on the contrary, maintains that, though we are well aware that the external world is there, outside our consciousness, nevertheless we know it only as it appears to us.

In the *scholastic philosophy* of the Middle Ages, realism, in distinction from nominalism, denoted that conception of the Platonic-Aristotelian philosophy according to which general concepts (universals) denote realities and are not simply words (nomina [names]).

In *metaphysics* realism is that world-view whereby reality consists of one or more substances that obey only the natural law inherent in them, in opposition to idealism, which maintains that the processes of nature follow ideas and ends that lie outside matter.

An assimilation of these two opposed world-views is called *real-idealism* or *ideal-realism*.

In *ethics* and practical living, the representative of realism is one who knows how to take things and men as they really are, in contrast to the idealist, who applies ideal standards to men and their actions, and would see them changed accordingly.

In *æsthetics*, realism is the theory of art, according to which the æsthetic effect of a work of art rests on its agreement with reality.

In this tabloidal form, it must be confessed, most of the above statements have all the appearance of being pure beggings of the question, when not sheerly tautological. The main burden of the matter is similarly summed up in our 'Murray,' when it tells us that 'real' is "applied to whatever is regarded as having an existence in fact and not merely in appearance, thought or language, or as having an absolute or necessary, in contrast to a merely contingent, existence." (Notice the two 'merely's.')

Now, if 'books'—to quote from the familiar Latin tag—"have their own fates," assuredly so have words: they rise and fall and change fashion according to the cycling times. It is the same in the history of religion. On the one hand, crude notions are sublimated; on the other the gods of one confession become the demons of another. In philosophy, what were once high terms, even the most noble or aristocratic, become

for the time reduced in circumstances, go down in the world. Thus, for instance, with 'substance,'—once a fundamental concept in Scholasticism (and a millennium or more before in Christian theology), it has for long been looked at askance; yet recently it is, seemingly, becoming quite respectable again. So, too, with 'idea.' With Plato the notion it symbolized pertained to the typical 'world' of the highest 'virtues' and most potent 'powers' conceivable by human thought. But in English rationalistic thinking, a couple of centuries or more ago, it was degraded to the pedestrian level of a label simply of the re-presentation in mind of a sense-percept,—an image of it. Yet is it coming back again into its proper dignity even in scientific philosophizing (if with a change of name), as when Whitehead calls it 'real object.' As a Plato-lover,—seeking to connect Orphic imagery with the moment of transition of symbolic mythology to metaphysics in the 'mind of the master,'—has quite recently written in praise of the term:

> Somehow—and the manner of it is a mystery, for it was the prime stroke of Platonic genius—Plato discovered his virtues pre-existent in a supra-celestial heaven: and he found that the visible world of sense and the inner world of thought were all [? both] dependent on the higher realms of the things that really are.[1]

The term 'reality'—as we can see by considering even the above-recited definitions—has evidently historically gone up in the world. Indeed—though we would avoid all temptation to "pay metaphysical compliments to the deity"—as Whitehead has so genially phrased it—'reality,' *the* Real *par excellence*,

[1] G. W. Dyson (Lecturer in Classics, Westfield College, London), 'Orphism and the Platonic Philosophy,' in *Speculum Religionis*, a collection of essays in honour of Claude Goldsmid Montefiore, on his 70th birthday (Oxford Univ. Press), 1929, p. 30.

can now be legitimately used as perhaps the least inappropriate attribute of the divine. As an idea, and as an ideal, it can, I think, stir us as profoundly as the great notions of worth or value that Plato selected as pre-eminent—namely, the Good, the Beautiful, the True. Reality, the Real, is with them and of them, and, indeed, might be deemed even the most fundamental or most synthetic of them,—if we were not alive to the folly of trying hierarchically to arrange these whole-making reals, or principles of being, that are, as Plotinus would say, all one with another—each being all and all being each. Such considerations dispose the mind towards an intuition of truly divine reality, —the That which really is. This assuredly is the reality the best in us spiritually aspires to; this the end of our highest worship; in this centres all hope of our self-realization in whole-making experience.

Does this outbreak or upflow of words seem to vitiate our promise to try, if possible, to eschew all abstractionism and absolutism, to endeavour to keep to the modest proportions proposed in the title 'reasonable relative reality'? I hope, and venture to think, it does so only in seeming. This insight, I would contend, is fully 'reasonable.' For 'reason' is not rightly to be confined to the pedestrian limits of prosaic rationalism. It is, in itself, as with Plato and even Aristotle, a proper function of the *noûs*, or spirit, the divine in man, and as such can win to full reality, as was so excellently re-declared by the Cambridge Platonists of the 17th century in this country of ours. It is, also, certainly 'relative.' For it needs must be proportionate to the limiting capacities we dispose of in the world of discourse which we perforce are compelled to use in all our social mental intercourse.

If the so-called 'practical' or 'common sense' man objects, we are prepared, in converse with him, cheerfully to confine ourselves to any of the many grades of relativity, or comparative truth, in which he feels most at home. But that is no reason why we should remain at other times where he prefers to stick.

Nevertheless, we must all start on the common level of generally agreed relative reality; for without this agreement all social intercourse of even the vulgarist external kind would cease. In the most 'common sense' mode of our living we are all 'practically' naïve realists—sensualists. If you doubt it, run your head into a lamp post and see or feel what happens! In this crassest frame of reference we are all agreed relatively. Now the theory of restricted relativity, in every sensible environment, invokes or depends upon an observer. And human observers are infinitely varied, both in their power of awareness and also in their capacity of knowing. The sense-object which everyone in English calls 'apple,' means for most people simply an article of food. But it can also be regarded from various other points of view. For instance, we may think of it as a scientific object, and this from the standpoints of a number of special sciences,—physical, electro-magnetical, botanical, bio-chemical, physiological, biological, or again as a psychological problem, or yet again as an æsthetic object, artistically apprehended, and so forth. In fact, in last analysis, when fully contemplated, the sense-presentation 'apple' can link up with the whole field of our present so-called knowledge about it. What, then, is *the* reality of our apple? In every one of the above aspects it has relative reality only; for these modes of consideration are all abstractions from

the 'that there presented.' But an apple, nay even an electron in latest theory, is an organism, an ingredient of the whole system of sense which the mind contemplates, and therefore can be fully interpreted by nothing short of the whole context.

Moreover—and this is where advanced modern thinking differs so much from most of the theoretic speculation of the past, at least in the West,—present-day philosophizing refuses to treat the sensible or æsthetic world as divorceable from the mental or intelligible world. They both are always practically, in concrete experience, found together. To treat of one without the other is pure abstractionism. This imaginary divorcement from the actual may be useful for theoretic purposes; but in truth these two 'worlds' are reciprocal or complementary modes of one reality. And this is so for every form of consciousness we can experience, so long as we are limited to the status of an observer—that is, to the dualistic state of being. Thus conditioned, our apprehension of reality must needs always be sheerly relationalistic. For we are ever, in this dual nature of ours, subject-object determined, in bondage to self-nonself, same-other, one-many, part-whole distinctions, and no more able in such thought-modes to transcend this dualistic life-mode than to raise our bodies off the flat by pulling up our socks.

Yet is there, inworking in, or from, our very essence as spiritual beings, an urge, or *nisus*, towards reality in the sublimating sense of self-realization. In self-consciousness this urge expresses itself, though it be in the comparatively few, as the firm faith, the living, reasonable conviction, that the relative reality determined by our two-fold spatial and temporal

nature—the most commonly recognizable characteristic of our status as imperfect humans—is transcendable. This spiritual intuition affirms, therefore, that the power of reality in man is purposed, in the nature of things, to develop him towards the attainment of an order of whole-making consciousness, whereby he may perfect or complete the particularizing activity of his individualized and individualizing observer-state, and attain to the synthetic and synthesizing dignity of what Indian philosophy has, metaphorically, called 'The Witness,' in its highest sense, as the source and crown of all and every mode, form and degree of consciousness. Here, it is declared, selfhood and selfdom are mutually perfected in an innate transcendency that for us now, in our duality, is utterly incomprehensible; and so the mystery of self in universe and self in man, or in any and every other higher being, is brought to consummation. It takes up duality into unity and does not abstract from either.

But, meanwhile, for us who are incognizant of that superhuman mode of reality, advance in the knowledge of reasonable relative reality must connote the progressive deepening of our powers of consciousness. If there be relativity in reality, there is, reciprocally, reality in relativity. There is progressive realization in proportion as we reach to harmonization in the here and now of every and any state in which we may find ourselves.

Even according to the biological slogan of Darwinian theory, 'adaptation to environment' is the indispensable condition of animal survival value. It stands to reason, then, that in the spiritual life of man a far subtler adaptability of far more potent powers to indefinitely more extended and deeper fields

of activity and actuality is required, if we would 'tune in with' any mode of life that moral, or value-seeking, conscience can deem even relatively real.

Now, it is well known to students, not only of high or deep mystical states, but also of far lower psychical conditions, that many experience, at one time or other, such divorcement from what is considered normal consciousness, that this seemingly so solid, concrete phase of common givenness has, in comparison or relatively, all the appearance of a dream-world, unsubstantial, unreal, ever-fleeting, void of permanence. This by no means rare experience, in one form or another, is presumably the basal fact which has led to the many high generalizations of seers and philosophers on the fundamental nature of reality, as being far removed or 'other' from this world of appearance and opinionism, in which we all have physically to live, and which the majority of mankind mistakes for genuine reality.

I will, then, conclude these few considerations on the general nature of reasonable relative reality by referring to two seemingly opposed, though perhaps more truly complementary, high views on the fundamental characteristics of reality in its own nature. These views are those of the two greatest schools of Indian scholasticism, which are identified with the famous names of Shankara (9th cent.) and Rāmānuja (12th cent.). They may be termed respectively the Transcendental and Theistic schools.[1]

[1] I should have done so in any case, but now with greater assurance, because I have had by me for over a year for review a valuable volume, entitled *Comparative Studies in Vedāntism*, by Mahendranath Sircar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy, Saṁskṛt College [University of Calcutta]. (Humphrey Mitford, pp. 314, 14s.) What I have to say here then will both complete my essay and at the same time serve as a review-notice. It is a difficult, but highly informative work, by an admirable scholar, who has

It should be understood that, though both these schools of classical Indian thinking strive to follow a strictly logical method in their expositions, both—as do the rest of the six typical schools—rest on the Vedic corpus of Scripture—more particularly on the eleven great Upanishads—as infallibly revealed truth. This canon of 'proof,' I hold, following the grand example of the Buddha, to be a fundamental weakness. For in the very nature of all human transmission and mediation no revelation, oral or written, can possibly escape deformation, to put it in the mildest terms. Infallibility is utterly out of the question. The absolute Transcendentalist standpoint of Shankara, it may be added, was probably forced out and intensified by his violent polemic with the Buddhism of his day; it seems to be theoretically somewhat over-intellectualized, for in his living of religion our great commentator was still a fervent enthusiastic devotee of Shiva. According to our too rough-and-ready Western notions about these two leading schools of Eastern thought, the general impression that obtains may be said to be somewhat as follows.

For the Shankarist, Brahman (the Absolute) alone is Reality—the True; there is in this reality no 'other' or 'second.' Therefore, the seeming 'otherness' of every degree in cosmos or man, is spoken of, and even straitly condemned, as unreal, false, the effect of the mysterious root of non-reality called Māyā:—save Brahman, the whole universe is illusive or illusionary. This absolute 'non-dual' standpoint seems to most

at his finger-ends all the many commentaries, most of which have never been translated, and who is also well read in Western philosophizing. I would recommend it heartily to serious students of Indian philosophy, who desire to obtain a clear insight into the subtleties of these two great modes or systems of Vedāntic thinking, but who, I must add, have also the courage not to be frightened off by technical Sanskrit terms.

people in the West to deprive the world-process of any real value; the way of the going of the universe is not, they think, thus 'morally' accounted for—if, indeed, so anthropic an adverb can be used in such a connection.

The Rāmānujist view, on the contrary, seeks to oppose this species of sheer transcendental absolutism, or so to say absolute absolutism, by theistic considerations, so that immanent action can have free play in the scheme of things. It takes up, therefore, what may be called the standpoint of a relativistic absolutism.

But this is relatively a very crude statement on our part. So we will let Prof. Sircar take up the parable, and bring out the contrast, in more lively and intimate fashion, from his deeper knowledge, as he does in his instructive preface (pp. x.-xii.).[1]

Vedāntism is the philosophy of the self-conscious It is pre-eminently the search for the self. This is undoubtedly true of all Advaitism [A-dualism, Shankara's school]. No less is it true of all Vaiṣṇavism [Rāmānuja's school]. Though Vaiṣṇavism has in it the supreme stress upon God-consciousness, still it cannot ignore that God-consciousness is metaphysically an implication of self-consciousness or psychologically involved in it. [In other words, the making of God in man's image.] The religious consciousness buds with the Kaiṅkarya-consciousness [kiṅ-kara = lit. 'servant,' 'slave'], the clear realization of the self as intimately related to God and ultimately dependent upon it [cp. the fundamental religious idea of dependence in Schleiermacher's view]. The sense of dependence is a natural consequence of the Kaiṅkarya-consciousness and follows it. The Kaiṅkarya-consciousness is akin to what Dr. Otto calls Creature-consciousness, but it has this difference that it connotes a nearness to God and spiritual relationship with

[1] The name 'Shankara' is so often repeated that I fear our printers will run out of their stock of diacritical letters in this respect, and so I substitute the common Englished form for the correct 'Śaṁkara' as printed in Prof. S.'s volume.

Him. In Creature-consciousness the sense of utter helplessness is evident, in the Kaiñkarya-consciousness the sense of helplessness is substituted by the feeling of security of a fellowship with the Infinite with touches of the delight of such a consummation. The love-consciousness is the blossom of self-consciousness and is based and grounded upon it.

Shankara's philosophy in the realistic aspect does accept the relativistic consciousness which reveals the duality of subject and object. The æsthetic intuitions of sweetness and beauty, the religious sense of devotion and surrender are to Shankara empiric and float in immanent consciousness. Shankara cannot deny the basic foundation of experience, for this is so clear an implication in life and consciousness that none can deny it unless the divided consciousness be passed over. Shankara soars beyond the psychological duality in transcendence. The transcendent revelation is called *vidyā* or knowledge [? gnosis]. The divided consciousness is ignorance or a-vidyā. Avidyā gives us imperfect or partial knowledge and in passing from avidyā to vidyā we pass over half and incomplete truths and attain the fuller visions of truth and knowledge. The budding of self-consciousness is an effect of avidyā; self-consciousness, which is the datum of theistic conception, is, according to Shankara, the datum of empiric intuitions. Shankara distinguishes between consciousness and the self, and thinks that the self, though a native accompaniment of consciousness, is not in it. To mean the one for the other is avidyā. The term 'avidyā' has a different sense in Shankara and Rāmānuja. Avidyā in Shankara's system lies at the root of cosmic experience, including self-consciousness. In theistic system it [avidyā] can produce ignorance, but cannot create experience. Avidyā, in Shankara, creates the cosmic subject and originates the cosmic experience; in theistic teachers the cosmic consciousness is never subject to avidyā and has no touch with it. Māyā [here = Nature or Creative Activity] spins out a universe out of herself under the control of Īśvara [the Lord, Logos], the cosmic subject. In theistic philosophy the world-history might have occasional lapses, but transcendent revelations in spirit cannot for a moment be stopped. Such is not the case in Shankara. The transcendent here is still and has no necessity of self-revelation. Shankara feels that self-revelation may be true of a personal God, but it

cannot be true of the Absolute. The demand of a godhead is the demand of the practical reason, but such a vision and such a satisfaction are an ascent in māyā and a move in divided consciousness. Avidyā is still operative and has a spiritual drama in it. The intuition is still empiric, however lofty and inspiring it may be. Such experiences are experiences in self-consciousness and cannot compare with the freedom, ease and joy of the transcendence. This is the meaning of Shankara's philosophy.

I have nowhere else come across so penetrating an insight, as is the above, into the fundamental features of these two great systems; and they are,—do not let us forget,—typical of the conflict about the ultimate problem of philosophy and theology wherever it is found. Prof. Sircar's exposition is a valuable and impartial corrective to the usual run of such studies, and takes the whole dispute into a clear and sane atmosphere. It rounds off very happily also, I venture to think, my own tentative considerations in endeavouring to express the meaning of what I have called 'Reasonable Relative Reality.' Moreover, I am the more happily grateful to Prof. Sircar for his help, because I penned the rest of my paper before turning to his arresting volume, and after doing so found I had nothing essential to unsay. But, we should not forget, that we are all prone to praise what we find ourselves already in agreement with. We always like to find our 'pre-judices' confirmed.

G. R. S. Mead.

'A LOVER'S COMPLAINT.'

R. L. EAGLE.

THE curious poem *A Lover's Complaint* was first printed at the end of 'Shake-speare's Sonnets' in 1609. Although included in every complete edition of Shakespeare, the poem is *terra incognita* except to a very limited number of students. As in the case of the Sonnets, those who have attempted to judge the poem are at variance as to its merits and meaning. Sir Sidney Lee has very little to say about it; simply remarking that

> Although its metre is that of 'Lucrece' it has no other affinity with Shakespeare's poetic style. . . . Throughout the language is strained and the imagery far-fetched. Many awkward words appear for the first and only time, and their invention seems due to the author's imperfect command of the available poetic vocabulary. Shakespeare's responsibility for 'A Lover's Complaint' may well be questioned.

But there may be good grounds for the use of awkward words in the poem other than the alleged 'imperfect command of the available poetic vocabulary.' It seems unreasonable to doubt Shakespeare's authorship because it compares unfavourably with other writings bearing his name. A poet must have a beginning, and although *Venus and Adonis* was stated by its author to be the 'first heir' of his invention, it bears the stamp of former practical experience in the many literary devices and poetical figures discussed in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589). That poem is far too perfect to be any man's first-born. If the 'Complaint' be a production of Shakespeare's youth, this might

very well account for the difficulties some of the critics have experienced in accepting Shakespeare's authorship. It is my belief that the use of this awkward vocabulary was necessitated by the nature of the poem which, I shall endeavour to show, deserves more attention than has been given to it; for everything points to there being yet another variation of Shakespeare's protean genius which has still to be explored. We seem to come in contact with the allegorical and allusive vocabulary of the writers of enigmatical poetry. This being so, it would be unjust to compare the clear and straightforward style of a narrative poem with an esoteric work teeming with obscurities and veiling hidden meanings. By treating it as an allegory it is surprising with what ease the principal characters, and the setting of the poem, can be determined.

The 'Complaint' is made by a Shepherdess (the lover) who laments her seduction by an effeminate-looking, passionate and eloquent Youth. The scene is laid by the banks of a stream in the neighbourhood of a conspicuous Hill. Several verses are occupied with the description of a fiery Horse, and the Youth's control of him.

It would indeed be astonishing if these familiar associations of Poetry have come together by accident, and I now submit the following key to the interpretation of the poem:

The Beautiful Youth	The Spirit of Poetry.
The Shepherdess	Reason or Philosophy (now transformed by Poetry).
The Hill	Parnassus.
The River	Helicon.
The Horse	Pegasus.

The opening lines of the poem aroused my suspicions as to the setting:

> From off a hill whose concave womb re-worded
> A plaintful story from a sistering vale,

for Parnassus is said by the poets to have two peaks, and the echoing cavity is doubtless the valley between them. The district of the 'bi-cliff' hill (as Drayton calls it) abounded in pleasant vales suitable for meditation. *The Shepherd's Calendar* (1579) names Helicon as the river flowing from it:

> And eke you virgins that on Parnasse dwell,
> Whence floweth Helicon the learned well.

The Shepherdess is seated by the stream lamenting in the same vein of passion as Shakespeare uses in Sonnet 29, and "all alone beweeps her outcast state." She is the "carcase of a beauty spent and done." In the second verse it is said that

> Time had not scythed all that youth begun,
> Nor youth all quit: but spite of heaven's fell rage
> Some beauty peep'd through lattice of sere age.

These lines are paralleled in Sonnet 3, where the same metaphor is employed:

> So thou through windows of thine age shalt see
> Despite of wrinkles this thy golden time.

The Shepherdess begins her complaint:

> Though in me you behold
> The injury of many a blasting hour,
> Let it not tell your judgment I am old;
> Not age, but sorrow, over me hath power.

In the Sonnets, Shakespeare frequently dwells upon the effects of Time upon his features and in Nos. 62 and 63 takes consolation for this in the thought that he will "ever live young" in his verses.

So we find the Shepherdess consoling herself with "not age . . . over me hath power."

She is now ensnared in the wiles of Poetry, and her actions and description have clearly become those of the poet:

> Sometimes her levell'd eyes their carriage ride,
> As they did battery to the spheres intend;
> Sometimes diverted their poor balls are ty'd
> To the orbed earth.

Here, then, is "the poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling, glancing from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven." Shakespeare applies it to his own Genius in Sonnet 20. Other indications which identify her as a poet are her "careless hand of pride," "pale and pined cheek," and "loose negligence."

The Youth, who is the cause of the complaint, is no rustic swain. He is, indeed, the spirit of poetry and eloquence. The early critic, Steevens, observed that in these lines, Shakespeare has "accidentally" delineated his own character as a dramatist:

> So on the tip of his subduing tongue,
> All kinds of argument and question deep,
> All replication prompt and reason strong,
> For his advantage still did wake and sleep:
> To make the weeper laugh, the laugher 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;[1] and sexes both enchanted,
> To dwell with him in thoughts, or to remain
> In personal duty, following where he haunted.

The truth is that there is nothing accidental in the manner in which these tricks and qualities of the

[1] Sidney in his *Apologie* says that the poet "cometh with a tale which holdeth *children* from play and *old men* from the chimney corner." Rosaline (*Love's Labour's Lost*) says the same of the poet, Biron.

dramatist's art are introduced. The lines allude to the persuasive force of poetry—especially dramatic poetry; it being, as the unknown author of *The Arte of English Poesie* says,

> A manner of utterance decked and set out with all manner of fresh colours and figures, which maketh that it sooner inveigleth the judgment of man, and carrieth his opinion this way and that, whithersoever the heart, by impression of the ear, shall be most affectionately bent and directed.

In order to win their way into their hearers' minds, the dramatists assumed a Protean versatility and metamorphosed their souls into those of Kings, Courtiers, Soldiers, Divines, Physicians, Lawyers, Musicians, Artisans, or any other variation they chose.

We find Shakespeare writing:

> I can add colours to the chameleon,
> Change shapes with Proteus for advantages;

and Middleton proudly boasts:

> I will play the changeling,
> I'll change myself into a thousand shapes
> To court our brave spectators: I'll change my postures
> Into a thousand different variations
> To draw even ladies' eyes to follow mine;
> I'll change my voice into a thousand tones
> To chain attention.

Such was the "art of craft" by which the Shepherdess was enchanted and caused her to complain:

> What with his art in youth, and youth in art,
> Threw my affections in his charmed power.

The Youth boasts of the previous conquests he had made and that though he "kept hearts in liveries" (*i.e.* in his service) he was himself "free":

> And reigned, commanding in his monarchy.[1]

[1] "And reigned commanding in his *monarchy*"—Sidney, in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, offers an explanation of this line. He writes: "Now therein of all Sciences (I speak still of the human, and according to the human conceits) is our Poet the *Monarch*."

Elsewhere (in line 104) there is an allusion to "his *authorized* youth," and this indicates the free and licensed art of poetry or, as Sidney puts it, "that high-flying liberty of conceit proper to the Poet."

We have many illustrations in the poem of the quick-changing and dramatic powers of the Youth. Lines 302-308 are to the point:

> In him a plenitude of subtle matter,
> Applied to cautels (*i.e. deceits*) all strange forms receives:
> Of burning blushes, or of weeping water,
> Of swooning paleness; and he takes and leaves,
> In either's aptness, as it best deceives,
> To blush at speeches rank, to weep at woes,
> Or to turn white, and swoon at tragic shows.

So this seductive art is a "plenitude of subtle matter," which is full of deceits and takes all kinds of "strange forms." Three classes of these are mentioned —blushes, tears, and paleness, caused respectively by "speeches rank," "woes" and "tragic shows." These are part of the dramatic poet's equipment whose art it is to represent the emotions. This power of assuming all forms, shapes, colours and emotions belongs to what our poet calls "invention." There is a further subtle allusion to it in the last stanza:

> O, that infected (*i.e. feigned*) moisture of his eye![1]
> O, that false fire which in his cheeks so glow'd!
> O, that forced thunder from his heart did fly!
> O, that sad breath his spongy lungs bestow'd!
> O, all that borrow'd motion, seeming ow'd!

Bacon also attributes to Poetry the power to take all varieties of forms in its controlling. In his masque *A Conference of Pleasure* (1595), the Hermit, who advocates the gifts of the Muses, is addressed:

[1] "The truest poetry is the most feigning." (*As You Like It*, III. 3.)

Attend, you beadsman of the Muses! You take your pleasure in a wilderness of variety, but it is but of shadows. . . . Your mind is of water, which taketh all forms and impressions, but is *weak of substance.*

It is also significant that in the Sonnets Shakespeare describes his "better part" as

A man in hew, all hews in his controlling,
Which steals men's eyes, and women's souls amazeth.

And in another Sonnet asks:

What is your *substance*, whereof are you made,
That millions of strange shadows on you 'tend?

The Horse, with his rounds, bounds, courses and stops, must be the fiery Pegasus. The critic Taine alluded to the excellence of Shakespeare's "horsemanship," saying that he is

"Like a too fiery and powerful horse; he bounds, he cannot run. He bridges in a couple of words an enormous interval; is at the two poles in an instant."

Having reviewed the main features of this strange poem, there remain several points of interest still to be discussed. The opening stanzas depict the Shepherdess weeping by the river, tearing papers and breaking posied rings. These she throws into the stream. In the seventh verse, we hear more about these verses:

Of folded schedules had she many a one,
Which she perus'd, sigh'd, tore and gave the flood;
Crack'd many a ring of posied gold and bone,
Bidding them find their sepulchres in mud;
Found yet more letters sadly penn'd in blood,
With sleided silk, feat and affectedly,
Enswath'd, and sealed to curious secrecy.

"Folded" in the first line, means *enfolded* or *enigmatical*, and these writings and letters are treated

in the same way as Prospero (a later personification of Shakespeare himself) intended to do with his "book." From the thirteenth verse, we learn that the "folded schedules" were "deep-brained sonnets" which had been given to the Youth from former "lovers," and these sonnets had, in turn, been yielded up to the Shepherdess. They are said to have been "penn'd in blood"—an ingenious phrase to conceal poetic impulse. It is the reproof of others for the errors of his "sportive blood" which Shakespeare, in Sonnet 121, takes so much to heart, and we find the Shepherdess harping upon the same string in this poem:

> Nor gives it satisfaction to our blood,
> That we must curb it upon others' proof (*i.e. reproof*).

It all alludes to the adverse criticism meted out to him in certain quarters; and Sonnets 70-72 inform us that the poet was held up to shame by his critics:

> For I am shamed by that which I bring forth.

In the Satires of Hall, printed in 1597, the author of *Venus and Adonis* was attacked under the name of *Labeo* for the licentious subject he had chosen and for concealing his identity under another's name. Hall begins the second book of his Satires with the line:

> For shame! write better, Labeo, or write none,

and the last line of all is:

> For shame! write cleanly, Labeo, or write none.

The Lover's Complaint finds its best commentary in the Sonnets. It would take up too much space to point out and discuss the many other identities of phrase, thought and meaning, but we can scarcely ignore the allusions both in the Poem and in the Sonnets to the nature of "Love" in them. It is described as "eternal love" (Sonnet 108) and "religious

love" (Sonnet 51). Where can this "eternal love" be if not in Poetry? Does not "our ever-living poet" promise "eternity" in his Sonnets? His lines, as he prophesied, will live "so long as men can breathe or eyes can see," and his verses are "eternal numbers to out-live long date." In *The Lover's Complaint* the allusion to "eternal love" occurs in the fourteenth verse in reference to a former "lover,"

> Which late her noble suit in court did shun
> . . . . . and did thence remove
> To spend her living in eternal love.

Who was this lover of Poetry who withdrew from the Court to become a votarist in Apollo's temple? Still recording the story of this "nun" the Youth tells how, having been subdued to his will, she fled the "caged cloister":

> Religious love put out religion's *eye*:
> Not to be tempted would she be immured,
> And not to tempt, all *liberty* procured.

It cannot be a mere coincidence that in Sonnet 31 "religious love" is also allied to the eye:

> How many a holy and obsequious tear
> Hath dear religious love *stol'n* from mine *eye*!

And this brings us back to the key-sonnet (No. 20):

> Which steals men's eyes and women's souls amazeth.

What "liberty" did this "nun" procure? Was it the liberty desired by Jacques in *As You Like It*?—

> I must have liberty
> Withal as large a charter as the wind
> To blow on whom I please. . . . . .
> Invest me in my motley, give me leave
> To speak my mind, and I will through and through
> Cleanse the foul body of the infected world
> If they will patiently receive my medicine.

Poetry, and especially dramatic poetry, is the most licensed form of utterance. Poets are authorized libertines in Time, Place and History. Bacon acknowledges this, saying that Poets may at will "make unlawful matches and divorces of things."

Shakespeare's allegorical poems (and we must include the mysterious *Phœnix and Turtle* under this heading) were written in an age when writing in parable was not by any means rare. Bacon was a master of the art of dissimulation; and, in his Preface to *The Wisdom of the Ancients* (1609), he says of the ancient myths:

> It may pass for a further indication of a concealed and secret meaning that some of these fables are so absurd and idle in their narration as to show and proclaim an allegory even afar off.

On the surface *A Lover's Complaint* is so absurd and idle, being without any apparent meaning or purpose, that it "proclaims an allegory even afar off"; and the search for its inner meaning is certainly justified by the guide which Bacon gives to the presence of some such concealment.

R. L. Eagle.

THE TABULA SMARAGDINA.

MOSES GASTER, Ph.D.

THE search for the truth, the desire to unravel the mysteries of the world and of the driving forces therein, is the characteristic feature of the human spirit. What is at the very basis of life? How can all the phenomena, so manifold in their appearance, be explained? Is there one governing power? All this has occupied the mind for generations past and some have believed that they have found the key to solve the problem. This is the ultimate claim of all the ancient sciences and mystery-religions. Alchemy makes no exception, but in a different way: it starts from the simple attempt at making alloys, and by stages reaches the conception of the ultimate unity of matter. The possibility of the transmutation of the elements even goes so far as to endeavour to find the ultimate force which also affects human life; it is out to discover the Ixir, with the Arabic article, Elixir, a fifth essence, a philosophic stone.

Professor Ruska is now turning his attention to the Arabic alchemists, with whom the science of alchemy has been so closely connected. He devotes his first study to the investigation of the real history of Khalid Ibn Yazid, the prince who was reputed to have been the first Arab to study alchemy with the assistance of Greeks in Egypt, and then, a more comprehensive one, to the investigation of the real position and activity of Jafar, described in later times as the

master of Jabir Ibn Hayyan, the well-known Gueber of the Middle Ages.

His most important work, however, is the one under notice,—the Tabula Smaragdina, *i.e.* 'The Emerald Table.'[1] According to the story it was discovered by Balina (the Arabic form for Apollonius), who found Hermes in the shape of an old man sitting on a golden throne and holding in his hands the Emerald Table, upon which the famous formula was engraved. Since it became known in its Latin translation, it formed the turning point in the history of Alchemy; it gave to it a different character and occupied the mind of all subsequent workers. But the source of the inscription has hitherto been unknown. By mere chance, in examining a MS. containing alchemistic prescriptions lent him by Professor Bergströsser, Professor Ruska lighted upon the Arabic form of this inscription; and this led him on to a very careful investigation as to the source of this Arabic text. He wanted to determine whether it was of Greek origin or was due to the Arabic alchemists. To that purpose he examined minutely the Hermetic literature, since it had been ascribed to Hermes. He rightly protests against the elimination from the latest publication of the Hermetic literature of the treatises containing astrology, alchemy and talismans. They all form one inseparable unit; they are all the children of one spirit and are the true expression of the tendencies and beliefs of the times when the Corpus Hermeticum was compiled.

Professor Ruska cannot find any direct Greek

[1] *Tabula Smaragdina.* Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hermetischen Literatur. Von Julius Ruska. 8vo. Heidelberg (Carl Winter); 1926; pp. 248; 32M. Also *Arabische Alchemisten*, I. and II. Same publisher; 1924; pp. 128; 10M.

trace of it; so he passes on to the examination of the Hermetic tradition, in the Arabic literature, which at one time became blended with that of Apollonius, both Hermes and Apollonius becoming mere shadows, and the latter a great magician. He then discusses the famous Treasure of Alexander, the golden book full of alchemistic prescriptions, from which he gives ample abstracts in Arabic with German translations. This is one of the very valuable features of this work; for, whenever he gives quotations from the Arabic original, it is always followed by a German translation.

The next chapter is devoted to a study of the Arabic MS. in which he found the Tabula. The text is ascribed to a certain Sagus, who says that it was originally written in Syriac and then translated into Arabic.

Finally our author discusses very fully the so-called Book on the Causes of Things. Of this he gives a full introduction, which contains the cosmology, where the unity of matter is emphatically stated as a fundamental principle of all sciences; this is followed by a list of the chapters about the origin of metals and their transmutation and the origin of the world and so on. Of this treatise, which has been worked over and amplified by later writers and compilers, Prof. Ruska found that the Tabula formed an essential part, for it fits into the whole cosmology. He then goes on to inquire as to its origin; and he draws a very curious conclusion. As this treatise was already known to Jabir in the 8th century, it is evidently of a much older origin; and so he endeavours to trace it back to some place in the old Persian Empire where Zoroastrian teachings, Manichean practices, Babylonian memories

and other religious movements are found working upon one another. Herein, however, the learned author, who shows his comprehensive knowledge of the literature, and who is to be congratulated on his masterly exposition, seems to have gone somewhat astray.

The fundamental principle of Zoroastrianism, Manicheism, etc., is Dualism; but if alchemy stands for anything, it is for Unity. There is no room for dualism, there is no possibility for two antagonistic forces working in the world. It is purely a scale of ascending perfection, and the science of alchemy is to find the key. There is not the remotest trace in all the alchemistic literature which would justify the assumption of a dualistic influence. On the other hand, this very cosmology, which posits the beginning of creation by the Logos,—the Word creating the light and the light creating the four elements,—reminds one so strongly of Hellenistic speculations found in Philo and in the Hermetic treatises, which reflect the influence of the Bible, that one cannot but assume a Hellenistic origin for this cosmology, including the Tabula.

It may perhaps not be out of place to remember in this connection the old Jewish legend according to which the Tables, upon which God inscribes the ten commandments, were made of emerald or sapphire. It is a very old tradition going back to the first centuries; and in the Book of Jubilees we find over and over again references made to the Tablets in Heaven, on which it seems all the secrets of human life and of the world are inscribed.

How far these notions may have contributed towards the creation of the Hermetic Emerald Table

is an open question. But a more decisive proof of the Hellenistic and even an older Egyptian origin, to which my son Theodore has drawn my attention, is found in the following passage from the Book of the Dead, ch. 54 (Chapter of the Coming Forth by Day):

> "This chapter was found at Khmun (Hermopolis) on an alabaster plaque, under the feet of the Majesty of this venerable god [Thoth], in the writing of the god himself (variant: in lapis-lazuli). . . . . He (the royal son Hordudeb) brought it to the King as being a marvel, when he saw that it was something very mysterious which no one had ever seen or set eyes on before."

Here we have a complete parallel to the history of the discovery of the Tabula Smaragdina. Thoth, as is well known, has been identified with Hermes or is his Father, and the table has been found in Hermopolis. The mysterious writing could then easily be described as the one found on the Tabula Smaragdina.

In conclusion, Professor Ruska devotes many pages to the investigation of the influence which this Emerald Table has exercised upon alchemists since it became known in the Latin version. At the end, a number of indices greatly enhance the value of the book, which has carried the history of alchemy a long way further, and which will prove indispensable to anyone interested in this remarkable science, the fundamental principle of which has now been fully recognized by modern investigation.

M. GASTER.

YDGRUNISM AND THE CHURCH.

Rev. J. R. DONALD.

I.

YDGRUNISM is Samuel Butler's religion as expounded in *Erewhon*, in *Erewhon Revisited* and in *The Way of All Flesh*. It is obviously, to all intents, identical with the much decried 'Public School religion' and with 'the religion of all Sensible Men,' about which no sensible man ever speaks.

Butler is clearly to be ranked among the many decent fellows who can't stand 'Talk religion,' or religious profession. He condemns enthusiasm for or against religion, but in this he fails to attain consistency; for, at times, he is rabid in his snarls at dogma. On the other hand, the author of this article is a Catholic,—that is to say, in his case, a member of the Church of England, a branch of the Catholic Church; as, indeed, also was Butler, even by conviction, of sorts (see end of *The Way of All Flesh*).

Now Catholicism can be defined as 'the living faith of the living people,' weighed in the 'Gamaliel' balance, plainly also a biological balance. It is 'of God'; therefore it lived while the heresies 'of men' 'came to nought.' Now 'Ydgrunism,' 'Public School religion' and 'the religion of all Sensible Men' are going concerns, whatever scoffers may say; and they are the faiths of men who, time and again, prefer death to dishonour or to disloyalty. Weigh them in any balance you like, for 'by their fruits ye shall know them.'

Our interest is, very naturally, roused, and these notes are compiled with a view to making terms with Ydgrunism. Butler speaks of 'High Ydgrunites,' and of 'Low Ydgrunites.' In a short article then, we here give our views of a 'High Ydgrunism' tenable by Catholics.

II.

Modern Psychology is too 'new' in every way as a subject for Butler, who only just lived into this century. We are not surprised then to find that he fails to see that the basis of Religion lies in the 'Unconscious.' Jung, though only partially aware of the value of this discovery, places Religion in the 'Libido.' This latter, on a study of Jung's work, appears as the Race Life in the Unconscious, welling forth in 'desire.' The thing desired then is what the race desires, not what the simple individual wants. We can perhaps improve the terminology here. For Race we may use the term Phylum, when the expression 'the Phylum-urge' becomes self-explanatory.

Weismann distinguishes between 'germ cells' and 'somatic cells,' so dividing an organism, physically, into 'germ' and 'soma,'—in other words, into 'life' and 'shell,' or into 'race life' and 'individual life.' Jung, speaking psychologically, puts 'libido' for 'germ' and, say, 'ego-complex' for 'soma.' Here race-life is race-regarding or caring for the interests of the race; individual life is individual-regarding or caring for the interests of the individual. So here, our term 'the Phylum-urge,' succinctly expresses the race-regarding 'libido.'

In 'the Phylum-urge' is rooted our Catholicism—

we must be 'rooted and grounded in *love*'; and this Catholicism is therefore unassailable by any conscious, rational, intellect, being rooted beyond reason's reach. Here Butler's failure. Catholicism cannot be even attacked from his position, the purely intellectual; far less can it be overthrown.

III.

To accept Butler is, among other things, to reject 'enthusiasm,' and John Wesley with it, as the Bishops did; but perhaps he only asks us to forego its outward expression. Perhaps too, Butler would gladly have heard St. Paul, on Mars Hill—"in all things ye are too superstitious,"— and would have been ready, as some of us are, to use these words to modern theologians, whose 'unknown God' is but a metaphysical, mathematical, or even a physical, abstraction, or hypothesis. The Something to be measured, if at all, by an infinite scale in space or time, or Something ethero-electro-magnetic-atomic somewhere at the back of the stars! If we must be idolaters, half a brick would be preferable!

IV.

Accepting Butler, we should proceed to ask what is sound Public School religion, as Ydgrunism may fairly be called, for, naturally, there would be unsound varieties of it, perhaps to be classed with Low Ydgrunism.

In this investigation we have to deal with Public School religion, as taught directly, say by the masters and the Head, and as taught indirectly in the school as 'tone' or 'good form.' But masters are Public School Old Boys and are apt to be outspoken; so that,

as well as for other reasons, the distinction between the directly taught, and the indirectly taught, Public School religion tends to vanish. In any case the border line between them is far from definite, and they may well be considered together. We, some of us, might expect what many refuse to recognize as religion at all, to consist largely of 'regressive' elements taking us back to early and primitive, and therefore to basal, religious ideas. And perhaps it does; but so does Catholicism, for that embraces all religion, making sure of the living root-base before all else.

From that standpoint Public School religion might, not very incorrectly, be classed as a kind of nature-worship, especially in the direction of phallism, and in that of ancestor-worship. The respective influences from these two trends in faith cross and mix with one another, so as to become, to a great extent, indistinguishable; but the latter, among other things, strongly inculcates 'caste.' The traditions of our fathers become tone and good form (see McDougall, *The Group Mind*). 'Purity' is taught, and need not be merely negative. More consistently with true phallism, it should be inculcated as reverence for the life of our fathers in us, expressing itself in our nerve and brain power, as it expressed itself in theirs, so linking on the teaching of purity, as some fail to link it, to the 'caste' teaching.

V.

However, there is no doubt that, directly or indirectly, explicitly or implicitly, there arises for our typical Public School boy, the mighty vision of the Phylum. This, as the Body of Christ, the Tree of

Life, Yggdrasil, the True Vine, the Race, is the grand unity of Life, to which one must give oneself, and in which one must find oneself. It takes concrete form and directing power in devotion to, and in loyalty to one's country, to one's king, and to one's church.

'Collective representations' (see Cornford, Lévy Bruhl and McDougall) are not simply of value to primitive man. The Union Jack has real power to-day. And so has the Cross. When our country is in danger, in war for instance, our Public School boy is there, ready to give his life gladly and carelessly, if called on.

And even when religious worship is far from being attractive to him, he is ready to attend Empire celebrations, and Church parades, if nothing else. In the ordinary routine of life he is the man endued with the spirit of Public Service. He desires nothing more than to serve his country, however unostentatiously, and to uphold its honour.

VI.

Humanum est errare. In all things human there is much imperfection. We need not be surprised then if there are weak points in the Public School religious system. Caste, for instance, can be exclusive and worse; but its evils, more than counterbalanced by its merits, are gradually disappearing before the rising spirit of Solidarity. It certainly seems a much more serious matter that, as Butler himself makes very clear, 'good form' is often quite compatible with loose morals.

There is a kind of regardlessness of self, whether bodily, moral, or spiritual, that is characteristic of maleness. This is often noticeable in soldiers, ready

to give away their lives, and equally careless of their morals, and their souls. And the attitude is neither unnatural nor altogether undesirable. In fact our Public School boy is a typical male.

The undesirable elements in this regardlessness are met in two ways: 1. The more typical the male, the more obvious that, in the complete organism, he should be balanced by the typical female. 2. The health and the vitality of the tree of his country's life, of its homes, of its women, of its children, are the objects to which the soldier is loyal, to the extent of offering his life. The suggestion is made that in private life he might be equally loyal to the same objects.

Fenrir, the Wolf, child of Loki, god of obstacle-despising fiery human love, and the Jötuness, one of the mighty powers of Nature, was bound at last with the chain Gleipnir, made of the breath of fishes, the roots of stones, the spittle of birds, the beards of women, the footfall of a cat, and the sinews of bears,—which is, being interpreted, the mighty though invisible chain, compounded of chivalry, honour, loyalty, devotion to duty, love of fair play, and generosity. In High Ydgrunism this bond is not unknown.

VII.

For example, chivalry is not dead. Real devotion to, and respect for woman, or for a woman, has saved many a man.

Admitted that this tends to be true only of one's relations with one's own class, the real gentleman, known in India as the 'pukka Sahib,' is the first to-day to break through class and to recognize all men as his equals, all women as equally deserving of

courtesy. At present, in the Colour Problem, he is up against something too big for him; and there we must make allowances, for the solidarity of the White Race is a big thing in itself, and it is good to have got that so far as we have it.

VIII.

What about Catholicism and Doctrine? Here, in any case, we have silence. The High Ydgrunite teaching gives all dogma as a comparatively poor expression of deep-rooted facts of human nature and life-history, each to be reverently traced, as by Baring Gould in his *Origin and Development of Religious Belief*, in study of comparative religion, to its rightful place in the Catholic faith. This study is a matter of great interest, but in ordinary life is usually left to experts.

Again, High Ydgrunism recognizes that the Catholic faith is grounded beyond the reach of intellectual attack, not a subject for profitable discussion; best then simply taken for granted, and accepted as a mighty human basis for the individual life, this last to find and to fill its place in the great Phylum, in the doing of which the faith will help.

IX.

As regards the Economic and the Political situations, the Liverpool 'man in the street' evidently regards the Church's position as conservative. At first sight indeed, it appears so, but that is far from indicating its essential position. For the High Ydgrunites and the Church both have the vision of the Phylum, without which any view of Life is false. This, in fact, is their essential, and is not incompatible

with the aims of revolutionaries, which owe to it whatever value they may happen to possess.

X.

Even worship might well be more general. The High Ydgrunite is chivalrous. A step further would take him to worship of woman. The Egyptians worshipped cats, and tamed the untameable. Where we succeed in putting woman,—our inspiring force as men,—there we ourselves stand with our whole civilization. Crush her, and we promptly grovel too. But make her a goddess. She will make some attempt to live the part.

She and our relations with her, as mother, wife, sister, daughter, are our link with the Phylum. Space prevents our going into details, but all this is grandly expressed in our religion.

Bow then to Woman. Bow to the Cross. O Ydgrunite, be as silent as you like about it, but worship! And why not?

J. R. DONALD.

BEAUTY AND THE IDEAL.

Beauty and Perfection.

> The beautiful seems right
> By force of beauty and the feeble wrong
> Because of weakness.
>
> E. B. Browning.

In life there is no greater satisfaction than the appreciation of the beautiful. There is in material things a standard of perfection which we call the beautiful. To each the standard is different. What unifies the whole is the seeing eye, the eye of the soul. The soul demands the expression of the beautiful in things; it seeks perfection, and is only satisfied by the perception of every phase of Nature or Art, material as it may be, as beautiful. There is, moreover, a certain curative effect upon the mind made by contemplation of the beautiful, or beauty in its material forms,—as the enjoyment of natural scenery, the sky, the dawn, the spaciousness and grandeur of the world's phenomena, or the universe, the seasons, and their pageantry.

But these are only the material sides of beauty, which exists in itself, apart from the phenomena that present it objectively to our minds through the perceptive or mental eye. The soul's eyes see further, see the spiritual side of all phenomena,—see thus beauty in all its perfection, not through the senses merely, but through the mind as ideas, and so invest them with the ideal, which is in effect the real or true, the symbolism of phenomena being the essence of their true nature.

We may also look upon beauty in another sense, as the companion of love in the widest meaning, as part of that universal love, which is the attribute of the Infinite.

> The essence of all beauty, I call love.
> The attribute, the evidence, and end,
> The consummation to the inward sense
> Of beauty apprehended from without
> I still call love.
>
> E. B. BROWNING.

In this way beauty is also the mark of virtue, when human will and divine will are one. And all that is invested with a noble, high or holy purpose is clothed with the garments of beauty. So heroes and heroines, great thinkers and men of action, saviours of their country or the world, in a right cause, because striving toward perfection, and impelled by love, are to our seeing eyes illuminated with a beauty not of earth.

"The beautiful rests on the foundations of the necessary," Emerson says. That is true so long as the necessary serves a high end, and tends toward the perfect.

> Beauty was lent to Nature as the type
> Of heaven's unspeakable and holy joy,
> Where all perfection makes the sum of bliss.
>
> S. J. HALE.

Viewed in the abstract, beauty is a source of inspiration too, material beauty of form or colour prompting through the imagination and the mind the creation of ideal beauty—as in the songs of the poet, the canvas of the painter, the sculpture of the artist in stone, marble or bronze. Concept is based on perception, prompted either by the senses or the soul. If the

soul guide the eye or the hand, the concept of beauty tends towards the perfect, the true, the ideal; and the world is made the better by some new symbol of the beauty of the Infinite.

Whatever the form or the idea chosen, however, the unity of the whole is expressed in the diversity of the objects. In each is some measure of perfection or harmony; and in that common quality of beauty, each is made perfect in its relation to the rest, all forming together but one entity. The standard of beauty embraces the whole of nature; for by itself nothing is perfect save in relation to the rest. So a tree is not beautiful except in so far as it gives to the whole landscape a measure of grace, and in turn the landscape borrows its beauty from the tree.

Beauty and the Infinite.

But whatever our standard of beauty or perfection may be, it is something still greater than that, for Beauty, whilst perceived by us and an end to strive for, is equally a part of the whole, and an eternal principle, in a word, the Infinite. Like all else it had no beginning, and it has no end, but is infinite, because proceeding from the same source as all that exists eternally, and is at the back of these concepts of objects which we call phenomena.

Reason teaches us indeed to see in the things we perceive not ultimate things, but symbols or tokens of the real. So space and time are relative. Nature itself is but a picture of the real or true, which exists through the instructed imagination that pierces through the veneer or the veil of the apparent and material, and sees beyond the ultimate, in all its beauty, spiritual and eternal.

There is, in other words, for every objective phenomenon a subjective cause. The world becomes then a vast panorama of shapes and forms; and we, as spirit, by the light of reason pierce through the shroud, and perceive the true and real. As these forms are ephemeral, we get behind the surface of the dual nature of things, and spiritually perceive their real basis, beginning and end. They are part of the Infinite only in their real essence.

"Beauty is the index of a larger fact than wisdom," as O. Wendell Holmes tells us. That there is more than simple wisdom in the perception of reality is quite true.

And we may therefore quote Keats, who says: "Beauty is truth, truth beauty." The two are, in truth, correlative and co-terminous.

More than this: "Beauty comes, we scarce know how, as an emanation from sources deeper than itself," as Shairp affirms. The source of beauty lies further back than material phenomena. It shows itself to us as an expression of the Infinite, when we are able in the light of reason and imagination to perceive it and, better, to derive it from its true source.

> True beauty dwells in deep retreats
> Whose veil is unremoved
> Till heart with heart in concord beats
> And the lover is beloved.
>
> WORDSWORTH.

Herein lies the essence of an understanding of the true nature of beauty. It resides in the ultimate cause of all things. It springs from the source of the Infinite and Eternal, and is eternal like its source.

The correspondence between beauty and truth may be likened to the different aspects with which the

poet and the philosopher view the same phenomena. The end of philosophy, as Plato says, is to find for all phenomena an absolute ground, and that is found in ideas.

It is this resolution of matter in terms of thought that brings us to the truth that beauty is infinite.

Viewed spiritually, matter is thus beautiful, whether idealized by the poet as beauty or by the philosopher as truth. So that beauty is truth, and truth beauty, in the words of Keats.

> And, as imagination bodies forth
> The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
> Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
> A local habitation and a name.
>
> SHAKESPEARE, *Midsummer Night's Dream.*

Man is ever concerned with some quest, and the search for beauty leads him into unknown realms of thought and enquiry. By aid of the imagination the reason is led also along these unknown paths until it traverses the territory of truth, which wisdom and the guiding power of the Infinite help them to discover. This search for something to explain, something to satisfy the quest for causes, is conducted by the fervent regard of the inspired for the hiding place of beauty which veils and guards truth. Entrancingly attractive is the lure of the unknown.

> To those who see only with their eyes, the distant is always indistinct and little, becoming less and less as it recedes, till utterly lost; but to the imagination which thus reverses the perspective of the senses, the far off is great and imposing, the magnitude increasing with the distance.
>
> MRS. JAMESON.

All quests for truth or the source of the entities of things are in reality quests in search of the ideal.

For what is not simply phenomenal and conditioned, is a symbol; and its quest is that of the ideal, since it searches for the real basis for the thoughts things inspire, and for the correct interpretation of those thoughts or ideas, the whence and whither of the material phenomena which call them forth.

Shakespeare, in many respects, teaches us how the beautiful and the ideal are but one, in his powerful use of imagination, which is but the use that reason makes of things or phenomena. This is illustrated in *Richard II.* in the lines:

> Look, what thy soul holds dear, imagine it
> To lie that way thou go'st, not whence thou com'st.
> Suppose the singing birds, musicians;
> The grass whereon thou tread'st, the presence strew'd;
> The flowers, fair ladies; and thy steps, no more
> Than a delightful measure or a dance.

We look upon the world with eyes that see it as a world or as a picture. We perceive that we have in ourselves some distinct power, not like matter, relative and apparent, but real and infinite.

A. R. Horwood, F.L.S.

A MAN WITH A MESSAGE FOR TO-DAY.

No poet in the last hundred years, not even Browning, has a more potent and inspiring message than James Russell Lowell. To open his works at almost any page is to come under the influence of a magnetic, strong, lovable personality.

For our own times, Lowell's most helpful teaching is his emphasis on character. In his essay on Rousseau, he says:

> We value character more than any amount of talent, the skill to *be* something, above that of doing anything but the best of its kind.

Now to-day we are apt to regard men as mere cogs. We look upon them as units rather than as individuals. We turn them out, like nails or screws, in the mass. Our minute division of labour narrows their lives and limits their mental horizons. How can one tell a man who is condemned to spend his days in nothing but labelling innumerable bottles or putting the lids on an endless stream of tins, that labour is sacred and that to work is to pray?

Moreover, on every hand the barriers that divide men from their fellows and from the outside world are being flung to the winds. We can travel to almost any part of the civilized world within a month. We can communicate with it in a minute. The telephone puts distant friends within reach of our voice. The wireless brings the world and its news, its music, its thinkers,

its speakers, into the privacy of our homes. The world is too much with us. Its tides engulf us on every side.

Against these tendencies—on the one hand to dwarf life into a mere existence, on the other so to broaden life that individuality is all but overwhelmed—there is a wholesome corrective in the vigour with which Lowell emphasizes the value of the individual and the importance of character. None knew better than he that "the human race is the individual of which different men and women are separate cells or organs." And the eye cannot say unto the hand: "I have no need of thee"; nor again the head to the feet: "I have no need of you." The strength of a chain is just the strength of its weakest link. And, as Lowell himself might well have said:

> The spiritual progress of mankind is an unmeaning phrase, unless it means a progress of personal character and to personal character.

Many writers have classified the virtues; few, for example, more successfully than Aristotle. But in his pages they are displayed like cut flowers in a bowl. He never discovered how best to cultivate them. According to him, the man who was born in the hot-house of gentle and noble birth, would naturally bring forth the flowers of character; but as for the masses, well, they must be made virtuous by law.

Now it is just here that Lowell is so helpful. He digs down and reveals the very bulb from which the white lily of character is grown.

Lowell and Love.

If there is one word that sums up Lowell's teaching, it is 'Love.' Throughout his poetry, and his life and letters, love of and to God, love of man, love of

nature, and love of the beautiful, echo and re-echo. Writing to a friend, he says, in a passage reminiscent of one or two of Charles Lamb's letters:

> I pass through the world and meet with scarcely a response to the affectionateness of my nature. . . . I go out sometimes with my heart so full of yearning towards my fellows that the indifferent look with which even entire strangers pass me brings tears into my eyes.

And a month earlier, replying to a request for advice as to a course of reading, he wrote:

> Read history. . . . All history shows the poverty and weakness of Force, the wealth and power of Gentleness and Love.

If the place did not already belong to Whittier, Lowell would be the nineteenth-century St. John—the modern apostle of Love. To him 'Love' was a synonym for 'God.' He felt "that they who love are but one step from Heaven." And that Love was the unextinguished spark of the Divine that proves man's heaven-born lineage. The one decipherable feature, never wholly effaced, of that image in which man was originally created. The one redeeming and regenerating power. The one virtue that never wearies, never despairs. And

> Her [Art's] fittest triumph is to show that good
> Lurks in the heart of evil evermore,
> That love, though scorned, and outcast, and withstood,
> Can without end forgive, and yet have store;
> God's love and man's are of the selfsame blood,
> And He can see that always at the door
> Of foulest hearts the angel-nature yet
> Knocks to return and cancel all its debt.

Now it is in Love that Lowell finds a river mighty enough to supply the power to drive all the machinery of duty and character. He feels that the most powerful

appeal that can be made to a man to be the best that he can be, is made when he is brought to understand something of that love of God which was revealed in Christ, and when he realizes what is implied in the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God. When Love "was made flesh, and dwelt among us," he reopened, by going to the cross, the gates that sin had shut between the human and the Divine.

The gods of the ancients were pitiably human. Man, groping after God in the twilight, mistook the shadow of his own imperfect character projected on the veil that hid the Unseen for God himself, and founded his morals on the god whom he had himself thus created.

As their gods were, so their laws were; Thor the strong could reave and steal,
So through many a peaceful inlet tore the Norseman's eager keel;
But a new law came when Christ came, and not blameless, as before,
Can we, paying him our lip-tithes, give our lives and faiths to Thor.

"We believe," wrote Lowell, "that the only remedy for this terrible disease [social evil] is the application of Christianity to life." And in 'The Search,' 'A Parable,' and 'The Vision of Sir Launfal,' Lowell shows that the risen Christ is still on earth, seeking, saving, and helping his brethren. Wherever one man helps another, there are to be heard "those steps sublime, That bring the other world to this."

"The Holy Supper is kept, indeed,
In whatso we share with another's need;
Not what we give, but what we share,
For the gift without the giver is bare;
Who gives himself with his alms feeds three,
Himself, his hungering neighbour, and Me."

To Lowell, the criterion of a man's 'success in life' is just this—how useful is he to his fellows?

> What lose my kind,
> When this fast ebbing breath shall part?
> What bands of love and service bind
> This being to a brother heart?

The Golden Rule is the very soul of his finest work. With him there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free. He hates the self-centred interests that,

> Losing God's sacred use, to be a bond
> 'Twixt Me and Thee, sets each one scowlingly
> O'er his own selfish hoard at bay.

The spirit of the League of Nations is the essence of such poems as 'The Fatherland.'

The heroes of four of Lowell's finest poems—'Prometheus,' 'Columbus,' 'Cromwell,' and 'Lincoln'—all have this in common: their "strength is won by love of human kind," and their martyr patience and endurance has its roots in their faith in the future—their "inward feeling of the glorious end." Moreover the last three can see that God is ever keeping watch upon his world.

Every-Day Religion.

This idea, that God is present in, and can influence, daily life and human affairs, is Lowell's great message.

To him, heaven lies about us not in our infancy only. If shades of the prison-house close about us, whose is the fault but our own?

> God is not dumb, that He should speak no more;
> If thou hast wanderings in the wilderness
> And find'st not Sinai, 'tis thy soul is poor;
> There towers the Mountain of the Voice no less,

Which whoso seeks shall find, but he who bends,
Intent on manna still and mortal ends,
Sees it not, neither hears its thundered lore.

The influences about us are unknown and incalculable.

We see but half the causes of our deeds,
Seeking them wholly in the outer life,
And heedless of the encircling spirit-world,
Which, though unseen, is felt, and sows in us
All germs of pure and world-wide purposes.

And, if we will listen, there is ever the inward voice to warn or to inspire. As Cromwell and Hampden stand on the pier, watching the ship that is to bear the Puritan exiles to the New World, and weighing in their minds whether they shall go or stay, Cromwell turns to his friend:

" . . . Something in me bids me not to go;
And I am one, thou knowest, who, unmoved
By what the weak deem omens, yet give heed
And reverence due to whatsoe'er my soul
Whispers of warning to the inner ear. . . .

Freedom hath yet a work for me to do;
So speaks that inward voice which never yet
Spake falsely, when it urged the spirit on
To noble emprise for country and mankind."

Lowell reminds us of the importance of being fit and ready for whatever work the inward voice may indicate.

The contingencies of life are hidden. Hence

In life's small things be resolute and great
To keep thy muscle trained: know'st thou when Fate
Thy measure takes, or when she'll say to thee,
"I find thee worthy; do this deed for me"?

His 'Birthday Verses' emphasize the fact that the missed opportunity seldom returns. As he points out in 'Columbus':

> . . . whoso answers not God's earliest call
> Forfeits or dulls that faculty supreme
> Of lying open to his genius
> Which makes the wise heart certain of its ends.

To those who are faithful to the call, life can become a very beautiful thing:

> And they who do their souls no wrong,
> But keep at eve the faith of morn,
> Shall daily hear the angel-song,
> "To-day the Prince of Peace is born!"

But what of the man who hears the call, responds joyfully, and goes out into the world—only to forget? In 'Extreme Unction,' Lowell paints an unforgettable picture of the last hours of one who was disobedient unto the heavenly vision.

But, important as is the vision, nothing is ever accomplished without work; and laziness will cause 'It might have been' to be the epitaph of the noblest aspirations.

> "We cannot hale Utopia on by force;
> But better, almost, be at work in sin,
> Than in a brute inaction browse and sleep.
> No man is born into the world whose work
> Is not born with him; there is always work,
> And tools to work withal, for those who will;
> And blessèd are the horny hands of toil!
> The busy world shoves angrily aside
> The man who stands with arms akimbo set,
> Until occasion tells him what to do;
> And he who waits to have his task marked out
> Shall die and leave his errand unfulfilled."

Often, what a man's friends call 'a slice of good luck,' is really the reward of hard work and devotion to duty. Writing of the government appointment which provided Wordsworth with the means and leisure to carry out his life-work, Lowell says:

> De Quincey speaks of this appointment as an instance of the remarkable good luck which waited upon Wordsworth through his whole life. In our view it is only another illustration of that scripture which describes the righteous as never forsaken. Good luck is the willing handmaid of upright energetic character, and conscientious observance of duty.

And in a foot-note:

> "Good luck (in the sense of *Chance*) seems properly to be the occurrence of Opportunity to one who has neither deserved nor knows how to use it. In such hands it commonly turns to ill-luck."

"What men call luck," says Lowell's Cromwell,

> Is the prerogative of valiant souls,
> The fealty life pays its rightful kings.

Lowell's Appeal to the Heart.

There is always something finer in great men than anything they say, and the poetry, prose and letters of Lowell are just three facets of a noble, vital personality, as full of life and warmth as one of the days of that month of June that he loved so well. Although—during a century of religious earthquakes and a life of such bereavement as falls to the lot only of the few—he kept such a firm grip of his own sunny faith, he had a wonderful broadness of mind; a width of horizon that is finely shown in 'Ambrose,' 'Godminster Chimes,' 'All-Saints,' and 'Rhoecus.' Wheresoever he found any virtue, anything worthy of praise, he welcomed it gladly.

His poems will live because they speak to the heart. His finest utterances stir the desire for a nobler conception of character and a more spiritual, therefore more practical, view of the religion of Christ.

Never did he have the shadow of a doubt as to his own mission as a poet. He was no silken bard. He strung his harp with chords of sturdy steel. And to-day we cannot but be inspired by the music of his message, and by his call to do our part in God's great slavery war to free men from those powers of darkness that blind them to the true purpose of life's quest—fellowship with God.

Arouse! let thy soul break in music-thunder,
Let loose the ocean that is in thee pent,
Pour forth thy hope, thy fear, thy love, thy wonder,
And tell the age what all its signs have meant.
Where'er thy wildered crowd of brethren jostles,
Where'er there lingers but a shadow of wrong,
There still is need of martyrs and apostles,
There still are texts for never-dying song.

CHARLES GROSE.

FROM THE WIT AND WISDOM OF SINA'S SAGES.

THE following is a selection of wise saws and sayings obtained from one or other of a little coterie of good friends in the *au-delà*. These proverbs and folk-quips have been transmitted through the psychic agency of a fellow-worker in psychical research, whose methods I have tested for years, and invariably found truth-loving and scrupulously straightforward. They have generally been introduced very aptly in conversation by way of illustration. I sign them with my friend's name, because he is the objective means of obtaining these utterances, and is therefore, for me, the representative here of my friends there. I am printing them, not only because of their intrinsic value, as having the true ring throughout of China's humorous coinage, but also because I would very gladly hear from sinologists how many of them can be identified from their own reading in the vast literature of that ancient land of culture.—ED.

IN silence meditate upon your own faults; in conversation keep silence on the faults of others.

In spring a man takes to fruit; in autumn to drugs.

It is the wisdom of heaven not to speak, though it always obtains a response.

By other men's faults wise men correct their own.

If a man cannot sleep he blames the bed (*or* has his bed re-made).

Better not be than be nothing.

He who rides a tiger dares not dismount.

Marble is not less hard nor less cold for being polished.

Do not take to yourself merit lest it be taken from you.

A diamond with a flaw is better than a common stone without one.

When a man's ship is in dangerous waters and is wrecked he is poor for a time; but when a man marries a bad wife he is poor for life.

The little light fur fluff under the leg of a fox will in time make a fine coat.

Though the turtle may enter at the back gate, at last he reaches the head of the table.

When a man has spent all his money he turns away from wines.

When a man grows old he turns to the sacred books.

No one can buy all the wine that's for sale.

It takes a great man to be weak.

If the father does not know his son's character, let him seek out the company he keeps.

Learning without thought is labour lost; thought without learning is perilous.

An empty mind echoes others' thoughts as an empty room echoes sounds.

A book may be filled with empty sayings, but the sage does not speak.

The mastery of the inner self makes man restrain his actions; thus his actions from that self are truly great.

The sages can come to the king; but they do not make his court.

He who enters the water to fell trees,
he who climbs the mountain to catch fish,
he who loses strength acquiring merit,—
is a man with empty hands and pocket.

One who never entertains at home, never finds a host travelling.

No needle has two points.

A journey of a thousand miles is started with one step.

A fly may travel a thousand miles . . . on the tail of a noble steed!

He who takes the ox to the water first wets his own feet.

One scrap of tainted meat spoils the whole meal.

The same water that bears the boat engulphs it.

You cannot get two hides from one cow.

If the current's not strong the fish will not jump.

To try to satisfy desires with possessions is like putting out a fire with straw.

When the market is brisk the dealer does not stop to wash the mud off his turnips.

When the water is low in the river the dragon's the joke of the shrimps.

One flea cannot raise a coverlet.

Put humour into the dress-hem and the needles will fly all the faster.

Why should the insect of summer try to speak of the ice?

Why should the frog at the well's bottom try to speak of the sky?

Do not lace up your boots in a melon-field, nor take off your hat under a plum-tree . . . if you wish to avoid suspicion.

A man on his travels is judged by what he says and does; at home he is judged by what he is.

You can't stop a snake's wrigglings even if put in a bamboo-tube.

He who speaks, knows not; he who knows, speaks not.

To do one good deed at home is far better than to travel many miles to burn incense.

He who is put in charge of the imperial granary boils rice for himself every night.

Rotten wood cannot be carved.

Patience and a mulberry leaf will at last make a fine silk coat.

To dam a mountain torrent with baskets of wicker is far easier than to satisfy the heart and mind of a man.

Even lambs have the grace to suckle kneeling.

G. PHILIP SHARPLIN.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF METATRON AND SANDALFON.

Rev. Canon C. H. Box, M.A., D.D.

REFERENCE has already been made in the pages of this review to the form and meaning of the mysterious name Metatron[1] which appears in Jewish mystical literature. In this brief article it is proposed: (1) to give a short statement regarding the general significance of Metatron; (2) to discuss the origin and meaning of the name; and (3) to consider some objections that have been raised.

1.

Metatron appears as a dominating Angelic figure in the recently published Hebrew Book of Enoch.[2] Perhaps I may be allowed in this connection to quote some words I have written elsewhere[3]: "The sublimation of Metatron in this book is indeed a striking feature. It is similar in some degree to the way in which Enoch is dealt with in the earlier apocalyptic books; it seems to represent a distinctively later phase. In the earlier apocalyptic the Heavenly Son of Man is not improbably a transfigured Michael invested with Messianic attributes, who becomes the Heavenly Messiah. Metatron absorbs into himself many similar attributes and functions; he is, however, if anything more definitely transcendental. Possibly

[1] See THE QUEST, July, 1929.

[2] *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch*, edited and translated with a Commentary by Dr. Hugo Odeberg (Cambridge University Press, 1928).

[3] *Jewish Quarterly Review*, July, 1929, pp. 83f.

the conception of Metatron was in its beginnings influenced by Gnostic speculation (end of the 1st and beginning of the 2nd century C.E.); it is significant in this connection that Metatron is associated in the Talmud (*Hag.* 15a.) with Elisha ben Abuya (early 2nd century C.E.). Why was the name of Enoch avoided in this connection? And why was the new name chosen of so obscure a form as Metatron? It must be remembered that Metatron occurs only in Jewish literature. Possibly this was due to the fact that Enoch had become *suspect* in orthodox circles of Judaism. It is true that our book bears as its general title 'Book of Enoch.' But in the book itself Enoch is definitely superseded and absorbed into the person of Metatron."

II.

As regards the origin and meaning of the name, I have argued in a previous article that Odeberg is right in explaining it from the Greek, and connecting it with the Greek word *Thronos*. The fact that Metatron is associated in the Talmud, as pointed out above, with Elisha ben Abuya (early 2nd century C.E.), the famous Rabbi who became an apostate and sceptic, makes it probable that Metatron was familiar in Gnostic circles where Greek names would be likely to be used; it is very unlikely that at this early date there should be any connection between the term and the Mithraic Mysteries. I have already pointed out that the Hellenistic Jew, Paul of Tarsus, actually uses the word *Thronoi*=Thrones, as the name of a high order of Angels (*Col.* i. 16). No doubt this catalogue refers to a Gnostic hierarchy of Angels. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that the angel Sandalfon,

who is regarded as twin-brother to Metatron, bears a Greek name, *Sunadelphos* = 'Co-brother.'

Odeberg has suggested that the Greek words *meta ton thronon* (originally forming the last part of a sentence) became a title for the angel equivalent to 'Next-the-Throne.' Such names are easily invented in all languages, and it seems to me that there is nothing improbable in the suggestion. It has the added advantage of linking up the name with the Throne idea which is so prominent a feature in the description of Metatron.

III.

I should like to add a word regarding the objections raised by Dr. Gaster regarding the etymology of the name Sandalfon. The connection of this word with the Greek *Sunadelphos* did not originate with me; it has the authority of such distinguished Jewish scholars as Dr. S. Krauss[1] and Levy. I much regret to find myself in disagreement with Dr. Gaster on this point. He objects that the idea of a twin-brother among the angels would be "horrifying" to a Jew, "with its implication of paternity and other such ideas so alien to the Jewish conception." But surely there is no need to suspect the implication of such ideas at all; the Bible itself speaks of angels as 'sons' of God—sons of course being used in a metaphorical sense; similarly 'brother' or 'brethren' can be used metaphorically, and all that 'twin-brother' applied to the angel means, is that he is equal in rank and function. There are no physical implications either in the one case or the other.

G. H. Box.

[1] See his *Lehnwörter*, ii. 401.

TWO FRAGMENTS.

I.

AN age-soiled seed of the ancient Tree of Israel, I drifted round the world till I fell into a blossoming garden, Garden of England, at the heralding of Spring.

Branches and roots, like magnets bent, attracted to me the currents of the world's awakening: they revived me with the beatitude of their blossoms. On proud boughs and hoary trunks of trees each leaf, whispering of eternity, vibrated with living eloquence.

Out of earth's body, out of the mouth of rock, flowers put forth their heads to greet me. From nowhere came wandering birds nestling into my bosom, peeping at me with the dew of the dawn in their eyes all the day, their wings fluttering with blessings and their beaks dipped in songs of solace.

Streams of water and of fire besought me to live. Now a harbinger, I am happiness, new life, mingling as love with love with the song of bird and leaf.

II.

GATES that lead to the Kingdom are made of pure grains of gold wrought with the purity of heart.

Angels with sun-ray brushes and sapphire shovels sweep together grain by grain, offerings for the Most High.

When each angel has thirteen shovels filled, then are smiths commanded, who have prowess in their sinews, and place prayers between anvil and hammer. They mould the sweepings into bars of strength, and form them into pillars of perfection. Then craftsmen, betrothed to love, are charged to make the hinges and rivets.

But the locks and keys of safety are entrusted to seers, smithers of bold visions. MOYSHEH OYVED.

THE WIND OF THE SPIRIT.

I AM the Wind of the Spirit come to free
The Mind of Man, and in a symphony
Of ordered measure and divine consent
Sway all the past and future. For the extent
Of my high power is hardly known below;
And, when the storm-winds hammer and gales blow
Upon the surface of the sphere of Life,
I guide and guard an issue beyond strife—
A halcyon harbour for the labouring mind,
A space of azure, where Perfection, blind
To all the discord of the world below,
Sounds an ineffable music to the flow
Of star and planet. For the star-wrought sea
Wavers and dances to the harmony
Of the sevenfold wind of the Spirit;
till the air
About the earth re-echo with a rare
Felicity, the shifting waters chime
To happier movements, and the summer-time
Of the soul, unfolding like a precious flower,
Bursts into luminous oceans, through a shower
Of fiery petals from pure flowers of fire.
And as the spirit rises higher and higher,
Toward the crest of this vast harmony,
The All appears, transfigured like a sea
Of molten music, whose deep-coloured chords
Speak to the eye and ear far more than words.

BARNETT D. CONLAN.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

(Unsigned Reviews or Notices are by the Editor.)

THE UNIVERSE AROUND US.

By Sir James Jeans, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S. Cambridge (The University Press); pp. 343; 12s. 6d. net.

THERE are few men of great eminence in science who can 'get over the footlights' in addressing a lay audience. Sir James Jeans, the distinguished Secretary of the Royal Society, is one of these *raræ aves*. His most recent volume, *The Universe Around Us*, is a marvellous achievement in lucidity and simplification, the significances of the mysteries of high mathematical symbolism being brought within the compass of any one who is acquainted with the elements of arithmetic. Here we have a most distinguished astronomer and specialist on astral physics, setting forth the incredible vastitude of the starry universe in its macroscopical aspect, and complementing its extensity with the equally incredible minuteness of its intensity in microscopical process. It is not too much to say that any one who has the slightest pretensions to the possession of a mind solicitous of culture, can become liberally educated in the nature of the physical wonders of the world around him by a study of this remarkable volume. Even if he is possessed of the meanest powers of imagination, the extraordinarily beautiful photographs of the stellar spaces, and the specimens of the innumerable gigantic nebulæ outside the vast galactic nebular organism, to which our own insignificant solar system belongs, cannot fail to impress him with the overmastering fact, that he stands in the presence of a spectacle before which he must in silence bow with awe and reverence. Of the history of how all this new knowledge has come about, Sir James ably informs us; he, moreover, enables us to realize the intense interest of the work in progress, and to appreciate the efforts of the most highly trained minds in strictly scientific method to formulate, not only interpretations of what is sensibly given in vastness 'out

there,' and what is thence mathematically inferred, but also theories as to the constitution of units in the infinitesimal order as conceived of by the principles of electro-magnetic research. At the end of the rich banquet Sir James has set before us, he touches on the tasks of the modern philosopher and theologian who must perforce work on the data supplied by the men of the various sciences. Thus, to select from much else of significance, he writes (pp. 329):

"The formulæ of modern science are judged mainly, if not entirely, by their capacity for describing the phenomena of nature with simplicity, accuracy and completeness. For instance, the ether has dropped out of science, not because scientists as a whole have formed a reasoned judgment that no such thing exists, but because they find they can describe all the phenomena of nature quite perfectly without it. If at some future time they find they need it, they will put it back again.

"This does not imply any lowering of the standards or ideals of science; it implies merely a growing conviction that the ultimate realities of the universe are at present quite beyond the reach of science, and may be—and probably are—for ever beyond the comprehension of the human mind. It is *à priori* probable that only the artist can understand the full significance of the picture he has painted, and that this will remain for ever impossible for a few specks of paint on the canvas. It is for this kind of reason that, when . . . we try to discuss the ultimate structure of the atom, we are driven to speak in terms of similes, metaphors and parables. There is no need even to worry overmuch about apparent contradictions. The higher unity of ultimate reality must no doubt reconcile them all, although it remains to be seen whether this higher unity is within our comprehension or not. In the meantime a contradiction worries us about as much as an unexplained fact, but hardly more; it may or may not disappear in the progress of science.

"If some such train of thought may be applied to our efforts to understand the most minute processes of the universe (and it is the common everyday train of thought of those who are working in this field), then it must surely be still more applicable to our efforts to understand the universe as a whole. Phenomena come to us disguised in their frameworks of time and space; they are messages in cypher of which we shall not understand the ultimate significance until we have discovered how to decode them out of their space-time wrappings. Whatever may be

thought about our final ability to decode the difficult messages we have recently received about the ultimate structure of the minutest parts of matter, it seems natural that we should feel some apprehension with regard to those about the structure of the universe as a whole, and particularly those about its beginnings and endings. Often enough the message itself may help us to discover the code in which it reaches us—with sufficient skill we can often do this—but we are now speaking of problems as to when, by whom, and for what purpose, the code was devised. There is no reason why a code message should throw any light on this.

"The astronomer must leave the problem at this stage. The message of astronomy is of obvious concern to philosophy, to religion and to humanity in general, but it is not the business of the astronomer to decode it. The observing astronomer watches and records the dots and dashes of the needle which delivers the message, the theoretical astronomer translates these into words—and according as they are found to form known consistent words or not, it is known whether he has done his work well or ill—but it is for others to try to understand and explain the ultimate decoded meaning of the words he writes down."

This is written with the modesty of a man possessed of the true scientific spirit. It is for the philosophers and theologians of the future to keep pace with the busy output of the scientists; at present they are head under water beneath the volume of the inpour—even the philosophers, while the theologians are being swept off their feet.

The Book of Daniel.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel, with Introduction, Indexes and a New English Translation. By R. H. Charles, D.D., D.Litt., etc. Oxford (Clarendon Press); pp. 408; 30s. net.

The Book of Daniel is one of those remarkable productions in world-literature which seem to arise from nowhere, and yet to exercise a lasting influence upon the mind and imagination of the peoples and the nations from the very day of their appearance. With the Book of Daniel the apocryphal literature seems to have been born. The future is described in symbols and allegories, and it is left to the ingenuity of the people to read the symbols and to interpret the riddles which they offer. It gives free

play to all kinds of suggestions and ideas; and it is especially intended to carry the people away from temporary trouble and worry to times of greater happiness and bliss. No wonder that at every time, whenever such circumstances arose, the people should turn to these oracles for consolation and comfort. They would see in that which happened the very thing foretold; they would read present history into the imagery of the apocalyptic visions; they would allow themselves to be led on to the final conclusion, to happiness and success. No wonder, therefore, that the number of commentators and interpreters of the Book of Daniel, as well as imitators, has been legion. In modern times, when the apocryphal literature has received the attention of scholars and has been appraised according to its own intrinsic value, new interpreters of 'Daniel' follow one another in rapid succession.

The latest is the attempt by Dr. Charles to give us the final results of his own investigation. The volume before us is the outcome of his ripe scholarship, tested and proved to have reached the highest degree by the great work done hitherto in the elucidation of the whole pseudepigraphic and apocryphal literature. He has now brought his scholarship to bear on the vexed problem of 'Daniel.' He has, however, concentrated his attention exclusively on the commentary without even raising the question as to the origin of the apocryphal literature. He evidently considers it to lie outside the sphere of the present work. In the long introduction, Dr. Charles passes in review all the previous attempts made to interpret the book. He ascribes it himself to the time of the Maccabeans, and he believes it was written originally only in Aramaic. The first and last chapters were afterwards translated into what he describes as 'faulty' Hebrew, the reason for this being to make it possible to have it included in the Jewish Canon. With the help of the two Greek translations—one the real LXX. preserved in the Chiggi MS. (of the 8th or 9th century) and that of Theodotion, which has taken its place in the Greek Bible—Dr. Charles endeavours to reconstruct the original, which he believes to have been so badly translated into Hebrew. But, unfortunately, the reconstruction has been so radical as to leave practically no verse unchanged. Each chapter is preceded by a short introduction, in which the philological difficulties are all carefully discussed; and to each verse an ample commentary is added in which the new meaning given to the text differs often fundamentally from the original, and an attempt is made to justify the free reconstruction.

One hesitates to differ from so great an authority, and yet it is impossible to accept any of the premises set forth by Dr. Charles. The Hebrew language in 'Daniel' is anything but faulty; it is merely the language of the time, and has its parallel in the last chapters of Ezekiel, in Ezra and Nehemiah, and must be presupposed as lying at the basis of many of the Apocryphal writings hitherto preserved only in Greek. It is by ignoring this fact that many mistakes have been made; also in trying to recover the Hebrew original of the latter. As for the Greek translation which the author believes to have been made only 20 years after the Hebrew text had been compiled, it must be remarked that these Greek translators did not hesitate to add and to amplify, to alter and to correct, any sentence which seemed to them to be difficult or to have any obscure meaning. The Greek translations cannot be relied upon, they are often mere paraphrases; and if chapters had to be translated into Hebrew in order to introduce the book into a Canon—which, by the way, was non-existent—then the entire text ought to have been translated into Hebrew. Surely the people would not have allowed themselves to be hoodwinked by a few additional Hebrew chapters! As for the commentary, rich in suggestions as it is and full of illuminating passages, the old difficulties remain. It is almost impossible to fit the assumed contemporary historical events into the various symbols and allegories found in the book. Even Dr. Charles has to have recourse to hypothetical suggestions to make them fit, and this is especially the case with the symbols and allegories from chapter vii. onwards.

The philological character of the Aramaic is also no argument for its late origin. These books have passed through the hands of many copyists, who have no doubt changed the older forms into those with which they were familiar, for even in MSS. of the Bible one finds great variations, which show the hand of the copyist. All these Aramaic portions could, therefore, easily have been so changed in the course of time, and the only thing that could be said would be that these texts represent a Palestinian dialect of the 3rd century B.C.E., which would leave the question of the origin entirely unaffected.

This book, which bears the stamp of consummate scholarship, must, however, still be accepted as the work of a great master.

M. GASTER.

Blake and Modern Thought.

By Denis Saurat. With eight collotype Plates. London (Constable); pp. 200; 14s. net.

AT last we have an objective setting or background to the mentality and schematology of that erratic genius William Blake. Prof. Denis Saurat, who has done so much to throw light on the poetic world-views of Milton and Victor Hugo, has had the inspiration to survey so much of the thought-atmosphere of the period in which Blake worked, as might reasonably have played upon him. The result is, in my opinion, the most valuable study of Blake's complex make-up which has yet appeared. Blake shared in the revolt of the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries against authority—intellectual, religious, moral. He exalted poetic 'creative' imagination to the throne of heaven; rioted against the bondage not only of rationalism, conventionalism and materialism, but also against every form of theology, philosophy or science that tended to shut up humanity in its five-sense prison-house; and made topsy-turvydom of the traditional world-history that derived all from Adam the 'Jew.' Either, directly, from such books as were current in English and which he might very probably have read, or, indirectly, from conversations with others about them or on striking ideas contained in them, he had come to be acquainted, though in nebulous fashion, with a mass of mythological, mystical, gnostical, kabalistical, occultistic, antiquarian, speculative ideas. But all the works of the time on these subjects were in an embryonic and pioneer stage compared with our present-day scholarly and scientific knowledge. For instance, if Blake knew anything of Gnostic notions, it was through the mid-eighteenth century Latin work of Mosheim, or those who got their informatiou from that scholar. If he knew anything of the Kabalah, it was through Knorr von Rosenroth's Latin versions of the same date of the Zoharic tractates. If Blake declared that Adam was a Druid, and therefore Albion was the arch-patriarch of humanity, and every wave of civilization flowed from this island of ours as the world-centre, it was from the numerous works of the then Celto-maniacs, who both in France and England were very badly inoculated with the bug of nostratitis. If Blake got Indian notions of cosmology mixed into his heterogeneous brew, it was from the Bryant-type of mythology and the few pioneer works of translation from Sanskrit, with their queer

transliteration of proper names. But Blake was no scholar; he was an impressionist, fascinated by the queer forms and sounds of names and aflame with the fire of a white-hot imagination to transform them. To be assured that this is not simply speculative guess-work, but methodically-based critical literary research, the reader must turn to Prof. Saurat's illuminating and fascinating work. He has there showed that this flashing and plastic material of ideas and notions was in the air; thence they are sometimes reflected directly in Blake, but more often worked up or worked over or transformed. There is, however, one important aspect of the subject that, to my mind, must be emphasized, though Prof. Saurat does not deal with it. Take the somewhat parallel case of an earlier brother mystic—Jakob Böhme. Blake had a fair education, Böhme hardly any; Jakob may have known a smattering of popular alchemy, but nothing of the kabalah or gnosticism. And yet, in poring over in earlier days his puzzling output, and trying to get an insight into his confused schematology, I have again and again seemed to glimpse a thought-complex or tangle that I was already more clearly acquainted with in gnosticism than anywhere else. How then explain it? To my thinking the explanation lies in the contacts of the visionary with the energizings of the invisible or subjective world. Böhme when out of the ecstatic state that possessed him when writing, confesses that he could not understand the deliverances his own hand had indited. Who, what, wrote through him? Whoever, whatever it was, was a form or mode of mentation or psychic activity native to the inner world whence proceeds all such mystic impressionism, but which 'comes through' on our side invariably deformed and deflected by the imperfect physical instrument, no matter how psychically sensitive it may be, that must perforce be used. So with Blake; he is rapt, pours forth, 'creates' as the vulgar tongue has it, reforms, transforms, riots,—beautifully, perchance, for those who can yield to the intoxication of words and images and let themselves go freely with the stream of the poet's rapture. I fear, however, mine is one of those more pedestrian minds that cannot thus let go but, keeping its feet, persists in asking: What does *he* mean, what does *it* mean? And so, when I come across a swirling quotation from Blake, and Prof. Saurat, in spite of his fine critical insight, bestows the tribute of his praise upon the poetic outburst, I still am left wondering what Blake really meant. And, anyhow, though I be judged a philistine by his admirers, I hope to dodge Blake's peculiar

world of imagination when I get out of this. I am not enamoured of his Albion and Jerusalem, of his Urizen and his Los, and the rest of his Zoas, and their tragic happenings. I had sooner company with the imaginations of some of my Gnostic and Mandæan and Hermetic friends, though I hope to avoid being tangled up with *them* as well! Nevertheless I am keenly interested in trying to understand how the Blakean whirl-swirl has all come about, though for a rest I take refuge in what I consider to be the comparatively few great writings that deserve the high dignity of being rightly called scripture.

The Pentateuch and Haftorahs.

English Text, English Translation and Commentary. Edited by the Chief Rabbi (Dr. J. H. Hertz). Genesis. Oxford (University Press); pp. 544; 7s. 6d. net.

In the Jewish Service of the Synagogue the Pentateuch is read on every Sabbath, and it is therefore divided up into as many Sections as there are weeks in the year, four more in the leap year. In addition to these Sections from the Pentateuch, short appropriate Lessons are also read from the Prophets. No use is made of the Holy Writings in the Liturgy as part of the obligatory lessons to be read. The new edition of the Pentateuch, of which this is the first volume, intends to provide for the need of the worshippers to have a copy of it in their hands, and thus be able to follow the reader from the Scroll, who recites the sections in a certain mode of cantilation. This edition is not the first of its kind; others have preceded it. But now the intention declared is to produce a new one brought up to date and made serviceable outside the synagogue; for in addition to an English translation there is added also a commentary, which is explained as being of a homiletic character, and which is intended also to be used for edification in the home and for education in the schools. No one can deny that such a need existed; and one looked forward to a publication by which that need would be satisfied, always bearing in mind the progress which Biblical science has made, and the demands of the new generation.

Four ministers were invited, each to take a certain portion and comment on it; others were asked to lend a helping hand. They are all named in the short preface; and finally Dr. Hertz undertook the editorial part. It is, alas, a great disappointment.

One refrains from using strong expressions, or one would say it is a bitter disappointment. In the first place, the Hebrew text is nothing but a mechanical reproduction from the plates which the Bible Society has placed at the disposal of the editors from its own publications; it is the old Letteris edition. The English translation is also nothing but a reprint of the Revised. Thus far anything new to be expected is doomed to disappointment. As for the commentary, no attempt has been made to harmonize the work of the various collaborators. At the end of each of these Weekly Sections, the editor has added a number of excursuses, intended, no doubt, to elucidate some of the problems offered by the text, and also probably meant to be homiletical and educational. But far from having the character of a homily they are only a collection of brief statements culled from many authors, old and new. A large number of the latter are not even Jewish authors. It is a haphazard eclecticism without logical sequence, representing many views; and, therefore, instead of being illuminating it is entirely confusing. The problems of higher criticism are either touched upon in a very elementary manner or attacked with unmeasured virulence. But *cui bono?* How can teachers and readers learn anything from it? It is sheer dilettantism if, for instance, as proof of the authenticity of the Biblical record of the flood, reference is made to Woolley's latest excavations or to the ancient Babylonian legend of the flood. Sir James Fraser has already collected a very large number of parallel legends all over the world in his work *The Folk Lore of the Bible;* but all these together prove nothing as to the authenticity of the Biblical record. No one studying this new commentary could derive from it a clear idea as to the purely Jewish conceptions concerning the Bible. It is interesting to note that Judaism is allowed the greatest freedom in commentaries on the Bible, and in the Biblic Rabbinica there can be found commentaries side by side which either contradict or exclude one another. As every author is responsible for his own ideas, but none of his interpretations are binding on the Jewish conscience, the only interpretation of an authoritative character is that ancient one which lies at the basis of the Oral Law, which is the result of an historical development and an organic attempt to adjust the law to the ever-growing changes in life.

A Jewish Commentary of the Bible, the work of orthodox ministers, ought to be the high-water mark of Jewish scholarship;

it ought to take up the challenge thrown down by higher criticism and vindicate, as far as possible, the ancient tradition. The present publication fails to do this.

M. GASTER.

EVOLUTION RE-INTERPRETED.

By H. Reinheimer. Surbiton (Grevatt); pp. 107; 3s. 6d. net.

IN this little book Mr. Reinheimer is mostly at pains to answer the critiques of his other works, chiefly the one entitled *Symbiosis*. He succeeds in some cases in answering his critics very well and he certainly re-inforces his own theses. Albeit, he attacks men of science, ancient and modern, rather too heavily. For though his theses are illuminating, and his more important thesis on the 'righteousness' of Nature even great, it is all very far from being fully established. And though philosophy may venture where she pleases, the only method for science lies in the collecting and collating of facts, and in the building up of these facts only into such structures as the strict adherence to these same facts will allow. Mr. Reinheimer should be lenient with his scientific critics, for the great value of science, to the world as well as to philosophy, lies in the fact that it is not to be lured from its plain road-making by the charms of any siren, good or bad.

Mr. Reinheimer attacks not only 'Darwinism' but Darwin himself. But ought we not to remember that it was the unusual moral courage and love of truth shown by the great Charles Darwin, most humane of men, and by other such men, as for example Huxley and Romanes, in renouncing all their most cherished convictions in the pursuit of truth (a renunciation so strangely misunderstood by Mr. Reinheimer), which opened up the road leading to immense possibilities of further knowledge? There can be no advance save by those who are ready at all times to face whatever aspect Truth seems to show. We may remember that One who was wise warned us that he who would save his soul must be ready to lose it. To a just view it must be clear that the latter half of the 19th century Truth showed a mechanically materialistic face, which she has not yet entirely turned away. Let us not fail to honour those who did not fear to look right into and acknowledge this stern aspect of Truth, for we, ourselves, live in easier times when the expression on the face of Truth has begun to soften and at times to seem even benign.

The investigations of Mr. Reinheimer into fact have been both deep and wide. It is also clear that he has convinced himself that a true reading of fact does point to 'righteousness' as a guiding value of evolution. All success to his further investigations! But there are other investigators, including some of those whom Mr. Reinheimer attacks, who though they also tend to find the roots of our highest ideals in Nature, do not quite reach to Mr. Reinheimer's conclusions. These others are not necessarily obstructive, because they feel they can go no farther at the present level of knowledge. Also it seems to me, one can agree with Mr. Reinheimer's main thesis without in the least agreeing with some of his arguments and deductions. I think he mis-interprets the meaning of 'survival of the fittest.' The meaning of this phrase or of 'natural selection' has nothing to do with what he calls the 'favour of Nature'; the 'survival of the fittest' means simply the survival of those most *fitted to live in the given conditions*, good or bad. Also I find some of his interpretations of 'righteousness' a little anthropomorphic. I fail to see the cuckoo as an 'immoral and degenerate' bird! There was room in Nature for a bird with the habits of a cuckoo; the cuckoo filled it —with small harm to anyone. Neither can I see any evil in 'eat and be eaten'; it seems to me a beautiful economy, a blessed way of making use of death, so that life and soul may continue with fresh energy. Still it is clear that Mr. Reinheimer's contention with regard to the possibility of cancerous forms of diet should be, as in fact it is being, investigated.

I am moved to remember De La Mare:

"It is a very odd thing,
As odd as can be,
That whatever Miss T. eats
Turns into Miss T."

This is another view of the food problem, and one which makes Mr. Reinheimer very angry, for he tends to think that whatever Miss T. eats she turns into! Who shall say which aspect is the more spiritually inclined, both being entirely material? But who can draw a line between the material and the spiritual in this world, where both are inextricably interwoven?

I. G. BARTHOLOMEW.

Our Sixth Sense.

By Prof. Charles Richet, Member of the Institute. Authorized Translation by Fred Rothwell. London (Rider); pp. 227; 7s. 6d. net.

Among French men of science Prof. Charles Richet, now Emeritus, is a very distinguished physiologist. As is well known, he has for fifty years diligently investigated the phenomena of psychical research or, as he has christened it in French, *métapsychisme*. He unqualifiedly accepts the phenomena as scientifically ascertained facts. In no case, however, will he admit that the spirit-hypothesis should be called in to explain any phase of them, even when it is the simplest, before every other imaginable possibility, even of the most far-fetched kind, has been exhausted. It must, however, be added that some of his sentences show that he is now on the wobble in this respect. In the work under review he is still, with the enthusiasm of a new convert from the classical scientific ranks, engaged on a long-since demonstrated fact for all students of the subject. As stated in a sentence, which sums up the whole of his 'sixth-sense' book (p. 226), it is that: "The real world sends out vibrations around us. Some of them are perceived by our senses: others, not perceptible to our senses, are disclosed by our scientific instruments: but there are still others, perceived neither by our senses nor by our scientific instruments, which act upon certain human minds and reveal to them fragments of reality." Well, all that has over and over again been shown in innumerable studies in psychical research; we really might have expected that after fifty years of study so able a mind as that of Prof. Richet would have something more to tell us. Now-a-days, in the present well-nigh hectic speeding up of scientific theorizing, it is by no means the sign of a live mind to keep on reiterating, as does the Professor, "*hypotheses non fingo*"; it is rather an indication of regression to the 'scientific' fetishism of half-a-century ago, and of a timidity that shrinks from wetting its feet in the sea that washes the dry sands of the physiological strand. I take it, however, that this exposition of the subject, though so antiquated, will serve a purpose *vis à vis* the academically sceptical, who still refuse to investigate. There is an abundance of cases with which to ram this elementary thesis home into the crania of the 'tough-minded'—some of us would say to bore it into the skulls of the fossilized—but these are for

the most part already well known. Prof. Richet has a number of neologisms to work with in his expository task. But though we agree with him, for instance, that the familiar 'psychometry' is an abortion of speech, we think that 'pragmatical metagnomia' (why, Mr. Rothwell, not 'metagnomy'?) is a nightmare. Many terms of abuse have been pelted at our long-suffering sensitives, but to call them 'metagnomes' is, we think, the rotten egg limit. If they are ladies, we suppose they will be called 'metasylphs'—which is prettier at any rate. Why again 'sixth sense'? Surely 'psychical sensitivity' is less precisely arithmetical; it is as banal as 'fourth-dimensional.' Prof. Richet, then, does venture on an hypothesis, in spite of his aversion from so risky a proceeding. It is that of what he calls 'a vibration of reality.' This, he says, "is an attempt (a provisional one of course) at a theory of metapsychical knowledge: cryptesthesic metagnomia" (p. 208). 'A vibration of reality' is any sensible impression from the external world reaching the recipient by means other than that of the five normal sense-avenues. Well, we agree that factually it is so; but 'cryptesthesic metagnomy' sounds like a railway accident, and is no decent naming of one of the extended simplicities of human awareness. The pity of it is that, though our distinguished author may convert some to an acceptance of the phenomena, he will recruit only the ranks of the 'animists,' while giving the rationalistic materialist in general the excuse of quoting him as an authority of fifty years of experience who still declares the spirit-hypothesis, the survival of bodily death, and all that leads in that direction, unproven, and the phenomena sufficiently 'explained' by the Mesopotamian vocable he is so proud of fathering.

SHAKE-SPEARE'S SONNETS UNMASKED.

By Bertram G. Theobald, B.A. London (Cecil Palmer); pp. 117; 5s. net.

THE title of this book is misleading. Mr. Theobald does not attempt to unmask the inner meaning of the Sonnets, and most of those who have obtained copies of the book must have done so in the hope of being enlightened as to the correct interpretation of these curious verses. The author is not, however, concerned with the Sonnets as literature, poetry, or how far Shakespeare 'unlocked his heart' in them. He is out to find Francis Bacon either under that name or under any of the numerous 'aliases'

which the Baconian 'extremists' put to his account, or under any other variation of his names or titles. If one or the other won't prove serviceable, it will indeed be surprising. Three ciphers are used by Mr. Theobald, by each of which the letters of the alphabet have a different numerical value. This use of three ciphers gives still wider scope for arriving at the desired object than would the use of one cipher, such as the simple count where A equals 1, B equals 2 and so forth. The Sonnets are reproduced from the 1609 edition, and each sonnet is counted for the number of words in ordinary and for italic type, also for letters in the same way.

As there are fourteen lines in a sonnet, and with an average of seven words per line we are bound to get a total number of words ranging from about 100 to 120, so with the wide choice of desired results with which Mr. Theobald provides himself, something is almost bound to turn up. If the italic words and/or letters added to the total of the words and/or letters in ordinary type fail to provide any of the required numbers, then there is the alternative of subtracting them! We need not necessarily expect to find, say, 'Francis Bacon,' as the total would have to be 100 by simple count, or 200 by reverse count, or 282 by the so-called 'K' cipher. Perhaps it will give one of the three numbers which will be equivalent to Francis, F. Bacon, Fr. Bacon, Francis Bacon Knight, F. Bacon Kt., Fr. Bacon Kt., Francis Tudor, Prince of Wales, or even plain unadorned Bacon! Here is a pretty wide choice; but in case we don't arrive at any one of them, even though each has three different numerical equivalents, we may try Fra. Rosicrosse, Spenser, E. Spenser, Edmund Spenser, Marlowe, Marloe, Christopher Marlowe, Christopher Marloe, Peele or George Peele, Thomas Kyd, Shakespeare, W. Shakespeare, William Shakespeare, Bacon-Shakespeare, etc.; for Mr. Theobald not only believes that Bacon was the son of Queen Elizabeth, but the author of the works attributed to these other playwrights. "Here's a maze trod, indeed!" One can only regret such misplaced ingenuity. Far from converting the doubting Stratfordian, if he chanced upon this book and took it to be the kind of evidence upon which the Bacon theory is based, he would decide in favour of his old opinion. The mind of Francis Bacon glows through the text of the Plays and Poems and in the Sonnets so clearly that there is no need to play tricks with them to find his name. The composing of sonnets is tiresome work even for a born poet, because the regular form and rhyming of the verse make the

choice of words in which to express the thoughts extremely difficult by reason of the limitations. To have undertaken the additional labour of inserting numerical ciphers, and working three different ones simultaneously, would have been the work of a lifetime, and I doubt if even the brain of 'broad-browed Verulam' could have accomplished such a task, even if he could have spared the time—which he could not.

R. L. EAGLE.

SPECULUM RELIGIONIS.

Being Essays and Studies in Religion and Literature from Plato to von Hügel. With an Introduction by F. C. Burkitt, F.B.A., Norrisian Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. Presented by Members of the Staff of University College, Southampton, to their President, Claude G. Montefiore, M.A., D.D., D.Litt. Oxford (Clarendon Press); pp. 216; £1 1s. net.

THE above description sufficiently indicates the nature of this handsome, well-printed and well-stocked volume in honour of Claude Joseph Goldsmid Montefiore, the well-beloved and highly esteemed scholar and humanist, on his 70th birthday. There are in it eleven instructive contributions to a very varied feast of good things. Of these we would draw very special attention to the essay on 'Orphism and the Platonic Philosophy,' by G. W. Dyson, a young hellenist of high promise. We welcome him to a distinctive place in the *thiasos* of Orphic studies. Orphism played a very significant part in the long history of the time, 'the golden chain' of the 'theologers' of Hellenic tradition from Pythagoras to the last of the Later Platonists, when the 'chair' was suppressed by the fanatical intolerance of the 'Christian' Emperor Justinian at the beginning of the sixth century. 'Orpheus' is one of the most important backgrounds of Plato's thought, especially when he is 'mythologizing,' and Mr. Dyson's study shows this very clearly. We would also call attention to the essay of Dr. V. de Sola Pinto on 'Peter Sterry: Puritan, Platonist and Mystic.' Much interest has of late been shown in that group of refined humanistic scholars known as the Cambridge Platonists, and Dr. de Sola Pinto deserves our thanks for making known to us the work of yet another of their number, who has hitherto been neglected. 'Plato' is not dead nor sleeping— *diis gratias !*—even in this banausic age of the worship of machines.

THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

Studied with Special Reference to the Origins of the Christian Ministry. The Hewett Lectures (U.S.A.), 1928. By Burnett Hillman Streeter, Reader in Christian Origins in the University of Oxford, etc. London (Macmillan); pp. 312; 8s. 6d. net.

IT would seem that Canon Streeter, after a painstaking and methodical investigation, has discovered, almost with surprise, that the end-of-the-second-century invented slogan '*ubique, semper, ab omnibus*' is, historically, a pious fiction, not only with reference to doctrine, but also as touching church-organization. Well, there are doubtless still many of the clergy and ministers even of the Reformed Churches who may profit by having rammed home the ungainsayable documentary facts, which prove the Christian Ministry to have been an experimental business from the start, and that it continued to be so till long after the middle of the 2nd century. I was under the impression, however, that all this was already well known to independent scholars,—and for half a century at least. It seems almost going back to one's student days to be re-immersed in Lightfoot and Westcott and Hort (with a translated immixture of Harnack) for the Sub-apostolic 'Fathers' and so on. They were good in their day, and are not to be neglected; but the great 'trio' were fundamentally apologetic and frankly out against the so feared 'German theology.' The period covered by the Pastoral and General Epistles, by Clemens Romanus and Bartholomew, Ignatius, Papias, Polycarp, and the rest, has since their day been revised in Germany by many able writers; but in Canon Streeter's work we are repeatedly missing reference to this or that indispensable study. Still the outcome would be the same even if the meshes of the net had been more finely woven and more closely drawn. We are most pleased with our author's penetrating psychological study of the character of 'Ignatius,' whose fanaticism would have made of the bishop the vicar of God in the community. For ourselves, we have never been satisfied of the authenticity of even the select Letters of this generally considered early second-century worthy. Every time we read them, and consider what we are asked to believe concerning their provenance and address, the more are we persuaded that they form part of a conscious literary

propaganda of later date—that they are largely, if not entirely, *Dichtung;* the play is staged throughout. The fond general belief of Faithful Christendom has been that Jesus founded and organized *the* Church. But historic critical research proves, in the words of the most recent reviewer of the subject, that:

"In the Primitive Church there was no single system of Church Order laid down by the Apostles. During the first hundred years of Christianity, the Church was an organism alive and growing—changing its organization to meet changing needs. Clearly in Asia, Syria and Rome during that century the systems of government varied from church to church, and in the same church at different times. Uniformity was a later development; and for those times it was, perhaps, a necessary development."

'Perhaps'? But that is another story.

The World of Self or Spirit.

A Scheme of Life. By Edmund Holmes. London (Cobden Sanderson); pp. 98; 5s.

This last contribution to the large and valued output of our esteemed colleague Edmund Holmes' literary labours is sufficiently appraised by saying that it in no way falls short of the quality of the best of his works. It contains the ripe fruit of an acutely critical, independently thinking and profoundly mystical or spiritual mind. The attempt is to work out a coherent scheme of life suffused with spiritual values, viewed throughout, as it were, *sub specie æternitatis*. It succeeds by the strong impression it makes of its sincerity and utter devotion to the quest of the truly real. Speaking, not as a metaphysician, but as a 'lover of wisdom,' our author writes: "I believe that the supreme source of wisdom is knowledge of reality, the knowledge that enables us to value things at their proper worth. And I believe that the head-quarters of reality are in that inward and spiritual world which must be accepted or rejected on its own evidence, inasmuch as it shines by no other light than its own. To find the head-quarters of reality, by living one's way into the heart of the inward and spiritual world, by rising from level to level of self-hood towards the Ideal Self, is the master problem which each of us has to solve for himself." It is well done, and written beautifully.

BHAGVAD-GITA.

An Exposition on the Basis of Psycho-philosophy and Psycho-analysis. By Vasant G. Rele, F.C.P.S., L.M. & S. Author of 'The Mysterious Kundalini.' Bombay (Taraporevala); pp. 186; Rs. 4-12.

THE author of this disquisition is a Marāṭha physician. He has already, in English, written a thesis on that special form of the lower, physiological *yoga* (the *haṭha* as distinguished from the *rāja* variety) known as *kuṇḍalinī* or *laya yoga*. This we have already reviewed. Fascinated with this theory and practice and possessed of some of the modern psycho-analytic notions, Mr. Rele is persuaded that this 'serpent-power' manipulative art is the 'key' to the whole doctrine of that fine synthetic, or reconciliatory, *smṛiti* of Vaishnavism, known so widely now even in the West as the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. He gets the thin end of the wedge of his notion in by playing with the famous symbolism of the *aśvaṭṭha* tree,—that mysterious world-tree, whose roots are above and branches below. Man, the microcosm, with his sympathetic and allied nervous system, is the miniature of this cosmic tree. Thus equipped, Mr. Rele sails forth to expound the *Gītā*. In order to do so, as he freely admits himself, he has to translate a large number of technical *Gītā* terms in his own peculiar fashion. We are sorry we cannot follow our author in this jazz of philological innovation. In our view, to mention only one point, he makes hay of the Sanscrit ennumerative Sāṁkhya-philosophy, which is the cosmological and developmental basis of the *Gītā* theology. If we take *puruṣha* to stand for 'spirit,' then assuredly *prakṛiti* cannot be simply 'matter,' in the old-fashioned, 'classical,' Western, late 19th century sense. The very form of the term *pra-kṛiti*, shows that its meaning is fundamentally dynamic—'nature,' not 'matter.' Its three 'modes' (*guṇa's*) are in themselves, *ex hypothesi*, equipotent, and to render them by 'spiritual' (*sāttvika*), 'material' (*rājasa*) and 'vicious' (*tāmasa*) is the most astounding 'derangement of epitaphs,' philosophically, I have ever come across. No: it won't do. It only shows how corrupting this insidious *kuṇḍalinī* notion can be. I would protest that whoever wrote, or compiled, the *Gītā*, as we have it, he did not intend it to be a treatise on this most material, seminal psycho-physical, system of *yoga*-gymnastics; he intended it as a genuinely

spiritual treatise. For after all, what is this particular form of *yoga*,—so beloved of *Śāktas* and *Tāntriks*,—if not a sex-practice—and that too one of perversion? For many years I have studied it, and noted its undesirable effects on many who have attempted to practise it in the West. They do not seem to be able to understand that it is at bottom a most cunningly-devised method, prescribed generally under pseudo-religious sanctions, for indulgence in an intensely exaggerated form of self-abusive gratification, where the whole human organism is treated as a *liñgam* for the procuring of abnormal 'bliss.' The spirit of the *Gītā*, thank God, does not tolerate this—*pace* Mr. Rele.

The Theory of Christ's Ethics.

By F. A. M. Spencer, D.D. London (Allen & Unwin); pp. 252; 10s. 6d. net.

"The Sayings of Christ, which would amount to the length of two or three articles in a journal . . . contain such abundance of meaning that centuries of theologizing have not been able to exhaust them." So writes the author of this book, who illustrates by his own procedure that still another mind has found it a fruitful field for enquiry and reflection. Dr. Spencer has already published two sections of his study: a brief survey with some criticism of other ethics, *The Ethics of the Gospel*, and an examination of some concrete problems,—*Civilization Remade by Christ*. The present volume he devotes to a treatment of ethical *theory*.

In the treatment of the various topics the reader will find a judicious combination of placing Christ's ethics in relation to its immediate antecedents, and of comparison with other systems which occupy the general history of Moral Philosophy. Much of his treatment is, no doubt, already in the common stock, but this contribution is well worth reading by virtue of the lucidity and freshness of the exposition. And besides this, there are successful ventures of the author upon judgments and opinions of his own. Amongst these we would note especially:

(i.) The careful disentangling of universal ethics from the particular ethics due to the eschatology which everyone can see in the Gospels, though few are likely to find so much of it as J. Weiss and Schweitzer claim;

(ii.) an excellent chapter on 'Moralizing the Instincts,' in which advantage is taken of recent and current psychology;

(iii.) the place of Hedonism in the Summum Bonum as it stands in Christ's estimate;

(iv.) some reasons offered for Christ's laying apparently small stress upon national and other definitely organized masses of moral principles;

(v.) the relation of morals to sin and sins;

(vi.) the relation of the Moral as a category of life to the Spiritual or Religious category.

Dr. Spencer has not space in this volume for comparative treatment of Christian ethics with the competing systems of Buddhism or Islam. Possibly he may engage in such a comparative study himself. Meanwhile we would recommend those who have profited by this volume the study of the Chapter in President Sydney Cave's recent volume entitled *The Moral Ideal and its Realization.*

A. CALDECOTT.

CREATIVE CONSCIOUSNESS.

By Kate Simmons. Author of 'Divine Psychology,' etc. London (Rider); pp. 144: 3s. 6d. net.

THIS is an adventure amid high themes by a mind imbued with sincere aspirations and an artistic and mystical temperament. The attempt is to bring home the actuality of the presence of spiritual reality in the right living of life here and now amid the deceits and vanities of the 'world.' Miss Simmons has for long been experienced in the study of the numerous new movements that offer help in the practices of self-realization, as it is called, and has a good sense of spiritual values in dealing with so much in them that is superficial and not infrequently misleading. What makes us restive is not so much what she has to say as the visionary form in which she has cast it. When you bring on the *tapis* 'angel' friends and interior voices from transcendental realms, and regard the utterances attributed to them as revelatory and astonishing, you run serious risk of unduly praising your own ruminations, and hence of so inflating the common coinage of words that its purchasing power for favourable consideration by the more sober-minded becomes considerably depreciated.

THE PATH OF PURITY.

Being a Translation of Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga. By Pa Maung Tin, M.A., B.Litt., Professor of Oriental Studies, University of Rangoon. Part II. Of Concentration. London (The Oxford University Press); pp. 404; 10s. net.

THIS volume completes the excellent translation of Buddhaghosa's famous *Visuddhimagga* by Prof. Pa Maung Tin, Pt. I. being dated 1923. Prior to Pt. I. we also had to thank our translator for a version of the *Atthasālinī* or 'Expositor' (1920-21). I well remember many years ago longing for a full translation of 'The Path of Purity,' and especially for that part of it dealing with Concentration, or *Samādhi*. What a help, I thought, it would have been! The many years have passed in pondering many things, and revising many an estimate and expectation. And now I have my wish in this respect, but in soberer mood. 'The Path of Purity' is, in its special frame of reference, a great treatise. It sums up long centuries of reflection. The whole of the Canon, including the *Abhidhamma*, where it deals with the discipline of meditation and the nature of the *jhāna's*, or 'ecstasies,' forms the basic subject-matter; and there are numerous commentaries as well, before Buddhaghosa gets to work, and re-commentates in greater detail than ever. If the student now does not *theoretically* understand the practice, process and nature of Buddhist Samādhi, he must be a dullard indeed. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to get away from the feeling that the treatise is mainly a *tour de force* of monkish scholasticism. Did Buddhaghosa himself experience what he wrote of so analytically and compendiously? I doubt it. His is the work of the commentator, not of the first-hand experient. He cannot get away from the traditional frame-work. More than this; I venture to think that any tyro who stuffs and soaks himself with the innumerable details and niceties of B. G.'s exposition, will become a heavy-goer and a bedraggled pilgrim on a path, the treading of which demands a lighter equipment of 'learning' and an airy rather than a watery vesture. Nevertheless, again, the discriminating student can find much of profound interest; though, if he be of the West, he will have little patience with the reiterated preliminary meditations on 'foulness,' which seem to have fascinated the good monks to the loss of all æsthetic taste.

The Theory of Polarity.

By Geoffrey Sainsbury. London (Putnams); pp. 224; 7s. 6d. net.

Realizing that the general truth is generally false, that details almost inevitably contradict the generalization, the author seeks to adopt a standpoint sufficiently distant to afford him a wide horizon. Starting with one of the most primitive pairs of opposites—Strength and Weakness—he takes us through a series of sections dealing with such aspects of polarity as Barbarism and Decadence, Sex, Change and Existence. Incorporated with these are two chapters, one on the Bio-mechanic Theory of Knowledge, and the other on Materialism, which really seem to be the key to his outlook, in so far, at any rate, as it is expressed in this volume. The appeal made is purely to the intellect, and the author admits that the theory has no religious or æsthetic value. This is unquestionably true regarding his exposition of the theory, but we cannot hold it to be true otherwise; for polarity is everywhere apparent in nature—which is life—and the study of nature is philosophy, which is inseparable from true religion. The reader will, however, find the book a carefully thought-out statement, singularly free from technical jargon, and presenting to the mind certain aspects of thought that will be, for the vast majority, novel and suggestive.

E. J. L. G.

The Quest Eternal.

By E. A. Wanderer. London (Allenson); pp. 192; 5s. net.

'E. A. Wanderer' is the pen-name of the Rev. W. A. Elliott, and in this small volume he presents us with a very readable piece of apologetics. The author has apparently had personal experience of that state of doubt about everything connected with religion which makes us agnostics, if not atheists. The stages by which he recovered his faith are described largely by a series of dialogues, wherein the ground over which most of us have either gone, or are still going, is reviewed in a manner that cannot seriously offend either the reason of the sceptic or the faith of the believer. The old problems of the Divinity of Christ, the Virgin Birth, Election and Selection, Evil and Sin, the Crucifixion and the Atonement, and finally the Resurrection, are all discussed in a manner at once interesting and simple.

E. J. L. G.

The Life Story and Experience of a Phrenologist.

By J. Millott Severn, Past President of the British Phrenological Society. Thirty Illustrations. Brighton (Author, West Street); pp. 505; 4s. 6d. net.

THE author of this autobiography is a well-known popular exponent of phrenology, and has practised it professionally for many years. A generation ago phrenology had a considerable popular vogue in this country, but this has not been maintained. Based on the researches of Gall, who was the pioneer of craniology, as it was first called, a century and a half ago, and contributed valuable data to the anatomy of the brain, it purports to be a valuable means of diagnosing disposition, character and ability, and to be of great service in educational, vocational and matrimonial concerns. For a Hellenist the term 'phrenology' is a misleading vocable. The art deals mainly with skull-indications, and is based chiefly on an elaborate plotting-out of the external area of the cranium. It claims to be out-and-out experimental. Mr. Severn's book is the story of one who is an enthusiastic exponent of this 'science,' as he claims and tries manfully to prove it to be. With regard to the brain itself, as apart from its bone-casing, knowledge of its anatomy and physiology has naturally progressed greatly since Gall's time, but science is still very undecided about the relation or correspondence between physiology and psychology, between neurosis and psychosis, and even of late about the localization-of-faculty theories. Craniology may be classed as part and parcel of the very ancient art of physiognomy; and now that we have the Greek *Physiognomica* texts published in the Teubner series, it is to be hoped that some competent scholar, who is also scientifically trained, will study the old traditions and summarize or translate the texts. It is said that the Pythagoreans would not admit candidates to their communities before they had been diagnosed physiognomically and approved as fit according to external indications. I do not recall, however, that their diagnosis included 'bumps.' It is a pity that Mr. Severn's book is clothed in such an appallingly inartistic 'jacket'; it will put people 'off' rather than attract them.

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[1] See the last number.

[2] They are divided by the formula: "Arise, let us go hence"—closing the first version of the 'fare-well' speeches. It is easy to print them in parallel columns. This has been done by the Rev. Hermann Sasse (*Zeitschr. f. Neutestamtl. Wiss.*, xxiv., 1925, p. 263). Note the obvious contradiction of xiii. 36a with xvi. 5b. They cannot have been written by the same author. Note also that xvi. 12 flatly contradicts xv. 15. Loisy has seen long ago that the parable of the vine cannot have been written by the author of either of the paraclete-prophecies.

this prophet (the 'other paraclete') the *pneuma* of the Christ could not be sent as long as Jesus was alive; because then the Logos, the Spirit of Truth, abode wholly and indivisibly in the tent of Jesus' body,—was wholly incarnated in him. Death had to liberate this '*pneuma* of truth' so that it could be reincarnated again in the person of another prophet, who is to be the witness of the truth of Jesus' messianic claims, and thereby to convince the world that it has been unjust to its crucified victim. It is this 'other paraclete' who will testify to all former sayings of Jesus, as they are remembered by the disciples, while supplementing them by a new, fuller revelation. Contrary to the fate of Jesus, who had to die in order to return to eternal life, this prophet will remain with the disciples for ever.

This, I think, is the only possible straightforward explanation of the prophecies in question. It forces the historian of Christian origins to ask once more who the person anterior to the martyrdom of Bishop Ignatius,—that is to the reign of Emperor Trajan—may have been who claimed to be Jesus *redivivus*, who not only professed to be a reincarnation of his spirit, but also to have eternal life in an undying body, capable of remaining eternally with his faithful disciples, who will equally have eternal life (xiv. 20) and die no more?

Although entirely in keeping with the Pharisaic idea that the souls of the departed righteous will re-enter pure bodies, to be reborn to a new life,[1] so

[1] Josephus, *Antiqq.* xviii. 14; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 163; *c. Ap.* ii. 218. Cp. Mk. vi. 14, 16, and parall. about John the Baptist as the reborn Elijah, Jesus as the reborn Baptist; Ps.-Philo, *Antiqq. Bibl.* xlviii. 1-3 (trsl. M. R. James, p. 211) about Elijah being the reborn Phineas, etc. Not only the people mentioned in the Slav Josephus (ii. 174d), but also the author of Hebrews (xi. 26) and of the Pseudo-Clementines believed Jesus to be the reborn Moses.

tremendous a claim could not be ignored by the Early Church, which waited with such passionate anxiety for the second coming of Jesus. If admitted as valid, it would have obliged all the disciples of Jesus to rally around their resuscitated master; if rejected as spurious, it would require the most energetic resistance against the blasphemous pretensions of such an impostor. Opposed parties would necessarily take sides for and against such a claimant, and the discussion could not fail to leave distinct traces in the historic records of the Church.

This is, indeed, what has happened. The man, his doctrines and the fundamental schism caused by his teaching are well known to all our sources. It is *Simon Magus*, the Samaritan contemporary of the apostles and Paul, baptized by Philip in Samaria (Acts xiii. 13).

In the 'volumes' written by, or at least attributed to, this Simon, Jerome,[1] or the unknown authority from which he quotes, read the following words:

"I am the Logos of God; I am the Beautiful One;[2] I am the Paraclete; I am the Almighty; I am the All of God."

To this quotation Jerome adds that Simon was one of those announced (Mt. xxiv. 5) as "coming *in the name of Jesus* and saying 'I am the Christ.'" According to the Ps.-Clementines (that is, according to the *Preaching of Peter*, utilized by the author of this edifying early Christian novel), Simon claimed to be eternal, to have an incorruptible divine body (*R.* ii. 7), and to be the 'Son of God' enduring for all eternity (*R.* iii. 27).

Jerome's quotation from the 'volumes' of Simon

[1] *Comm. in Matth.* xxiv. 5 (Patrol. Lat. xxvii. 176A).

[2] '*Speciosus*' = the Messianic King, according to Ps. xlv. 3.

Magus is fully confirmed by the '*Katechēseis*,'[1] which Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem (350/1), wrote when he was still a presbyter in 347 A.D. He says:

> Of all heresy the archheretic is Simon Magus. . . . For he dared to say that it was he who appeared in the guise of the Father on Mount Sinai, later on among the Jews—not in the flesh, but in a semblance—as the Messiah Jesus, and after that as the Holy Spirit, which the Christ promised to send *as the Paraclete*. And he misled the city of Rome, etc.[2]

This statement agrees with that of Irenæus,[3] Bishop of Lyons (about 160, born in Asia Minor about 135), who says that Simon Magus, living under Emperor Claudius Cæsar, taught that it was he who appeared among the Jews as the Son, descended in Samaria as the Father, and among the other nations came as the Holy Ghost, being indeed, the highest Power of God. And practically the same testimony is adduced by Hippolytus,[4] schismatic Bishop of Rome (round about 200):

> Although claiming not to be a human being, Simon Magus says that he took human form and seemed to suffer without suffering really in Judæa. He appeared to the Jews as the Son, to the Samaritans as the Father, to the other nations as the Holy Ghost. In general, he allowed men to call him by every name[5] they chose.

The same words occur almost literally in Theodoret's *Fables of the Heretics*[6] (i. 1). Similarly in some, not in all, MSS. of Augustine's *De Hæres.* 1,[7] it is said that Simon

[1] vi. 14 (Patrol. Graeca, xxxiii. 561).
[2] Follows the story about a statue erected to Simon in Rome.
[3] *Adv. Hæres.* i. 27. 1-4.
[4] *Ref.* vi. 19.
[5] Meaning the names of Greek or Roman Gods like Zeus, Jupiter, etc.
[6] The author died in 457 A.D.
[7] Patrol. Lat. xlii. 25, in note. Earlier editions have the words in the text.

claimed to have given the Law to the Jews on Mount Sinai in the person of the Father, to have appeared in the semblance of the person of the Son under Emperor Tiberius and finally to have descended on the apostles in the shape of fiery tongues as the Holy Ghost.

Most probably all these slightly different quotations are derived from the lost *Syntagma of all Heresies* of Justin the Martyr († about 165). They have by no means been ignored by previous historians of the Church. For my part, I am convinced that they are perfectly exact and trustworthy, completing each other in a most instructive way, and that it is by the merest chance that the term 'paraclete,' which occurs in Jerome's verbal quotation from the 'volume' of Simon, is not used by Cyril of Jerusalem. But those who believe the conception of the Paraclete to be a peculiar invention of the author of our Fourth Gospel and of the First Epistle of 'John,'—consequently of writers not earlier than the end of the first or the beginning of the second century,—would naturally consider the use of the term as an anachronistic embellishment when referring to the teaching of a contemporary of Paul, Peter and Philip.

They forget, however, that the term '*paraklētos*' is frequent in the writings of Philo,—and indeed applied by him to the Logos of God,[1]—and that in the 'Gospel according to John' there are two parallel versions of the paraclete-prophecies, making it evident that both are derived from sources anterior to the present 'catholic' Fourth Gospel, which may, indeed, according to good tradition, be posterior to the Synoptics and have been composed during the reign

[1] *De Josepho*, c. 40 (289), p. 75; *Vita Mos.* iii. 14 (ii. 184, p. 155); *De Spec. Leg.* i. 237, p. 247; *De Ex.* 166, p. 436; *Adv. Flacc.* c. 8, 4, pp. 519, 520; *De Opif. Mund.* 23, p. 5, 165, p. 40.

of Trajan. There is, then, nothing at all to prevent us from considering one or both of the various collections of sayings from which the paraclete-sections in 'John' are derived, as contemporary with the public appearance of Simon Magus in Samaria and in Rome. There is nothing whatever to prevent us from identifying the source of Jerome, and one or the other of the two sources of the paraclete-logia in the 'Gospel according to John,' with the books of the followers of Simon known to Hippolytus of Rome,[1] or with the peculiar gospel of the Simonites, or Simonians, which was known to the Fathers of the first Nicene Council, according to the witness of the learned Syrian bishop Maruthas of Maipherkat († before 420 A.D.), who wrote the history of this famous ecclesiastical congress.[2]

If this is so, we have at last found the particular mystic community where the ultimate roots of the

[1] *Constit. Apost.* vi. 16 (Patrol. Gr. i. 949): "On the pseudepigraphic books: We know that those around Simon and Cleobius have concocted poisonous books in the name of Christ and his disciples, and hawk them about in order to deceive you who love Christ and us his servants." Cp. Syr. *Didasc.* vi. 8, 9, pp. 100f., Lagarde; Engl. transl. by Headlam in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, iv. 521. That the Apostolic Constitutions go back to the *Apostolikē Paradosis* of Hippolytus, written between 218 and 222 A.D., has been conclusively proved by Dom R. H. Connolly (*Texts and Studies*, viii. 4) in 1916.

[2] The text was formerly known only as an anonymous preface to the Acts of the Nicene Council, which was translated into Latin from an otherwise unknown Arabic MS. by a learned Maronite of the 17th century, Abraham of Ekchel (printed in Mansi's Amplissima Coll. Concil. ii. c. 1057), and therefore considered to be a late and worthless catalogue of heresies. Thanks to O. Braun, it has been identified as part of the work of the Syrian historian of the Nicene council (Harnack, '*Der Ketzerkatalog des Bischofs Martha von Maipherkat*,' *Texte und Untersuchungen*, N. F., iv. 1b. Leipzig, 1899). Braun's text is derived from a modern transcript of a Syrian manuscript in Mossul of uncertain age. The modern copyist has left out whatever he could not decipher in the original. The length of these blanks, according to Braun, corresponds very well with the words to be filled in from Abraham Ecchellensis' Arabic version. Harnack gives the two versions in parallel columns. The lines in question may be rendered: "And these impious ones made for themselves a gospel, and dividing it into four volumes [cp. above p. 227, the *volumina* of Simon, mentioned by Jerome] called it 'Book of the Four Regions of the World.' They are all magicians. They wear a red or rose-coloured thread hanging from their necks. They plait their hair like women, and occupy themselves with conjurer's tricks and strange practices."

Fourth Gospel are to be looked for. As a matter of fact, we shall see at once that the theory of Simonite sources being used by the fourth evangelist will explain not only the enigmatic sections about the 'other paraclete,' but also, without exception, *all* the hitherto insoluble puzzles which are to be found in that most problematic document.

First and foremost, there is no longer any difficulty in explaining why the Jesus Christ of the Fourth Gospel is so different from the lovable, humble and modest hero of the Synoptics,—that is, from the historical Jesus; why the Johannine Christ is constantly asserting his own claims and demonstrating his own superiority, why—if such a modern expression may be permitted—he is constantly advertising his own self,[1] through the ever-recurrent use of the most solemn form of divine self-revelation,—the 'I am's:[2] I am the Bread from Heaven; I am the Bread of Life; I am the Good Shepherd; I am the true Vine; I am the Life and the Resurrection; I am the Door; I am the Way; I am the Truth; I am the Light of the World. This arrogant, self-asserting, self-glorifying, perpetually shouting[3] preacher, who lashes himself into a frenzy[4] before working his miracles, is not the true Jesus. It is a dimmed and distorted likeness, a superimposition on the original of the picture of the 'other paraclete';—that is to say, a combination portrait of Jesus and the 'reincarnated Jesus,'—the gnostic Simon Magus.

[1] Cp. Ernest Renan, *l. c.*, p. lxxvii.; "*Cette façon de prêcher et de se démontrer sans cesse, cette mise en scène sans naïveté, ses longs raisonnements dont le ton est si souvent faux . . . .*"

[2] Cp. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, pp. 172-201. Leipzig, 1913.

[3] Jn. vii. 37, xii. 44: '*ekraxen.*'

[4] Jn. xi. 33: '*enebrimēsato.*'

The Johannine Jesus, for whom 'the Jews' (that is, all the Jews, with the single exception of Nathanael, the "Israelite[1] in whom there is no guile") are irredeemable enemies and devil's children, is not the historical Jesus, who was himself a Jew, but the Samaritan Simon, posing as Jesus reincarnated,—that is, as the Samaritan *ta'eb*, the Joshua-Jesus *redivivus*, —and sharing fully the traditional hatred of the Samaritans for the Jews, their estranged southern brethren.

So far no one has ever been able to understand why (in Jn. viii. 48) the Jews should call Jesus himself a *Samaritan*. If, however, the Fourth Gospel is based on sources, designed to accredit Simon the Samaritan as a reincarnation of Jesus, all can see how important it must have been for the followers of Simon to counter the obvious objection against his claims,—to wit, that the *pneuma* reincarnated in Simon did not speak the dialect of Galilee, but betrayed itself with every word as the soul of a Samaritan,—by trying to prove that the Jesus of old was taken by his Jewish contemporaries for a Samaritan. According to Epiphanius,[2] certain heretics would contend that Jesus *was* a Samaritan. Curiously enough, the commentators have overlooked that this is the doctrine presupposed by Jn. iv. 44.[3]

If it is said, in this much discussed verse, that Jesus leaves Samaria and turns to Galilee—where he is willingly received by the Galileans—because, according to his own witness, a prophet is not honoured in

[1] Note that in this exceptional case the name 'Jew' is carefully avoided.

[2] Patrol. Gr., xlii. 7.

[3] "And after two days he went forth from them (from Samaria) into Galilee. For Jesus himself testified, that a prophet hath no honour in his own country."

his own country, it seems clear that the compiler or interpolator who wrote it, took *Samaria* to be Jesus' home-country. He has inserted a genuine saying of Jesus in order to explain why Jesus, whom he believes to have been a Samaritan, had to choose Galileans as his first ministers and messengers.

Yet even the source, which makes the Samaritan woman address Jesus as a Jew (iv. 9), evidently attaches the greatest importance to the fact, that Jesus convinces her (here typefying the Samaritan nation, with its five ancient pagan idols and its present cult of the God of the Jews, the 'husband' of another rival nation, and not her own) of his messianic claim, and converts personally a number of Samaritans (iv. 39ff.).

And not only to Jesus, but also to John the Baptizer, the Fourth Gospel is anxious to ascribe a missionary activity in Samaria. Contrary to Synoptic tradition, John is said to have baptized in Aenon near Salem (iii. 23),—two localities of which Eusebius[1] still knew that they were situated somewhere in Northern Samaria near Skythopolis.

Equally transparent are the peculiar preoccupations of a Samaritan gospel, written for Samaritan readers, in the prominent *rôle*, throughout the whole Fourth Gospel, attributed to Philip, the apostle who converted Simon and the Samaritans to their belief in Jesus (Acts viii. 12). While Philip is nothing but an empty shadow in Synoptic tradition, the Fourth Gospel mentions him among the very first disciples adhering to Jesus, and even tells the reader his birthplace, insisting on the fact that he hails from the same town Bethsaida as Peter and Andrew. It is Philip

[1] *Onomast.*, p. 40.

who recruits Nathanael (i. 43ff.). It is Philip to whom the important statement about Jesus being the son of Joseph of Nazareth is credited (i. 47). It is Philip to whom Jesus talks, and who replies to the Master in the story of the feeding of the multitude. It is Philip to whom the Greeks apply when they want to be presented to Jesus (xii. 21ff.). It is Philip who asks of Jesus that he should show the Father to the disciples (xiv. 7). It is Philip who obtains the fundamental statement from Jesus that the Christ and the Father are one (xiv. 8, 9).

It is, indeed, this particular theology and christology, supposed to have been revealed to Philip, the apostle of the Samaritans, this peculiar dogma out of which the characteristically un-Jewish trinitarianism of orthodox Christianity has grown, which has earned for the fourth evangelist the honorific title '*ho theologos*,' because he is the first 'to call Christ God.'[1] This strange and, from a Jewish standpoint, admittedly blasphemous identification[2] of the Messiah (who is for the Synoptics simply the anointed 'redeemer' or liberator-king of Israel, the king of Israel as adopted '*son of God*')[3] with God the Father himself is found throughout the whole Fourth Gospel.

One man's witness is no man's witness (viii. 16); but when Jesus speaks, it is his and the Father's witness. If the Jews knew Jesus the Christ, they would at the same time know his Father (viii. 19; xiv. 7). He who has sent Jesus is 'with him' (viii. 29). He and the Father 'are one' (x. 30). Seeing Jesus,

[1] Euseb., *H. Eccl.* iii. 24, 13: '*theologein ton Christon.*'

[2] Jn. v. 18. Cp. x. 33: "Thou being a man, makest thyself God."

[3] Ps. i. 1. Cp. Ps.-Clem. *Hom.* xvi. 15, 16: "Our Lord has not said that he is God but the son of God."

they see the Father (xiv. 7b).[1] He is in the Father and the Father is in him (xiv. 11).[2]

All this means—and has always been understood to mean—that the Christ and God the Father are essentially the same person,—more exactly that they are 'one.' Now nothing could be more certain than that the Jesus of the Synoptics, the self-sacrificing servant of the Lord, would never have dreamt of raising such a claim. Nothing, on the other hand, could be better attested than the fact that Simon of Gitta, while claiming to be the reincarnated Jesus, at the same time boldly asserted his identity with him whom Moses had seen on Mount Sinai, and from whom he had received the Law, with him whom the Samaritans professed to worship on Mount Garizim, and with the creator of mankind.[3]

Thus in this basic feature of the Fourth Gospel the Johannine Christ appears again clearly as a combination portrait of the historic Jesus and of Simon, called Magus, because in the manner of Pagan magicians, well known to us from the numerous magic papyri, he attempts to personify the divinity which he professes to worship. It is the particular mystic consciousness of Simon which explains the peculiar and, from a Jewish point of view, preposterous

[1] Cp. xii. 44: "He who seeth me, seeth him who hath sent me."

[2] According to Epiphan. *Hæres.* lxii. 2 (p. 514 A.), the 'Gospel of the Egyptians' also makes Jesus demonstrate to the disciples, that the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are one and the same. According to the Gnostic *Pistis Sophia* (pp. 51, 53, C. Schmidt) Philip is the scribe whom Jesus has ordered to take down in a book all his 'words and deeds.' This proves that there existed a 'Gospel according to Philip.' Cp. Epiph. *Hæres.* xxvi. 13 (p. 95 B.) mentions this gospel forged in the name of the apostle Philip and carried about by a certain Gnostic sect. A fragment is quoted by Epiphanius (*l. c.*).

[3] According to Hippolytus (*Ref.* vi. 14, 7, Wendland) Simon said in his 'Great Revelation' (*Apophasis Megalê*): "I am he who created thee in the womb of thy mother," quoting from Is. xliv. 2, 24.

and blasphemous christology of the Fourth Gospel. According to the entirely credible tradition of the Samaritans,[1] Simon Magus, born and educated in Alexandria,[2] was personally acquainted with the famous philosopher Philo of that city. This accounts not only for Simon's use of the terms 'Logos' and 'Parakletos,' but also for the peculiar theology and logosophic mysticism of the prologue to the Fourth Gospel. It is well known by all students of Philo's work, that the Alexandrian mystic did not admit any direct contact between the unknowable transcendent divinity and the created reality. Amalgamating the conceptions of the Jewish sapiential literature about the personified 'Wisdom' of God, as his organ of creation,[3] with the Stoic doctrine of the world-pervading 'Reason' (*Logos*), Simon taught that he who created the world, and the God seen by the patriarchs, and by Moses on Sinai, was not the unknowable transcendent divinity, but the 'second God,'[4]—the divine Logos of God, his inner Thought or Word (*endiathetos Logos*) become externalized (*Logos prophorikos*), and thereby a 'visible image' of the absolutely invisible and incomprehensible '*agnōstos theos*.' This divine *Logos* is called by Philo the 'Father'[5] of all creation and the Paraclete,[6] and is identified with the Old Testament conception of the Holy Spirit of God, inspiring the prophets.[7] Adopting

[1] *Chronicon* Adler 67, and Abu'l Fath, p. 157. J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (Philadelphia, 1912), p. 266 n. 89.

[2] Ps.-Clem. *Hom.* ii. 22f.; *Recogn.* ii. 7.

[3] Prov. viii. 23-30.

[4] Philo *Leg. alleg.* ii. 86, p. 82; Euseb. *Praep. ev.* vii. 13, 1.

[5] *Qu. Deus s. immut.* 134 (p. 292); *De Confus.*, line 43 (p. 111): '*theios logos patēr*.'

[6] *Vita Mosis*, ii. 134 (p. 155).

[7] With this cp. the 'Johannine' saying of Jesus (Resch, *Agrapha*, no. 185, p. 207): "He who has spoken in the prophets, (is) I, standing before you."

the conception of personified 'Wisdom' from the sapiential books, Philo identifies her with the divine spouse or beloved of the unknown God, and the Logos appears as their son,—more exactly, together with the World, the *Kosmos*, as one of the two twin sons of the august mystic pair.

It is obvious that, in claiming to be the 'Logos,' the 'Father,' the 'Son,' the 'Paraclete' and the 'Holy Ghost,' Simon Magus is simply using the terms of Philo's allegoric mysticism to express his personal consciousness of being an *'ish 'elōhim*, a 'man of God,' or, as he seems to have interpreted this Jewish term, a 'man-god'; his conviction of being 'inspired,' of having achieved the highest degree of what the Greeks called the *en-thous-iasmos*, the state of having become an elected vessel of the divinity, a mere material tent sheltering the world-governing, world-pervading Spirit.

The state of a mind harbouring such notions may well be called religious madness,[1] from the point of view of rational science. Nevertheless, those who were ready, and still are willing, to believe that it was Jesus of Nazareth in Galilee, who had such a conception of his relation to his God,[2] have no right to stigmatize these self-same ideas as those of a megalomaniac, when they are now found to have been first uttered by Simon the Samaritan of Gitta in his alleged capacity of Jesus *redivivus*. They may call this Simon a 'sorcerer' (*magos*), as did his contemporary enemies, who were fully aware of the analogy existing between Simon's "I am the Logos; I am the Father; I am the Son; I am the Holy Ghost" and the incantations of

[1] In every modern lunatic asylum there are men who believe and claim that they are Jesus and God Almighty himself.

[2] Cp. Jerome, *Ad Habac.* iii. 3: "*Ipse qui natus est in Bethlehem, legem quondam dedit in Monte Sinai.*" This is exactly Simon's claim.

a Pagan magician posing as the god Osiris or Mithras or Abraxas,—if they will only remember that the enemies of Jesus were equally prone to call the Naṣōrean Messiah a 'sorcerer' (*magos*), and that Eusebius had to write a whole apologetic treatise in order to refute this accusation.

While it is obvious that the Jesus of the Synoptics never dreamt of such claims, it is now equally obvious that Simon of Gitta, identifying himself with the crucified Jesus, who had promised to return to life and to lead his disciples all the way to Galilee, to redemption and to a new, everlasting life, and claiming to be the reincarnated Jesus, at the same time identified Jesus and his own higher self, his own 'spirit,' with the pre-existing Logos, the pre-mundane creative Word and world-pervading Reason, *i.e.* with the creator of the visible world, with the law-giver of Israel, seen by Moses on Mount Sinai, and with the Holy Spirit of God inspiring Jesus as well as the prophets of old.

This explains fully the hitherto so mysterious prologue of the Fourth Gospel, which is in reality nothing but a mystic Simonian exegesis, on Philonian lines, of the initial word of the creation-story in Genesis (i. 1): *Bereshith*, 'in the beginning' (*en archēi*), which certain heretics had explained as the proper name of a primeval being who created the gods, heaven and earth. 'In the beginning' there was the Word of God,—the 'Word going forth out of primeval Silence,' as Ignatius (*Ad Magnes.* 8), deeply imbued with 'Johannine' mysticism, expresses the idea. The primeval unknowable God is Silence itself in the system of Simon.[1] The Logos is in the beginning, is from the beginning; but it is 'with God.'

[1] Hippolytus, *Ref.* vi. 18 (French Trans. by Siouffi, Paris, 1928, p. 28).

It is the silent, indwelling Word *within God*,—that is, the unuttered Word of God, his Thought. "The Word was God"; it was still identical with God, in so far as it was still Silence, unuttered Speech, unknowable divine Thought. "Nothing came into being, without" the creative activity of "this Word." "All"[1] came into being through it. Divine Thought, through being uttered, became the Word; the divine Word coming forth, leaving the world of Silence and pure Thought, becomes the All (*panta*). The Word calls the All 'into Life': "In it is Life." The giving of Life is the function of Deity, who is the 'Father' of the All.

The Letter of Aristeas (§ 16) proves that the Hellenized Jews of Alexandria identified their God with the Zeus of the Greeks. They derived the name of Zeus (acc. *Zena* and *Dia*), according to Stoic etymology, from *zēn* = 'to live' and *dia* = 'through,' saying that *through* him it is given to the world to live. Heraclitus and Stoic doctrine — beautifully expressed in Cleanthes' hymn—identified Zeus with the Logos,[2] with the all-pervading Fire of Reason. 'Through' the life-giving Logos the All comes into being in the prologue to the Fourth Gospel.

And now this mystic commentary on Genesis (i. 1ff.) turns to v. 3: the origin of primeval Light, the Light which exists before the sun, the moon and the other heavenly luminaries are created,—a statement which had always been a puzzle to ancient and modern commentators. In Jn. i. 4 this primeval Light is identified with 'the light of men.' It is not the sunlight, the moonlight or the starlight, but the Light of Reason, enlightening men, the light mentioned in

[1] '*Omnia* Dei' in Simon's claim.

[2] Cp. above Simon's allowing the Gentiles to identify him with Zeus.

the saying of Jesus (Lk. xi. 35[1]) to which Clemens of Alexandria[2] refers when he says: "The eye of the soul should turn to its own light as to the truth engraved within, which authenticates the unwritten words." It is the Light which is meant in the celebrated saying of Plotinus, who tells us that the eye could not see the sun if it were not itself something like the sun (*hēlioeidés*). It is this principle of Light and Life which exists before sun and moon and stars.

The same mystic interpretation of Genesis i. 3f. is found in Paul,[3] when he writes: "God, when he said: Light shall shine forth out of darkness, hath shone forth in our hearts for the illumination of the gnōsis of the glory (splendour) of God in the person of the Messiah." On the other hand, God is called 'the true Light, the living Life' in Adam's prayer in the early Baptist (*i.e.* Naṣōrean) 'Life of Adam' (§ 28),—typical 'Johannine' terms, which recur with great frequency in the Aramaic literature of the so-called Mandæans or *Naṣōrāiā*.

The following sentence explains Gen. i. 4, where the Priestly author is understood to say that light —which was good—was separated and remained separated from darkness[4]—"the Light shineth in the darkness and the darkness hath not grasped it" —*i.e.* could not keep it hidden.[5] This is the emphatic

[1] "The lamp of thy body is thine eye: when thine eye is single, thy whole body also is full of light; but when it is evil, thy body is also full of darkness." Cp. another saying of Jesus (Ps.-Cyprian, *De Aleat.* 3; Resch, *Agr.*, p. 134, no. 92: "Do not extinguish the light which shineth within you."

[2] *Strom.* i. 1. 10 (p. 82).

[3] II. Cor. iv. 5, 6.

[4] I. Cor. vi. 14: "What is there in common between *light* and *darkness*, what has justice to do with lawlessness?"

[5] Burney's Aramaic retro-version would suggest "hath not darkened it." For our purpose this makes no difference.

protest against the Gnostic, originally Iranian[1] myth of a primeval mixture between light and darkness,—against the myth of the light or part of it having been swallowed by the darkness. God the creator being in this mystic theo-cosmogony the Logos-Light, the sentence in Gen. i. 4: "God separated the light from the darkness," is here interpreted as meaning that the divine Logos-Light separated *itself*—through 'shining forth in the darkness'—from the darkness; the darkness, the shadow, being created through the gushing forth of the splendour of light. Gen. i. 2 can easily be understood as hinting at a pre-existing darkness, it being uncreated by God and therefore coeval with the creator. But the Johannine prologue is anxious to exclude this interpretation, though without contradicting the Mosaic cosmogony. In accordance with the anti-dualistic teaching of Deutero-Isaiah (xlv. 6, 7)—"Beside me there is no god. I create light and I create darkness"—the Logos is explained as having Light within itself as his Life, or life-principle; and this Light through its splendour, as it were by contrast, produces the surrounding darkness.

Jn. i. 9 repeats the fundamental explanation: "This light is the true one which enlightens *every* man,"—meaning that no man is devoid of the light of reason. This is a clear protest against the theory of the early Baptistic (*i.e.* Nasōrean) 'Life of Adam and Eve,' in which Cain the murderer is called *adiaphōtos*, the 'unenlightened man.' But, "coming into the world,"—into the 'All' which the Logos-Light has created, "it was in the world and the world came into existence through it; yet the world knew it not. It came into its own (creations and, therefore, posses-

[1] Schaeder, *Stud. Bibl. Warb.*, vii., 1926, p. 284.

sions), but its own creatures (namely men) received it not." Therefore (i. 14) was it necessary that "the Logos was incarnated and pitched its tent among us, so that we could see its glory."

As the immediately following mention of Moses the law-giver (i. 17) shows, the 'seeing of the glory' refers to the splendour seen on the face of Moses,[1] which reappears on the face of the Messiah, according to the well-known transfiguration-legends.[2] The glory dwelling in Moses and the Christ, and shining forth from their faces,[3] is described (i. 14) as "the glory of the Logos, the only-born son of the Father, full of grace and truth.[4] From this fulness we have all of us received our share and 'grace for Grace' (we render)."

As Moses—the Logos incarnate, resplendent ever since he received the divine inspiration on Mount Sinai—brought down the Law, so the Messiah Jesus, upon whom the *pneuma*—that is, the Logos—descended when John baptized him, and in whom it remained, now reveals the Grace of God—and Truth, or (as the Ps.-Clementines express it), 'the truth in the scriptures,'—that is, what is true in the scriptures in contrast with what are human commandments added by the scribes.

Without the incarnation of the Logos, made visible through the coat of flesh, men would know nothing of God and of their own divine origin. For God himself, eternal Silence, is wholly inaccessible and

[1] Exod. xxxiv. 29; 35: The children of Israel see the splendour of the face of Moses.

[2] Rev. i. 17; Mt. xvii. 1f. and parallels.

[3] It is this glory, the splendour of the *pneuma*-endowed Christ and his saints which Christian art conventionally renders by painting 'nimbs' around the faces of Jesus and the apostles.

[4] *ḥesed ve'emeth*. The phrase is taken from Exod. xxxiv. 6.

incomprehensible. "No one has ever seen God; the only-begotten god, dwelling in the bosom of the Father, this one has explained him."

After this mystic prologue there followed—before the text got into the present disorder—the verses concerning the Baptist and the institution of his regenerative baptism, which were the original conclusion of the beautiful poem utilized by the evangelist for his peculiar purpose. It is the evangelist who has added the name of Jesus after Christ in i. 17a. As Bultmann has seen, the poem was originally meant to celebrate John the Baptist as being himself the Christ and the second incarnation of the Logos, completing the revelation of Moses:

"There was a Man[1] sent from God, his name *Joannes*.

"And those who received him, to them he gave the faculty to become children of God,[2] who were not born from bloods,[3] or through the will of a man, but from God."

That is to say, he taught them how to become 'reborn from above' (iii. 3, 5-8) through the baptismal rite.

After this follows the witness of the Baptist that Jesus and not himself is the Christ (i. 19-34). From this fundamental 'testimony,' from the *martyria tou Joannou*, and not from John the Zebedaid, who cannot have been its author and is not once mentioned in it, the whole gospel has derived its name 'Glad-tiding according to John.' ROBERT EISLER.

[1] Jn. i. 6: in the original "there was '*enosh*' (a *man*)," this being the pseudonym of the Baptist, as we know through the Slavonic Josephus and from Mandæan literature.

[2] "To those that believed in his name" is a gloss to "those who received him."

[3] Pl., *i.e.* the blood of (human) father and mother.

SOME REMARKS ON THE PROBLEM OF PSYCHICAL TIME.

THE EDITOR.

IN my last speculative essay or quest (Jan. no. 1929) —'Reasonable Relative Reality'—I tried to show that the natural conditions of our embodied consciousness are such that the truly real is inexperiencible by the incarnate mind; that even our sublimest notions of ultimates are relativistic through and through, and therefore all our efforts in pursuit of the transcendental must needs fall short as long as we are limited by such conditions.

Now, in the latest philosophic speculation, based on the most up-to-date scientific theorizing, the hyphenated concept 'space-time,' assumed to be the indiscerptible real, or inseparable root-fact that underlies all physical phenomena, has been exalted to the primacy. As Prof. S. Alexander has put it, space-time is the stuff of reality. It thus appears that, in the cycling of the times, our old friend, the ancient Gnostic general concept 'syzygy' (dualizing, pairing, two-in-one-ness, dipolarity) has re-emerged to dominate the attention of modern thought. In this special case —space-time—the problem of the nature of time, in its solidarity with space, has necessarily assumed an importance it had never previously enjoyed in the whole prior history of philosophic thinking.

As a deeply interested layman I extend therefore a warm welcome to an informative and instructive

volume that has, most opportunely, just been published. It is an historical and critical enquiry dealing with the time-problem from the pen of Prof. J. Alexander Gunn.[1] In my opinion, this essay is, as far as I am aware, the most useful study of the history of the discussion of the problem, so far as the West is concerned, which has yet appeared. Starting with the origins of the enquiry in Greek philosophy, thence working through the leading mediæval conceptions, Prof. Gunn deals first with the views of the early moderns and then methodically advances until he covers in detail the latest contemporary theories. Our author not only gives us a descriptive history, but also furnishes us with a critical survey of that history as he proceeds in his task stage by stage. It is in general very ably done; but, like most modern treatises on philosophic problems, the critical workmanship is superior to the constructive contribution.

What, then, is the main impression left on the mind of the attentive reader, who is not a specialist and has so far not been fascinated into making up his mind on any one or other of the phases or modes of theory passed in review? Speaking as one who falls within this class of readers, I find myself more than ever confirmed in the conviction, that the virtue of philosophizing consists in the discipline it affords the student as a method of progressive clarification and simplification of whatever problem is under discussion, rather than as offering inducement to accept any attempted explanation put forward as a definite solution of it.

[1] *The Problem of Time: An Historical and Critical Study*, by J. Alexander Gunn, M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D., Professor in the University of Melbourne, sometime Fellow in the University of Liverpool. London (Allen & Unwin); pp. 460; 16s. net.

Nevertheless, those thus disciplined do not lose courage; there is growth all the time. They are sustained throughout by the faith '*solvitur ambulando.*' Progress declares itself, makes itself known, in the push of the process. The perennial process continues indefinitely; yet the whole world of becoming, in fact and thought, is felt to proceed purposefully. The end sought is, therefore, not the arresting of process, but rather the progressive understanding of its purpose.

The value of Prof. Gunn's study of the time-problem enquiry is that it enables us within two covers to watch the game as it has been played throughout the centuries by our foregoers, and as it is now being played by our contemporaries, as though it were move by move on the chess-board of disciplined thought. Without such help the intelligence of the tyro would time and again be incapable of foreseeing the counter-moves of the specialists. With it he is progressively schooled in reviewing, revising and reorienting his notions on the subject, being disciplined to keep his mind fluid, and so accommodate it to the deeper insights of acuter minds than his own, thus becoming liberally educated, as he watches the ever-changing aspects of the game, and shares vicariously in the observational and logical skill of the world's great thinkers in dealing with the problem.

When, however, we say the 'world's' great thinkers, we have somewhat with which to reproach our otherwise generally excellent *cicerone*. His survey is confined entirely to the West. That cuts out half the world of thought. The acutest minds of the East have also been athletes in the same contest. We are, therefore, deprived of an insight into their methods and style of play. In philosophy, with the ample

information now accessible in translation, 'East is East and West is West' can no longer hold good. It is surely time that such an elementary fact should at last be generously acknowledged by all who would avoid the reproach of historical parochialism.

The consideration of the ultimate problem of the nature of time proper, the enquiry or quest in search of what this root-quality of existence, if not of being, really may be, is the task of metaphysics, and is, therefore, dependent on prior research into the modes or aspects in which time-experience presents itself to us. These may be, provisionally, distinguished roughly as the objective and the subjective, material and mental, or physical and psychological.

I confess, however, to finding it difficult to keep these distinctions hermetically disjunct in thought-tight compartments, with any feeling of satisfaction. Nevertheless it may be convenient, at the start, to abstract from concrete experience, and first fix our attention on what is generally regarded as the physical aspect of time free from all subjectivism.

Objective time is said to be a constant, continuous factor or function in the world-process, whereby the succession of events, which constitute world-history, is ordered. Time, like space, has 'extensiveness.' The neutral extensive continuum, when considered as atomized by events and occasions, is regarded as spatialized on the one hand and temporalized on the other. This sort of time is otherwise generally called 'real.' Its nature is further considered to be irreversible. Its characteristic of before-and-after-ness, sooner-or-later-ness, persists invariably, and that too, whether there be a consciousness to observe the objective time-process or not. It is thus claimed to

be unmodifiably objective, independently real. From this theoretically abstracted physical point of view, every psychological element in human experience has to be imagined as rigorously excluded. This convention or fiction, nevertheless, in my judgment, still remains a point of view, and is, therefore, radically mental. Those, on the contrary, who hold that this view is no abstract way of regarding time, but that it is forced upon us as a mode of the very stuff of givenness, naturally reject such a speculation, or intuition, regarding time's nature as that, for instance, of Kant, who maintained that time-experience is not imposed from without on the mind, but, on the contrary, is an innate form of mind, which imposes itself from within on phenomena, in the sense of the show of events in the external world.

This conflict or contradiction arises, I venture to think, from the natural proneness to confine consciousness within what may be called the 'standardized' human grade. It is of course true that what we call world-time proceeds apart from *our* conscious observation of it. Man is a late arrival on this planet even. But it is by no means inconceivable, indeed it is highly probable (unless we accept the primacy of sheer matter, which now-a-days in all advanced modern thought is regarded as a hopeless proposition), that mind or consciousness as a principle, irrespective of the special human form of it, is present everywhere in the universe and all its parts; it is immanent throughout.

But let us continue for the moment to regard objective time as artificially bifurcated. We must surely have some sort of experience of it; for, in any case, we 'can no other' than treat time as it is experienced.

First of all we must put on one side mathematical time-speculation as devoid of any pretension to explain the concrete nature of time. The function of mathematics here is confined solely to dealing with devices for measuring physical time. To facilitate its calculations, mathematics ideally particle-izes time, as it atomizes space. It splits time up into infinitesimal moments or instants, and assumes, in regard to time's three modes, that the present is the entirely imaginary and ever-shifting dividing line between the past and future. This mathematical zero-moment, the abstract present, must ever *ex hypothesi* remain non-existent to concrete experience. And yet in concrete experience we all are conscious of knowing time immediately. Time is present with us and presented to us; we have the distinct sense of duration ever with us. Moreover it is the common persuasion of mankind that the present alone is real and actual. The past belongs to memory, the future to anticipation or expectation; these are both called subjective. Indeed, if we agree with the radical realists, though the 'has been' may be granted a certain subjective status, for it actually once was, the 'will be' is ever actually non-existent.

In its mathematical meaning the present is a pure abstraction; but the sense of reality cannot be set aside by any device of abstractionizing or zero-izing. Indeed, the latest philosophical thinking is insisting that the only real units or actual entities of concrete experience, the only concretes we live through and live by, are of the nature of events, happenings, occasions, and that, too, not tidily separated, but every one containing and being contained by others. Events are not external shows only, but con-crete with the life of the mind.

For the human observer the concrete present is not a mathematical instant, eviscerated of all time-content and unknowable to consciousness, but a proper moment of consciousness, in the sense of movement, or a process involving apperception of change. This is the natural or concrete unit of time-perception. It is known of late in psychology under the name of the 'specious present' —a somewhat unfortunate designation, as it gives the impression of its being a fraudulent or deceptive somewhat, instead of being a definitely real experience. But, astonishingly enough, careful and repeated experiment has shown that this most immediately concrete present lasts from a minimum of half a second to a maximum of four seconds of our clock-time. Hence present objective time is the commonest of all experiences, and very definitely cognizable as a real entity. For it is immediately known not only as awareness of succession of events, but also as presenting them to the experient under the form of simultaneity, or a taking of them together, a 'togetherness.' The natural unit of time in consciousness is thus a very definite portion of duration. With this as a base-camp we can set forth reliably on further quest in search of the nature of time.

What determines this 'moment,' this time-event, as a natural unit of objective time 'enjoyed' by 'every man,' and acknowledged by 'common sense' as a basic factor in all our social life and intercourse? Surely it must be the conditioning, mental and material, of our embodiment. The latter, physically regarded, puts us in touch with a like-natured surround, an external world. The world appears to us under the form of a physical universe, because we are embodied in it.

Now it is very difficult—to me it seems impossible—

to get rid of the persuasion that, whatever the universe *may be* in itself theoretically, apart from our consciousness of it, in the nature of things all our notions of this 'may be' are straitly determined by the measure of consciousness—whether of sense or intellect—we at present possess, or the modality of mind we enjoy. It is vain to try to imagine what the universe may be like to a subhuman or superhuman mind.

Nevertheless, the objective time of which we have been speaking, and which is determined by our having a physical body of the human order, is not the only experience of time we live through within that order. There is what is called, in distinction, 'psychological' time.

This psychological time is generally supposed to be a private possession, purely subjective, and hence out of all touch with 'reality.' The time-factor, as privately experienced, has no common frame of reference; it stands utterly apart from clock-time. And yet this subjective or inner experience of time can tremendously modify our normal experience of objective or external time; and this is the commonest of experiences. Absorbed in some manual or mental work, we lose all sense of clock-time. In anticipation of some critical event, fear or hope can speed up or slow down our time-sense out of all proportion to normal objective time. Very numerous cases are on record of quite extraordinary subjective time-experience. Thus, for instance, the well-known instance of a daughter reading to her father. Externally regarded, and as measured by the clock, she paused for only the usual break after a full stop, and then proceeded with the next paragraph. And yet during this second or so of measured objective time, she experienced, lived through,

an inner life of crowded and stirring events. This left an indelible impression on her mind. And in many and many another case we know that in a very brief space of common time, in a flash as it were, men and women have had 'subjective' experiences that have changed their lives, have proved to be more 'real' for them than any event in their externally lived existence, have penetrated to the very depths of their nature,—while their bodies still floated on the surface of the physical life-stream. In such moments the experient seems afterwards to have lived æonially and not temporally.

In the mind of deep thinkers and in the heart of mystics there is ever a striving after and longing for a state transcending every form or mode of time,—for what is called eternity, and which is so often characterized quite negatively as timelessness. But when this concept of eternity is thus abstracted utterly from every notion of time, we seem to be left face to face with an unresolved stark dualism in the universe. To break down the strength of those sheer opposites or contraries, Thomas Aquinas, in the palmy days of summism, attempted to introduce a mediating notion,—namely that of *ævum*, which was supposed to share in eternity on the one hand and time on the other. Eternity was regarded as having no beginning or end, time as having both beginning and end, and *ævum* as having beginning but no end. This last notion, if I recollect rightly, was called perpetuity. The idea was evidently necessitated for the safeguarding of the theological dogma, that the human soul was created in time and thereafter lived eternally—an inner contradiction, outside the realm of reason. The term *ævum*, however, was nothing new; it was our old friend *æon*

revived, a concept which permeated gnostical speculation and hellenistic theology and cosmology. Crudely, it signified originally a very long space of time, a world-age. The notion was thus quantitative through and through, not qualitative. The meaning of the term was subsequently sublimated to signify spiritual beings or principles of the highest order most immediately conjunct with the transcendent reality of the supreme mystery,—thus providing the subject-matter of æonology. In such speculation what the philosopher-mystics were in search of really, was freedom from the tyranny of quantitative time with its false arithmetical infinity.

The preceding paragraph, however, is anticipatory of a consideration which will come more appropriately at the conclusion of this essay. To-day, I think, we can lead up to the metaphysical problem more gradually, and proceed in a more orderly, less jumpy fashion than has hitherto been usual in trying to pierce beneath the superficial aspect presented to us by time as inferred solely by the process or passage of physical phenomena. For to-day there is open to us a means of ingress into the beginnings of certain phases of deeper and more vital modes of existence and behaviour than those experienced by embodied human consciousness.

We return, then to the consideration of psychological time, but no longer dealing with it as privately subjective only; we will extend the enquiry so as to include the nature of what I am calling psychical time, as well. Prof. Gunn just brushes the problem, and thinks that the data are not clear enough at present to warrant methodical treatment. But though he shows acquaintance with two books on the subject only, he is evidently deeply impressed with their evidence. In particular, he refers a number of times to the personal

dream-experiences in Dunne's work—*An Experiment with Time* (1927)—which clearly show that elements of futurity enter into dream-consciousness; he also mentions Osty's very able treatise (Eng. Tr. *Supernormal Faculties in Man*), based on eighteen years of methodical research with sensitives, proving that precognition and premonition are indubitable psychical facts. But, and as is well known to readers of this Review, the literature of psychical research, and of mediumistic communications with the unseen in particular, is enormous, and the cases of the latter innumerable. Precognition is one of the commonplaces in such communication or commerce. There thus emerges a new factor in time-speculation.

In general, indeed, touching the whole state of affairs in the *au-delà*, the invariable report is that, once the physical body is dropped, the experience of time radically changes; the departed, save when tuned-in to the overlapping phase of communication, are no longer under the tyranny of our clock-time. Of course, when one is told by communicators of mediocre intelligence that they are normally in a 'timeless' state, we dismiss their opinion as that of the uncritical crowd. They mean simply that their present time-sense and condition is other than what they had when in a physical body.

To form any really adequate notion of what the nature of the difference is, and how it comes about, requires of course far more accurate observation and methodical research than has yet been devoted to the subject. Nevertheless a few points of consideration may be, venturesomely, brought forward that careful students and first-hand investigators may deem to be reasonably justifiable hypotheses.

Just as the sense of objective time is dependent on the possession of a physical body by the experients, so also the so-called subjective time-sense is dependent on the possession by the discarnate of a subtle embodiment. This dephysicalized embodiment seems to act as a protean *sensorium*, so to say, an indefinitely adaptable instrument, or *organon*, of sense, of ever increasing subtlety, refinement and intensity in the physically disembodied life of the mind. From our present point of view, 'down here,' this extended sensitivity and activity is held to be subjective. But for excarnate minds the phenomena experienced 'there' are claimed to be as objective as our show of things is to us, and indeed more and more vividly and vitally so, as progress is made in the new life, than any form of objectivity we experience in the damped-down conditions of normal external physical existence.

There is, it seems, temporal confusion in the most proximate state of what I have called the overlap. Here the past habit of incarnate time-experience continues to play a part with those who are still immersed in the memories of their late 'earthly' concerns. And even for those who are freeing themselves from the dominance of such external interests,—in mediated communications from discarnate minds there is always, in the process of communicating, a distinct immixture with incarnate modes of sensible experience and corresponding thought-conditions, and therefore invariably blurring to some extent even under the best circumstances. But,—as far as one can gather from first-hand investigation and from study of the very extensive literature of the records,—in what may be called the properly adapted state of the normal hither-hereafter life, the sense of time is

very different from that of our external world. If we can at all rely on the reports of those who appear to be intelligently experienced in their new conditions, they have no public clocks, seasonal successions and the rest of it. It is, accordingly, exceedingly difficult to form any adequate notion of such a state of affairs. With us, all our social arrangements and engagements are dependent on agreed time-measurements. With them time is experienced somewhat in the way with which we are here familiar in what has been called above psychological time. Now with us this form of time is, as has been said, a purely private matter. But with them what we thus solely experience privately here, seems there to be presented also in some public form of 'enjoyment'; it contains, in brief, a certain 'objective' element. It is this relatively objective common factor of psychical time that is the chief problem which imposes itself upon students of psychical research for solution. But, at present, I have come across nothing that can be remotely regarded as a real help in unriddling the mystery. People in the *au-delà* do not seem to have engagement-books or diaries or calendars. Their infinitely varied personal interests seem in some way to be satisfied by occasions which are not definitely arranged for beforehand or anticipated in any orderly fashion. These meetings together seem to occur on the individual's life-route simultaneously or sympathetically with the arising of like occasions in the life-routes of others similarly interested. It seems to be, so to say, a matter of mutually 'tuning-in.' This relative objectivity is in duration-modes, but of another order of temporal and temporary intercourse from ours down here. It is, indeed, all very puzzling; but there

I must leave it, awaiting the time when more exact and methodical research will, mayhap, throw further light on the subject.

Finally, a word must be said, though all too briefly, concerning those visions and intuitions had by millions of incarnate minds or souls, who have enjoyed here and now some taste of that mystic or spiritual consciousness, which is invariably believed by the experients to be emancipated from all conditions of time and space. The phrase that is generally nsed in the West to characterize this transcendental state is *totum simul*,—'all at once.' Personally, I do not think such absoluteness is actually realizable by a still physically embodied consciousness. It seems rather to be an ecstatic expansion of the 'specious present' experience, and is, therefore, through and through patient of extensity. But, if we consider the probabilities and possibilities of what is called above psychical time, it is evident that the refinements of time-experience in the physically disembodied state tends progressively towards intensity and away from extensity. Indeed, if we regard the unimaginable vastness of the physical universe, as revealed, both macroscopically and microscopically, by the latest scientific observation, it is utterly incredible that any finality can be reached in the surveying of extensity in the direction either of maxima or of minima.

Moreover we must never forget that at any moment each one of us may be deprived of his physical body. And what then remains for him of his physically determined consciousness and with it this vast external view of things?

It follows, therefore, that our faith that somehow there must be satisfaction for the unquenchable longing

of man's inmost heart for liberation, embraces a vision of the hereafter and of the progressive intensification of consciousness and character. We know already in body that there are deepenings of awareness,—growth in grasp of significance and meaning, growth in apprehension of value, growth in the sense of actuality, growth in the realization of truth, beauty and goodness, growth in receptivity of and response to the wise life of the divine spirit immanent in the universe.

But when we say 'growth' our language still suggests the notion of time, the process of succession in becoming. Nevertheless becoming is not in time; time is rather in becoming. And the being of becoming is the perpetual creative virtue of actuality, that supreme reality which freely disposes of both being and becoming,—and much more of space and time,—because these are the self-conditioning of its own nature. And man is potentially divine spirit; and, therefore, will finally reach to realization of the fulness of his proper nature, and therewith to the spiritual consummation of both the becoming and the being, the existence and reality, of the universe.

G. R. S. MEAD.

'RELIGION IN THE MAKING.'

A REVIEW OF DR. WHITEHEAD'S LOWELL LECTURES.[1]

WILLIAM F. CLARKE, M.D.

DR. WHITEHEAD has found God. But has he, in the terms of the naturalism from which he starts, presented us with such a description of God as will convince us that he has always kept within the bounds of his own philosophy? The answer to this question does not always appear to be definitely clear. It may be that, in dealing with situations in which the infinite and eternal are involved, clarity of statement is impossible; it may be that clarity of thought has not been arrived at; or it may be that the philosopher makes such unfamiliar use of familiar words that his meaning is obscured for the ordinary reader.

In dealing with a book in which one finds so much food for thought as is condensed within the limits of *Religion in the Making*, it will be safest to assume that any obscurity encountered arises rather from the muddle-headedness of the reader than in any fog in the mind of the writer. Still it may not be wasted labour, if one should try to point out the difficulties of the unenlightened, and make the attempt to clear them up in language less likely to be misunderstood.

Before we go any further, it may be a help to us if we frankly confess that the God of naturalism must be utterly anthropo-

[1] Conclusion from the last number of the article 'Philosophy Rediscovers God.'—ED.

morphic: God must be of one substance with man. The reason that anthropomorphism ever got into bad odour, and the anthropomorphic God became the butt of the scoffer, was that we took so little account of what was in man, and stupidly thought to glorify God by belittling man. The ancient theologians knew better than this: they knew that man at his best—man redeemed—was the very 'image' of God; and that in man alone could God fully reveal himself to men. Man *is* a microcosm of the all-embracing universe: the 'stuff' out of which he is made, includes all the elements which go to the making of God. The doctrine of the Incarnation is a perpetual witness to this truth. The microcosm differs from the macrocosm rather in the sweep of its prehensive power than in the elements included in its one conceptual fusion. To use our author's own words when speaking of God: "The consciousness which is individual in us, is universal in him; the love which is partial in us is all-embracing in him"; the harmony which is successive, never complete, momentary, in us, is simultaneous, complete, eternal, in him.

What are the formative elements in the make-up of man which can guide us to a description of God?

1. A Body made up of an inconceivable number of highly complex units—cells—each cell an organism in itself, with a creative life and a will of its own, polarized to its own centre. All these innumerable 'blind' centres are again polarized, in groups, to higher and ever higher, though still blind, centres, until we reach the final focus, in which the meaning of the life of all the centres is gathered up into one conscious act of perceptivity. Modern science has taught us that these, our bodies of solid flesh, are but manifestations of routes of life, and of them we have no need to be ashamed. The problem of the body is one with the problem of the soul and the problem of God: the problem of individuality in community—of relational, organic unity.

2. The worlds of intellect and reason, and of poetic imagination and of insight—the realm of ideas and of ideals—the Mind.

3. Emotion—Judgment—Self-directing Will—Character—the Spirit. (And in all these elements there is a note of disharmony, conflict, pain and failure.)

The first gives us the 'person' we meet in the street and see and touch. The second is the person with whom we discourse. The third is the person whom we love or hate. But these three persons are one man.

The 'character' may give us the meaning of the whole complex event, which is the life of the man, and in that way we may say that the character is *the person*. But when we do this we must be candid with ourselves, and realize that we are making an abstraction for our own convenience, and are giving priority to the focus of a complex whole, which focus taken in abstraction is the focus of nothing—a void.

On the whole, in *Religion in the Making*, Dr. Whitehead seems to accept this line of thought; and then, again, in parts he uses language which reads like a contradiction of the relativist point of view, and the ghost of the absolute looms up before us once more. On the one side we find:

"There is no entity, not even God, which requires nothing but itself in order to exist. . . . Actual fact always means fusion into one perceptivity."

Which means, as I understand it, that when the elements of life find themselves in certain relationships, a feeling, or consciousness, of unity arises in the focus where the fusion takes place:

"God is one such conceptual fusion. . . . Apart from God there would be no actual world; and apart from the actual world, with its creativity, there would be no rational explanation of the ideal vision which constitutes God."

But then again we find:

"The world is at once a passing shadow and a final fact. The shadow is passing into the fact, so as to be constitutive of it; and yet the fact *is prior* to the shadow."

(And again:) "God transcends the actual world, because he

is an actual fact in the nature of things. *He is not there as derivative from the world.* He is the actual fact from which the other formative elements cannot be torn apart." (Italics in both cases mine.—W. F. C.)

In such a general, utterly-interrelated whole, where nothing is what it is in isolation from the other elements of the fusion, and no one element can stand alone, why bestow priority on what Dr. Whitehead himself, in another section of his book, calls 'a function in the world'? Perhaps the difficulty lies in the description of eternal principles in spatio-temporal language.

The formative elements (which Dr. Whitehead separates from the physical world) are non-temporal and non-spatial, eternal, simultaneous. But these elements require for their fusion and actualization a temporal and spatial world; and so we must believe that some form of creature-world, be it but the 'ripple' suggested by our author, must be eternal too. Without creatures creativity has no meaning, forms are mere ghosts, and God is reduced to an incomprehensible being absorbed in the contemplation of his own ideal beauty of harmony.

If this effort has really expressed Dr. Whitehead's own thought, we can take the name 'God' to apply to the character of the eternal purpose manifested in the universe of events—the self-revelation of the meaning of Life; much in the same way as a man's enduring character is a revelation of all that goes on within his whole being. If we choose to isolate this character and call it an 'entity' or a person, in the same way that we isolate and name a man's character when we speak of 'that sort of a person,' well knowing what we are about, then there is no harm done.

Is God personal? Yes, if we mean by a person the eternal self-conscious character of the complex event which is the all-embracing universe: he is the only completely harmonized, perfect Person, whose focal centre of consciousness is everywhere, and whose limiting circumference is nowhere. It is this overshadowing, all-embracing Presence which gives objective reality to all the ideal values which human life so persistently reveals: the Presence which Dr. Whitehead very beautifully describes as "the mirror which discloses to every creature its own greatness."

In reference to the questions of evil and suffering there are some dark and cryptic sayings, upon which one would be glad of more light; but here, again, perhaps a free and open confession of the difficulties of the situation would have saved confusion. Jacob Boehme, the illuminated, mystic philosopher, in one of his writings warns his readers that if he is to make comprehensible the eternal generation, unfolding, or evolution of God out of his own self, he cannot help speaking in a 'devilish' manner, making it appear as if the eternal light had ignited itself in the darkness, and as if the Godhead had a beginning. It behoves us all to keep this humble confession in mind in dealing with the problems of evil and suffering.

Conscious of inevitable limitations, we may return once more to man, and in the depths of our own being seek the light we need. What do we find? We find that the character of a man, the 'person' he really is, is never a stable, finished thing. Man when he arrives at self-consciousness discovers within himself a perpetual conflict: his creative activity, his directing will, his ideals, are all at cross purposes; he seeks truth and finds error, he strives for beauty and finds terrifying

horrors; he desires goodness and his 'goods' turn empty and hollow in his hands. Why should all this be? We do not know; but we do know that the worth of a man's character depends upon, and is the outcome of, this same conflict. Man is no ready-made article: in the perpetual rejection of error, of ugliness, and of sin his individual self is built up. A man who feels himself stably good, is a lost soul. God alone is good; but his goodness, also, is action and not passivity—a state of harmonious tension where all the elements of discord are subdued and made to serve the meaning of the universal symphony.

Taking this world of conflict and of suffering to be a segment of eternity, a *state* through which the creature must pass to win its conscious individuality, human experience may not 'explain' the world, but it will throw some light upon it. If the whole of a woman's life could be concentrated within the twenty-four hours of childbirth and end blindly in an apparent abortion, life would seem to be an inconceivably horrible thing for her; but we know that the normal end of labour is the birth of the child and the joy of life. If in this world "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together" in the effort to give birth to sons of God, the process may be a difficult one both for man and God, and yet the end give meaning and justification to it all. Through suffering, grief and struggle we win our individuality. "We suffer alone." But in the darkness of our isolation we discover God—the Companion.

Is this companion an empty ideal, a vain delusion of the imagination, deceiving man in his hour of utmost need, or is he the All-Father calling victorious sons to his bosom? Here Dr. Whitehead's philosophy leaves

him powerless to decide. Speaking of immortality he writes: "The doctrine here developed gives no warrant for such a belief." But, if God is the kind of God that has been described, have we not every reason to be encouraged in a belief in immortality? If the Justice and Love which we know in part, and for the fullness of which we yearn, are 'in the nature of things,'—then the God who can will the creation of men purely for his own enrichment, is not in the nature of things.

In the statement that God "is the ideal companion who transmutes what has been lost into a living fact within his own nature," God seems to absorb all values, to be the devourer of his own sons. But I imagine that Prof. Whitehead's faith has come to the aid of his reason, and has made his decision for him; for we read:

> "God is the binding element in the world . . . (and also) the love which is partial in us is all-embracing in him."

But love is our name for the reciprocal relationship which binds together spirits in unity. In that fact, that fusion into one perceptivity, which is the spirit of a man, all the eternal elements of the universe emerge and become individualized in a centre,—a centre which, in its self-consciousness, attains a self-value as well as value in the general scheme of things. The perpetual evocation and extinction of such centres would be a meaningless act of cruelty. But it may be that 'a living fact within' the nature of God *is* an immortal spirit.

The sections of the book upon the genesis of evil are illuminating: God, in the beginning (to speak foolishly), chose from the field of infinite possibility a definite course of action, and thereby limited himself, and set up a movement of division and opposition

within himself—a separation between the wheat and the chaff. But a movement which is eternal, must be visualized as spherical rather than linear; for the beginning and the end must be always present, everywhere. In God's all-embracing vision the process is ever complete and grasped in one harmonized conceptual whole; in fact, this "ideal world of conceptual harmonization is merely a description of God himself."

In any temporal segment of eternity the actualization of the immanent ideal world in the creative process exhibits itself as a perpetual effort, through the selection of the good and the rejection of evil, to attain the beatific vision which is God.

In the statements that "evil is positive and destructive, what is good is positive and creative," and that the incompletion of the temporal world and its evil "show that the temporal world is to be construed in terms of additional formative elements which are not definable in terms which are applicable to God,"—we seem to see the suggestion of a dualism, and visions of the old conflict between God and the Devil rise up before us. But although there is a dualism in the nature of things, which cannot be ignored, and this dualism suggests elements alien to the nature of God, still the alien elements are due to the nature of God and are not the product of a hostile creative force.

Within ourselves, we realize that the rejected possibilities in any definite mental situation are still 'there' and seek actualization; and that, unless they are transcended, sublimated, or otherwise subdued and incorporated into the general harmony of the situation, and so are expressed, they lead to mental disorder and the break-up of the personality. God is limited in

that he has made his choice: he is ever linking up his creativity with a definite chosen order, a purpose in the nature of things; and in making his choice he has created good and, at the same time, made evil.

In the all-embracing sweep of God's vision all warring elements are subdued and harmonized: evil *is* overcome by good; but in the creative process God is with his creatures and is involved in their struggle—the struggle for the realization of the ideal conceptual harmony in the actual world. God has in his nature a knowledge of evil, of pain and of degradation, and a knowledge of the effort involved in the achievement of the good. These things enter into his experience, and without them he would not be what he is:

"Every fact is what it is, a fact of pleasure, of joy, of pain, or of suffering. In its union with God that fact is not a total loss, but on its finer side is an element to be woven immortally into the rhythm of mortal things. Its very evil becomes a stepping stone in the all-embracing ideals of God."

This last sentence is somewhat obscure. Who uses the stepping stone? Perhaps another quotation will make this clear:

"God gives to suffering its swift insight into values which can issue from it."

Here we see that pain and evil can be utilized by the creatures as a means of access to the ideals of God. Further we read:

"The world lives by its incarnation of God in itself. . . . He is not the world. . . . But in the actual world he confronts what is actual in it with what is possible for it."

And God conditions creation with his harmony of apprehension, "and issues in the mental creature as moral judgment according to a perfection of ideals."

Here we see that God, too, uses the stepping-stone in the actualization of his own ideal world; for God is in his creatures.

In *Religion in the Making* Prof. Whitehead has given us, in spite of doubtful and obscure spots, within the limits of his philosophy, a liberating and illuminating description of God—the God of the Gospel of St. John and of the tradition of the great Christian mystics: God the giver of himself to the world, ever ready to share with us at our own table, which too is his, his substance, his ideals, his very life; the God, who, in the words of the poet William Blake, "becomes as we are that we may be as he is."

WILLIAM F. CLARKE.

THE MIDDLE WAY.

ARTHUR EDWARD WAITE.

IT is said in the Secret Tradition of Israel that *linea media ascendit usque ad Ayin Soph.* The dogmatic affirmation will mean nothing for the general reader; but at the opening of this brief communication it may appear to signify an intention of discussing Jewish Kabbalism. Such, however, is not the case: my Latin citation is set up to serve as a peg, on which I am proposing to fasten another discourse on the unity. There is a familiar Kabbalistic symbol called the Tree of Life, which places the World of Action, understood as the Kingdom of this World, at the foot of a conventional diagram and the World of Deity at the head. Between them are intervening Worlds of Creation and Formation which do not concern us here; and above that of Deity there is represented a withdrawn state of Godhead, under the denomination of *Ayin Soph.* By the hypothesis it is unknown and inaccessible, except in that state to which the Latin axiom alludes. The diagram in question shews a straight line—a *linea media*—of communication between the World Below and that Supernal Sanctuary above which is called the Crown, and is the dwelling-place of Jehovah and Elohim. *Ayin Soph,* as I have said, is above; and though it is never shewn in any form of the diagram, my quoted dictum postulates that the line of communication continues, ascending even to this withdrawn

mode of Divinity. Now it happens that between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a certain Latin-writing scholarship in Europe, which understood all Kabbalism in a more or less Christian sense: it went to work on the diagram accordingly and on the texts from which it derives, producing many evidences of the Christian explicits and implicits of Jewish Kabbalism, which carried complete conviction within the particular circle of experts, but none or very little outside it. It happens also that a much later mystical school went to work in its turn, and theosophized, on the *linea media* as a path of ascent, which opened to the mind in a state of unconditional dedication to the Quest of God. It was Cardinal Bellamine's *Ascensio Mentis ad Deum* understood after another manner. For the purposes of this very informal school, which became less informal later and yet more mystical as time went on, the Mind in the World Below was the Logical or Rational Mind, sometimes miscalled material; but by the ascent of *linea media* it began to be formed in God—namely, in the World of Formation. In the World of Creation it became the Mind in Christ. In the Supernal World Christ gave up the Kingdom to the Father, so that God was All in all: there was otherwise the Divine Mind only, abiding in the Crown of the Tree. But seeing that *linea media ascendit usque ad Ayin Soph*, there was a further stage or state pictured in the great dream, and in this the mind of man, super-transmuted and absorbed in union, passed over the inconceivable threshold to that indrawn state of Deity suggested by *Ayin Soph*, beyond all forms and modes by which God in his Heaven is shadowed forth to understandings below. There will be inferred at once and inevitably that about this state a pregnant silence

prevails in the dream-heaven and all its world of words. It will be seen, however, that from *tau* to *aleph* the scheme was concerned solely with ascribed modes of Mind; having said which, I have done with the Tree of Life in Kabbalism and with a mystical construction thereof which would astonish official scholarship. The Tree has served assuredly as a peg for other discourse than mine, which has used it as a pretext only.

There remains the Mind of Man, excogitating and incogitating, conceiving and dwelling on aspects of the Mind of God, and setting forth its own travels therein. My thesis is, that all whatsoever which we know, shall and can know of God, lies within these measures—the measures of human Mind. It follows that the search after God is a quest in our own being; and, *linea media* or otherwise, supposing that there is a way to God, this way is within. The reason is that obviously there is no other, seeing that it is we who ascend the heights, as it is we who explore the deeps. If we say that a *Directorium Asceticum*, like that of Scaramelli, can help us, we are putting cart before horse; because it is our own Mind which accepts the ascetic path. It means alternatively that one Mind can help another. If we say otherwise that books can help us—and this is of all things true—at least in the earlier stages—we must be careful here, lest we confuse the issues; for albeit they are great awakeners, that which they awaken is Mind. If we say, in fine, that this or that practice—for example, a specific mode of contemplation—can be a great aid on the path, an essential even, after all and always it is the Mind which contemplates.

Are not these gleanings among commonplaces of the Eternal Subject and platitudes of the Sanctuary?

But there will be many cases of good persons and thoughtful who have not happened to look at it in this manner, because they are ever expecting to find their God outside the machine instead of within. Moreover, there is an inward heart of many commonplaces which proves to be rich and strange, and there are even times when it may take a few where they had hardly looked to go. Let us explore a little further—perhaps among them, perhaps on their fringes, and perhaps at last leaving them. I have said very often that the Way is Love, meaning the Way to God, and that there is no other in very truth. But the kind of Love is a direction or mode of Mind. The state of pure intelligence in deep contemplation is a state of essential Love in the highest, as at an apex of Mind. The absorption of the unity, world without end in God, is an absorption of Mind in Love. The Mind is Love, the Mind is high desire, the Mind is soul, unless we talk of the soul as a kind of psychic body or vesture of the next life: in this case, Mind is spirit.

If it be said, and it has been said often, that Mind explores itself and reaches thus a so-called Higher Mind, it remains, this notwithstanding, that Mind is one. Abiding in things external, dwelling on things of sense: hereof is its normal mode among externals here and now; and, as I have said, it is called material Mind in the prevailing fashion of words. A certain light of vision may come to Mind from things without: it does ever and continually, amidst the pageant of the natural world and all its sacraments. From the circle of apprehension and debate it comes also, from the flux of thought about us, the study of 'sensation and event.' There are awakenings here, like those in books for some, and in music for many others. But beyond all this

there lies a quiet world of thought which is full of messages, while beyond all thought another world extends. This also is a state of Mind; but it is not to be reached by the reasoning out of things, by the operation of systematic reflection or any methodical processes: it is a world of active stillness. Beyond the voices and beyond the images, it is a state of pure knowing, a state of realization in simplicity as of very being. It is confusing the issues to speak of light therein, as if the spark of the Scholar Gipsy should fall at last from heaven: there is neither light nor darkness. It is most comparable to a state of ineffable awareness towards oneness of all being. It comes and goes suddenly, and as it seems to me that it is not a term but a threshold, I am concerned with it only because it leads to great dedications, and because it is desirable to add that this also is a state of Mind; but there is nothing in the whole world which is less like mental illusion.

From one point of view it may seem redundant to lay such stress upon the fact that our inward modes and phases are varieties of Mind-experience; but in reality we need to understand clearly the values of those verbal counters which are our medium of exchange on these subjects, or that which is implied by our recurring axioms on mystic paths and terms. It is also of the first importance to still those time-old voices of duality which tell us of grace, illumination, election, Divine knowledge communicated from without by a God postulated as if at some great spatial distance. We are our own election, and we are also its vessel; we are the grace and the sacrament, all the light and its fountain. It is essential to remember this when we speak of inward experiences and great far-off things in which

some of them merge. They begin as concepts of the Mind and are or will be states thereof in attainment. That which lies behind the allegory of being drawn back to the Centre is one of them. There is another, which is like the end of all desire, and it testifies to a state for and within which God is All-in-all, when there are Subject and Object no longer, since the One only is. But if God is within, if we know him thus only and never at first-hand otherwise, then this All-in-all state is that in which Knowledge—and this is Love—of him possesses the whole being. In other words, it is one of our own states. Our true self-knowing part is God-knowing, and that which knows is Mind, because it can be nothing else. The personality which we desire to put away, and which must go if we would get at Reality, is an absorption of Mind amidst things impermanent and false or illusory. The Higher Mind is Mind directed to the Real and Eternal.

Let us proceed a stage further, moving with needful caution. For us and for our concerns the Mind of God is our own Mind in the God-state, for we know him only as he is revealed within. There is no other source of knowledge. He is that which we can conceive at the highest concerning our own measures of being. For us also and therefore the God-state is a mode of Mind realized—so far as it is realized—and attained—so far as it is attained—in consequence of utter dedication and exploration of the God-Idea in Love. But it is explored within us. It is like the poet's devotion to his art, or the tone-poet's; but it is immeasurably more unstinted and life-long. It will be said by some that here is atheism and that such a God is a mental make-up. The judgment shall rest at that, for those who cannot see that the Mind which is on this quest is not

engaged in make-ups, but is investigating Reality with the one instrument which has been allowed it since the world began,—its own glass of vision. Here indeed and here only is the Great Experiment, to see whither we are taken by the axiom that God is within.

There is no need to say that the doctrine is part of a philosophy of Immanence. He is not in you more than he is in me, or in my nearest friend more than in a declared enemy. He is not more presumably in you and in me than he is in the cosmic world—whatsoever is intelligent therein and whatsoever also is not. But we have no direct knowledge except in so far as we undertake to search the witness-in-chief among us. Moreover, your own experience concerning him can never rank in comparison with mine as other than collateral. When we testify one to another it may produce a supreme conviction on the point of relation and on a root of identity; but in the nature of things the appeal is to our rational part, that aspect of the Mind within us which weighs and values evidence. You cannot know me as I am known unto myself, by myself unveiled within me: and each of you is in the same position. You are thus as on one side, when we interchange our views on the Great Subject and offer one unto another our fragments of experience therein, while whatever we can draw from the universe concerning the Immanence of God therein is, so to speak, on the other. I stand between both in the Middle Way of my title. If we are in search of Reality, here is the path thereto, as it is a path also to the deeps, if we are set to explore the deeps.

After what manner is God immanent within us? Be it remembered that we must suffer all that follows in logic from our axiom. He is with the murderer,

despite the act of murder, and in the condemned cell. He dwells within the Familiars of the Holy Inquisition, amidst their racks and thumbscrews in the torture-chamber. He is within Pope Pius IX., when he calls his Vatican Council to decree his own doctrinal infallibility. The presence of God is also in a Borgia pontiff who administers a poisoned Eucharist. But what is more to the purpose for you and for me, is that he is as much within those about us who know no life but that of the gross senses, who never think of God, as he is within you and me, God help us, who may find it difficult to think of anything but him. Can we reach a solution of this problem, an answer to this conundrum? We can say that the matter of stars is in many heaps of dust, or that gold is hidden in a vast mass of ore, and that there is very poor ore as well as some that is rich. But these analogies are not in the Middle Way of our subject: they are side issues of symbolism. God is not within us in any sense of location, as at this, that or another point of our inward being; and he is not to be found by any process which corresponds in figurative language to the smelting, dredging and sifting of metallurgical art. How then is he immanent within us? It must be either as our one authentic, noumenal and real self, or not at all. It must be so, if ours is a true axiom and not a mere shibboleth, carrying no clear and definite significance to those who cite it.

Is it possible to exemplify this in a comparatively simple manner? It is said—for example—that the poet is born and not made: his gift therefore indwells. But in order that it shall be brought into expression, a life of devotion is involved. So also if there is Divinity within us, a great dedication, and this only, will unfold

it. It is not, however, a self within the self. If God is within, it can be by reason only of a common root in nature, an inmost ground of identity; and I know not where to seek it, except in the nature of Mind. We may speak of the Lower Mind and the Higher Mind, of Mind in the sense of disposition, of Mind as will; we may distinguish between *nous* and *ratio;* but Mind is always Mind. If this is the root of identity between God and Man, after what manner shall we explore the Mind on the Quest of God? It is not a regional investigation, followed as in threading a maze, in valleys or on mountain tops, in vaults or holes or corners. It is not pursued by regarding our individual Mind as a Temple, at the hypothetical East of which there is a sealed door giving entrance to a Holy of Holies, in which we should find a Presence, had we only a key to open. Above all, and as I have hinted, we cannot prosecute it by your or my Mind looking inside itself for another and Greater Mind, as if X, which is God, interpenetrated a supposititious space in occupation already by A, which is the Mind of you or of me.

The search after God who is within, is not in truth a search, but in very truth a life. It is a manner of living rather than a way of thinking. It is a path of practice and not a path of doctrine. And seeing that there are many practices, many modes of proffered contemplation, varieties of ascetic methods, strict and relaxed observances, it is my desire to say something in humility, as a kind of last word and key to my other testimonies on Love as the only path. It is of course the Love of God which leads us to realize his Presence and grow in his knowledge. But it is very difficult to cast out duality, and it may be lurking even in these weighed words of presentation. Once more,

if Mind is the root of likeness and Mind the ground of identity between God and Man, there is a way to his knowledge as such which it does not seem to me has been put into clear language; but to myself it is a golden way, and greatly daring, while in fact there is no other which can lead more validly—after all the records of sanctity.

Those who have read so far, if any, who find use only and maintenance in the idea of a God ruling from without, by means of book or Church, may be counselled to leave off at this point, for my words of intimation will be to them blaspheming words. Smithfield and Tyburn would have entered into a transitory concordat in the old days, if they could have combined to burn and draw me.

The counsel is this, that he who would attain God must live God. He who would know God must become him, by maintenance and unfoldment of the God-Idea in Mind, and by life within and without led on the basis of unity, on the identity of the inward self with God. The path is one of growth in him and of him in us. The manner of living is a keeping of the self inviolate. Think well upon this and its implicits of life-long practice. There is no love which is like unto such love, no practice counts as this, and no contemplation. On the side of conduct, who can do wrong, working from this basis? Who store up false values? Who follow vice and vanity? And who not judge clearly, carrying this touchstone, between the good and evil? For there are illusory goods and instituted or conventional evils about us on every hand. On another side let us realize and again think well upon the inward growth which shall follow upon this practice. It shall be realized that God is indeed within, and that

we are he when all our veils come off. For it is more than a practice of the Presence: it is a practice of God himself. It is the most difficult of all things in the whole wide world until that desirable moment comes when it is found the easiest. When that which is perishable has died or passed or changed, there is nothing so easy, for we are in the repose and simplicity of a continual loving preoccupation which is on the watch without and within to keep the honour of the King. Thereafter, by insensible degrees, the life of watch ceases: that which we have done with our might seems done henceforth of itself. The motive by which we have been actuated has become a part of us, in very bone and fibre. The fluidic mercury of thought, desire, intent, has been fixed within us. We have then, as it seems to me, served our whole apprenticeship, and from day to day and from more to more we grow in Divine estate, travelling in the Eternal Subject—as I have said elsewhere, symbolically. The figurative spark falls no longer at rare intervals from the poetic heaven: there is a light within us by which we have become light. The acting personality without is no longer a preventing bar but a vehicle of transmission.

We have made God in our own image and after many likenesses; but by this living and active practice we are transformed in him. We may search for God in the whole universe, and he is there; but we may not find him: we cannot fail to find him if thus we pursue the Quest. It is no impossible journey, because that subject in which the Mind travels is its very own. The kind of travelling is represented by that word which I have used so often—Realization, namely—and this is an experience and a life. Why does the world

at large know nothing of these high endeavours, this 'race and royalty' of the spirit? There are those who say—and at heart I may be one of them—that "the soul cometh from afar," as into cloud and darkness. But does not a true answer to the question show that it is not on the agenda? It is obvious from the nature of our constitution that we know nothing of any subject until it has been searched by Mind. We acquire thereby whatsoever Mind can tell us, and more will never know. But it tells us also that the subject-matter of every science is within us, the God-subject included, and it is ours therefore to create a science of God, following a practice according to laws of knowledge and profiting by the findings of those observers who have preceded. It is idle to ask why we know nothing of a subject till we have contemplated and worked thereon. It is worse than idle to ask why, on investigation, we find that all subjects are within us and are there and thence unfolded, the God-subject included. It is impossible that it should be otherwise. He is our own therefore, and from more to more we make him more our own, on the understanding that it is not by thought and reasoning, as in other sciences, but by a work of love and life.

I have spoken of those who have gone before us in the way: how many Masters of Art, Masters of the Great Science. It is of them and at their knees that we learned first of God who is within, of inward experience and where it may lead the soul. But remember always that *consensus omnium sanctorum* is *sensus Spiritus Sancti* on the firm understanding that this is the Holy Spirit of Man, for there is none other which testifies. Churches and Councils proclaim the truth of God: it is always the truth of man, at the

value of man and his measures. There is no Divine Revelation which is not the work of man on the part of God. The prophets speak on his part and in his name on the faith of personal revelations: it is always man who speaks, for there is no other voice in all this universe of ours. These things are cited that we may know where we stand in respect of all the witnesses and their records of the past. They are a great cloud, and it may be that we must leave some of them "as we have left carved gods." They are cited also because, in the second place, we must remember also that our work is not in the records, but in our very life itself—a quest therein, an experiment thereupon. We are brought back in this manner from Great Masters to the fact of you and me, wheresoever we stand in the subject. We are in contemplation at least thereof, and with a growing feeling—shall I say?—that at this distance or that, and with that or this increasing sense of nearness, we do love the highest. Do we not confess also in our various degrees to some living sense of the unity? A word then in conclusion, speaking to myself and you. If we come back from any of our deeper searchings to say that I am He or that He is I, this is the truth indeed: yet we have made, comparatively speaking, an unprofitable journey. But if we come back saying, *est una sola res*, or otherwise that God is and he only, we have brought our treasure with us: it is a title to the Supernal Sanctuary. I have spoken of the Eternal Subject and the great adventure therein. At a certain far-off point, the last symbols, the last mind-pictures dissolve and are replaced, as it seems to me, by a still, imageless vision, the messages of which are caught at only in the negation and abstraction of all. It is a state without likeness,

though it may repose at the root of this. It lies beyond the modes of contemplation in a well of being, from thought and act apart. It would be falsified in every hazarded description. Were it shewn that Hierotheos, he who is called Dionysius, or John the Scot presented accounts concerning it, the answer would be that they have not borne true witness in the comprehending sense. Whatsoever description or attempted comprehension should be discerned here—but there is none, I think, surely—would be also false. It must be that state, however, in which the Divine within us and all that is Divine beyond subsist in unity: *est una sola res.* The words are *ineffabile, incognoscibile.* It lies behind the subject and the object. It is not realized by the pairing of thesis and antithesis or any other postulated opposites. It is without any man and within him, *magnum et infinitum mare.* It is infinitely great and little, but is not understood by their comparison. Yet it would prove in attainment a state of our own being, though now a world unrealized. From however far away, it sends messages even now, remote intimations. It tells us that the Word of God is ours, and that there is no other which ever will be heard by us in any height or deep.

A. E. Waite.

THE PROBLEM OF HAMLET.

G. WILSON KNIGHT, B.A.

I HAVE stated elsewhere[1] that, in the interpretation of Shakespeare, we should consider 'Hamlet' as essentially a problem play. In this paper I shall indicate the theme on which the play's movement is pivoted. It will then be clear that many of the scenes and incidents which have proved difficult in the past, may be considered as expressions of that unique mental or spiritual experience of the hero which is at the heart of the play. My purpose will therefore be limited strictly to a discussion, not of the play as a whole, but of this central reality, which, though it be necessarily related, either as effect or cause, to the events of the plot and to the other characters, is itself ultimate, and should be the primary object of our search.

Our attention is early drawn to the figure of Hamlet. Alone in the gay glitter of the court, silhouetted against brilliance, robustness, health, and happiness, is the pale, black-robed Hamlet, mourning. When first we meet him, his words point the essential inwardness of his pain:

> There is that within which passeth show,
> These but the trappings and the suits of woe.
>
> (I. ii. 85.)

When he is alone he reveals his misery more clearly:

[1] 'Measure for Measure and the Gospels,' *The London Quarterly Review*, April, 1929.

O, that this too too solid flesh would melt,
Thaw, and resolve itself into a dew!
Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd
His canon 'gainst self-slaughter! O God! God!
How weary, stale, flat and unprofitable
Seem to me all the uses of this world!
Fie on't! ah fie! 'tis an unweeded garden
That grows to seed; things rank and gross in nature
Possess it merely.

(I. ii. 129.)

The mood expressed by these lines is patent. To Hamlet the light has been extinguished from the things of earth. He has lost all sense of purpose—nothing is worth while. It is a disease prevalent to-day and reflected in significant works of modern literature. A loss of all faith, all joy. Now though Hamlet's mood is to be given even clearer expression later, though it is, indeed, as I shall show, at the core of the play's meaning, it is most important to note that it characterizes Hamlet's especial pain when we first meet him. We already know one reason for Hamlet's state: his father's death. Claudius and his mother have already urged him to

throw to earth
This unprevailing woe . . .

(I. ii. 106.)

Now, during Hamlet's soliloquy, we see another reason: disgust at his mother's second marriage—

. . . within a month:
Ere yet the salt of most unrighteous tears
Had left the flushing in her galled eyes,
She married. O, most wicked speed, to post
With such dexterity to incestuous sheets!

(I. ii. 153.)

These two concrete embodiments of Hamlet's

misery are closely related. He suffers from misery at his father's death and agony at his mother's quick forgetfulness: such callousness is infidelity, and so impurity, and since Claudius is the brother of the King, incest. It is reasonable to suppose that Hamlet's state of mind, if not wholly caused by these events, is at least definitely related to them. Of his two loved parents, one has been taken for ever by death, the other dishonoured for ever by her act of marriage. To Hamlet the world is now an 'unweeded garden.' And all this we know before Hamlet sees the ghost of his father. It is most important for our understanding of the main thread of the play that we should regard it as an explication through the medium of dramatic narrative and event of what is perhaps best termed a 'soul-state.' It is not well to regard it, as has so often been done, as a play of tragic situation in which the hero is commanded to perform an abhorrent task: the revenge theme is secondary. Nor is the killing of the King at all abhorrent to Hamlet. The tragedy is not in Hamlet's situation but in his soul, or mind: it is evident that it is Hamlet's peculiar reaction not to the Ghost's command alone, but to the original tragic circumstance of his father's death and his mother's marriage that characterizes the individuality of the principal theme of the play; and it will be found that only if we start with a clear conception of Hamlet's inward state will the most important scenes reveal their meaning. I will now trace the development of Hamlet's mind through some of those scenes.

Hamlet hears of his father's Ghost, sees it, and speaks to it. His original pain is intensified by the viewing of the unrestful spirit, by the terrible secrets of death hinted by the Ghost's words:

I could a tale unfold whose lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood . . .
(I. v. 15.)

This is added to Hamlet's sense of loss: this knowledge of the father he loved enduring the pangs of hell,

Doom'd for a certain time to walk the night,
And for the day confin'd to fast in fires . . .
(I. v. 10.)

Nor is this all. He next learns that his father's murderer now wears the crown, is married to his faithless mother. Both elements in his original pain are thus horribly intensified. His hope of recovery to the normal state of healthy mental life depended largely on his ability to forget his father, to forgive his mother. Claudius advised him well. Now his mother's honour is more foully smirched than ever; and the living cause and symbol of his father's death is firmly placed on Denmark's throne. Forgetfulness is impossible, forgetfulness that might have brought peace. The irony of the Ghost's parting word is terrible:

Adieu, adieu! Hamlet, remember me.
(I. v. 91.)

If the spirit had been kind, he would have prayed that Hamlet would forget. At this moment the Demon of Death in the shape of his father's Ghost murders the soul of Hamlet. Confronted by his irrevocable fate Hamlet repeats the words:

. . . Now to my word;
It is 'Adieu, adieu! remember me.'
I have sworn 't.
(I. v. 110.)

And he keeps his oath throughout the play.

When Horatio and Marcellus join him he relieves the unnatural tension of his mind by joking and, perhaps, laughter. He makes his friends swear secrecy, thereby ensuring his future loneliness in the knowledge of the King's crime. He suggests that he may 'put an antic disposition on' to deceive the court. He cries out against the cruel fate that has laid on him, whose own soul is in chaos, the command of righting the evil in the state:

> O cursed spite,
> That ever I was born to set it right.
>
> (I. v. 189.)

Hamlet, when we first meet him, has lost all sense of life's significance. To a man bereft of the sense of purpose there is no possibility of creative action, it has no meaning. No act but suicide is rational. Yet to Hamlet, comes the command of a great act—revenge: therein lies the unique quality of the play—a sick soul is commanded to heal what he believes to be a sick state.[1]

Hamlet's soul is sick to death—and yet there was one thing left that might have saved him. In the deserts of his mind, void with the utter vacuity of the knowledge of Death—death of his father, death of his mother's faith—was yet one flower, his love of Ophelia.

> He hath my lord of late made many tenders
> Of his affection to me.
>
> (I. iii. 99.)

So speaks Ophelia to Polonius.

> OPHELIA: My lord, he hath importuned me with love
> In honourable fashion.

[1] The state, as we see it during the play, shows no signs of sickness. Whatever may have happened in the past, it is evident that the consciousness of Hamlet is the only hindrance to harmonious order. Claudius is drawn as an excellent King.

POLONIUS: Ay, fashion you may call it; go to, go to.

OPHELIA: And hath given countenance to his speech, my lord,
With almost all the holy vows of heaven.
(I. iii. 110.)

This was before Hamlet saw the Ghost: perhaps before his father's death. Now there is one supreme enemy to the demon of neurotic despair, its antithesis and bright antagonist: romantic love. For this has assured power, it can recreate the sense of purpose, it inspires to heroism and action. And it is self-creative. The lonely flower can soon overspread the desert with a multiplicity of colour and delight. The love of Ophelia is thus Hamlet's last hope. This, too, is taken from him. Her repelling of his letters and refusing to see him, in obedience to Polonius' command, synchronizes unmercifully with the terrible burden of knowledge laid on Hamlet by the revelation of the Ghost. The result is given to us indirectly—but with excruciating vividness:

OPHELIA: My lord, as I was sewing in my closet,
Lord Hamlet, with his doublet all unbraced;
No hat upon his head; his stockings foul'd,
Ungarter'd, and down-gyved to his ankle;
Pale as his shirt; his knees knocking each other;
And with a look so piteous in purport
As if he had been loosed out of hell
To speak of horrors—he comes before me.
(II. i. 77.)

This is no mock-madness. To see it as such is to miss the power of the central theme of the play. Hamlet would not first try the practical joke of pretended madness on Ophelia whom he loved. That pallor was no cosmetic. Hamlet, indeed, was in truth, 'loosed out of hell to speak of horrors': on top of the

Ghost's revelation has come Ophelia's unreasonable repulsion of that his last contact with sanity, his love for her. Therefore

> He took me by the wrist and held me hard;
> Then goes he to the length of all his arm;
> And, with his other hand thus o'er his brow,
> He falls to such perusal of my face
> As he would draw it. Long stay'd he so;
> At last, a little shaking of mine arm
> And thrice his head thus waving up and down,
> He raised a sigh so piteous and profound
> As it did seem to shatter all his bulk
> And end his being . . .
>
> (II. i. 87.)

There is surely no more pitiful thing in literature than this description. Polonius sees the truth. 'This is very ecstasy of love . . .' he says. And he is right. If we remember that Hamlet loves Ophelia; that he has just seen his father's spirit; and that now Ophelia has refused to admit him—we need search no further for an explanation of Hamlet's behaviour. The suggestion that in these circumstances, at this moment in his history, he has the presence of mind to pretend madness to Ophelia is, indeed, untenable.

It is, however, certain that Hamlet does simulate madness before the Court, and the King and Queen are both rightly unwilling to relate this madness to Hamlet's love of Ophelia. Says the Queen, when she hears that Polonius thinks he has traced the true cause:

> I doubt it is no other but the main;
> His father's death, and our o'er hasty marriage.
>
> (II. ii. 56).

The King later decides that love is not the cause of Hamlet's trouble:

Love! his affections do not that way tend.
(III. i. 170.)

This is after Hamlet's meeting with Ophelia; here the King is partly wrong, and again there is truth in Polonius' words:

. . . but yet I do believe
The origin and commencement of his grief
Sprung from neglected love . . .
(III. i. 184.)

But it is not the whole truth. Hamlet's pain is a complex of different themes of grief. But anything like actual madness is apparent only in his dealings with Ophelia. Three times after the ghost scene he loses mental control: first, in the incident narrated by Ophelia; second, in his meeting with her in act III. i.; and third, in the graveyard scene with Laertes. On all other occasions he is either pretending madness, or quite sane.

Throughout the middle scenes of the play we become more closely acquainted with Hamlet's peculiar disease. He is bitterly cynical:

. . . to be honest, as this world goes, is to be one man picked out of a thousand.
(II. ii. 177.)

And

Use every man after his desert, and who should scape whipping?
(II. ii. 555)

To Hamlet the world is a 'goodly' prison

in which there are many confines, wards and dungeons, Denmark being one of the worst.
(II. ii. 251.)

His mind is drawn to images in themselves repellent, and he dwells on the thought of foulness as the basis of life:

> For if the sun breed maggots in a dead dog . . .
> (II. ii. 181.)

Hamlet reads, or says he is reading, a satirical book, which observes that

> . . . old men have grey beards, that their faces are wrinkled, their eyes purging thick amber and plum tree gum and that they have a plentiful lack of wit, together with most weak hams.
> (II. ii. 199.)

The body of an old man is shown as something stupid, unclean: and Hamlet means it. Now all this is integral to Hamlet's state of mind. He is well described in a passage by William James in another connection.

> . . . you see how the entire consciousness of the poor man is so choked with the feeling of evil that the sense of there being any good in the world is lost for him altogether. His attention excludes it, cannot admit it: the sun has left his heaven.[1]

Hamlet's soul is sick. Nor is his case unique. It is a universal disease of the mind or spirit recurrent at different times and places, neurotic, morbid: its signs are, horror at the fact of death and an equal detestation of life; a sense of uncleanliness and evil in the things of nature; a disgust at the physical body of man; bitterness, cynicism, hate. It tends towards insanity. All these elements are insistent in Hamlet. He can describe the glories of heaven and earth—but for him those glories are gone. And he knows not why. The disease is deeper than his loss of Ophelia, deeper than his mother's sexual impurity and his father's death. These are, like his mourning dress, the 'trappings and the suits of woe.' They are the outward symbols of it,

[1] *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 149.

the 'causes' of it: but the thing itself is ultimate, beyond causality.[1] He describes it thus:

> I have of late—but wherefore I know not—lost all my mirth, forgone all custom of exercises; and indeed it goes so heavily with my disposition that this goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory, this most excellent canopy, the air, look you, this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, why, it appears no other thing to me than a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours.
>
> (II. ii. 307.)

Now it will be clear that Hamlet's outstanding characteristic in the action of this play may be regarded as a symptom of this sickness in his soul. He does not avenge his father's death, not because he dare not, not because he hates the thought of bloodshed, but because his wit's 'diseased' (III. ii. 333); his will is snapped and useless, like a broken leg. Nothing is worth while. After the player has worked himself into a tragic passion in the recitation of 'Aeneas Tale to Dido,' Hamlet looks inward and curses and hates himself for his inability to feel passionately about his father's murder, and then again he hates himself the more for his futile self-hatred. He cannot understand himself:

> . . . it cannot be
> But I am pigeon-liver'd and lack gall
> To make oppression bitter.
>
> (II. ii. 604.)

[1] "Such sensitiveness and susceptibility to mental pain is a rare occurrence where the nervous constitution is entirely normal; one seldom finds it in a healthy subject even where he is the victim of the most atrocious cruelties of outward fortune" (*The Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 145). In discussing the tragic hero of Shakespeare we must remember that the link of a *rational* or *logical* causality between their mental states and outward actions is often lacking. We should not expect it. The causality is of another kind, and is, perhaps, better named a 'relation.'

Aware of his own disease, he wonders if the spirit he has seen may be an Evil spirit:

> The spirit that I have seen
> May be the devil: and the devil hath power
> To assume a pleasing shape; yea, and perhaps
> Out of my weakness and my melancholy
> As he is very potent with such spirits
> Abuses me to damn me.
>
> (II. ii. 627.)

This fear strikes nearer the truth than the comments of many past Shakespearian scholars. In a later soliloquy (IV. iv. 32) Hamlet again takes himself to task. He suggests that his disease is due to his intellect. In a sense, it is. Pure intellect, devitalized from its own spring and origin in the instinctive soul, is blind. The logical faculty, severed from intuitive faith, must ever fail before reality.[1] Yet, surely, reason is good:

> Sure he that made us with such large discourse,
> Looking before and after gave us not
> That capability and god-like reason
> To fust in us unused.
>
> (IV. iv. 36).

But then again, he fears such thinking

> hath but one part wisdom
> And ever three parts coward . . .
>
> (IV. iv. 42.)

So the self-analysis goes on, and finds no solution.[2]

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[1] This problem is more clearly explicated in Shakespeare's next play. See my article 'The Metaphysic of Troilus and Cressida,' *The Dublin Review*, 1929.

[2] Hamlet himself does not understand his own inactivity. In the same way Brutus and Macbeth do not understand clearly why they are about to commit murder. See my article 'Brutus.'

(To be concluded in the July number.)

THE PROSE OF ALCHEMY.

THE Dark Ages lacked much that the twentieth century possesses; but they held one thing which this age may well envy: an imaginative unity of outlook on the universe. This unity appeals by contrast to the modern mind, variedly active. An oft-quoted saying of the times was the chief maxim inscribed upon the Smaragdine Tablet of Hermes: "That which is below is as that which is above, and that which is above is as that which is below." Under the Doctrine of Signatures planet and herb, metal and deity, beast and precious stone, the months of the year and the parts of the human body were linked in subtle communion, so that one could not indeed stir a flower without the troubling of a star.

One of the earliest authentic writers on alchemy was Zozimus the Panopolitan, who flourished in the fourth century and wrote *A Faithful Description of the Secret and Divine Art of Making Gold and Silver*, the paradoxical style of which may be judged from the following excerpt:

"Receive this stone which is not a stone, a precious thing which has no value, a thing of many shapes which has no shape, this unknown which is known of all."

And again, marking its love of antithesis and repetition:

"Its kind is one, its species multiple. All comes from the one, and all returns to it. . . . Here is the Mithriatic mystery, the incommunicable mystery."

Fabulous antiquity was ascribed to some alchemical treatises, and Aristotle, Hermes Trismegistus, Moses, Solomon, Abraham and even Adam were claimed as authors. The practice of alchemy extends throughout the Middle Ages to recent times, when such men as Strindberg have actually sought for the Philosopher's Stone. But the Middle Ages were its summertime, since hermetic art expressed the normal spirit of that epoch, ever seeking the One Thing, the Magnum Bonum, the basis of the cosmos. Though One Thing, this Grand Magisterium was nevertheless a twin conception: the eldest-born was the 'Lapis Philosophorum,' the 'Corner-Stone,' the 'Pearl of Great Price,' which would transmute, not only base metals into gold and silver, but every mortal thing into its immortal shape; the second, the Elixir of Life, which the Stone, once found, would become or procure. This double nature is conveyed in an anonymous essay, *The Sophic Hydrolith*, or *Water-stone of the Wise*. The stone was regarded as solid, tangible; the elixir as liquid, potable; but they were, transcending reason, in essence One Thing. The quest of these was rather a poetical conception in the mind of a sage than a sober hypothesis in the mind of a scientific investigator.

Spagyric literature was usually in prose, though the strange *Book of Lambspring* was written in Latin verse by Nicholas Barnaud Delphinas and illustrated with engravings of allegorical beasts, and the small work *Atalanta Fugiens* consisted entirely of emblematic pictures. The language of the writings varied with the culture and nationality of the author, and included nearly every tongue of Europe and the Near East; but the writings, like the Magnificat, suffer little in translation. The prose is of the same type as that found in

books of divination, herbals, lapidaries, and bestiaries, which partook more of the nature of imaginative fiction than of scientific demonstration, for in them fancy triumphed over fact. The writers were not ingenuous. They did not set down their extravagant anecdotes of beasts and birds, stars and stones, in scientific good faith, but in conscious artistry. They were neither ignorant, foolish, nor mendacious: they were poetic. Their concern was not with the accurate statement, but with the imaginative treatment of a theme. No serious scientist of any age would propose an experiment to make 'a white Milkie substance from the raies of the Moon,' as did a certain John French: there is no physical connection between the two; but there is an imaginative link, which the literary artist will be quick to apprehend and utilize.

Hermetic prose claims consideration upon two grounds: first, it seems to be built of brightly-coloured stone like a Byzantine building and shows a quaint and individual beauty; and secondly, this beauty is of its structure, and not embossed upon it. The colour and decoration are not detachable; they proceed from the plan of spagyric thought. The alchemists personify the metals, calling Gold the King and Silver the Queen; they name substances after phantastic birds and beasts —calling Cinnabar the Red Lion—which have the same effect as the 'Tyger' and the Lamb in Blake's poetry; they label their experiments by connecting each part with some striking object or incident. The *Open Entrance to the Closed Palace of the King* of Eirenæus Philalethes describes one stage in the melting of gold with mercury, when many colours appear, as the 'Peacock's tail,' and likens another to the King stripping off his golden garments and descending into the fountain.

A poet would not scorn their metaphors for chemical changes: they know black sulphides of mercury as the Crow, and warn the experimenter that "the Black Crows will fly back to their nest," if the red sublimate disappears under insufficient heat. They do not allude to Classical myths merely to embroider their style, as the poets of the English Renascence often do, but to explain the processes of their art more nicely, and infuse new meaning into ancient legends. The choice of the title *Atalanta Fugiens* is not accidental nor merely picturesque: the image of the running maiden stooping to pick up golden balls is in direct aspect to the philosophers' search for alchemical gold.

> I have a piece of Jason's fleece, too,
> Which was no other than a book of Alchemy
> Writ in large sheep-skin, with good fat ram-vellum.
> Such was Pythagoras' thigh, Pandora's tub,
> And all that fable of Medea's charms,
> The manner of our work; the bulls, our furnace,
> Still breathing fire; our argent-vive, the dragon;
> The dragon's teeth, mercury sublimate,
> That keeps the whiteness, hardness and the biting;
> And they are gather'd into Jason's helm
> The alembic, and then sow'd in Mars his field,
> And thence sublimed so often, till they're fix'd.
> Both this, the Hesperian garden, Cadmus' story,
> Jove's shower, the boon of Midas, Argus' eyes,
> Boccace his Demogorgon, thousands more,
> All abstract riddles of our stone.

There is an undercurrent of satire in this passage from Ben Jonson's comedy *The Alchemist*, for it is put into the mouth of an enthusiast duped by a sham philosopher, but it nevertheless shows the working of the alchemical mind. The precious stones and metals occur symbolically so often in old stories that the

Hermetists are perhaps justified in their interpretations. Sometimes only a myth can enshrine a profound alchemical truth, since it has the double advantage of enlightening the adept while mystifying the uninitiated. The myth has frequently to be invented instead of adapted, as was the curious emblematical fairy-story called *The Chymical Marriage of Christian Rosenkreutz;* but it is seldom merely ornamental: it is indispensable in the interests of lucidity or obscuration. A fanciful panegyric on the stone may be quoted from the *Brief Guide to the Celestial Ruby* of that enigmatic personality known as 'the Cosmopolite,' one of the greatest of English alchemists, who wrote under the name of Eirenæus Philalethes:

> It is our door-keeper, our balm, our honey, oil, wine, maydew, mother, egg, secret furnace, oven, true fire, venomous dragon, theriac, ardent wine, Green Lion, bird of Hermes, goose of Hermogenes, two-edged sword in the hand of the Cherub that guards the Tree of Life. It is our true secret vessel, and the Garden of the Sages in which our sun rises and sets. It is our Royal Mineral, our Triumphant Vegetable Saturnia, and the magic rod in the hand of Hermes, by which he assumes any shape he likes.

Here the allusions possess great decorative value, but it is of a kind that springs naturally from essential content, since the adept must deal with such conceptions as the names signify. He is obliged to name metals and precious stones when writing of his work, and so inevitably brings colour and brightness into his prose. Each of the seven metals known in early times was germane to one of the seven planets, which in turn had affinities each with its presiding deity, and thus the reader of alchemy passes, lit by the glimmer of heaven, through tunnels of meaning, faintly luminous, behind every word.

The style viewed in general, it may be well to examine more closely its characteristics of diction and imagery, and explain its undeniable fascination. First of all, the alchemists are particularly happy in their choice of titles: *The Golden Tripod*, *The Brief Guide to the Celestial Ruby* already mentioned, *The Little Book of Pity* and *The Book of Royalty* by an Arabian alchemist, *The Triumphal Chariot of Antimony*, *A Golden and Blessed Casket of Precious Marvels*, *The Twelve Keys*. Some of these equal Böhme's *Aurora, or the Morning Redness;* and the names of the authors themselves, some of which were assumed, are scarcely less delightful than those of their works: Basil Valentine, Michael Sendivogius, Alain de l'Isle, Raymond Lulli, Paracelsus, Arnold de Villeneuve, Delphinas. To see one of these below a book's title is to be immediately attracted.

A love of colour is one of their most pleasing traits of style, and their phrases are sometimes as pictorial as those of old Celtic romances like *The Dream of Rhonabwy*. In the Ninth Key of Basil Valentine's treatise, colour is combined with a sense of drama and pageantry:

> The King shares his royal dignity with noble Venus, and appears in splendid state, surrounded by all the dignitaries of his court. Before him is borne a beautiful crimson banner, in which there is an embroidered representation of Charity in green garments. Saturn is the prefect of the royal household, and in front of him Astronomy bears a black standard with a representation of faith in yellow and red garments.

There follows a description of the caparison and attendants of each planet, or rather metal, which might be a stage-direction for a masque: this arises from the extreme use of allegory and personification.

Instances of paradox have already been cited, and there is something paradoxical in the fact that realism is seldom found except in descriptions of the stone, which was probably the least real part of the experiments. Van Helmont says:

> I have seen and handled the Stone. It had the colour of saffron in powder; it was heavy, and brilliant as glass broken into bits.

This style is clear enough for a modern book on chemistry; but though lucidity of style is common to most of these descriptions, the actual qualities set forth as belonging to the stone alter with the varying imaginative taste of different authors. Berigard de Pisa says:

> *Colore non absimilis flore papaveris sylvestris, odore vero sal marinum adustum referentis.*

The names given to the stone again show the fanciful turn of mind which would be out of place in a scientific treatise, but accords well with poetical metaphysics: 'stone of wisdom,' 'carbuncle of the sun,' 'old dragon,' 'basilisk,' 'phœnix'; and those by which the Elixir was known are not less marvellous: 'virgin water,' 'divine water,' and 'heavenly balm.' In these evocative phrases metaphor merges into symbol, figures of speech rise from mere imagery to statement of fact, albeit on the imaginative plane.

Metaphor is used more frequently than simile, because it is more direct, more an indication, less a mere grace of style. Their imagery echoes the movements of nature, of planets and seasons with their attendant life of plant and animal, of all signified by the revolving circle, the serpent that bites her own tail. The vegetation metaphor in *The Philosophical Summary* of Nicholas Flamel is vital and satisfying,

because of its link with recurring phenomena, yet piquant because of its suggestion of super-nature:

But in the Garden of the Sages, the Sun sheds its genial influence both morning and evening, day and night, unceasingly. There our tree is watered with rarest dew, and the fruit which hangs upon the trees—gold and silver—swells and ripens and expands from day to day.

In George Ripley's *Twelve Gates of Alchemy*, metaphor has passed completely into symbolism, and rises above the chemical directions which it professes to elucidate, to a state of pure emotion, without subject or object, and consequently almost incomprehensible to an ordinary mind.

The work must be undertaken at sunset, when the husband, Red, and the wife, White, are united in the spirit of life to live in love and tranquility, in the exact proportion of water and earth. From the west, advance across the shadows towards the south; alter and dissolve the husband and the wife between winter and spring; change the water into a black earth, and raise thyself across the varied colours toward the East when the full moon shows itself. After the purgation, the sun appears white and radiant; it is summer after winter, day after night. The earth and water are transformed into air, the darkness is dispersed, light is made.

Little can be gathered from this but the author's love of contrast, and his dithyrambic triumph in the vanquishing of darkness by light, to which the paragraph works up. Both this and the ecstatic questions, exclamations and imperatives of the Arabian author of the *Book of Ostanes* are likely to bring the charge of obscurity against alchemical prose:

O troop of seekers, take me, slay me. Then, having slain me, burn me; for I will after all revive, and enrich him who shall have slain and burnt me. If he come near me with fire, then I am alive. If I shall endure it all the night, even if he sublime

me completely and enchain me absolutely, I am still alive. O marvel! How, being alive, can I bear ill-treatment?

The exulting in torture that informs this outburst brings one to consider a mode of feeling which occurs intermittently throughout hermetic literature. It is a revelling in the grotesque and macabre, even in the savage and violent. Thus Arnold de Villeneuve describes with Biblical ferocity the vicissitudes of a metallic solar Son who is born of a lunar Mother, and undergoes all kinds of torment in quest of the Essence:

Then put him a second time on his bed, and when he has recovered his senses, seize him afresh to deliver him to be crucified of the Jews. The Sun being thus crucified you will not see the Moon, the veil of the Temple will be rent, and there will be a great earthquake. Then is the time to employ a hot fire.

Zozimus recounts a dream of his in a similar vein, and an elaborate panegyric in praise of the *margarita preciosa* in the *Third Book of Ostanes* ends with the words:

It is a young man born in Egypt; it is a prince coming from Andalusia who seeks for the torment of the seekers.

The sharpness of these threatening sentences is not a fault; rather it is a virtue, since it relieves the over-sweetness which usually results from giving imagination too free a rein. It provides thorns for the fragrant briar.

Perhaps the word 'exotic' best describes the prose of the Spagyrists. The colour, the allusions, the paradox, the grotesqueness, the symbolism and above all the fantastic subject of enquiry whose origin was the East, combine to produce a bizarre impression. Such a style fails of mature excellence because it is often too crudely gaudy, too extravagant and undisciplined.

Its naïve transports and spark-like enthusiasms touch the reader as the sudden felicities of a child touch him, or the impossible splendours of a nursery-tale. But it is seldom flat or insipid, and even when monstrously obscure can sting with the thrill of adventure in a gloomy thick forest.

ITHELL COLQUHOUN.

INTERCOMMUNICATION AND ITS INTERPRETATION.

THE approach to the subject of communication with the departed is perhaps best made by a brief consideration of the interpretation of human communication in general. The complexities involved are largely the same, whether they originate in the intercourse of daily life or in messages purporting to come from the deceased.

All communication is, naturally, dependent for its successful reception upon the ability of the recipient to give it rightful and adequate interpretation. We must bear in mind that communication always involves two factors: there must be the communicator who expresses an idea and the recipient who is to receive it. The use of such commonplace means of communication as speech, writing, telephone, etc., involves the intelligent co-operation of sender and recipient; the more complex the message, the more need for adequate interpretation.

But communication may take many forms of expression other than that of speech. The communicator may be an artist, giving expression to his thought

pictorially; or a musician, who reaches his audience through the medium of sound; or an actor, whose expression in speech is largely supplemented by the dramatic use of movement and gesture. There is again the average person who employs these modes of expression in varying degrees; there are some to whom gesture comes most freely; others whose musical sense is uppermost; and others who employ a combination of these to accentuate their meaning.

When then we consider such a subject as inter-communication between the two worlds, and its interpretation, we must bear in mind that we are considering the question from points of view as widely divergent as those, for instance, of the artist and the observer of his finished picture. This illustration fits perfectly the matter in hand, the sensitive standing for the artist and the sitter for the observer of the artist's production. Between these there must be some common meeting-place. It is not enough that the observer should stand and look at the finished article, regarding it purely from an external standpoint, noting such features as its subject, colour and form. Such cursory observation will take him only a very little way towards any real understanding. It requires some knowledge of the conception that lay in the mind of the artist and of the means by which it was brought to fruitage, breathing life into the picture and making it real to the observer. Let us consider another concrete illustration,—this time from architecture. In viewing an abbey built by Cistercian monks, we must have some knowledge of the ideals and rules of their Order before any true appreciation of the building can be gained. Their ideal was absolute simplicity; this is shown in the avoidance of any suggestion of

ornament, such as coloured glass, and in the restriction of the building of towers to the barest necessity.

To consider the question of the observer from another point of view. We all know that in watching a play new to us, we do not immediately enter into it. At first we are struck by certain figures on the stage, by the general colouring and costumes, by certain actions which suggest the direction which the drama may take. It is only by degrees that we glean something of the plot and can really appreciate what is going forward. When this stage is reached, we may so live in the scene that, for the time being, we almost feel identified with the characters. Most people, again, can recall having listened to some wonderful address by an inspired preacher, the atmosphere of which is retained throughout a lifetime, though only a few of the spoken words are remembered.

It is clear from these various illustrations that the meaning expressed by artist, builder, actor, and preacher has reached the recipient in divers ways, showing that both the presentation of an idea and its interpretation are capable of infinite variety.

Let us consider now the sensitive in his position of portrayer of personality,—a position closely akin to that of the painter of portraits.

"If we are to understand persons," Canon Streeter has written, "we must possess something of the artist's insight into character; that is, to the inner quality of life." "And," he continues, "persons can only be dealt with if we to some extent understand them from within. We must know, or guess, something of their character and motives."

This is precisely what the sensitive has to do when in touch with the departed. He arrives at his results

sometimes with swift precision, at other times slowly and with considerable effort. This "inner quality of life," of which Canon Streeter speaks, cannot adequately be expressed in words alone; moreover, as he has pointed out, "intense life transcends exact expression." "It is only," he says, "in the shallows of experience that this is possible. It can, however, be suggested by such means as a gesture, a look, a poem, a tune; but even then, only the person with the requisite power of sympathetic appreciation can understand."

If this be true of sensing the inner quality of life on earth, how much more should we expect it to be the case in communicating with those in the life beyond? We are very liable to judge of communications from the unseen solely by their verbal expression. For a matter-of-fact kind of statement this is, no doubt, adequate. But for expressing anything beyond this the limitations are quickly apparent. We have to remember that behind all such expression there is the mind, which is the real operator; and that it is the mind which builds what we term experience, as Sir Oliver Lodge has pointed out. Again, it is the mind that sees and hears, and which moreover interprets the meaning of the seeing and hearing. If this be so, it is obvious that such communications will bear the stamp of the individual mind from which they emanate, and will not carry much significance unless they are closely linked up and associated with that particular mind.

A good deal of the sensory experience obtained during life on this physical plane can be recalled by a communicator and expressed in the form of simple statement. But we transcend sensory experience, and have to reckon with life, mind, thought, and aspira-

tion above and beyond sensory experience. We may endeavour to apprehend this non-sensory experience, in some measure, through a variety of ways. We have already made reference to the artist's method of approach, and we are all familiar with that of the mystic. Both are striving to penetrate beyond the outward expression to the essence of that which lies behind. But with most of us the same effort at transcendence of the outward and material is being attempted in some degree; indeed, well-nigh all are aware that there is something more in things than the outward expression of them.

To give an illustration of perception which is merely external. In a novel by a Norwegian writer, called *The Professor*, a son describes his father in these words: "His countenance was as unchanging as the face of the big grandfather clock, which was never tired of repeating the same ticking." He draws a contrast between his father's face and that of his mother, of which he remarks: "My mother's external face I never got to know. I only saw its changing expression. Her face was, and always would be, incorporeal." In communications, then, with those who have passed on, it is evident that the character of such a mother would more probably transcend exact statement than the father's; the inadequacy of words alone to describe her personality is apparent.

To take another example from the same book, where a man is described as seeing clairvoyantly his little dead brother. "In a flash," he says, "I saw Lillebror, not with my eyes, but with my whole self . . . saw, not Lillebror's body, but Lillebror himself." This mode of seeing describes exactly the sensitive's perception of a discarnate person. Such

sensing penetrates to the essence of the personality; the details of physical appearance are superseded by that which is of far greater importance.

It is useful, perhaps, for purposes of identification and association, that the psychic should see such details in the communicator's appearance as the colour of the eyes and the shape of the forehead; but it is far more important for sensitives to apprehend the more permanent entity, the personality itself, which "no event in time can affect, not even the dissolution of the body."

The developed mediumistic gift makes possible this perception of the permanent. It can thus be put at the disposal of the bereaved to enable them to gain a wider and deeper insight into the higher levels of the beloved personality of the departed.

To lay too much stress upon the external associations that we have had with our friends is to confine the possibilities of mediumship within narrow limitations, and to let slip opportunities for the better things that might have been opened to us.

There are two ways of looking at persons, whether alive or dead. We may observe their habits, appearance, mannerisms, or occupations. With some observation runs solely along these lines. There are others, however, who perceive in a more vital way. To illustrate again from the same Norwegian novel. The Professor is described as having a peculiar faculty of looking at and seeing into people, simply looking at and into them, till he felt their nature in himself. Such perception is rare, but the experience is perfectly analogous to that of a sensitive in vital touch with the departed.

Earl Grey, in his *Falloden Papers*, quotes lines from Wordsworth, describing a contact of mind with

mind so vital, that we "see into the life of things." This is accompanied by the subservience of the physical body to the spirit: "We are laid asleep in body, and become a living soul." This inner union is sometimes experienced in earth-life, in the case of two persons very closely linked. But it may be repeated through the instrumentality of mediumship, even when the physical link has been severed by death.

Let us consider, now, how the sensitive may embody in actual words something of the deeper experience felt in contact with a discarnate person, so as to bring it home to the living, by re-interpreting it. Speech is the instrument which he must use; and there are two quite definite ways in which words may be employed. The psychologist terms these two modes the symbolic and the emotive; and it has been remarked that "the subtle interweaving of these two functions is the main reason why recognition of their difference is not universal." One deals with statements, and the other is employed for the excitation of feelings and attitudes. The sensitive makes use of both these modes during any attempted communication.

To take the simplest example of an emotive use of words, we may instance the excited boy, who calls out "Hurrah! Hurrah!" to express his glee; or, to take a more subtle example, there is the sense of the despairing loneliness of bereavement, expressed by Shakespeare in the repeated word: "To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow!"

It is essential to make free use of this emotive mode of words in any attempt to interpret communications from beyond, and particularly when portraying emotions, feelings or states of mind. A sensitive may sense some special incident which is just indicated,

and yet is embedded in a mass of poignant associations. Though he may not be aware of these in detail, he is able to pick out fragments which are full of significance, and so bring them into high light by his own emotive use of words. The mistake that the recipient of such a message may make, is to imagine that the words employed by the sensitive to produce the emotional effect are the actual words used by the communicator. When this distinction in the use of words is more clearly understood, the sitter will be less likely to lose an important emotional effect or situation through being distracted by its method of presentation. As well might the observer of a picture concentrate his whole attention upon the background, failing to realize that this is simply subservient to the main theme or idea.

I have endeavoured to show the need for estimating such communications at more than their face value. If this were done, there would not be the reiterated complaint that all such communications are trivial in character. Greater insight is demanded. "Wisdom and insight," writes Canon Streeter, "come not from the number of things done, or the poignancy of things felt, but from the depth and quality of the after reflection upon them." "What a man knows of the inner quality of life," he continues, "depends upon three things—the depth and range of his own personality—how far he has the imaginative sympathy to penetrate into the inner experience of others—and the extent to which he has reflected upon the material so presented." With the future development of psychic ability there will be, doubtless, a keener observation of humanity from this inner and deeper standpoint,—the attempt to realize the quality of personality.

"Quality is spirit," as Professor Jacks has said. If then in this life we become acquainted with the spirit of a man, his essence, we shall find that after the dissolution of his physical body the link will be maintained.

Those who have experienced this spiritual knowledge of their friends whilst on earth have, in many cases, been able to maintain it after the physical separation of death, even without the aid of sensitives. Such, when they do seek this help, are able to apprehend to the full the presentation of the communicating spirit in these higher reaches of intercourse.

The shock of bereavement not infrequently stuns the mind, inhibiting for the time being the full realization of this fellowship. It is then that mediumship may provide the help that is required, and recover again that which has been temporarily obscured.

L. MARGERY BAZETT.

(An essay based on personal experience and practice.—ED.)

SPIRITUAL PERFECTION: A STUDY IN INDIAN SCRIPTURES.

Dr. SARASWATI RAGHAVACHARI, B.A., H.M.D.

THE Ramayana, Mahabharata and Bhagavata mark three gradually progressive stages of the pilgrimage of the soul to the Place of Peace. They represent the beginning, the middle and the end of the spiritual perfection of religious life. The Ramayana sets forth the ideal of moral perfection, the Mahabharata the metaphysical and the Bhagavata the spiritual. This division should not be regarded as mutually exclusive. It suggests the predominant characteristic of each. There can be no moral perfection without a true metaphysical conception and a high degree of spiritual development. Knowledge is barren without practice and truth unattractive without beauty. Virtue, beauty and truth are the triple aspect of true Divinity. Special emphasis is laid on one or other of them according to the spirit of the age and the requirements of national progress. While, on the one hand, they constitute three distinct landmarks on the road to Perfection, the perfection of any one of them implies the perfection of all the three. Virtue must stumble without the light of truth and cannot long sustain us without beauty. Perfect virtue is perfect beauty and perfection of beauty shines forth only in the divine light of truth.

LOVE AND LAW.

The Ramayana urges the fulfilment of the law, the Mahabharata the ascendency over the law, the

Bhagavata the realization of love. Love is the true foundation of divine law. Law devoid of love is mischievous. Love devoid of law is licentious. Perfect fulfilment of the law is impossible without perfect love. Perfection of love becomes manifest in the perfect fulfilment of the law. Love and law constitute the dual aspect of true Divinity. Transgression of the law very often assumes the garb of transcendency. The one is the offspring of weakness, the other of strength. The one is due to incapacity to fulfil the law, the other is the fulfilment of a higher law. The former springs from passion, the latter from love. The Ramayana insists on the supremacy of law, the importance of its fulfilment and the necessity for its enforcement. The Mahabharata sets forth the glory of outgrowing the law and of rising superior to its limitations. Man is a law unto himself. The rigour of the code should not bind the grown-up soul. A pure heart is the only code for every man. The conduct of the best man is the best code for his fellowmen. It is insufficient to obey the external law; it is weakness to transgress it; it is divine to transcend it. But it is love alone that can transcend the law. It is love alone that can enjoy absolute freedom. It is love alone that can outgrow all limitations. This is the message of the Bhagavata.

Self-Culture, Self-Knowledge and Self-Realization.

The Ramayana emphasizes the importance of self-culture, the Mahabharata of self-knowledge, and the Bhagavata of self-realization. Self-realization is the goal of self-culture and self-knowledge is an indispensable aid. Self-culture will miss the goal without

self-knowledge and self-realization is impossible without self-culture. Self-noughting is self-realization. Self-noughting is not the annihilation of the individual self but the annihilation of the illusory barrier between the individual and universal self. Self-realization is the expansion of the individual self to the full circle of the universe. Self-knowledge reveals the goal and self-culture paves the way to self-realization. Perfect self-realization is impossible without the perfect fulfilment of the ideals of self-culture and self-knowledge. Self-realization is the goal, self-knowledge is the road and self-culture is the vehicle.

Karma, Gnana and Bhakti.

The Ramayana preaches the gospel of karma-yoga, the Mahabharata of gnana-yoga and the Bhagavata of bhakti-yoga. Nish-kama karma, which is the essential principle of karma-yoga, is impossible without gnana, that is, without a true conception of God, and cannot long continue without an unceasing devotion to divine service. Nish-kama does not mean absence of desire. The human heart can never be empty. Nish-kama means absence of selfish desire. The heart can be cleared of all base passions only when it is filled with pure love, and open to the fountain of divine light. The true Bhakta, with a pure body consecrated to divine service and a heart ever alive to divine influence, is seated firm on the bed-rock of truth and is lost in meditation on divine beauty and in the beatitude of divine service. Karma, Gnana, and Bhakti are not mutually exclusive. They illustrate three types of temperament: active, contemplative and devotional. They correspond to the practical, the critical and the æsthetic sense; their respective spheres being the use-

ful, the sublime and the beautiful. They are three paths, apparently different but essentially identical, leading to the same goal. They are like three streamlets starting from different sources, gradually approaching closer and closer and, at last, conquering the distance between them, become merged into each other and lose all separateness. Nish-kama karma is guided by divine knowledge and sustained by divine love. This is the chorus of the three scriptures. It represents the true goal of man. Imagination can go no further; a loftier conception is impossible; a higher ideal unthinkable.

Ahmedabad. S. RAGHAVACHARI.

LITTLE WAVELETS.

LITTLE wavelets semitoning
Dainty melodies so sweet,
Rippling lines and spaces droning
As on shore their waters meet,
Glitt'ring on the gleaming sandshore,
Glist'ning in the Golden Light,
Just a part of one great grand roar
Breakers of their billows might;
Frothy foam of bubbling joybells
Sometimes on their trail they leave,
Rainbow-hued, reflecting toy cells
Of the Mind which doth conceive
Little wavelets semitoning
Dainty melodies so sweet,
Rippling lines and spaces droning
As on shore their waters meet;
Downward come their crested voices
All in ordered scales of glee,
And to hear them, Eye rejoices
In the Sound that makes the sea.

MARGUERITE ESPIR.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

(Unsigned Reviews or Notices are by the Editor.)

THE RELIGIOUS QUESTS OF THE GRÆCO-ROMAN WORLD.

A Study of the Historical Background of Early Christianity. By S. Angus, Ph.D., D.Lit., D.D., Professor of New Testament and Historical Theology, St. Andrew's College, University of Sydney. London (Murray); pp. 444; 15s. net.

THE author of this arresting volume is already well known by his excellent prior study, *The Mystery Religions and Christianity*, which remains the best survey of the subject in English published up to date. As one who has spent many years covering the same ground within the measure of my competence and industry, I extend a very warm welcome to Dr. Angus's most recent deeply interesting contribution to Christian Background study. And this, not only because of the scholarly research it displays on every page, but because of the large and generous spirit of its judgments. The transformation which has come to emergence in the evolution of a better informed opinion, and the development of a juster and saner judgment, on the strenuous strivings and searchings after the life of the spirit in the many religious movements and quests that preceded the birth and environed the cradle of infant Christianity, is truly astonishing. When, forty-five years ago, I began my studies on these so varied quests, I found in the wide field of gnosticism, for instance, the old bad habit of orthodox apologetic still alive for the most part in this country, whereas in Germany a less prejudiced standpoint prevailed. Heresy in England was slain generally in good orthodox-traditional style, damned on sight whenever it could be disinterred from the fragments of the many forgotten forms of faith in the surround of Early Christendom. How these heresiological Church Fathers hated anything that did not agree with their own confused orthodoxy, and how slavishly the 'divines' still followed their lead up to date! During all the intervening centuries since the Church won its victory in the Græco-Roman world, the frequently

by no means absurd notions of the first three centuries of 'heresy' had not had a dog's chance given them. They had been universally —that is catholicly—held up to loathing and contempt by ecclesiasticism century by century, though their authors had been so long dead and buried. To the psychologist such a protracted nerve-crisis in the ecclesiastical patient was clearly symptomatic of a deep-rooted phobia in the subconscious of the Church's organism. There was fear, dread fear, at the bottom of it all: the orthodox construct was feared by its defenders to be by no means so securely based as they pretended it was; and already modern methods of research, free from traditional prejudice, were on all hands detecting the gaps and fissures in the very foundations. As a journeyman labourer in this field, I have done a little to strip off the grotesquerie in which the mutilated fragments of the works of the early heretics have been handed down to us in Patristic quotation, and so let some of these maligned thinkers and movements speak for themselves, thus evincing that they were frequently inspired with lofty ideals and were often men of no little genius. I am, therefore, rejoiced to find that Dr. Angus is of this more liberal and generous way of thinking, and has made "an attempt"—and a very successful attempt—as he says in his Foreword (p. xi.), "not only to interpret the Græco-Roman period, but also to present it speaking for itself in its own words." His instructive volume deserves the careful study of all who are interested in the recovery of the history of the general mind of religion in the Græco-Roman world when Christianity came to birth in Palestine, and as a strictly Jewish sect, and thence emigrated into the wide 'world' sphere of the Empire, with its innumerous religious cults and communities, phases of faith and strivings for salvation. Further to recommend Dr. Angus's labours, an outline of his survey follows:

I. The Religious Outlook of the Græco-Roman World—(i.) The Historical Importance of the Græco-Roman Period; (ii.) The Variety of Religious Interests and the Dominant Conceptions of Salvation; (iii.) The Chief Religious Refuges: Judaism; (iv.) Greek Moral and Greek Mystical Phiosophy; (v.) The Mystery-Religions; (vi.) Christianity; (vii.) Christianity and the Ancient Culture.

II. The Religion of Magic, Sacrament and Symbol—(viii.) Ancient Sacramentalism; (ix.) Entry of Sacramentalism into Christianity; (x.) The Evolution of Magical-Sacramental Ideas and Usages; (xi.) The Persistence of Ancient Sacramentarianism;

(xii.) Relation of St. Paul and the Fourth Gospel to Sacramentarianism; (xiii.) The Place and Function of Sacrament; (xiv.) Sacraments To-day and their Future. (The large space devoted to this subject shows Dr. Angus's anxiety to make the history and development of sacramental notions and practices, which were utterly foreign to Judaism and the original Jesus-teaching, as clear as may be, and thus throw a search-light on the main point at issue in the present violent controversy that is disintegrating the Anglican community.)

III. Astralism, or the Religion of Astrology—(xv.) Astral Religion and its Catholic Appeal; (xvi.) Astral Immortality; (xvii.) The Ascent of the Soul.

IV. Ancient Greek Theosophy as a Religion—(xviii.) Characteristics of Hermeticism as a Religion; (xix.) The Hermetic 'Upward Way.'

V. The Way of Gnosis—(xx.) Motives and Aims of Gnosticism: Its Entry into Christianity; (xxi.) Reactions of Gnosticism and Christianity: Gnostic Piety.

VI. Religion and Medicine—(xxii.) Religion as a Therapeutic in Pagan and Christian Circles.

It is a rich feast, indeed, with such a *menu!* Throughout Dr. Angus has to debate the pros and cons of the superiority of Christianity over against the many other religious quests. Christianity won the empery of the Western World in the face of all these rivals, and sat on the throne of the Cæsars. The gaining of the temporal dominion was at the expense of the faith's spiritualizing power. It is of course possible to argue interminably as to the merits and demerits of that-which-has-been and those of the many might-have-beens which died in childhood. What remains for the future to experience is that the spirit of the might-have-beens is not dead; it is coming to birth again on all sides in one way or another in new forms. The main point insisted upon by Dr. Angus to explain the triumph of Christendom is the fact of its historical founder. But it is the insistence on this fact, in and out of season, the persistent throwing of this fact into the face of all other claims to the possession of spiritual verity the world over, that has compelled the turning of the search-light of modern research and criticism on every syllable of the earliest records purporting to give the historical details of the life of the Nazarene; and we know how very insecure much of that foundation has proved to be.

But throughout his present study Dr. Angus shows no sign of

birking any issue, and courageously faces all difficulties and *scandala* in his transparent sincerity to win towards the truth. A very good book!

GENESIS.

Vol. I. of Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Prayers for Sabbath and Rashi's Commentary, translated into English and annotated by Rev. M. Rosenbaum and Dr. A. M. Silbermann in collaboration with A. Blashki and L. Joseph. London (Shipiro, Vallentine & Co.); pp. 281+61; 8s. 6d.

IF never rains but it pours. No sooner has the commentary on Genesis appeared, which had been referred to critically in the last number of THE QUEST, than another similar work has come to hand. Comparisons are odious, but if anyone wishes to realize the true meaning of the Bible such as it is represented by Jewish learning and tradition one must turn to this publication. It differs in every detail from the former and it deserves the very highest commendation which one can give to a work of this kind, for it is sure to prove most helpful to anyone wishing to understand the way in which the Bible appealed to the Jews and had been interpreted and assimilated by them. There is here no modern interpretation, no attempt at introducing into a commentary all kinds of abstruse problems and haphazard quotations culled from the most diverse, and often contradictory sources, no attempt at playing with the higher criticism, no pretence of a homiletic character. Here, on the contrary, we have a plain straightforward book compiled by scholars, who, at the same time, speak of their work with befitting modesty and acknowledge the possibilities of shortcomings from which no human work can be free. One must say at once that the shortcomings are very few and far between, and the merit of the book far overshadows any small blemish which may have crept into the work.

The text of the Bible is here reproduced also from plates of an excellent type, the letters being large, bold, and all the points in vowels very clearly standing out, they are taken from an edition which appeared in 1864. There is an English translation not, as in the former, a copy of the Revised but a translation made by a Jewish scholar in the first half of the last century. Dr. Benisch, well acquainted with the Jewish tradition, has rendered the text into English most faithfully and with great ability; it is done in the true Jewish spirit, which is revealed in that translation.

There is here further the Aramaic translation, the Targum ascribed to Onkelos. This is the oldest translation of the Bible into the Aramaic vernacular, and it has been so highly estimated by the Rabbis that they enjoin the reading of the Hebrew text, verse by verse, with this translation. Maimonides, the great philosopher, treated this translation almost as if it were an inspired work. It had become an integral part in the reading of the Bible, especially for the service; but that which gives to this new edition its unique value is the commentary of Rashi published here. Rashi,—the name consists of the initials of the real name Rabbi Shelomoh Itzhaki,—was one of the greatest commentators of the Bible. He lived in Troyes in France, and his commentary, written about 1070-1080, has become the standard commentary throughout the ages; its popularity has never waned. On the contrary it grew with the ages. The elementary standard of education for a Jew consisted in the study of the Pentateuch with the commentary of Rashi. The latter was felt to be indispensable for a proper understanding of the former. Rashi, for the first time, was able to blend the legal and legendary interpretation, the ancient tradition which flowed down from the time of the Temple to his own. He was fully conversant with the works of his predecessors, few or many as they may have been. He had at the same time a keen eye for the philological difficulties of the text and, by the way, one may mention that he introduced into his commentary French glosses so as to make his meaning more easily understood by the general public. These are probably the oldest specimens of the French language of the 11th century, written of course in Hebrew characters. The commentary, at the same time, is of a homiletic character, educational and interspersed with moral asides. No wonder, therefore, that it won the heart of the people and is held in such high esteem to this very day.

This commentary, which accompanied most of the old MSS. and many of the old printed books, used to be written and printed in a special type which, in consequence, was known as the Rashi type. Documents found in the ancient Geniza in the East, written long before the time of Rashi, exhibit already this script. It is a kind of cursive Hebrew but, as it was used exclusively for commentaries so as to differentiate them from the text, and the commentary *par excellence* being that of Rashi, it became known as the Rashi type. It was also left without vowels. He who studied the Bible with Rashi was considered to be sufficiently advanced in his knowledge of Hebrew to read the text fluently

without any vowel signs. Now, however, the standard of knowledge has declined, and yet the desire exists to know this commentary. The editors have, therefore, for the first time, printed the commentary with the usual square type like that of the text but much smaller, and in order to facilitate further the reading, they have added the vowel points. This alone, helpful though it may be, is only one half of the work, which has been done with great care and not without a certain amount of critical examination of the text; what is of far greater importance is that we have here for the first time an excellent translation of this commentary into English. Thus the commentary of Rashi has been made accessible not only to the Jews, who may use the book for their studies and in their religious service, but also to the general public interested to obtain a clear insight into that interpretation of the Bible which is specifically Jewish, and in which the old tradition has been most faithfully preserved by one of the greatest masters of Jewish learning. It is an inestimable service which the authors of this edition have rendered to the students of the Bible. They have reserved critical and explanatory notes for the end of the book, which are concise, clear and to the point, and some of the difficult passages in the commentary are here now fully elucidated and satisfactorily settled.

The lessons from the Prophets and the Sabbath service are also appended. It would have been desirable if the authors had seen their way to give us also the English translation, but one must not ask for too much; on the contrary, we have to be very grateful to everyone connected with this publication and can only wish that the authors will bring their undertaking to a quick and successful completion, since four more volumes are outstanding. The book is beautifully printed, although the work has been done abroad.

M. GASTER.

DAS HAUS DES HERODES ZWISCHEN JERUSALEM UND ROM. Von Hugo Willrich. Heidelberg (Carl Winter); pp. 195; 12M.

MANY years ago the author of this book already showed his hand in describing some phases of Jewish history during the period of the Maccabeans. He now writes animated by the same unfriendly spirit in giving us a full description of the time and life of Herod. He looks upon the matter from the Greek point of view, and reflects in his book the spirit of animosity so characteristic of the Greeks of that time. To him Herod is not a cruel tyrant, is not

the man who ordered the murder of the children in Bethlehem. This and many other acts on the part of Herod he practically glosses over, and depicts him as a man who attempted to hellenize Judaism, or if possible to introduce into Judaism such a spirit which would reconcile the Greeks to the Jews.

The author does not recognize the profound difference between Jews and Greeks in world-outlook, in the ethical principles and in the monotheism which thoroughly dominated Judaism and severed the Jews completely from the surrounding nations, deeply saturated with the disintegrating influences of Greek scepticism, immorality and love of amusement, which brought about in the long run that feeling of despair, and that longing of the nation for some means of escape from a world entirely void of spiritual aspirations and emptied of every form of real faith.

Herod is a man of his time, flattering the Emperors, imitating their love of building, trying to win the favour of the Greeks in his journey through Asia Minor by erecting amphitheatres, by building Cæsarea and Tiberias in the name of the Emperors, and even going so far as to place the Roman eagle in front of the Temple, to the extreme irritation of the people, whose susceptibilities even the Romans spared by forbidding the introduction of the images and emblems into Jerusalem by the Roman legions. Herod murders his wife; he murders his children on a slight suspicion; he is cruel to those who will not support his actions; he surrounds himself with a foreign bodyguard, and is always ready to massacre the people. And yet the author minimizes it all, and on every occasion does not fail to repeat with approval what Greek and Roman writers had to say contemptuously about the Jews. Curiously enough, there is not a single literary reference to the numerous quotations and allusions in the whole book. The author contents himself with the reference to Otto's article on Herod in Pauly-Wissowa's *Encyclopädie*.

Some writers may claim to write history without bias, but they are either deceiving themselves or their readers. Even a mere calendar of facts depends upon documents from which they are culled, prepared and drawn up by one party or another. Cleverly and vividly written as the book is, it is certainly not one free from bias or even prejudice. The book would have gained in value if all those uncalled-for and unfriendly references had been omitted.

A whitewashing of Herod is a difficult task, and the author has not succeeded in it. M. GASTER.

LEVITATION.

An Examination of the Evidence and its Explanations. By Olivier Leroy, Professeur Agrégé de l'Université. London (Burns, Oates & Washbourne); pp. 276; 10s. 6d. net.

THIS painstaking and well-written volume is furnished with the official '*nihil obstat*' and '*imprimatur*.' We, therefore, from the start know how it is bound to end, apologetically. Though Professor Leroy is anxious to minimize the miraculous importance of the phenomenon among the saints of the R.C. communion, and though it is true that the subjects of this physical phase of ecstasy, for the most part, were averse from the public manifestation of their consciously unsought-for rapts, nevertheless in their case levitation is to be classed as 'praeter-natural' or 'super-natural.' When 'levitation' occurs within the order of sanctity, therefore, it has to be differentiated *toto cœlo* from the happening in a secular environment. The evidence for the phenomenon from the *Acta Sanctorum*, etc., is frequently quite good. But the student of the comparative study of psychical research and the psychology of religious phenomenology can hardly be expected to draw such a hard and fast line of demarcation. Indeed, it seems evident enough that 'levitation' occurred among the majority of the pious emotionalists because their imaginative longings were so physically reified, that the border-land between the grossly and subtly physical was broken down, and in some cases the 'levitation' glued the *exalté* or *exaltée* to the physical crucifix. Professor Leroy thinks that the term 'levitation' should be confined to the degravitation, if one may coin such a word, of the living human organism. But it is difficult to see how this can be accepted methodically. In psychical research the term has a far more general connotation. Telekinesis, or the movement of objects psychically, without known physical contact, is the commonest of objective supra-normal phenomena. But R.C. psychical apologetics would have it that sanctified levitation is a religious phenomenon worked by a divine power; whereas secular levitation is due to 'spirits,' and not to the inner self-excitation of the subject. Well, we have to go outside the records of modern mediumistic phenomena for many cases of 'pagan' levitation. In India, for instance, it is one of the classical classes of the psychical *siddhis*, or psychic powers; and there, at any rate, its many-centuries-long tradition has never ascribed it to 'spirits'—

whether '*devas*' or '*bhûts*.' It is true that all the lower '*siddhis*,' according to the hypothesis, can follow, so to say, mechanically, the attainment of 'union'; but it is also true that they can be developed piecemeal by those who are intrigued by the manifold paths of crawling up from the exteriors to the interiors. A *Buddha* and a *Christ* could, presumably, have worked 'levitations' had they desired it, but I, for my part, would believe that they had far more serious things to occupy their attention. Nevertheless, because levitation may occur with a Christian saint, there is no necessity, natural or logical, to conclude that it is a holier phenomenon than when it occurs with a Buddhist *bhikshu*—or even as far as the sheer fact is concerned with any other decently-living mystically-inclined religionist. The trouble is that 'levitation' can occur with anyone under certain psychic circumstances. In itself it is independent of 'morals.'

THEISTIC MONISM.

By Joseph Evans, M.A., University of Sydney. London (Macmillan); pp. viii.+329; 12s. 6d. net.

THIS book gives the result of some years of study by an Australian graduate who had found himself obliged to withdraw from the pastorate of a Christian Church (Congregationalist) on the pressure of intellectual doubt: freedom to think things out for himself became imperative.

The leading feature of the method which he chose is his taking as his primary datum the relation of Mind and Body: accepting their union as fact he can start. After a review of the principal theories, especially of the Animism which underlies most of popular opinion and which has been expounded with notable vigour by Dr. McDougall, Mr. Evans takes his stand upon Aristotle's venerable endeavour to regard Mind-body as a unity; a single structure or system of energy which has both elements and is designated by him as physical. This singleness of system extends to the higher levels of mentality; moral values are included and the wide-ranging aspirations of Religion likewise, as well as Science and Literature. By analogy with this view of the nature of man Mr. Evans concludes to a Monism for God and the world.

The total system, as he conceives it, includes a certain freedom for Man—not a freedom from God and the World, of course, for to be under Divine influence is a higher privilege than

a purely self-direction would be; but freedom from subjection to any compelling influence on the human level. For Immortality—Mr. Evans finds no adequate ground for belief in the immortality of the individual either in time or by 'escape into eternity.' He is aware of the existence of human aspirations all along the ages, but he does not find them to be justified within his Mind-body system. He can see the possibility of its maintenance, only if there can come an increase of *evidence* of a scientific cogency from such enquiries as those of the Society for Psychical Research.

The result of Mr. Evans' enquiry for himself is sufficient to put him in possession of a Credo which has wide bases and high quality. It evokes such measured satisfaction as is becoming to an evidently philosophical mind. And indeed it attains a tone of enthusiasm which finds expression in a fine chapter wherein he designates the whole system of God, the Universe and Man, as a *Kingdom of Grace*. We have not been able to ascertain whether or not this result has led Mr. Evans to resume the ministry in a branch of the Christian Church.

A. CALDECOTT.

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF HUMAN MOTIVATION.

By Leonard T. Troland, S.B., A.M., Ph.D. London (Macmillan); pp. 521; 21s. net.

"THIS book," says Dr. Troland, "is intended to be a systematic treatment of the facts and problems of human motivation" (Preface). I can only say that, judged by the standard thus invited, the book is a very complete failure, because of the entire inadequacy of the author's personal equipment for such a production. The utmost that can fairly be said in praise of it is that it sets out in a clear, logical and orderly way an account of the physiological machinery of motivation; the author also makes, by his theory of 'Retroflex Action,' what he claims to be an original contribution of value to this (physiological) side of his subject. I must, of necessity, leave the appraisement of this theory to those competent to judge of it; and I do so with the sincere wish that they may find it possible to say something of the work on this side which may reward the pains which have obviously been spent on it. But for justification of my unfavourable verdict on the psychology of the book I am content to refer to chapters XXV. and XXVI. ('Some Common Motivational Processes' and 'Some Modern Interests'). I do not think there is

a single observation in either of these two chapters, which are supposed to be devoted to applications of the results of the enquiry conducted in the volume, which is worth the paper and ink expended on it. It is hard to quote one paragraph to prove this without being unfair to all the others; for, whether he treats of Business, Politics, Religion, Love, Scientific Effort or of the attractions of Motoring, Dr. Troland proves himself to be equally master of the obvious and the commonplace. Let an extract from the section (p. 457) on the Automobile serve as a sample:

"Primarily automotive transportation relieves us from the nociceptive processes of muscular fatigue which accompany walking, or even waiting for less efficient means of travel. By decreasing the time during which we are forced to inhibit the impulses that dominate our behaviour as we move from one point in space to another, it contributes to the prompt satisfaction of innumerable positive tendencies and the relief from negative ones. . . . The motor car is also a very convenient accessory to sexual courtship."

What a thing it is to be learned! And how pleasantly must the 'superiority phase of the Ego complex' of the lady to whom the book is dedicated, have been stimulated when she realized the accomplishments of her husband! GERALD CATOR.

RĀMDĀS AND THE RĀMDĀSĪS.

By Wilbur S. Denning, Ph.D., American Marathi Mission. London (Oxford University Press—Humphrey Milford); pp. 223; 6s. net.

THIS is one of the volumes of (within its measures) the capable and useful series 'The Religious Life of India.' Dr. Denning's account of the life, doctrines and activities of the Marāṭhā poet-saint Rāmdās (1608-1681) and of the subsequent fortunes of the sect of the Rāmdāsīs is well done, profiting by the co-operation of a Marāṭhī *paṇḍit*, and based on the not inconsiderable research which native scholars have of recent years been devoting to the subject. Rāmdās taught a blend of Advaita Vedāntism and Vaṣhṇava *bhakti*, and tried to rouse the inhabitants of Mahārāshṭra, or the Western Deccan, from the spiritual apathy they were suffering from owing to Muslim tyranny. Our saint became the *sadguru* of the famous liberator and conqueror Śivajī; he was in later life his constant adviser spiritually, and some contend politically, and was not only an ascetic and religious philosopher, but also a man

of fine intellect and marked common sense. Dr. Denning has given us an informative volume on this typical Hindu saint, and made a useful contribution to Indian hagiography and hagiology. As is usual with these 'liberal' missionary volumes, our author devotes his last chapter to Jesus and Rāmdās,—a comparison and contrast. Here he is frankly the missionary and in this we are unable to follow him. Surely he must know that now-a-days the Western educated Indians have accessible to them the vast critical literature of Christian scholars, at any rate in English, and that, if they choose, they can take the controversy on to this ground. No; Christians have too much just now on their hands in settling their own difficulties, to be sure they can with success replace the many-centuries-old general traditions of Indian religion with its numerous types of indigenous pietism by a single exclusive form of faith and body of doctrine. Dr. Denning says much of the 'inconsistency' in Rāmdās' blending of Advaita Vedānta with the Visishṭā-dvaita of the Rāmānja type and with Vaishṇava *bhakti;* but did not Shaṁkara compose and chant Shaiva bhākta *stotra's?* And what of Christian inconsistency? What of the Transcendentalism of the Dionysian mystical theology and the Theistic Logism of the worshippers of a personal deity—a so familiar blend in India also? Nor can we be certain that Christianism is quite free from the reproach of 'idols,' when the Greek Church is full of 'icon-ism' and the Latin Communion full of 'images.' Nevertheless this series of volumes devoted to giving us a sympathetic insight into 'The Religious Life of India' is a very great step forward. It is being carried out by men of ability who have carefully studied their subjects. The old atmosphere of unqualified disapproval is being replaced by a new spirit of greater understanding.

Modern Psychic Mysteries.

Millesimo Castle, Italy. By Gwendolyn Kelley Hack. With Preface and Articles by Professor Ernesto Bozzano, profusely illustrated. London (Rider); pp. 368; 18s. net.

This is a full account of the now widely-known physical phenomena sittings at Millesimo Castle, some thirty miles north of Genoa, the country seat of the Marquis Carlo Centurione Scotto. The investigating group consisted of well-known people, including Prof. Bozzano, who has for so many years been known as a devoted student of psychical research. The mediums were

Coleridge, though it is well known how remarkable was the effect almost always produced on a stranger by his personality. But in spite of a certain externality of treatment, the book remains one of extraordinary interest. The remarkable gifts of Coleridge, as well as the tragic incidents of his life, are described with a quiet realism that is convincing and impressive, while the psychic element in his mentality and its relation to his work are carefully noted. As in every attempt to estimate the life and work of Coleridge, this is the point of greatest difficulty, and the one on which, owing to the character of the problem, agreement is least likely to be reached. M. Charpentier regards the trance condition so often experienced by Coleridge from what may be called the common sense point of view. To him dreams are dreams and reality is reality. This, at the present stage of psychic enquiry, is probably

THE RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

By L. Elliott Binns, J. W. Hunkin and J. F. Bethune-Baker. Cambridge (The University Press); pp. 378; 7s. 6d. net.

THIS is the first of three volumes under the general title *The Christian Religion, its Origin and Progress.* The editor is Prof. Bethune-Baker, who in the General Preface writes as follows:

"Is Christianity a failure? Is it a case of 'the high that proved too high'? and though it has claimed men's allegiance for nineteen hundred years, can it do so still? Is it still capable of being a guide to the right attitude to the world in which we find ourselves, the right way of thinking and feeling and living?

"Everyone early in life ought to face these questions. But they cannot be answered by anyone who does not know what Christianity has been, how it came into being, what it had to contend with, and what it has achieved in the past.

"This series of books is intended to supply sufficient knowledge of these things to suggest a reasonable answer."

The need is manifest on all sides. The general ignorance on these matters is deplorable. It is, therefore, a most useful undertaking that is planned, and is being carried out by the group of well-known scholars, who are what is called 'Modernist' in tendency, and who are making their learning accessible to laymen in a simple form that all intelligent readers can easily follow. The present volume contains three parts. First, we have the Rev. Elliott Binns, D.D., Vicar of Gedney, on 'The Jewish People and their Faith'; next, 'The Earliest Christian Church,' treated

view of the Modernist wing of the Church in this country, we sincerely hope that this volume will be widely read and imbue the readers with the same liberal spirit.

COLERIDGE, THE SUBLIME SOMNAMBULIST.

By John Charpentier. Translated by M. V. Nugent. London (Constable); pp. 332; 15s. net.

AN account of the mentality and work of Coleridge as a philosopher is very welcome, and has been accomplished by the author of this book with considerable success, in spite of the handicap that difference of nationality inevitably involves. We are shown the dreaming child, the trance-inspired poet, the hopelessly unpractical man, and the outward failure of the life, with realistic fulness of detail; the value of Coleridge's contribution to the thought of the time is duly appraised, and his mystical point of view realized. It cannot, however, be denied that the complete detachment with which his personal character is viewed, though satisfactory from the biographical point of view, amounts at times to a lack of the sympathy necessary for true understanding. As an instance of this it may be remarked that the account of Coleridge's first visit to Dr. Gillman at Highgate seems to suggest that he deliberately tried to make himself agreeable to the man he desired to live with, a suggestion quite out of keeping with the complete detachment of his attitude to the affairs of this world. Moreover the impression made on Dr. Gillman is described as caused by the outward appearance of

Coleridge, though it is well known how remarkable was the effect almost always produced on a stranger by his personality. But in spite of a certain externality of treatment, the book remains one of extraordinary interest. The remarkable gifts of Coleridge, as well as the tragic incidents of his life, are described with a quiet realism that is convincing and impressive, while the psychic element in his mentality and its relation to his work are carefully noted. As in every attempt to estimate the life and work of Coleridge, this is the point of greatest difficulty, and the one on which, owing to the character of the problem, agreement is least likely to be reached. M. Charpentier regards the trance condition so often experienced by Coleridge from what may be called the common sense point of view. To him dreams are dreams and reality is reality. This, at the present stage of psychic enquiry, is probably the wisest position to take, in spite of its inevitable concomitant, the possibility of a serious misunderstanding of Coleridge's mentality. However this may be, all students of the life and work of the philosopher-poet are greatly indebted to the author for the fresh light thrown on the subject by this extremely interesting book.

S. E. HALL.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF MRS. PIPER.

By Alta L. Piper. With an introduction by Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S., D.Sc. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 204; 7s. 6d. net.

WE are glad to have this account of one of the most celebrated and respected mediums of our day. For many years Mrs. Piper was specially reserved for the methodical investigation of paranormal mental phenomena by the most distinguished members of the Society for Psychical Research in the U.S.A. and this country. These very numerous sittings were all carefully recorded, and many of them have been analyzed and published in the *Proceedings* of the Society. The filial account of her elder daughter, Miss Alta L. Piper, now enables us to view Mrs. Piper and her self-sacrificing work in the interests of science in an entirely new perspective, and admits us to the privacy of a home-atmosphere that impresses us with its air of simplicity, sincerity and uprightness. In matters connected with Psychical Research there is always,—and in our own opinion primarily,—the human element to be taken into account; but this only too often is put on one side in the endeavour to

impersonalize the enquiry and depersonalize the subject of investigation. There are those who would treat a medium as they would a test tube in a laboratory; they would experiment with a highly sensitive and delicate organism, with men, and especially women, who very much 'have their own feelings,' as though they were highly skilled conjurers whose tricks they must unmask at all costs; they watch them as a cat a mouse and even set detectives on them to spy on all their goings-out and comings-in. In brief, they surround their victims with such an atmosphere of suspicion and scepticism that they either inhibit the phenomena entirely, or get the most paltry results, or even by suggestion force fraud upon the entranced mediums. Mrs. Piper's *bona fides* has never been impugned, no matter what tests have been applied to her; and therefore, the subtle problems raised by the genuinely psychical phenomena of her mediumship, have been forced on the attention of all those who have worked with her, and she deserves the warm thanks not only of her comparatively few first-hand investigators, but of a multitude of students who have not had that advantage.

Christ in Islām.

By Rev. James Robson, M.A., Lecturer in Arabic, Glasgow University. Wisdom of the East Series. London (Murray); pp. 128; 3s. 6d. net.

It is very useful to have brought together the passages from the Koran relating to Jesus and such sayings of his and stories about him as are recorded by later Muslim writers, and which have previously been made accessible by Prof. Margoliouth of Oxford and Prof. Michaël Asin y Palacios of Madrid. In his Introduction Mr. Robson writes: "I have collected the relevant passages from the Ḳorān, of which I give my own translation, and I hope that it will not be found that I have inadvertently omitted any." What, then, is our surprise to find that the most striking two or three passages are absent? These passages declare that Jesus did not die on the cross; that he was subsequently resuscitated. What could be a more astonishing assertion than this, validated for all Muslims by the (for them) inerrant revelation of the Book of their Prophet? And it is not that this inescapable flat contradiction has been in these later times given decent burial. On the contrary, the present powerful Indian Muslim sect of the Amadhiyya, which is very active in propaganda, make this a main

feature in their controversial programme. They even claim to possess the tomb of Jesus in Kashmir! It is inexplicable that Mr. Robson should be ignorant of this movement and its claims, seeing it has for long had an active mission in this country, and was very strongly represented, under the leadership of their present head, in the recent Conference of Living Religions within the Empire. Indeed they were, picturesquely at any rate, the main feature of this gathering, and possess a mosque of their own in London. I have discussed the matter with them frequently. It is, then, a strange inadvertence on the part of one to whom we otherwise owe thanks.

JOSEPHUS: THE MAN AND THE HISTORIAN.

By H. St. John Thackeray, M.A., Hon. D.D. Oxford and Durham. With a Preface by George Foot Moore, Professor of the History of Religion in Harvard University. New York (Jewish Institute of Religion Press); pp. 160.

THESE six Lectures were delivered before the Jewish Institute of Religion. Dr. St. John Thackeray, owing to his long textual, critical and exegetical labours in the very important field of Josephean historical study, is rightly regarded as a most highly competent, perhaps even the most weighty, authority on the subject. He is now completing his fine translation of the world-famous works of that history-writer, who is our main source for the details of the stirring and tragic events that led up to the Fall of Jerusalem, and which cover the period of Christian origins and its early development in Palestine. The chief point of interest in these Lectures, for ourselves, is that Dr. Thackeray is thoroughly acquainted with the passages concerning John the Baptist, Jesus and Earliest Christianity in the recently recovered Old Russian translation of a lost Greek work of Josephus, entitled 'The Capture of Jerusalem,' and with the brilliant *opus magnum* of our distinguished colleague Dr. Robert Eisler on the subject. Eisler's labours in this field should be very familiar to our readers, and a lengthy account, with an estimate of his final presentation of them, was given by ourselves in the October number of last year. Dr. Thackeray repeatedly refers to Eisler's studies and acknowledges that on a number of points he has been won over to our colleague's analyses, and his critical textual and literary historical views on Josephus' method and manner of treating his

subject-matter. In brief, he holds that Eisler has presented his case on the whole with objectivity and scientific skill. As to the main *crux* of the famous eight passages dealing with Christianity, however, he declines at present to pronounce a definite opinion. But that they do present a most serious problem for all students of Christian origins and earliest history, he has not the faintest doubt. Such is the opinion of one whose high authority in all that concerns Josephus cannot be questioned.

POEMS.

By Elizabeth Hall, M.A., Author of 'The Revolt of Siena,' etc. London (Erskine Macdonald); pp. 85; 2s. 6d.

THESE twenty-five short pieces breathe an air of meditative quiet. They reveal a delicate sensitivity in their descriptions and appreciation of nature-scenes, and at times bring us within the spell of the mystical. They are evidently the work of one who has made a careful study of poetical forms and profited by it; and many an allusion assures us that throughout we are in contact with a mind cultured in the high traditions of classical literature.

A FINAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

As stated in the January issue of last year, owing to very heavy financial loss THE QUEST *was to have terminated with the completion of Volume XX. In the April number, however, we were very happily able to inform our readers that a very generous donation had, most unexpectedly, made it possible to continue the Review for another year and to bring out Volume XXI. We now have regretfully to announce that with the publication of the July number our enterprise must perforce come to an end.*

G. R. S. M.

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THE QUEST

A Quarterly Review.

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THE QUEST welcomes contributions which exemplify the investigation and comparative study of religion, philosophy and science as complementary to one another in aiding the search for that reality which alone can give complete satisfaction. It desires to promote enquiry into the nature of religious and other supranormal experiences and the means of testing their value, to strengthen the love of wisdom which stimulates all efforts to formulate a practical philosophy of life, and to emphasize the need of a vital science to crown and complete the discoveries of physical research. It also invites contributions which treat of the purpose of art and the expression of the Ideal in forms of beauty; and in literature interests itself in works of inspiration and of genial imagination. THE QUEST will endeavour, as far as possible, to avoid technicalities, so as to meet the requirements of the more general public seriously interested in such matters.

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THE QUEST

THANKS AND FAREWELL.

IT would be ungracious for THE QUEST to make its farewell bow to friends and readers without rendering a grateful thanks-offering to the memory of all who have helped to keep it in such reputable good-standing for twenty-one years.

First, most cordially to be thanked are its many distinguished contributors, who have given of their best, and in the vast majority of cases without payment of any kind. Theirs is a remarkable record of working for love, and high testimony to that spirit of loyalty in pursuit of those ideals of value which has animated THE QUEST throughout. It is the pleasantest of memories for its Editor that good fortune has dowered the Review with such contributors.

Equally thanks-deserving is THE QUEST'S deep obligation to its publisher, my dear friend of now so many years, John M. Watkins, who has asked so little for his good services. Indeed had the usual rates been charged, we should long ago have had to put up the shutters on our enterprise.

No less cordial words of thanks, again, are due to the Quarterly's printers,—The Women's Printing Society, familiarly known to some of us as 'The Ladies.'

I have printed with them for some two-score years, and cannot speak too highly of their work. The compositors have had to cope with a host of difficulties far beyond the scope of ordinary setting. They have had frequently to tackle long quotations in various languages, and to use hosts of letters with diacritical marks to ensure correct transliteration, and on occasion even Greek and Hebrew type. Their proof-reading has been consistently excellent. And over and beyond this THE QUEST'S debt to them is great. For when the War put an end to those good old days, when we could number 200 pages for a very moderate outlay, the necessitated increase in their charges was, and has continued to be, astonishingly small—probably, indeed, unparalleled in the trade.

Finally, subsequent to the passing of my capable colleague F. W. Thomas of Middlesbrough, who managed the financial side of the undertaking, my friend Herbert J. Page, F.C.A., has for years, without fee of any kind, had the affairs of the Quest Publishing Company, Limited, kept in order by his highly competent staff—a most remarkable case of professional generosity, for which any expression of thanks is inadequate.

As to 'editorial staff'—there has been none, save for help in proof-reading, for which I am very grateful to such of my colleagues who from time to time have given their assistance. There has been no sub-editor, no secretary, no typist, not even an office boy, for there has been no office.

Such a record of good-will by all concerned is hard to beat. If, solely from financial stringency, THE QUEST has at last been compelled to cease publication, in no other respect has it to regret its twenty-one

years of existence. It has, not only been sustained by a genuine loyalty to the search for spiritual values, but has succeeded in finding some of them displayed by its co-workers in very practical forms.

And so, for the moment, farewell to all my good colleagues in this particular adventure on the Great Quest. 'For the moment,'—for there is many another adventure, I doubt not, before us all who truly love it and must needs follow its call. It is not, therefore, 'goodbye for ever,' but rather farewell till we severally meet again, sometime, somewhere, somehow, on another great questing of the same order, if, mayhap, of a different kind.

THE EDITOR.

A DEDICATION.

To you who vivisect the dream,
And analyze the mystic gleam,
Dissecting the dry dogma's pith
To show us the once living myth,
And in clear reason's light restate,—
This little book[1] I dedicate.

CLOUDESLEY BRERETON.

[1] *Ad Magnam Amicitiam*, a volume of verse, in which the above lines were inscribed.—ED.

THE EVANGEL OF KERINTHOS: THE BOOK OF LAZARUS—THE BELOVED DISCIPLE.

STUDIES IN FOURTH GOSPEL ORIGINS: III.[1]

ROBERT EISLER, Ph.D.

ANYONE might have guessed the gnostic origin of the strange astral symbolism ascribing the four 'faces' of Ezekiel's apocalyptic vision (man's, lion's, ox's and eagle's) to the four evangelists. It is first met with in a famous passage of Irenæus (iii. 11. 8), where the great bishop of Lyons says that there can be neither more nor less than four gospels, because there are four corners or cardinal points of the world and four main winds, and because the spirit[2] of life must blow in all four directions. Therefore do the four gospels (John, Luke, Matthew and Mark[3]) correspond to the four cherubim.

It is evident now that this cosmic symbolism of the canonic *tetraevangelion* is derived from the Simonian Gospel called the 'Book of the Four Corners and Cardinal Points of the World.'[4] In it—as in the aforementioned quotation from Irenæus—the 'Gospel according to John' is rightly put *before* the other three, since John—that is, John the Baptist[5]—is the earliest witness

[1] For Studies I. and II. see the January and April numbers.—ED.

[2] This is an allusion to Ezek. i. 12, 20: "Whither the spirit was to go, they (the living creatures with the four faces) went." Cp. the *unus ac principalis spiritus* pervading all four gospels in the Muratorian fragment (P. W. Schmiedel, *En. Bib.* i. 1822, §78, n. 2).

[3] It is very important that Irenæus enumerates 'John' as the first of the gospels. In the Syriac of Cureton the order of the gospels is Matthew, Mark, John and Luke—so as not to separate Luke's gospel from his 'Acts of the Apostles'; in the Itala and the Codex Bezæ the order is Matthew and John—the two supposed apostles—then Luke and Mark, the disciples of Paul and Peter. Only the Canon Muratori has the usual order Matthew, Mark, Luke, John.

[4] See April No., p. 230, n. 2, and the Latin version of Abraham Ekchel.

[5] He is never called *ho Baptistēs*, but always *Ioannēs* without any surname in the Fourth Gospel.

to Jesus' being the Lamb of God and the Son of God, and since it is his testimony, his 'glad tiding,' which induces the first apostles to follow the Christ.

The Baptist is the '*man* sent from God, whose name was *John*'; therefore in the Simonian *tetraevangelion* the 'Gospel according to John' is the 'gospel of the *man*,' while the others are symbolized by the lion, the ox and the eagle.[1]

The Simonian 'Gospel according to John' *must* begin with this testimony of John the Baptist; because Simon, the successor of John the Baptist, as leader of his disciples,[2] converted to the belief in Jesus as the Christ by Philip, cannot claim to be the reincarnated Jesus, and therefore himself the Christ returned as the foretold Paraclete, if he cannot quote his master John the Baptist as having acknowledged Jesus as the Christ; and especially since there was a tradition recorded by the Synoptics[3] that the Baptist had until his death harboured the gravest doubts as to whether Jesus *was* the Messiah, or whether John and his disciples were to wait for another. It has been noticed before[4] that Jn. i. 25f.[5] is directed against such disciples of John as did not follow Simon in accepting Jesus as the Messiah foretold by the prophets, while claiming this dignity for the Baptist himself. The whole 'testimony of John' as to himself and to Jesus is distinctly in favour of Simon Magus' claims. For if Simon wanted to exalt himself above his master John the Baptist, it is unavoidable that Jesus should be first exalted above the Baptist. Thus only can "that saying come true: One (Jesus) soweth and another (Simon) reapeth"; so that "he that reapeth receiveth wages and gathereth fruit unto life eternal, that both he that soweth and he that reapeth (Jesus returned as Simon) may rejoice together" (iv. 36f.).

[1] This is the order of the 'four faces' in Ezekiel. Irenæus follows the inverted order of Rev. iv. 7: 'lion, ox, man, eagle,' thereby identifying John with the lion, Luke with the ox, Mark with the eagle. Further confusion arose through combining the inverted order of the 'faces' in Rev. with one or other of the series of the evangelists quoted above. Cp. on the whole question of the varying animal symbols of the evangelists, Th. Zahn, *Forsch. z. Gesch. d. ntl. Kanons*, Erlangen, 1883, ii. 252.

[2] Ps.-Clem. *Hom.* ii. 23; cp. *Recog.* ii. 11.

[3] Mt. xi. 3=Lk. vii. 19=Q.

[4] Maurice Goguel, *Jean Baptiste*, (Payot) Paris, 1928, p. 76, n. 1.

[5] And as a matter of fact the whole testimony of the Baptist as to his own mission and eschatological character, Jn. i. 19-27; iii. 22-36, cp. v. 35; x. 41.

After the 'witness of the Baptist' follows the recruiting of the followers of Jesus. The first disciples of Jesus are two former followers of John, converted to the service of Jesus by their own master's word. They do what Simon did; they leave 'the lesser light' for the stronger, the one destined to wane for the one destined to wax (iii. 30). One of those two disciples of the Baptist is Andrew, the brother of Simon, whom Jesus names Kephas-Peter (i. 42), the 'stone' or the 'block'—without, however, giving any honorific explanation of the name; so that it could very well be understood as a nick-name characterizing mere stubbornness and lack of understanding—one of the various proofs of an anti-Petrine (*i.e.* Simonian) tendency of the Fourth Gospel or its sources.

The fourth recruit is Philip, the apostle of the Samaritans, a shadowy figure in the Synoptics, but most prominent in the gospel of Simon the Samaritan (above, pp. 233f.). The fifth, however, is that enigmatic Nathanael (i. 47), the Israelite in whom there is no guile, whose very name is unknown to the Synoptics and to the rest of early Christian tradition. Who is this *rara avis*, the one 'guileless Israelite' among all the wicked Jews hated by the Samaritan, Simonian and therefore anti-Jewish, Fourth Gospel? So far no one has been able to identify him. Nevertheless nothing could be plainer than that *Nathana-'el* is nothing but the Hebrew original of *Dōsi-theos* ('God giveth')—*i.e.* the name of that learned Jew who—according to Epiphanius (*Hær.* 13)—went over to the Samaritans[1] and—according to the Pseudo-Clementines (above, p. 341, n. 2)—was the leader of the Baptist's disciples after the death of their master and during Simon's absence in Egypt.

According to the Ps.-Clementines, Simon Magus later on quarrelled with Dositheos and ousted him from the leadership of the disciples of the Baptist. After the resulting schism those Baptists, or *Naṣōrāiā*, who followed Dositheos, were called Dositheans. According to Theodor bar Kevani[2] these Dositheans were called Mandæans (*i.e.* Gnostics) in Maisēnē, but Naṣōræans

[1] That is to say, as a faithful disciple of John he made no difference between former Jews and former Samaritans, once they had been reborn as true Israelites through John's baptism. 'Unregenerate' Jews and 'unregenerate Samaritans' he would indifferently consider as apostates from the Law of God.

[2] E. Peterson, *Zeitschrift f. neutest. Wissensch.* xxvii., 1928, pp. 65_2, 95_7.

('Keepers' of mysteries) in Beth-Aramāyē. There is no doubt that he means those Mandæans of Mesopotamia whose writings have been of late translated by Lidzbarski. The close connection between the peculiar mystic conceptions of the Fourth Gospel and the Mandæan books, which has been simultaneously and independently observed by Walter Bauer[1] and Rudolf Bultmann,[2] is automatically explained through the identification of one of the main sources of the Fourth Gospel with an evangel of the Simonians, written before their separation from the later Dositheans, as we can gather from the high praise which it bestows upon Nathanael-Dositheos, and from the importance which it attaches to the witness of this erstwhile unbeliever[3] who recognized Jesus as the Son of God and king of Israel (i. 49).

After the Nathanael-Dositheos episode follows the miracle of the wedding-feast in Cana. In our present text this is called Cana of Galilee, although in the Simonian source the scene might have been laid in Cana of Samaria.[4] The Dionysian transformation of the water, used by the Jews for their purifications, into wine,[5] compared with which ordinary grape wine is made to taste like cheap vintage, has been qualified by puzzled commentators as an unnecessary or 'luxury' miracle[6]; and apologetic exegesis has had a hard time defending the Saviour from the accusation of favouring debauch and drunkenness. Yet so far no-one has noticed that the story is an ætiological legend, intended

[1] *Das Johannesevangelium*,[2] Tübingen, 1925.

[2] *Zeitschr. f. neutest. Wissensch.* xxiv., 1925, pp. 100ff., p. 146, n. 1. See English Translation by G. R. S. Mead, THE QUEST, Oct. 1925 and Jan. 1926.

[3] Jn. i. 45: "Philip findeth Nathanael and saith unto him: We have found him of whom Moses in the Law and the prophets did write, Jesus the son of Joseph the Naṣōræan" (*naṣrāiā*,'the keeper' of mysteries, mistranslated by the Greek evangelist '*apo Nazareth*'=from Naṣareth); to which Nathana'el answers: "Can anything good come *min-neṣuroth*"='from the mysteries' (misread for *min-Naṣareth*, 'from Nazareth' by the Greek). In this gospel Jesus is not a Galilean, but a Samaritan (April no., p. 232).

[4] Neubauer, *Geog. d. Talmud*, p. 246.

[5] On this legend cp. my paper 'The Gospel of the True Dionysos,' in THE QUEST, 1924, XV. 65-68.

[6] In reality it is meant as a fulfilment of the prophecy in Jer. xiii. 12: "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel: Every bottle shall be filled with wine: and they shall say unto thee, Do we not certainly know that every bottle shall be filled with wine? Then shalt thou say unto them: Behold I will fill all the inhabitants of this land . . . with drunkenness."

to prove that the consecrating words of Jesus can change ordinary water into the mystic wine, typifying his precious blood, and thereby to justify those abstemious ascetics who used to celebrate the eucharistic communion with a cup of water simply.[1] It is obviously an authorization to abstain from wine even at the eucharistic communion-rite for the disciples of John the Baptist, since the followers of that ascetic hermit, who 'did not drink' wine,[2] would nevertheless have to partake of Jesus' loving-cup as soon as they joined the communion of Jesus' followers. This is the reason why one of those 'Baptists,' who had, like Simon, become believers in Jesus, makes the Messiah perform this mystic miracle, although 'his hour has not yet come' (ii. 4),—*i.e.* the hour when from his lance-wound (xix. 34) there will gush forth together with his life-blood, the water of everlasting life for his disciples.

After this follows the violent scene of the 'purification of the Temple,' transposed—as Roland Schütz[3] has shown—from the passion story by the late editor to its present highly unsuitable place. With true Samaritan hatred against the people of Jerusalem Jn. ii. 24f. declares that Jesus had no confidence in the people who there became believers in his name: "For he knew what was in (those) men." Then comes the dialogue with Nicodemus, setting forth the doctrine of spiritual regeneration through baptism in water—a tenet of capital importance for the disciples of John, who, like Simon Magus, had followed Jesus, and yet continued to baptize after the manner of John; although they are forced to admit (iv. 2) that Jesus himself baptized no one. Then follow the short verse iii. 23 about John baptizing in the *Samaritan* hamlets *Ainon* and *Salim* (April no., p. 233, n. 1), and the second testimony of the Baptist as to Jesus being the messianic bride-groom, and the one who has descended from heaven, the Son of very God. Then comes ch. iv., the celebrated dialogue with the Samaritan woman about the sacrament of the draught of vivifying water—the

[1] Harnack, '*Brot und Wasser*,' *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, vii. 2, 1891. Holtzmann, *Zeitschr. f. neutest. Wiss.*, 1904, 117.

[2] Mt. xi. 18=Lk. vii. 33 (Q). Cp. Josephus, *Halōsis*, ii. 168 (Thackeray's *Josephus*, iii. 648): "Wine and strong drink he would not so much as allow to be brought near him."

[3] *Zeitschr. f. neutest. Wiss.*, 1907, vii. 247 f.

particular communion-rite of the abstemious followers of John the Baptist.[1]

In transparent words[2] Jesus tells the Samaritan woman about her five husbands or *ba'alīm*, the five idols of the heathen Cuthæans (II. Kings, xvii. 24ff.). Even the present *ba'al* or husband of unregenerate Samaria is no more her husband; he has repudiated her by permitting the destruction of the sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim.

The Samaritans, like the Jews, "adore, what they ignore"—*i.e.* the unknowable transcendent God, who is wholly unconcerned with this low world and the fate of mankind: "We (the Simonians, the Christians for whom this gospel is written) adore what we know"[3]—meaning the Logos, visibly incarnated first in Jesus and then in Simon-Jesus, the 'other paraclete,' through whom the Father may be known and even seen (April no., p. 235, n. 1). God will soon be worshipped no more either on Mt. Gerizim or on Mt. Moria. God is the Spirit of Truth—incarnated in Jesus and again in the 'other paraclete'; He must be worshipped in Truth and in the Spirit. Many Samaritans are converted to Jesus', now Simon's following; another reaps, where Jesus has sown, Jesus rejoices about the late harvest in the person of Simon. After having converted many Samaritans Jesus leaves Samaria, his country (April no., p. 232), "because a prophet is not honoured in his country," and goes to Galilee.

Ch. v. contains the miracle of the pool of Bethesda—another illustration of the particular 'Baptist' creed concerning the healing virtue of immersion in certain vivifying waters. In v. 18 the Jews want to kill Jesus, because he "maketh himself equal with God," —a claim as foreign to the humility of the Synoptic Jesus as it is well attested for Simon Magus (April no., pp. 234f.); v. 19-24 elaborates in all detail this claim of the 'Son,' that is of Simon-Jesus, to be worshipped even as and in place of the 'Father.'

[1] An exact parallel to Jn. iv. 14 is quoted from Philo the Jew (*Fug. et Inv.*, 97, p. 560) by Walter Bauer (*l. c.* pp. 65 f.)—another of those contacts with Philo which are so characteristic for our gospel of Simon, the 'other paraclete,' the friend of Philo (April no., p. 236, n. 1).

[2] First correctly explained by a gloss in the Josephus MS. Cod. Ven. græc. 881 to *Antiqq.* ix. §288; see Eb. Nestle, *Zeitschrift. f. neutest. Wiss.*, 1904, iv. 167.

[3] Jn. iv. 22. The concluding words 'for salvation is of the Jews' are evidently added by the final, Catholic, antimarcionite editor of the gospel.

Chapter v. 24ff. (even as viii. 52) contains the bold promise that anyone who hears the words of the Christ and believes in Him who has sent Jesus, "hath everlasting life." "If a man keep my saying, he shall never taste death." "For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life"—*i.e.* eternal life like God—"in himself." This is exactly the doctrine of Simon who taught: "I am the Son of God, *enduring to eternity*, and . . . I can make those who believe on me *endure in like manner for ever*," asserting that "his flesh is so compacted by the power of his divinity that it can endure to eternity."[1]

Most important is v. 43: "I am come in my Father's name and ye receive me not: if another shall come in his own name him ye will receive"; because the Messiah Theudas, who came forward under Claudius[2]—*viz.* in the life-time of the apostle John the son of Zebedee—posed as the reborn Josuah-Jesus of the Old Testament, since he promised to lead the Jews dry-shod through the Jordan. On the other hand, the Messiah Menaḥem, the son of Judas the Galilean, who came forward in Jerusalem in 66 A.D., was so soon killed by his opponents[3] that he cannot be said to have been 'received' by the Jews. Therefore the verse can only be understood as a protest against the Messiah Andrew Lukuas, who raised a world revolution of the Jews[4] under Emperor Trajan, and was defeated by Lucius Quietus and Marcius Turbo in 117/118 A.D. Jn. v. 23 is then another proof that the Fourth Gospel, as we read it now, was composed under Trajan, that is to say, in a period when the Christian community was anxious to dissociate itself from the political messianism of the contemporary Jews, a tendency which is clearly visible in Jn. vi. 14, which relates the flight of Jesus from those who wanted to proclaim him King of Israel.

In Ch. vi., in the legend of the 'feeding of the multitude,' we note the prominent *rôle* played by Philip, the apostle of the Samaritans, and by Andrew, the former disciple of the Baptist. In vi. 15 Jesus is called 'the true prophet, coming into the world'

[1] Ps.-Clem, *Recog.* iii. 47; ii. 7.

[2] Josephus, *Antiqq.* xx. 5, 1, §97 f.; Acts v. 36.

[3] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. §§434, 444.

[4] Dio. Cass. lxix. 13, 30; Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 2; Oros. vii. 12; Zielinski, *Rev. de l'Univ. de Bruxelles*, 1926/27, pp. 19ff.

—a central conception of the Mandæan gnosis and the Ps.-Clementines.

In vi. 42 Jesus scandalizes the Jews by claiming to have 'come down from heaven,' even as Simon Magus is believed to have said to Emperor Nero[1]: "I am the Son of God who has come down from heaven."

In vi. 66f. we note a tone of marked hostility against the twelve apostles, which is but imperfectly tempered by the final editor's addition of a point of interrogation after vi. 60b. When many of the hearers fall away from Jesus, he expects the Twelve will also desert him. When they protest and assert their attachment to the giver of eternal life, the master answers harshly: "Have I not chosen you, the Twelve,[2] and one of you is a devil" (or a calumniator, an informer, *diabolos*).

In vii. 3-6 the same hostility is visible against the brothers of Jesus: "not even they believe in him." They want to ruin him by forcing him to reveal publicly his messianic claims before the proper time. Most evidently this gospel comes from a group of Christians who are not in sympathy either with James the Just and the other brothers of Jesus, or with Peter, who is reproved for the famous sword-cut (xviii. 10) and for his betrayal of the master (xviii. 26f.), or with the group of 'the twelve' apostles.

In vii. 37f. Jesus speaks again of the sacrament of life-giving water so dear to the 'Baptists' and the later Mandæans.[3]

On various occasions (Jn. vii. 30, 44; viii. 59; x. 39) the Fourth Gospel tells how Jesus mysteriously eludes the designs of those who would lay hands upon him or even kill him. This corresponds exactly to the claims of Simon Magus, who is supposed[4] to have said: "I am able to render myself invisible to those who wish to lay hold of me . . . I can change my countenance so that I cannot be recognized."

In vii. 53ff. there is the much-discussed story of the adulterous woman, different in style from the rest of the gospel, and obviously taken from a collection of historical sayings of Jesus closely akin

[1] *Martyrium Petri et Pauli*, 15; p. 132, ed. Lipsius.

[2] John the Baptist is said to have chosen 30 disciples. Ps.-Clem. *Recog.* ii. 8.

[3] *Mand. Liturgies*, pp. 62f., Lidzbarski (Bauer, *l.c.*, p. 109).

[4] Ps.-Clem. *Recog.* ii. 9.

in every respect to the Synoptic sources—a story which has been a stone of scandal to the Church ever since it was received into the canonical New Testament,[1] and which is deleted in a number of MSS. It seems obvious that it was inserted into the gospel of the Simonian sect because its founder was universally reviled by his adversaries for taking unto himself, after the example of the prophet Hosea, a woman of evil fame, a certain Helena, not only an adulteress (H. iii. 1), but a harlot (*ib.* i. 2) from a Tyrian brothel. The famous saying of Jesus is put forward by Simon's disciples to confront his adversaries: "He that is without sin, let him first cast a stone at her."

The saying (viii. 56): "Abraham rejoiced to see my day and he saw it and was glad" has always been a puzzle to the commentators. How could Abraham in She'ol see the day of the coming of Jesus and rejoice over it? This saying, which is impossible in the mouth of the historical Jesus, offers no difficulty if spoken by the reincarnated Jesus, that is by Simon Magus. Abraham saw Jesus and rejoiced on the day when the Christ went down into Hades and freed the patriarchs before he returned to the Father; hence he was again sent down as the 'other paraclete' into the body of Simon Magus, on the day when Jesus had laid down his life at will to take it again (x. 18), to be reincarnated in Simon.

Chapter xi. is evidently taken from a source, the first half of which seems to be lost. This is the simplest explanation for the fact that, in xi. 1, Martha and Mary are introduced as if they were well-known persons. Verse 2 says: "It was that Mary who had washed the feet (of Jesus)"[2]—which is corrected in the canonical Greek text into: "It was (that) Mary who had anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped his feet with her hair whose brother Lazarus was sick," as if the "*had* anointed" could refer to the *later* chapter (xii. 1-8), a story which has not yet been told by the evangelist. No doubt the source had previously mentioned a similar scene to the one which the other source of the Fourth Gospel places at a later moment of Jesus' career.

It is this particular source which professes to be the testimony of an immediate disciple of Jesus whom he loved—that is of *the*

[1] On the whole question cp. my paper on 'Jesus and the Faithless Bride,' in *Zeitschrift. f. neutest. Wiss.*, 1923, pp. 305ff.

[2] Thus the Sinaitic Syriac version (A. Smith-Lewis, *The Old Syriac Gospels*, 1910, p. 288 and *ad loc.*).

favourite disciple of Jesus. This disciple is said (xiii. 23, 25) to have leaned on the bosom of the master and to have enjoyed his particular confidence, so that Simon Peter had to ask him to intervene with Jesus when he wanted to know something which the Lord had kept a secret from him and the other apostles.

In xx. 4 he outruns Peter on the way to the sepulchre, and thus becomes the first witness of the disappearance of Jesus' body, the first to see and believe (xx. 8). He is well-known or even related (*gnōrimos*) to the high priest; if the latter translation of this ambiguous word be accepted, he is himself of Aaron's race. It is he who faithfully follows the captive Jesus into the lion's den, the high priest's palace, while Peter stays outside and betrays the master. When all other disciples have shamefully deserted their lord, the 'disciple whom Jesus loved' stands alone with Jesus' mother and the other two Marys under the cross (xix. 25-27). In that solemn hour the dying Jesus says to his mother: "Woman, *behold thy son!*"—that is, he makes her *adopt* the beloved disciple *in his stead*, thereby appointing him by a kind of *oral testament* to be his successor. Then said he to the disciple: "Behold thy mother; and from that hour that disciple took her into his own (family)"—although this mother had seven children, daughters and sons (Mk. vi. 3), the brothers of the Lord, among them James the Just, later on the head of the community of Jesus' followers in Jerusalem! Most evidently all these verses show the same enmity against the brothers of Jesus and against the runaway apostles as in vi. 60b. and vii. 3-6. Evidently this source—the witness of the disciple who alone saw the blood flow from the lance-wound of Jesus (xix. 35), comes from a group of Christians who considered as their leader the 'disciple whom Jesus loved,' the unnamed disciple of John the Baptist (i. 35), who professes to have heard from his first master's mouth 'the glad tiding of John' about Jesus, and therefore followed him, whom John had called the 'lamb of God,' the 'Son of God,' the one whose shoe-latchet the Baptist felt unworthy to unloose.

Nothing could be more characteristic for the traditional method of reading the gospels through the medium of the interpretation of the Churchfathers, than the usual absolutely baseless identification of this 'beloved disciple' with John, although the two Zebedaids are nowhere mentioned in the genuine chapters

(i.-xx.) of the Fourth Gospel, and only appear—quite abruptly—in the appendix, ch. xxi., which follows after the genuine solemn conclusion of the original book; and this in spite of the fact that the supposedly anonymous disciple 'whom Jesus loved' *is plainly and unambiguously named in the text of the Fourth Gospel itself* (xi. 3) by his own sisters, who sent unto Jesus, saying: "Lord, behold, *he whom thou lovest*, is sick." Just as the reader is supposed to know Martha and Mary, although the earlier part of the source, in which the two sisters seem to have played a particular *rôle*, is not reproduced by the compiler, even so the reader is not told why and since when Jesus loved—none other than Lazarus.[1]

To compensate the loss, the editor has contented himself with inserting xi. 5, "Now Jesus loved Martha and her sister and Lazarus," an evidently unsatisfactory expedient. Just as Martha and Mary are historic figures, well-known to Synoptic tradition (Lk. x. 38-42), their brother, the 'disciple whom Jesus loved,' seems to occur in Mk. x. 21. As H. B. Swete[2] has quite correctly seen, it is the rich youth whom "Jesus loved when he beheld him." Nothing could be more plausible than that, according to the word of Jesus (Mk. x. 27), "with God all things are possible," even a rich man's conversion to the acceptance of the yoke of the Kingdom of God, was followed, in the lost first half of the 'beloved disciple's' own gospel, by a story of how this lovable rich youth *returned to Jesus*, after having dutifully sold all his belongings and distributed the proceeds to the poor. Such a rich man might well be an acquaintance or relative of the high priest; in his sisters' house an abundance of costly ointment might be squandered upon the head and feet of Jesus; at his death, or apparent death, many Jews would come to offer their condolences to his sisters (xi. 19); and his great sacrifice and splendid self-abnegation would make him

[1] The first to hit upon this plain and simple solution was Johannes Kreyenbühl, *Das Evangelium der Wahrheit, eine neue Lösung der Johannesfrage* (Berlin, 1900), i. 158. K. was not able, however, to follow this clue in the proper direction, because he tried in vain to identify the Fourth Gospel with the 'Evangel of Truth' of the Gnostic Valentine—an evident absurdity. On the other hand, I gather from Edouard Schuré's *Esquisse d'une Cosmologie psychologique* (Paris, Fischbacher), that the late Rudolf Steiner had a theory that the 'beloved disciple' was Lazarus, who after his resurrection took on the new name John—a theory showing the curious blend of genius and uncritical muddle-headedness which is so characteristic for the famous founder of 'Anthroposophy.'

[2] *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1916, p. 371ff.

seem worthy of receiving the greatest proof of his master's affection —resurrection from the dead.

If we ask whether there ever was a person called Lazar—the usual shortened pronunciation for 'Ele'azar[1]—who played a leading part in the early Church, who might have claimed to have been the favourite disciple of Jesus, and to have been raised by the master from death—be it from a physical cataleptic lethargy or more probably from the spiritual state of death[2] in ignorance[3] and sin[4]—the answer is in the affirmative. I have tried to show elsewhere,[5] from a heavily expurgated passage in the Hebrew *Josippon*, that according to Josephus 'Ele'azar, the son of Deinaios, the leader of the Jewish Messianist rebels, who rose in arms against the Romans under Emperor Gaius Caligula (40 A.D.), the famous 'robber-chief' who, according to Josephus,[6] held his own against his enemies for twenty years, until the governor Felix (48-60) caught him by granting him a treacherous safe-conduct and sent him to Rome in chains, was one of "those bandits who hung after Jesus the son of Joseph." If I am right, this man 'Ele'azar, who is well-known also to the rabbis of the Mishnah,[7] and his father Deinaios, both of them priests—this would agree with the statement (xviii. 17) about the favourite disciple being 'well-known to the high priest' —are enumerated in the Ps.-Clementines[8] among the followers of Peter.

Thus the second source of the Fourth Gospel would appear to have been a 'gospel according to Lazarus,' written by *'Ele'azar ben Dinai*, who considered himself, and not either Peter or James

[1] Thus always in the Palaestinian Targum. See Strack-Billerbeck's *Rabb. Commentary to the N.T.*, ii. 223 to Lk. xxi. 20.

[2] According to Philo (i. 481) the name Eliesdros (= 'Eli'ezer, 'Ele'azar) is explained as the type of a being "liable to dissolution and (indeed) a *corpse*" but "*held together and kindled into life* (*sōo-pyreitai*) by the providence of God."

[3] See Jn. v. 24: "Verily I say unto you, He that heareth my word and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life . . . *he is passed from death unto life.*"

[4] Cp. 1 Jn. iii. 14: "We know that we have *passed from death unto life*, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not his brother *abideth in death.*"

[5] See my book *The Messiah Jesus*, etc., London (Methuen), 1930, pp. 101ff.

[6] *Bell. Jud.* ii. §253.

[7] *Sota*, 119—*Babl.* 47a; *Jerush.* 23b., etc.

[8] *Hom.* ii.; *Recog.* ii. 1.

or any other of the brothers of the Lord or of the Twelve, as the true predestined leader of the Messianist community. Verses 22 and 24 of ch. xxi., the well-known appendix to our Fourth Gospel, prove that this source was in circulation during the life-time of 'Ele'azar, who claimed to have received from Jesus the promise that he would not die but remain alive until the second coming of the Lord. After his death (which happened in Rome, sometime after 60 A.D.—the last year of governor Felix's administration of Palestine)—verse 23 was interpolated by the final Catholic editor of our Fourth Gospel, in order to explain away this alleged promise of Jesus which had been disproved by the course of events. Even if we suppose xxi. 19 to be a later interpolation and verse 18 to refer originally, not to the crucifixion of Peter, but merely to his being—in his old age—arrested, bound and taken to prison, the contrast between the prophecy vouchsafed to Peter and that which is claimed by the disciple who is *not to die* before Jesus returns in glory, cannot be explained, unless this appendix was written *after the death of Peter*, that is, probably, after the Neronian persecution of 64 A.D. 'Ele'azar ben Dinai, to whom the Roman governor Felix had promised his life would be spared,[1] may have dragged on his miserable life in a Roman dungeon for a number of years after the martyrdom of Peter, hoping to the last breath to be liberated by the return of the Messiah 'with power,' and communicating occasionally with his fellow-Christians, just as Paul was able to do in a similar situation.[2]

The 'Book of Lazarus,' to which 'Ele'azar ben Dinai wrote this epilogue himself[3] after Peter's death, while he himself was rotting away in a Roman jail, seems to have survived in Constantinople until the end of the 13th century. An extract from the catalogue of a Byzantine library, made by a Latin, probably Italian or French, 'grammarian,'[4] mentions along with

[1] Josephus, *Antiqq.* xx. §161.

[2] Acts xxviii. 16ff.

[3] Walter Bauer (*l.c.* p. 229), the latest and most learned commentator, admits readily that there is no difference of style or wording whatever between ch. xxi. and chh. i.-xx.

[4] See the *Supplementum Epitomes Bibliothecæ Gesnerianæ Antonii Verderii*, Lyons, MDD(!)XXV (read (MDLXXV), p. 56, appended with a pagination of its own to the book *La Bibliothèque d'Antoine du Verdier*, Lyon (Honorat), 1585, entitled *Bibliotheca sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanæ* (Rubrica: Michael Palæologus iterum recepit urbem e manibus Latinorum, that is 1261 A.D.).

the twenty-four comedies of Menander and other books, a "book of the saintly and just Lazarus, who was buried for four days in the underworld, and how Jesus raised him again, in four books. When these were seen by the Apostles, they hid away three of them, but one was found. And this first one is in the city of Rome (too), as I heard from the Cardinal of S. Croce."

Most probably the book contained revelations of what Lazarus had seen in the underworld, and what he was able to tell his relatives and friends, when Jesus had called him back to life on earth. The 'beggar' Lazarus, in Luke xvi. 19, is probably that same rich 'Ele'azar, who had at the behest of Jesus given away all his wealth.[1] Luke xvi. 31 is a transparent polemic deprecating the value of such apocalypses for people who had Moses and the prophets.

As to the author of the other, that is the Simonian, source of the Fourth Gospel, the properly so-called 'Gospel of John,' he was well known to the Church of Rome. About the middle of the 2nd century A.D. an antimontanist book, quoted by Gaius an elder of the Roman Church (160 A.D.), criticized by Hippolytus of Rome, in his treatise 'On the Gospel according to John and Revelations'[2] and attributed by Epiphanius to an imaginary sect of '*Alogoi*'[3] —*i.e.* people who refused to accept the Fourth Gospel and its doctrine of the Logos—declared the Evangel of John to be "not the work of John, but of (the Gnostic) Kerinthos and unworthy of being received by the Church."[4] This Kerinthos is said by Epiphanius[5] to have been an enemy of those grouped round James the Just in Jerusalem,[6] an adversary of Peter, whom he calumniated because he entered the house of Cornelius and ate with the uncir-

[1] The Church Fathers were unanimous in explaining the Lazarus of 'Luke' as a historical person. See Grabe's note to Iren. iv. 24 and *ibid.* ii. 341; Tertullian, *De Anima*, 7.

[2] Mentioned in the catalogue of his works on his Lateran Museum portrait statue.

[3] See on this question Ed. Schwartz, *Zeitschr. f. neutest. Wiss.*, xv., 1914, pp. 210-219.

[4] Epiphanius, li. 3 (Schwartz, *l.c.*, p. 213, n. 5).

[5] xxviii. 2 (drawing upon the lost *Syntagma* of Hippolytus).

[6] He and not Saulus-Paulus, as the anonymous fiend is explained in a marginal gloss of one of the MSS. (Thomas Smith, *Ante-Nicene Library*, iii. 188, n. 1), is the unnamed enemy, who starts a riot against James the brother of Jesus in the Temple, and throws him headlong from the top of the stairs, thereby laming him for a considerable time (Ps.-Clem. *Recog.* i. 70).

cumcized,[1] and a persecutor of Paul, against whom he is said to have incited the mob because of his bringing Titus[2] the Greek into the Temple of Jerusalem.

According to Ernest Renan,[3] who thought Kerinthos' authorship of the Fourth Gospel an extremely plausible explanation of the mystery surrounding its origins, and of the opposition raised against it in the Roman Church of the second century,[4] Kerinthos appears in Christian tradition as a kind of *alter ego* of Simon Magus.[5] Like Simon, he is said to have been an initiate of Egyptian philosophy,[6] that is—in our language—of the Philonian Logos-doctrine and allegoric interpretation of the scriptures. This is all the more in accordance with the Fourth Gospel, since Kerinthos is said by Hippolytus[7] to have taught that the world was not created by the First wholly unknowable God, but by a 'certain Power,'[8] distinguished from the supreme divinity above the All (*ta hola*). This is clearly the doctrine set forth in Jn. i. 3, that the All (*panta*) has been created by the Logos, who was with the Father from the beginning. This God the Father, whose *alter ego* is the Logos, is known by Jesus, the incarnate Logos, and through him—indirectly—by his disciples (xvii. 25; cp. i. 18): "No man has seen God at any time, the only-begotten[9] Son which is in the bosom of the Father[10] he hath declared him" or "the truth about him."

[1] Acts iv. 3.

[2] Acts xxi. 28, combined with Gal. ii. 3.

[3] *L'Église chrétienne*, Paris, 1879, p. 46, n. 1, and p. 53.

[4] Another scholar who accepted Cerinthus as the author of the Fourth Gospel, was 'P. C. Sense' (meaning 'Plain Common Sense'), that is R. T. Lyons, an eminent retired Indian Civil Servant, who enjoyed in his old age a well-deserved *otium cum dignitate* at Cambridge, and published in 1899 (Williams & Norgate, London), *A Free Enquiry into the Origin of the Fourth Gospel.*

[5] E. Renan, *Les Évangiles*, Paris, 1877, p. 432.

[6] Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.* ii. 3.

[7] *Ref.* vii. 33 (ed. Wendland, pp. 220, 12ff.)= Iren. i. 26.

[8] This is the *dynamis tis* which Simon Magus professed to incarnate (Acts viii. 9f.).

[9] This word is a protest against the Philonian doctrine of God and Wisdom begetting *two sons*, the *Logos* and the *Kosmos*, the Word and the World. Since the World is throughout the Fourth Gospel the opponent of Jesus, the Logos, it is not impossible that the word *monogenēs* may have been added by the final Catholic editor of the evangel.

[10] The relation of the Logos to God is the prototype of that of the 'beloved disciple' resting 'on the bosom' of the Logos.

The enmity of Kerinthos to James and Peter is entirely consistent with the above-analyzed animosity of the Fourth Gospel against the brothers of Jesus and against Simon Kephas. The theory of Kerinthos, that Jesus was not miraculously conceived by a virgin, but, like any other mortal man, was the son of Mary and Joseph,[1] explains why in vi. 42 (as the latest commentator Walter Bauer has acutely pointed out) no protest is found against the words of the Jews: "Is not this *Jesus the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?* how is it then that he saith: I came down from heaven?" No protest is made against this invective, because to Simon, too, when he said that he had "come down from heaven," his enemies objected that he was the son of one Antonius, a freedman of Alexandria, and of his wife Rachel of Gitta in Samaria.[2] Not only the Jews, but also Philip the apostle of the Samaritans, one of the Christian protagonists of the Fourth Gospel, calls Jesus (i. 42) 'the son of Joseph.'

According to Kerinthos, Jesus was a man like all other men, only more wise and more just. It was not until Divine Wisdom descended upon him during his baptism in the form of a dove—according to John's account (i. 23)—that the Logos-Christ, the Holy Spirit, was born in him, and that he could make manifest, or 'declare,' the truth and transmit this power to others. But at the end the (Logos-)Christ flew away again from Jesus, so that—although *Jesus* did suffer and did rise—the (Divine *Logos*-)Christ did not suffer, not being subject to pain. R. T. Lyons[3] has very appropriately called attention to Bishop Lightfoot's remark about the close analogy existing between the martyrdom of Polycarp and the passion of Jesus. Now, when a sword is thrust into the body of Polycarp "there came forth a dove"—typifying the spirit (*pneuma*), or even the Holy Spirit dwelling in the martyred saint—

[1] Hippolyt. *Ref.* vii. 33. (Wendland, pp. 220, 12ff.)=Iren. p. 26.

[2] Ps.-Clem. *Recog.* ii. 7.

[3] In the book quoted above, p. 354, n. 4, pp. 48ff. The attempt to reconstruct an original version of Jn. xix. 34 with a dove coming out of Jesus' body is uncalled for and unconvincing. But he might have compared the 'Gospel of Peter' where the '*Eloi, Eloi*' of the dying Jesus is interpreted as "my Power, my Power, thou hast forsaken me,"—meaning that the Simonian great and divine 'Dynamis,' had left Jesus, the mortal, to suffer a human death on the cross.

"together with a quantity of blood" which is his life.[1] This shows in what a concrete manner we have to understand the words of the Fourth Gospel (xix. 30), that the crucified Jesus, when "all things were accomplished," *parédōke to pneuma*, "gave back" or "surrendered the Spirit,"—that is, the '*a-pathetic*' unsuffering Divine Spirit, which he had received through baptism and the mystic 'descent of the Spirit' from heaven in the form of a dove "which abode in him" (i. 32) throughout his earthly life. This is the *pneuma* which is not available for others as long as Jesus lives (vii. 39) because it dwells within him.

It is this *pneuma*, surrendered by the dying Jesus to the 'Father,' which the Father will send down again as the 'other paraclete' to be re-incarnated as Simon.

Thus the most marked points of contact between Kerinthos[2] and the Fourth Gospel seem to confirm the assertion of a party in the early Roman Catholic Church which contended that it was a production of the Gnostic Kerinthos and of Simon Magus. If the Catholic Church has adapted it—according to a very plausible tradition during the reign of Emperor Trajan[3]—and if it has borrowed the most characteristically gnostic dogma of its own trinitarian theology—the identification of the Christ with God the Father and his Holy Spirit[4]—from this arch-heretic and arch-gnostic, it

[1] Cp. Gen. ix. 4: "flesh with the life thereof which is the blood thereof." See F. C. Burkitt, *Enc. of Relig. and Ethics*, vi. 342 b, n. 1: "According to 1 Jn. v. 6-8 the living personality has in it three elements: *viz.* spirit, water, blood; from the water we are begotten, by the blood we are sustained and the spirit is the immaterial element that enters at birth"—in the case of Jesus at the moment of his spiritual birth, rebirth, or regeneration, when the voice said: "To-day have I begotten thee"—and leaves at death. The spirit left Jesus when he died (xix. 30), leaving behind the water and blood of a human body, the existence of which was demonstrated to the onlookers by the spear-thrust of the soldier.

[2] Kerinthos is a typical slave's name (see Lambertz's list), Kerinthos embodying the particular tenets of this Alexandrian slave.

[3] Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 23, 3f.). The only reason for making John live up to that late period was the knowledge that the Fourth Gospel had been introduced into the canon of the Church at that critical period. Cp. Eusebius (iv. 3. 2) about Quadratus who, writing under Hadrian, maintained that 'some' of the people raised from death by Jesus lived to 'our own age.' This refers, of course, to Lazarus, whom Quadratus may have correctly identified with the 'beloved disciple' and author of the Fourth Gospel.

[4] Euseb. (iii. 24.13) says expressly that this '*theologia*'— the *theologein ton Christon*, the divinization of the Christ—was unknown to the Synoptics, and its foundation (*theologias aparxasthai*) was reserved by the Holy Ghost for 'one greater than they.'

has acted upon the principle which St. Augustine[1] set forth in the following impressive words:

"If we find among sacrilegious people testimonies of the Truth, should we either approve these men because of them, or because of these men reject those testimonies? Why should we not with whomsoever we find something which is of the Christ and true, accept it, even if the man, with whom we find it, is perverted and deceitful? Why should we not distinguish the fallacy of the man and the Truth which he holds, not as his own but as (a trust) from God and say: This here is sacred Truth?"

ROBERT EISLER.

[1] *Patrol. Lat.* xliii. 282.

THE SAMARITAN LEGENDS OF THE BIRTH OF MOSES.

Dr. MOSES GASTER, Ph.D.

I AM publishing here for the first time the translation of a Samaritan text, to be found in one of my MSS., dealing with the legendary history of the birth of Moses. The story itself appears, together with a large number of other legends, already in *The Asatir*, an old collection of Biblical legends belonging probably to the third century B.C. I have previously published the Samaritan text of the latter, together with a long introduction, translation and notes,[1] and have there endeavoured to trace the origin and parallels of many of the legends therein contained. One of the most important, and forming practically the central portion of the book, is the legendary history of Moses. This is not strange, since Moses is to the Samaritans the one and only prophet. They have evolved a peculiar theology of the birth of Moses, which is of the utmost importance for the history of similar stories that have arisen elsewhere in other connections. It is impossible to enter here into detail or to venture upon dogmatic or eschatological comparisons with other stories of a similar character; for we have here once more the example of a process well known in the history of popular and legendary literature,—the transference of a set of details from one hero to another. This is almost a natural process which can be followed through the

[1] *The Asatir: The Samaritan Secrets of Moses.* London, 1928.

mythical literature of the world. The one consistent element is the kernel itself, and the rest is simply the result of time and circumstance: one core exists and around it more is added. The oldest form is the simplest, and in its course through the ages it gathers elements from many quarters. Such has, indeed, been the case with the history of Moses. *The Asatir* represents its oldest form, and this has been preserved in its entirety with the constant accretion of detail.

In the 2nd or 3rd century, Marḳah, one of the greatest of the Samaritan poets, also referred to it and embellished it in a most characteristic manner.

Later it emerges in the 13th or 14th century in a more developed form, in an Arabic versified text ascribed to a certain Abdul ben Shalma (14th century), a great liturgical writer, who was also the translator into Arabic of the Samaritan-Hebrew Book of Joshua. He composed, with the usual flourish of the Arabic style, the *Molad Mosheh, i.e.* the 'Birth of Moses.' There is in my possession an old Samaritan version in the form of a hymn, which follows closely, or precedes, the Arabic poem of Abdullah. The author of this latter distinctly states that the story has been handed down from ancient times from the wise men of the period of 'Favour.' This period of Favour comes to an end with the appearance of Eli and Samuel. It is rather difficult to believe that already by that time such a legendary history of Moses had been evolved. Still, the statement makes it clear at any rate that the Samaritans ascribe to this story a very hoary antiquity. I believe it belongs to the Hellenistic period, as I have shown in my introduction to *The Asatir*. Moses-sagas are found not only in the Hellenistic writings of the time, but also in Josephus

and in the numerous Jewish books of tales or Midrashim. In these last, in fact, a large number of incidents common to the Samaritan story are actually to be found.

In this Samaritan-Arabic text the legends assume a remarkable character. It contains details found in one of Marḳah's poems, a portion of which is also given here in translation. There are many points which are extremely important, not only for the light they throw upon Samaritan dogmatic principles, but also because they carry us back, on the one hand to Philo, and on the other to the Nativity Stories in the gospels and to the apocryphal writings, not to speak of similar legends elsewhere. The one principle which stands out pre-eminently is that the world was created for the sake of Moses; that he was the Light which God had created. The Light which God saw "that it was good" at the first act of the world's creation, was nothing other than the Light of Moses, of whose mother it is said (Ex. ii. 2): "And she saw the babe and it was good," thus constituting the repetition and fulfilment of the words, "And God saw the Light and it was good." That Light shone through the ages from the creation to the time of Moses, in and on the various patriarchs and forefathers. That Light was always seen in their faith. It is this Light which illumined the house where Moses was born; it illumined the world and will illumine the world on the day of judgment.

It may now prove of interest if I give here a few of those points which most forcibly recall the Christian story of the Nativity. In the first place we have the star appearing in the sky and its ascent, portending the future advent of one who will save the people and

be a messenger of freedom. We have the magus, the wizard, who sees the star and interprets its meaning. He reports it to the king, Pharaoh, and tells him what the appearance of the star implies. The king is frightened and orders the massacre of the innocents. The long-awaited saviour is born secretly; he is hidden away for some time before the danger grows so great that the mother must look to his safety. When he is born, the room is filled with light, and this light passes out from the room to illumine the whole world. At his birth great angelic choirs come and sing hymns; and the various elements, the fire, the sun and the moon, come also and pay homage to the new-born babe. He has been created by God as the first act of creation, he is the primordial Light, pre-existing, as it were, and for his sake the world has been created.

There is further one small incident, which may indeed prove the nucleus of one of the cardinal dogmas of Christianity, and which has been more fully stated by Josephus,—namely, that the men were prevented from approaching their wives. Now, according to Josephus, Amram practised a similar continence, until ordered by God to end it. The idea of a divine paternity or a virgin-birth could not be so much as remotely entertained by the Jewish mind,—but one can easily detect in the incident just mentioned the germ of the theory, which has afterwards been introduced into the narrative of the gospels in reference to Jesus.

The text in itself is often very obscure and abounds in innumerable repetitions. Some of these have been omitted in my translation, since they do not add to the real understanding of the text. Also the first part of the poem, which deals with the creation and the

patriarchs, has been omitted, since I have limited myself only to that portion which concerns Moses. There are many allusions which can easily be understood, if one bears in mind that they are reminiscences of Biblical phrases and Biblical ideas. I have endeavoured to make the text as clear as possible, so as to make it more easily intelligible to readers who may be unacquainted with the Samaritan mentality and phraseology.

We have here an important contribution to Samaritan theology, of which so little is known, since it clearly reflects some of the most ancient speculations on the mystery of creation, of which Philo is one of the chief exponents. Moreover, it may throw an unexpected light on the Johannine Gospel. The affinity in the terminology is very striking. Here one can also find a clue to the claim of Simon Magus. He himself being a Samaritan, and believing in the theory of a Moses Redivivus as a long-expected redeemer, could easily apply to himself all the attributes which were given in this legend to Moses. I must leave further speculation on this matter for future investigations. For the present I must rest content with giving the translation of this unique text.

Translation.

And from Jacob, *i.e.* the Light, came Levi, for Levi was the select portion of God; for he carried the essence of prophecy. From him was established the Fear, and from his seed was exalted the house of the priesthood. And him God has chosen to serve and to bless before his community; he and his seed to all times, the tribe of Levi, were the possessors of his blessing. For he was carrying the Mystery of Moses and he was exalted in goodness and glory. And He appointed his seed; for from the seed of this holy tribe arose the highest of all mankind, and from the seed of

his son Kehat God appointed him. Many wonderful deeds developed, for he was the heir to the Mystery of Moses.

And Amram arose holy in his generation, and he was great and exalted in Egypt. And he was one of the principal men who were in the service of Pharaoh, and that was through his great wisdom and of the knowledge which was gathered in his heart. And he was a healer, curing all sickness in Egypt. And God was a helper unto him. And the people of Israel in that time were in great distress from the violence of the cursed Pharaoh—the wicked one; for he multiplied upon them heavy work, and he chastized them by the decree (or burden) which he pronounced against them. And the Egyptians—the wicked people—dealt evilly with them, and they desired to destroy the community of the people who were faint with a parched soul. They were ordered to build fortified towns unto Pharaoh, with hard labour and persecution—Pithom and Ramses—big and large towns. And he embittered their lives by hard labour, but God helped them.

At the court of Pharaoh there was a wizard, familiar with the knowledge of the books of signs and with the knowledge of charms and enchantment. And Amram went up to Pharaoh; and that wicked man, the 'Zendik,' saw him, and he asked: "Who is that great dignitary (*nomik*) who goes up to the court of Pharaoh, that powerful man in whose face the Light is shining?" And they told him this man comes from the Hebrews. And he said: "Truly, this is a faithful and a pious one. From him will come an issue who will destroy Egypt, and he will deliver his people from its oppression, and the kingdom of Egypt will be destroyed by his hands, and Pharaoh and all his hosts will be as nought, and he will break the neck of every enemy, and he will be righteous with God." . . . And this wizard was called Plti. And this word was told to the cursed Pharaoh. And he called for Plti who was just mentioned to be brought before him. And they brought him quickly. And Pharaoh said to him: "What is that word of which I heard that thou hast been speaking?" And Amram was there with Pharaoh. And when Pharaoh asked Plti, quickly he turned his face to Amram and he said: "Thou hast honoured this man before the others, and great honour has been shown to him. From him will shine forth a sun, and the earth will be lit up, and from his loins will come out the chosen

Messenger, and his people will be saved by his hand from all oppression, and many kingdoms will be destroyed through him, and he will annul every false thing, for the hosts of heaven and earth will minister to him." When Pharaoh heard this word, he stood up in trembling and fear and said unto Plti: "Hast thou divined properly and seen correctly, now find out through thy enchantments and tell me thy word of guidance, for I am frightened of thy foretelling." And Plti thought and said unto Pharaoh: "I tell you my mind; listen to the answer to thy question, for my word will be true and thy kingdom will soon be destroyed, and thou and thy community. For I have seen the star of Israel in the ascendant and its kingdom will begin, and soon a Messenger will be sent to them and this his star will rise higher. And through him will be their redemption, and his enemies will be in the depth of the pit (sea). Moreover I have seen a wondrous thing, whereof my knowledge fails; for I have seen that he will be thrown into the sea, and the fire and water will join together, and in the midst of the sea his people are standing. And this sign shows that Israel will be exalted through the sea. And he will stand in fear, and he will be conceived within 40 days, and the child that will be born will not reach the end of its life [variant: and his end will be through water]. And that is clear from the calculation, and sealed by means of witchcraft." And Pharaoh said to him: "What shall we do so that the child shall not be born?" Then Plti, the cursed one, answered: "Let the decree go forth, saying: Let every Israelite be prevented from approaching his wife, so that she shall not bear. And Amram shall be kept with thee as a prisoner up to the end of 40 days; and any man who shall approach his wife shall be killed." And Pharaoh did accordingly. And he appointed overseers over Israel of cruel heart and feeling, and he said: "All the men shall be separated from their wives and Amram shall not leave at all the house of Pharaoh." Through his (Pharaoh's) power and strength this thing was done. And he separated the women from the men and put all of them in a place. It proved vain. . . .

For the man, Amram, by the assistance of God, was joined to Jochebed, and they were united. And Amram knew his wife Jochebed, and he knew her in love; and God assisted, and a great light shone from Amram. And Jochebed was advanced in years,

and she was the daughter of Levi who was the son of Jacob. And she became pregnant with Moses, and the Light was adorning her, and God clothed her with honour like with a necklace. May Jochebed be remembered for good—the pure and holy vine, for the pious one (Moses) was generated by her. Blessed be He who has the power to perform everything He pleases. And on the nineteenth day God's help reached fulfilment; for the child was conceived of his father upon his mother; and there appeared in the heavens a mighty star. And the Egyptians at this sight were troubled and all the wizards rose in fear. And Plti came unto Pharaoh with great tribulation; and he told him the child is now within the womb of his mother, and all that thou hast attempted has now been annihilated; the calculation which has troubled thee has now been fulfilled. And after that Pharaoh made a gathering, and he called together every charmer, wizard, and enchanter, and he asked them guidance in this matter. And they all agreed for the following order. . . . That every child born to the Hebrew people should be thrown into the river. . . .

And God hastened the advent of Moses from the hidden world. And he was hidden in the womb of his mother, Jochebed, and he was preserved in the holy vessel for seven months, as our Master, Marḳah explained in his writing: "And his mother kept him in her womb in purity for seven months." And the great prophet Moses was born—may his memory be blessed. She gave birth to him in the fifth day of the month of Nisan, on the sabbath day, the day whose holiness has been kept, in the seventh hour she gave birth unto him whose memory is blessed.

And God said unto the host of heaven: "There has been born the Master for whose sake I created the world from nothing, in whom I have great delight; and he is the prince of all that is called and mentioned and the highest of all scriptures before and after, the revealed and hidden." And the angels were filled with great joy and every one of them was praising; for they said to one another: "Behold, the Glory!" And the house of Amram was filled by the Light; and the angels ranged themselves therein around him, and each said to his neighbour: "There has been born the prophet of God in whom is His delight. There has been born now he who has been selected from all His creatures. There has been born the man of God who is faithful in his whole house. There

has been born the servant of the Lord and his inheritance. There has been born the one who has been selected from among all His prophets. There has been born the prophet of this world and of the hereafter. There has been born the prophet, a fraction of whose prophecy all the prophets covet. The master of the signs is come. The master of the wonders is come. The master of the fasts is come. The master of the Standing (on Mt. Sinai) is come. The master of the covenants is come. The master of prayers is come. The choicest of all the creatures is come. The revealer of the glories is come. The one who will receive the holiest of laws has come. He whom his Master has appointed over the world of secrets, the prophet of all generations is come, he who will liberate the choicest of all the families (of earth). He for whose sake the oaths are kept is come. The bunch in whom the flowers of all souls are gathered is come. He who is the choice possession of the God of spirits is come. He who will receive the two tablets of testimony is come. He who will reveal the hidden things is come. He who is the scribe of the Ever-living is come, and from him all virtues emanate. He who is the fire of the lights has come."

And after the angels had finished with the hymns, first came the Spirit of the heavens and said: "After the greetings of peace and the exalted praises I am now proclaiming the birth of the child that has been born perfectly, the choicest of the meritorious ones and of the perfect priests; from me the All Merciful one will speak to him, and for him I will open the gates of all kinds of mercy, and all that is hidden within me will serve him, and the best places in me will be reserved for him and I will serve him always."

And after these words the Fire came forward which was upon the heavens, and made the proclamation by hymns, and revealed its joy, and said: "Come is the child of woman in whom abides all glory, who will walk upon me with his feet and not be burned; rather will his holiness cleave to me, and my burning will be subject unto him. And whoso seeks through me to assail him will be burnt, and from me will come his (*i.e.* Moses) avenging. And it will come quickly, and in the day of the great Standing (upon Sinai) I will be the first to glorify him. And I am round him on high; I cover him on both sides and I am ready to serve him;

and his people will I serve and will protect three times. And, furthermore, seven times the altar will be kindled by me; for I am among his chief guidance, and through me will come the vengeance on his enemies by burning; and also for his sake the flame (fire) will be quenched unto the men of faith.

And when the Fire had finished its hymn, the Darkness quickly came forward and began its proclamation: "I am ready to help him and I will serve him on three occasions. First, in Egypt at the mighty plague, I will keep them (the Egyptians) down until they obtain wisdom whilst the people are still in the house of bondage. And the second time, at the Red Sea, I will stand for his sake, until the enemies drink in it the cup of death. And the third time, on the day of the Standing (on Sinai) behind thee, O Fire; for at the right hand God comes amid praises, then . . . . . And on that day my darkness will change into Light. Happy thou, happy thou, for this choice of thee who surpassest all other prophets, whose holiness cleaveth unto me!"

The Cloud quickly sang to him, and said in the Hebrew language: "What ye have said is joined in faithfully by me, but I praise him through my hymn far above all. I will cover him in every place, in the sea and in the wilderness, and in every valley and hill, and within the curtain in the tent of testimony where he will associate with God, where is the righteous cherub." Then Arafel said: "And in the day of Standing in the place (before Mt. Sinai) he passes on from you to me; and he draws on to me, Arafel, in glory; to me he returns, and from me he will hear the word. And secret things will be revealed unto him by the King who created the world, who selected him from among all flesh, and made him the choicest and the Master honoured among them, and the first to be crowned with honour, to hear His every word; nor does He hide from him any secret, and surely he is aggrandized and honoured, and glory is his companion."

And the Holy Hosts on their thrones speak, and the rejoicing between them grows and multiples through the advent of this Man; and to the whole world his advent was proclaimed—may the peace of the Lord be upon him every evening and morning! And when Arafel finished this word, then all the hosts of heaven felt happy; and all the heavenly creatures stood on their thrones on high and they shouted to this Man, the perfect

Messenger, lofty hymns of honour and peace. First was Panuel; and after the greeting of peace he said: "I of olden times have announced him in the Garden to Adam and also to the three Meritorious ones; and for his sake I have rejoiced with them in the covenant, and my praise of him is of the highest, and the word of praise is very long."

And when he finished his great speech, Kebala came forward. He stood before his hosts, and amidst them he said: "May thy coming here be in peace, thou who art the most exalted of all flesh, and the most powerful of all creatures. The sight of thee gives me wisdom, because one like unto thee has not arisen and will not arise any more; and I in the future will uphold thee to show thee honour behind and before, and I will dwell with thee in thy dwelling in peace, and I will clothe thy face with the Image, wherewith no other man has yet been clothed from among the issue of Adam, being found true and wise. Thou art he for whose sake the world has been created, and out of nought established; for thou abidest from the time of creation until the day of judgment (requital); and thou wilt be exalted in it, and the throne has been established for thy sake like which no other could be fixed. Come in peace, come in peace, thou foremost priest, and judge between blood and blood, and declare justice between judgment and judgment, even as thy Master giveth thee wisdom (so to do); for thou art His deputy in the world, and He will reveal unto thee all the secrets of the world; and from thee nothing will be hidden from before the creation until the day of requital."

And when Kebala had finished his proclamation, the hosts and the creatures got ready to honour him. Then they joined in praises and hymns and they said: "Mayest thou be praised, O servant of the Lord, and the son of His house, O thou His prophet and the one who revealest His faithfulness." And they said: "This is the prophet like unto whom there is no other prophet. This is the faithful one, (appointed) over all his house. O happy those who believe in his prophecy, and happy those who pass under his roof, and happy those who love his law, and happy those who cleave to his Torah, and happy those who turn to him in their prayers, happy his community and his congregation Israel, his people and his inheritance. And who is there

among all the creatures capable of telling even a fraction of his greatness? Greetings of peace from us be upon him who hath attained such prophecy as he."

And after the Hosts of Heaven had finished the hymns of praise, then began Mt. Horeb his speech. And he began to speak in a loud voice, and he said: "I am intoning the proclamation of the goodness of this child, to whom belongs the highest greeting, for whom I am intoning exalted hymns. Thy coming is joy, O lord of the faithful. Thy coming is joy, O chosen of the priests. Thy coming is joy and a delight unto us, O child born of Israel, the choicest of all those that have been called. So mine eye was watching out for thy coming. Thy coming is a joy and of equal pleasure, thou who hast been called out of the bush, when God said: 'Moses, Moses,' and he answered: 'Here am I.' Thy coming means joy and grandeur to me, thou who hast been sucking the milk of His Favour, who dwelleth in the bush. Thy coming is a joy, O my lord, thou who wilt stand upon me and speak to my Lord the Creator. The world honours thee both below and above, yea, even all the order of generations, even they who passed away before thy advent, thou priest, thou faithful one. And each of them looked out for my lord saying: 'Oh that through him I might be builded up!' And each one saith: 'Oh that my eyes might behold him when he comes!' O great one, O my lord, who alone of all Faces will stand before the Face, and to whom He will speak, and not through a second person, mouth to mouth and on the top of Mt. Sinai. Therefore will I lift up my head, and my tongue will be loosened in the detailing of my pleasure and my joy, and through this I shall be filled with grace. How happy am I in all my life! Lo, my heart also and my eye are lit up because of the prophet, the very mention of whom brings me grace. And through him my sorrows will depart and my pleasure will be multiplied, and I shall be cleansed of my sins." And after Mt.Horeb had finished, the Sun approached quickly and said: "And now hearken unto me, ye who stand before me, so that ye may hear what I will say about him day and night, even what I said about him at the time when his mother was pregnant with him, and when he was born—even about the sheen of his glory, and his beauty. And in covered speech I said he was mighty, and I said that God illumined him, for he has

found (brought out) this His messenger. He brought him forth quickly. This one is the choicest of the world, and the diadem thereof, the perfection (consummation) of the whole order of the world, and the light thereof, for whom were waiting all the generations that have passed away, and whose advent was in his appointed generation, whose coming was its joy and its hope, and for thee and for every creature that had been created, and he will shine all his days like a lamp. He is the (good) will of his righteous Master, . . . He is the master of the 'Ruler of the day' (*i.e.* the Sun), and the explanation thereof." And (that Sun) goes on to proclaim and say: "My light was drawn out of his Light, for his Light God created from of old, in that he said in his Word: 'Let there be Light,' and God saw the light, that it 'was good.' His essence was then created, and he hid its revelation for a future time. And Jochebed saw that he 'was good' and well formed; and when the time arrived for his birth, even the time of the advent of the most meritorious in his generation, my light was shining but only on the day. But the Light of this Messenger will light up the world from beginning to end, day and night. And a fire will be kindled from his Light, and out of the fire his Master will give him the Law and will honour him, and will come from among the holy myriads who will range themselves beside him; and on his right hand will be the fire of the Law (or a fiery law),—yea, even on the right hand of him who cherisheth his tribes in every generation, of whom indeed he said: 'They will observe thy covenant' (*i.e.* the Levites)."

And when the greater Light finished, the other Light, that ruleth the night, said: "I throughout the nights of the month am growing perfect; but my perfection wanes, whilst the perfection of this child fills the world and it extends for everlasting worlds, and he will fill them all also with its Light. And why should he not be full, since his soul is above waning (is shining) right and left, above and below, carrying His decrees and commands? Lo, I am but the luminary of the night, and he is the luminary of the whole world for all time up to the end. And I and the stars have light only in the heights whilst the Light of this child is below and above. Therefore, oh that I might send unto him peace day and night!"

Now the Earth came quickly and proclaimed its words:

"Lo, I am the chosen one, seeing that he is created from my dust by virtue of His choice, for he has been created out of dust by God. Lo, this child is the diadem of the world, and crown thereof, the holy one among all the divers sons of man, and the choicest of all creatures of the end and of the beginning. The seed of Light God has wonderfully placed in him, and it is spread over hill and dale, the Word of Truth supporting him; and when it (*i.e.* his light) reaches the border thereof each flowery bloom comes forth and grows at the gate of the Temple. From me peace be upon him as great (or numerous) as the dust of the earth and its produce." . . . . .

. . . . . And our Master Markah spake as follows: He said at the time of the Advent of the faithful Moses, there were divine hymns by the forefathers gathered there. "Behold Divinity said unto him: 'Come in peace seeing that for thy sake I am going to reveal the signs through thee.'

"Glory said unto him: 'May thy peace be great for I will allow my glory to pass before thee.' God's angels said unto him: 'Come in peace and in grace, O thou the chosen of God, and the one who of thyself wilt establish the faith for ever among them that waver.' Honour said unto him: 'Come in peace, thou teacher of truth and establisher thereof; may no man listen unto any one but to thee.' Holiness said unto him: 'Peace unto thee, O Man of God, and for thy sake I will multiply plenitude of grace.' Faith said unto him: 'Peace be unto thee.' . . . Purity said unto him: 'Peace be unto thee, thou child created of my hands. Through his goodness mercy will be multiplied, and oh that everlasting peace be granted to him, child born in glory! And oh that God may be his help and blessings be placed before him!' And when the exalted Jochebed saw the glory of this child, and saw the flame that stood before him, and the Light that was radiant on his face, and that the Glory of God had come down upon him, and the Light that was filling the house of his mother, and the Goodness that was testified concerning him, then she gazed on him, and lo! he was single, and like unto him there was none, and never will be. And in the Law there is witness to this word of his mother Jochebed when it says: 'And she saw him and he was good.'"

M. GASTER.

EVOLUTION: A NEGLECTED ARGUMENT.

MORTON LUCE.

IN the *Hibbert Journal* for April, 1929, I wrote as follows:

Even on this familiar ground they neglected what has always appeared to me a most important line of argument. Let me quote a few words from an article I wrote in 1874: "There is one great era in this history; it is the period at which language becomes the handmaid of life. . . . The philological history of the word *am* (or its equivalents) runs parallel to the psychological history of the human consciousness; indeed, they are not parallels; they are in fact two aspects of the one history . . . That word is more wonderful than all the suns and systems, for without it we could have no knowledge whatever of suns and systems."

As being a useful introduction to the following pages, I will now add two short quotations from the essay of years ago which is referred to in the above:

I shall be asked to describe in every detail the erection of this temple of beauty from its broad foundations of utility to its uppermost pinnacles of the æsthetically beautiful and good. But to do this is impossible, at any rate in the present state of our knowledge of the subject of Evolution; I can only seize upon a few *graspable growths of contrast*, and the intermediate stages must be tacitly admitted as they are when we look at the root, stem, branch, leaf and flower of a tree. . . .

But the truths of science are only half-truths; all physical questions have metaphysical issues, and where fact finishes, other and greater truths begin. In this examination of Beauty, knowledge led me on until I seemed to catch a glimpse of the beauty of

holiness; but, as is true of every aspect of Evolution, something higher than mere knowledge must be our guide through the vast undiscovered regions that lie not only before us, but also behind.

Further, by way of preface, I venture to think that many of the articles on Evolution which are so abundant in our contemporary periodicals, are open to criticism; and it will be found, I believe, that although I adopt a single line of argument, most of the considerations put forward in these articles have been brought under review. I may now add that this single line of argument is one that, to the best of my knowledge, has been much neglected; it is, I may repeat, the evidence supplied by the development of language.

"Words," said Whately, "are the prerequisites of thought." On the other hand, a later authority, Peile, is of opinion that "rudimentary thought preceded the most rudimentary speech." And now still later, we have the suggestion of the Bishop of Birmingham, that "the power of speech . . . led to the development of the higher brain centres."[1]

This question of before and after, like that of subject and object, is not easy to deal with; nor, as I think, has even the philosophy of Bergson removed the difficulty of these correlatives and their 'irreducible minimum.' But perhaps we may formulate the paradox:

> Each evokes
> The other into being, each evolves
> By virtue of the other.

Here then, we leave the subject, unless we add that possibly such correlatives may be derived from some higher and wider form of being.

After this brief reference to an initial difficulty, we return to speech and thought, which we must

[1] *Should Such a Faith Offend?* pp. 23, 24.

examine more closely. It will be convenient, or rather essential, to attempt a definition of the latter, as thus:

Thought is an act of self-consciousness based on the use of words.

But I remind myself of a French writer who warns us that "he who defines, is lost." Indeed, I must at once take exception to my definition as it stands, and proceed to ask: But is there any act of self-consciousness that is not based on the use of words? No, we reply, or at least not any that is *fully-developed.* As it appears, therefore, at this stage of our inquiry, and if only provisionally, we shall find it convenient to add to our definition the word 'fully-developed.' And further, as the question of reason in animals is closely akin to this of thought, and is moreover a subject of constant discussion, and as the development of animal intelligence is our most important guide to the development of human intelligence, we may add this second definition:

The reasoning processes, fully-developed, are based on the use of words.

And next, what are words? But before attempting an answer, I must bring forward a few illustrations from the habits of animals, which may render the answer more intelligible. And here I may repeat that the subject of this article, though it refers especially to the problems of language, deals necessarily with every phase of human and animal intelligence, and at least touches on the well-worn question of instinct and reason. With regard to animal intelligence, we have to recognize the principle of adaptation to circumstance in relation to all forms of life, and varying degrees of intelligence in every department of animal existence. There

is the perhaps automatic, two-dimension mentality of the ant; and there are on the other hand the animal senses and powers which are at present but dimly apprehended by our human kind. Then follow the more familiar instances of animal intelligence; and to these, as well as to the foregoing, many of us no doubt would be ready to add some new and surprising examples.

But these we must put aside, while we state generally that birds appear to rank very high in the scale of intelligence; I will only remark that I have known more than one jackdaw whose tricks, humours, emotions, ay, and passions, were almost uncanny. Next I may mention the various bird-calls of anxiety or terror, such as those of the blackbird; and notably the S.O.S. cries sent out by birds for special or general help. And we must not forget those birds that counterfeit to a marvel our human speech; though, if I may borrow a phrase from Shakespeare, they "do not know their own meaning." But what to me is most endearing in regard to this subject of birds, is the rapture of their love-making, the tenderness of their domestic life; and in many marked instances their love of the beautiful. Wonderfully human, of course, in many of their ways, are other creatures of the natural world—the horse, the elephant, or the dog that will actually die of grief; and I have recently heard of dogs that can speak. Yet, and finally, the animal that comes nearest to man—except perhaps as regards its vocal utterances—is certainly the anthropoid ape. Apart from any similarities of form and feature, its manners, gestures, and the like, are often so nearly human that it seems to lack nothing but words; and thus we are brought back to our main subject.

Let me say at once that the developments of language are more difficult to trace than almost any other evolutionary process, whether of the physical, mental or moral world. All such processes, however, are usually to be followed up to a remote antiquity, a fact that of itself is often stronger than argument. Further, they are, at least at first sight, gradual and continuous. "Nature," says Rashdall, "does not commonly make violent leaps." And I think that in this phase of evolution, more than perhaps any other, we are independent of the doubtful aid of an intermittent or 'emergent' development. But to this subject we shall return later. Meanwhile, as to the beginnings of speech, we might almost set out with fancied modes of inter-communication between inanimate objects: "They speak by silences," says Francis Thompson; or better, as in Rupert Brooke, "without words, silently."

From these poetical fictions, which are nevertheless not without some significance, we pass on to the stranger verities of the animal world; and we shall have to remind ourselves of such modern wonders as animal magnetism, telepathy and perhaps even 'wireless':

> Star to star vibrates light; may to soul
> Strike through a finer element of her own.

Again, these are but the words of a poet, yet they may suggest some of the means of silent intercommunication that exist between creatures of all kinds, from ants to elephants. We may instance the moth, which has some secret power of attracting a mate from hundreds of yards away. But, again, to multiply such examples is foreign to the purpose of this essay, and we must be content with once more conceding to animals certain senses as well as modes of

mental intercourse that are at present unexplained. What we have chiefly to determine is, how far the less occult, the human feelings, emotions, abstractions, reasoning processes, and the like, are dependent on language.

I may at once give it as my opinion that all those creatures which are not endowed with the use of words, are separated from man by what at least appears to be a remarkable and an insuperable barrier. It is also my opinion that we still attach far too little importance to the potencies and the potentialities of language. To this opinion I have given expression on more than one occasion, as, for instance, in the following lines, which have a special bearing on the main argument of this e ssay:

> Yet we pause
> Before the wonder of a single word,
> The wizardry of language. 'Counterpart,'
> 'Life,' 'time,' 'eternity,' 'the relative,'
> 'The Absolute'—mere names, what's in a name?—
> *Existence!* Yea, annihilate that sign,
> What have we?[1]

But as to words and their uses, I must now add this very important fact: language has not only its intrinsic value, it has also an enormous relative importance, especially as far the past is concerned. I will give two illustrations, the one from mathematics, the other from music.

Mr. Bertrand Russell finds that with regard to mathematics, language is mostly inadequate to convey meaning, and that logical symbols are comparatively all-important. But the point is, that even mathematical symbols were in almost every instance *evolved*

[1] From 'A Stream. A Philosophy and an Illustration,' *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1923.

with the aid of language, and that to the present and past use of language their efficiency is mainly due. Take the mathematical conception of a point, for example: language alone has given this word its mathematical vitality. So is it with all the other symbols of mathematics.

To prove this, I have no space; and any such attempt would be out of keeping with this brief treatment of the subject of Evolution. I will, therefore, simply append one short illustration of what I mean. The following passage occurs in Bergson's *Time and Freewill* (page 207):

> The movements of the parts of this extensity can be conceived through an algebraical equation between variable magnitudes, but cannot be represented under the concrete form of an image.

Of course, any comment on the book piece-meal is placed at a disadvantage; but here, as I venture to think, we have the usual playing off of the relative against the absolute, the concrete against the abstract (every now and then forgetting which is which). 'The abstract law,' the 'algebraical equation,' are ultimately a set of 'images,' and such is the language that gave these images much of their vitality—the language that creates consciousness, and makes this reasoning possible. Banish language, and with this the algebraical symbols, and what have we left?

And next, as to music,—we are told that words are "so indefinite, so unintelligible in comparison with real good music, which fills one's soul with a thousand better things than words." But again, these thousand better things have been developed, have been made possible chiefly, if not only, by an age-long use of language. The feelings, the emotions expressed by music—ay, and 'real good music'—have been gradually

evolved, if not by, at least with, the long-standing, far-reaching and little-recognized aid of words.

Again I must state the fact without further comment, unless by way of illustration I add that in a manner not altogether dissimilar, though perhaps in a less degree, the evolution of morals has been indebted to Christianity.

As to the question, whether in the near or distant future music (and shall we add mathematics?) will usurp the functions of language, that is quite another matter, and I bow before the possibility; but meanwhile I insist upon language having its due.

And now we are ready to get back as far as may be to the beginnings of speech; and once more, in this question of Evolution, it is often the beginnings that give us most help:

> The baby new to earth and sky,
> What time his tender palm is prest
> Against the circle of the breast,
> Has never thought that 'this is I':
> But, as he grows, he gathers much,
> And learns the use of 'I' and 'me.'[1]

As this poem suggests, 'the brute brain within the man's'—in other words, the brain of an animal—may be best understood by observing the development of childhood. I may not enlarge upon this topic, nor may I deal otherwise than briefly with a subject closely related to the foregoing, and one that has already been referred to,—namely, the sounds uttered by animals. These of course have almost every possible degree of significance, from the 'meditative grunts of much content' of a pig, to the rapturous love-language of

[1] Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, xliv.

the nightingale; and as we approach the human borderground (for such we must term it, at least provisionally), cries that are near akin to some of our interjections become audible. Of the interjection, indeed, we may say at once that it marks, not only the beginning, but also the culmination of language. I will explain this for a moment. Let us compare the *Oh!* of a savage with the *Oh!* of a Member of Parliament; the former in most instances expresses simply inarticulate feeling, whether of pain or rage or the like, but the latter is often more eloquent than the most elaborate sentence.

Of the elements of language that lie between these extremes, we must give our chief attention to those words that are of vital importance to this investigation of animal and human intelligence; and I place first the words that have a predicative function. To return for a moment to the evolution of a child; we may note that his earliest attempt at predication is to put two notions side by side, leaving the logical connection between them unexpressed: thus—"sugar, good"; in later years he effects the predication, as thus—"sugar *is* good."

The function of this predicating element, known as the verb 'to be,' is little short of marvellous, more wonderful, we might almost add, than all the visible or indeed the invisible universe (p. 372), for without its aid in particular, and that of language in general, we should have no more knowledge of the universe than is possessed by the ant, for example, to which reference has already been made; and on an earlier page (p. 377), I have spoken more generally of the wonder of words. We must now give a little more attention—for it remains the pivot of our whole argument—to the verb 'to be,' which is sometimes known as the 'substantive

verb,' 'the verb of identity,' of 'incomplete predication,' the 'copulative verb,' and so forth.[1] When used as the copula between some subject and the notion to be asserted of that subject, *e.g.* "sugar *is* good," it is equivalent to such expressions as—'possessing the quality of,' 'closely associated with,' 'identical with,' 'exists in,' and yet others. Of this verb *to be*, the most important element is seen in the word *am*, with its root *as*. And let me here remark, that the early sound and symbol history of this root, if we could discover it, would doubtless be more interesting than many a fairy tale; but we are limited to the practical aspects of our subject, and must begin with it as representing the concrete action of *breathing*. To this root we add the suffix *-mi*, and the compound now means, "the action of breathing, as related to myself, the breather"; ultimately, "I breathe." Next, as breathing is perhaps the chief outward sign of human existence, we have later the startling combination—"I exist." Let us examine this for a moment. With the aid of such a copula as *is*, we are able to predicate existence itself, and so arrive at our present culmination of human life,—that is to say, a consciousness of our own consciousness. This wonderful resultant of language, then, is symbolized in the word *am*, and yet more fully in the redundant *I am*, with which we are so familiar as an attribute of the Deity. As to the metaphysical questions involved, and the doubts that are sometimes thrown on this miracle of self-consciousness, I consider that the arguments in its favour are far more forcible

[1] Of course, other copulas exist, and the verb *to be* really includes forms of no fewer than three distinct verbs. Moreover, we may on occasion, even in fully-developed speech, leave the predication to be mentally supplied, as in "Penny wise, pound foolish." But these examples differ from the "Sugar, good," of the child, because they imply a long training in the general usages of language.

than those that would deny its validity; and even Mr. Bertrand Russell, whom I quoted above, admits:

> It is hard to see how we could know this truth, or even understand what is meant by it, unless we were acquainted with something which we call *I*.[1]

Parallel, of course, with the evolution of the spoken language runs the evolution of written language; the latter indeed, in regard to the present inquiry, is perhaps of equal importance. And still more important it may be, in regard to both, are the discoveries that await further investigation. But of these there will be more to say on a later page.

We have now examined the principles of language sufficiently for our purpose, and we have prepared the way for an explanation of the very important word 'fully-developed,' which we thought it advisable to add to our definitions of thought and reason. In the pedigree of thought we may begin with simple feeling; then follow the emotions, ideas concrete and abstract, reasoning processes and so forth.[2] Now, all of these may be roughly divided into two classes, the lower and the higher; and of the former we may say that they are capable of formation without the aid of language, but that the latter are dependent on language for their realization. Here, then, and speaking generally, is a presumptive border-ground between man and brute. But again, as with other aspects of Evolution, so with

[1] *The Problems of Philosophy*, pp. 79, 80.

[2] These, of course, may be variously arranged and classified; for example—"perception, expectation, memory, end in view, impulse, motive, purpose, endeavour," as in Lloyd-Morgan, in *Evolution in the Light of Modern Knowledge*, p. 138. See also below, p. 385. On another page L.-M. gives us: "Inorganic, organic life, naïve unreflective perception, reflective comprehension in thought, ethics, religious attitude, with acknowledgment of Divine Purpose."

this, we may not expect to draw a precise line of demarcation, though we may point to what I have already described as '*a graspable growth of contrast.*' The simpler abstract ideas, capable of formation without the aid of language—for example, the 'meditative grunts of much content,' mentioned on a former page, can readily be distinguished from such a high abstraction as that involved in the word 'existence,' also mentioned above, which is possible *only to minds formed and long-trained by articulate speech;* and the reason why an elephant will allow itself to be led about by a man (or even a boy) is, ultimately, this: the latter is expert in the use of words, the former is not.

Animals, therefore, we repeat (and again the distinction is provisional) possess an *inarticulate* means of realizing the lower feelings and emotions, but they know nothing of articulate speech, nothing of those 'thoughts that wander through Eternity.'[1] Much the same may be said of the faculty of reason, which some authorities maintain is possessed by certain of the higher animals. But here, once more, the former criterion is available; it is, I repeat,—chiefly at any rate —a question of language. We often seem to recognize in animals an interesting train of associated ideas that make for our human border-ground; but they stop far short of that highly-developed ratiocination made possible only by language. And in spite of the extraordinary examples of animal intelligence that can be brought forward under this head, none of these, in my judgment, could be rightly described as the 'fully-developed' reasoning of our definition.

To sum up: Animals may approach indefinitely near to the human faculties of thought and reason,

[1] *Paradise Lost.*

but they cannot cross our assumed border-ground of words.

But lastly, and once more—Is there any really definite border-ground? I have all along prepared the way for this question by the use of such words as 'provisional,' 'presumptive,' 'assumed.' And now, before offering a final opinion, I must briefly examine a few of the aspects of the theory of Evolution generally, for they all have some bearing on my particular subject.

I may first repeat the all-important consideration, which was briefly referred to on a former page,—namely, that much remains to be discovered; and I will now add the conjecture that unexplored continents may lie under fathomless oceans, and that even the travelled and inhabited regions of the globe have by no means given up all their secrets. But I may further add that these possibilities are chiefly true in regard to the development of language, whether spoken or written; in fact, some surprising discoveries have been made since I first began this article. But these, and various other remaining facts and illustrations, must be reserved for some other occasion.

Let me note next that, according to some authorities, we may recognize two chief aspects of the subject. The first, which comes nearest to the radical meaning of the word '*Evolution*,' is a process of unbroken continuity, and (as is customary to add) 'purposive'; the next regards the process as intermittent, rather than continuous: the new (and higher) forms are 'emergent,' —that is, practically a new creation. This theory, however, involves as many difficulties as the former, unless we add, thirdly:

"The whole sweep of Evolutionary advance is under the

control of a Spiritual Agency, which is timeless and omnipresent, and therefore not susceptible of treatment in temporal or spatial terms."[1]

To proceed further with the subject (which even thus remains bristling with difficulties) would be beyond the scope of the present essay. But this I may repeat, that our theory of a '*graspable growth of contrast*' would include all the intermediate steps (or 'jumps') between two given entities. Next, as to the more important of these entities, they may be variously arranged in an ascending order (see page 372), until they culminate in the threefold powers and needs of complete mental life. These have often been recognized, as for instance by Tennyson, in 1832—'beauty, good, and knowledge'; by Matthew Arnold, in 1882—'knowledge, beauty, conduct'; and by Rupert Brooke, in 1914—'the good, the lovely, and the true.' Here we may note, as for ourselves, the development of the 'soul,' of æsthetics, of free will; and of such correlatives as matter and spirit, finite and infinite, relative and absolute, and yet others; and, finally, Nature and God. Indeed, I might here remark that probably no better summary of the whole system of Evolution has yet been suggested than the well-known couplet of Pope:

> All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
> Whose body Nature is, and God the soul.

However, to complete the subject, I have yet to add two notes. First, in the processes of Evolution we have to reckon with Retrogression as well as Progression—what Lloyd-Morgan calls 'unvalue,' as opposed to 'value'; and thus we recognize the development or the 'emergence' of sin. He also points out that Evolutionary advance at a higher level entails

[1] Lloyd-Morgan, *Evolution in the Light of Modern Knowledge*, p. 162.

retrogressive dissolution at lower levels, and that "much at a lower level must be unmade that a richer entity at the higher level may be made" (*op. cit.*).

The other note is simply a suggestion of my own: Even if we admit that continuity seems to be lost in 'emergence,' may not the relation between the continuance and the emergence at times be made closer; may we not, here and there, as our knowledge advances, reduce the number of some of these emergent stepping stones, as also the distance between others, and this almost indefinitely? And if so, this is truest, I believe and have partly suggested in the foregoing, of the developments of language.

But once more,—to pursue the subject further would be to lose oneself in the mazes of metaphysics.[1] Such as the above, however, are some of the considerations that have to be borne in mind by all who would speak definitely in any department of this manifold and far-reaching science. I can only hope that, although in these brief remarks I may not have been able to prove an unbroken continuity in the development through language of the higher forms of consciousness, I may nevertheless have shown that such a continuity, if only in terms of emergence, is more clearly traceable in this branch of Evolution than in any other; and I may thus have given some additional support to the subject at large.

[1] "But what if even the proudest philosophies
Are vague hypotheses that merely beg
Their question with more show of eloquence,
More cunning; nay, what if all reason moves
In mocking circles of unreason? Strange
That affirmation breeds negation, mind
Assumes and disproves matter, then disproves
Itself; and 'tis your *I am's* crowning act
To stutter—*I am not.*"

From *The Philosophy of a Strike*, THE QUEST.

POSTSCRIPT.

More than once in the foregoing article, I have made use of the expression, 'a graspable growth of contrast,' in which the word 'growth' implies continuity, and the word 'contrast' sometimes, at least, suggests 'emergence.' Before leaving the subject, I should like to formulate another phrase, however parodoxical it may appear; it is this: 'an indefinitely definite border-ground.' Such a border-ground perhaps separates man from brute. But to make this clearer I will refer to the better known and much debated border-ground between poetry and prose. Now, whenever in the rhythms of language, metre can be detected as 'a graspable growth of contrast,' the resultant is *verse*. Poetry, therefore, is metrical rhythm, while prose remains unmetrical rhythm; and this, the all-important difference of *form*, is the only real distinction between them. Now, I think, we shall understand more clearly the 'indefinitely definite' border-ground between man and animal. Somewhat similar, again, is the border-ground between notes and noises, rhythmical and unrhythmical, beauty and ugliness, good and evil; and yet others. But here again we leave the subject, for perhaps we have approached as near as may be to the borders of metaphysics.

MORTON LUCE.

GOD AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DETERMINISM.

ERNEST G. BRAHAM, M.A.

THE space at my disposal does not permit of an adequate summary or critique of the subject I have chosen. My purpose is to indicate at the outset some of the elements in the modern metaphysical situation which demand serious attention from all theologians worthy of the name. If any say that what I shall bring forward is remote from practical life, I wish to remind my readers that practical life in isolation from a valid conception of reality is a perilous abstraction, also I would remind them that the pragmatism which asserts that the useful only is the true is palpably false.

We have been altogether too anthropocentric; but since the Copernican revolution and the great work of Hegel and Einstein we should be wiser to be more theocentric. This is the first point I wish to bring forward. Metaphysics from the time of Plato have never been able to shut out the conception of the Deity; but never in the history of philosophical thought has Deity been so central to metaphysics as in our time. For Hegel and his idealistic successors, for S. Alexander and some of his realistic confrères, Deity is essential to any valid theory of reality. By the sixteenth-century philosophers God was regarded as a *deus ex machina*. In the eighteenth century a cold and arid Deism, with its deity incapable of feeling any vital interest in human

affairs, held the mind of the greatest thinkers of the period. The crude individualism of Kant, with his over-exaggerated moralism, with a deity glued on to the 'Practical Reason' which had been turned out of the 'Critique of Pure Reason,' dominated the philosophical horizon. Spinoza, however, who had been regarded as the champion of atheism, began to come to his own after over a century of misrepresentation and calumny. His immanentalism influenced Kant's last work, published as his *Opus Postumum*. The nineteenth century started philosophically with this revival of the influence of Spinozism, in the form of the stress made by Hegel on the concept of *subject* rather than *substance*. Both these thinkers believed that the universe is God, ever stressing his activity in all parts of space and at all instants in time. This immanentalism received further stimulus from the biological theory initiated by Charles Darwin, and was also continued on the philosophical side by the monumental work of E. Caird and T. H. Green. Theological circles were greatly influenced by T. H. Green. The *Lux Mundi* school, Illingworth, Gore, and others, especially in their emphasis on the Incarnation as vital to an adequate interpretation of Christian truth, carried on the immanentalism of Hegel.

Some biologists of the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century revolted against the mechanistic theories of Haeckel and other physicists, in their belief in teleology as a principle essential to the interpretation of all living organisms. Hans Driesch in his Gifford lectures, on *The Science and Philosophy of the Organism*, and J. B. S. Haldane, in his *New Physiology*, admit that life cannot be reduced to the categories of mechanism, but that purpose or direction

is essential to the proper understanding of all living beings. All this development has added more point to the doctrine of immanence as a philosophical principle applied to Deity.

Further the return of the conception of final causes is a strong feature of Dr. A. N. Whitehead's philosophy of nature. The universe is regarded as an event including a multitude of events which constitute it, all determined immanentally by God. Whitehead regards God as the principle of concretion, and the binding element in the world. Plainly then, the part that the concept of Deity has played in metaphysical speculation has always been great, whether in Plato, Aristotle, Kant, or Hegel, but never has the emphasis on a Personal Deity present to all the elements of the universe, regulating from within their essence and activity, been so strong as it is to-day. Transcendence, it is clear, is not a spacial conception but rather a transcendence of control and ethical quality.

The second element I wish to indicate as becoming prominent in metaphysical speculation consists of the eminent position that mathematics and physics have in recent research. Names are enough to those who are reading. A. N. Whitehead, A. S. Eddington, Sir James Jeans, Sec. of Royal Soc., Bertrand Russell are all in that 'Platonic succession' in claiming that the key to reality is to be found in mathematics and physics. The study of the physical has not only reduced it to an appearance, but has reduced it to a complex series of mathematical equations. It seems that the common sense view of matter is only a convenient illusion. The solid atom of Democritus and Leucippus, the material particles of Newton, the chemical molecules of John Dalton, are no more except in popular opinion. The

quantum theory, the atom full of space illustrated in Bohr's famous theory, has given us a highly abstract world as the real world. Those who complain that Idealism is abstract, will find less comfort as they read such works as Bertrand Russell's *Analysis of Matter*. If it becomes true that the spiritual can only be approached by a thorough analysis of matter, we must pursue such a course; but I doubt whether the physical approach to reality is the only valid one. Aristotle, who emphasized biology, differed from Plato in this matter. Metaphysics, which deals with ultimate questions, can be approached from the angle of any of the sciences. No science can claim to be the only approach to truth; but we must endeavour at present to follow, even if only afar off, this important emphasis on mathematics to-day.

Another feature in the present metaphysical brew is the great attention given to mysticism. If, as Prof. A. E. Taylor affirms, immediate awareness of Deity is possible in mystical experience, just as immediate awareness of the physical is possible in sense-experience, religion will receive strong support from this new theory of knowledge. He distinguishes between opinion, belief, vision. The last is the only valid type of knowledge. You only know when you have this intuitive vision. The problem of knowledge as thus restated supports religious experience. God has no thought processes; he knows intuitively by vision.

This leads me to the central point of my paper,—namely, the emphasis on the problem of human freedom in modern philosophy. It is somewhat strange that the science which deals with mental processes and soul-life, should be the very one to repudiate freedom. We used to expect this from physics; but now-a-days

physics is strongly indeterministic. A. S. Eddington, in his *Nature of the Physical Universe*, defends indeterminism on the ground of the random movement of the electron in the atom. No one can predict what the atom will do next. The quantum theory has certain definite limitations, and cannot foretell what the atom will do in all circumstances. There is an element of spontaneity in the physical, the possibility of real initiative and fresh activity not necessarily determined by what has gone before. The electron may jump from one orbit to another without any assignable cause. But to argue for moral freedom from the random movement of the atoms is, what Aristotle would call, a transference of logic from one sphere to another. Moral freedom cannot be proved in any such fashion. The argument of Eddington is only an analogy, and a faint one at that. Some of the biologists have argued in favour of freedom on the grounds of the spontaneous initiative which they have discovered in some of the lower forms of life. They think that the pursuit of the amœbæ by each other in their sex activity is a rudimentary analogy of deliberate conscious choice in human life. The analogy in any case is only very remote. It is conceivable, on the evolution hypothesis, that all forms of initiative or spontaneity, whether in the atom, the amœba, or in man, have a common root in something that defies the mechanistic interpretation of reality. But in regard to rational freedom and spontaneity, we can attribute it only to conscious purpose and intelligence. That is to say, I consider that there is something specific or unique in human freedom, which has no analogy in the instinctive types of spontaneity found in the lower orders of life. It is an 'emergent.'

When we turn, however, to the New Psychology for

confirmation of this unique quality of rational and moral freedom, we are informed that it is an illusion having no basis in fact. I read recently of a young lady doctor, an able woman whose study of psycho-analysis had completely undermined her religious faith. She had developed a certain bad habit, and it came quite as a relief to learn from Freud, that she need no longer reproach herself for it, as it was due to some repressed experience in childhood; and that she herself, as a conscious being, was in no sense responsible for it. Such cases are by no means rare. The idea seems to be that the more you get yourself analysed, especially by the methods of free association and hypnosis, the more certain you are to discover that you are altogether irresponsible and determined by a group of unconscious instincts, or by some repressed infantile experience, and that you did not even 'decide' to get analysed.

A serious problem is raised by this psychological determinism. Freud's view is that the whole psychic sphere is determined, utterly conditioned by external events and circumstances of the past. It is indeed clear that a thorough-going application of the principles enunciated in *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* must result in a purely mechanical philosophy, and the elimination of all belief in human freedom or in any Power capable of re-inforcing human thought and conduct. Freud does not shrink from that conclusion, nay he insists on it.

Now psychic determinism does not stand alone. It is based upon the *à priori* conviction that the universe is a closed system, the creation and the result of purely mechanical laws; that the laws of matter and motion are adequate to explain all phenomena whatever, including those into which the operation of

vital and mental processes appear to enter; and that what are called laws of nature explain, as well as describe, phenomena.

I maintain that each of these three theses is capable of complete refutation. To say that the universe is a closed system, is a dogma unjustified in view of present-day physics; and if, in any case, the system itself is controlled by deity as an indwelling power, the universe must be conceived after the fashion of an organism which is not explicable in terms of mechanism only. Moreover, I maintain that mechanism is unthinkable apart from mind, which conceives it and produces it. As Canon Streeter says, "mechanism is the symbol of mind." It is clear, that no ethical system can be built upon a rigid doctrine of psychic determinism. Temptation would be a mockery unless the freedom of the will and 'spontaneous causal efficiency' be realities.

As for the other view, that the whole of human behaviour is explicable on the grounds of the activity of the laws of matter and motion, the physiological facts do not prove this. There is a real difference between a mechanical reflex action and a deliberate act of the will. A sneeze is different from a decision to lift my arm to take a book from my shelf. The physiological mechanism is not quite the same in both cases. Physiologically a definite act of will involves a more complex nervous activity than a reflex action. Moreover *appropriate* action, such as is involved in volition, is entirely different from the mechanical reflex. The whole self acts in volition. The total ego initiates a new activity; it is not a question of the strongest motive prevailing in the struggle. Volition is not only the character functioning, or some particular motive,

it is the total self which includes the character and the motives, which acts in a self-chosen fashion that the mechanism of reflex activity cannot explain. To repudiate consciousness to bolster up a consistent theory of the 'conditioned reflex,' as Dr. Watson does, is, to say the least of it, unscientific behaviour; and to deny the value of introspection as a possible method of knowing the self savours of sheer dogmatism. Behaviourism is one of those silly theories which, Dr. Broad says, only very clever men could invent.

It is of the greatest importance that the precise point at issue between the determinists and their opponents should be clearly appreciated. A favourite opening of the deterministic argument consists in pouring ridicule and abuse upon 'a jack in the box' theory of motiveless volition, which no accredited defender of free-will puts forth. Of course it is 'I' who choose, and 'I' am in great part the result of past history, pre-natal and post-natal. The controversy revolves round the question: Is there any factor, however small, concerned in what appears to be a deliberate act of choice, which is not absolutely conditioned by this history, on the one hand, and, on the other, the external circumstances acting at the moment of choice? Even McDougall, in the chapter on 'Volition' in his *Social Psychology*, seems to imply that there is no tenable half-way house between the most rigid determinism and sheer libertarianism. This is, to my mind, a misrepresentation of the issue, which is rather: Is there *any* 'underived contribution'?

The problem may be discussed from the point of view of ethics, psychology, or metaphysics. From the ethical standpoint, it is generally admitted, by the most clear-sighted writers, that determinism makes the task

of moral philosophy well-nigh impossible. McDougall sees this. He writes, in his *Social Psychology*:

> If each of my actions is completely determined by antecedent conditions and processes that are partly within my own nature, partly within my environment, why should I make any moral effort? My conduct will be what it will be, the issue of conditions that existed and determined it in every detail long before I was born; therefore it would be foolish of me to take pains to choose the better course and to make efforts to realise it. This is the real crux of the dispute. This is the legitimate inference from determinism. This is its moral difficulty which has seldom been faced squarely by its advocates, and never overcome by them.

McDougall's answer to one part of the difficulty—the obvious implication that any kind of punishment for wrong-doing is itself stamped as immoral on the deterministic theory—consists in the equation of responsibility and accountability; and he urges that though no wrong-doer can help his wrong-doing, his punishment is justifiable in the hope that "it may modify his nature for the better." But this position seems to make blame and censure meaningless. And that is the real difficulty. The whole scheme of things seems to be so essentially irrational—in the universe governed by law—if the murderer is no more responsible for his act than the weapon with which it is committed. We recall William James' comment in his *The Will to Believe*, p. 61:

> Some regrets are pretty obstinate and hard to stifle—regrets for acts of wanton cruelty or treachery, for example, whether performed by others or by ourselves. Hardly anyone can remain entirely optimistic after reading the confession of the murderer at Brockton the other day; how, to get rid of the wife whose continued existence bored him, he took her into a desert spot, shot her four times, and then, as she lay on the ground and said:

"You did not do it on purpose, did you dear?" replied: "No I did not do it on purpose," as he raised a rock and smashed her skull. We feel that though a perfect *mechanical* fit for the rest of the universe, such an occurrence is a bad *moral* fit. But for the deterministic philosophy the murder, the sentence, and the prisoner's optimism, were all necessary from eternity, and nothing else for a moment had the ghost of a chance of being put into their place.

It may be objected that the universal experience of obligation, regret, remorse, merit and desert—the feeling that I need not have done it, prove nothing; they are delusions. But this objection seems to ignore the fact that we can distinguish in retrospect between voluntary action and action that is not free. If our mental processes have any meaning or validity at all, the assertion that when you or I were last engaged in long and earnest wrestling with some temptation, conquest or defeat, whichever was the case, was never a conceivable possibility, is flatly incredible.

Determinism is sometimes urged as a scientific rather than an ethical postulate. Without it we are told no science of the mind is conceivable. And in a limited sense, I suppose, we must admit this plea for an hypothesis adequate to serve as a working-basis of enquiry. But we cannot allow this claim the prestige of a demonstrated fact.

Before we can accept the doctrine of psychical determinism, in its extreme form, two things must happen. In the first place, it must not be in conflict with the conclusions of other branches of science. But it is notorious, as Sir Charles S. Sherrington indicated, in his Presidential Address to the British Association in 1922, that deterministic and mechanistic theories are advanced with much less confidence than they were twenty years ago. I repeat that physics and biology

contend that mechanism, though important, is inadequate to explain atoms, or organisms, and that it has to be supplemented by spirit or purpose, or some other non-mechanical factor. Probably Kant was right when he repeats time after time in the *Critique of Judgment*, that teleology and mechanism are rooted together in the heart of things. Secondly, the doctrine of determinism must show a very strong *prima facie* probability of being the only possible, or at any rate the best possible, explanation of the phenomena of mental life. This condition it does not satisfy.

With regard to Freud's defence of determinism, one has the feeling that he is trying to pack the facts into a theory too narrow to hold all of them. The reader of his works has the curious suspicion that he himself may be the victim of the 'determinism complex.' Speaking quite seriously, nothing is more likely. He is at no pains to conceal his anti-religious bias; can we exclude the possibility that his zeal for the extremest form of determinism is the product, less of unimpassioned reason than of unconsciously-motived rationalization? Freud's determinism, however, is not fully accepted by all his disciples. Mr. A. G. Tansley's work *The New Psychology and its Relation to Life* rejects it. He says:

> We conclude, then, that reason, though incapable of initiating action, is indispensable as the co-ordinating and harmonising agency of the mind. . . . The New Psychology need not commit itself to the conclusion that the play of instinctive forces exhausts the meaning of the human soul. (*Social Psychology*, p. 175.)

One of the classical discussions of the problem of free will and the nature of volition is to be found in the chapter on 'Volition' in McDougall's *Social Psychology*.

It is impossible to summarize his exceedingly subtle and brilliant argument here. It must suffice to quote his carefully worded explanation of the fundamental fact of true volition,—the fact, namely, that the personality as a whole is thrown along the line of greatest resistance.

> The conations, the desires, and aversions, arising within the self regarding sentiment are the motive forces, which, adding themselves to the weaker ideal motive in the case of moral effort, enable it to win the mastery over some stronger, coarser desire of our primitive animal nature and to banish from consciousness the idea of the end of this desire. . . . We may define volition as the supporting or re-inforcing of a desire or conation by the co-operation of an impulse excited within the self regarding sentiment. (*Social Psychology*, pp. 248-9.)

For a Christian philosopher or psychologist to adopt this view, it is only necessary that he should add two provisos. First, that spiritual environmental factors are available for the development of the self-regarding sentiment; and secondly, that in true volition there is a strictly minimal 'underived contribution.' In his footnote on page 235, in *Social Psychology*, McDougall gives ground for thinking that he would not object to this suggestion.

Opponents of determinism then, while allowing the immense influence in conduct of heredity, the individual's past history, and present character, claim that the only freedom worth its salt is that which involves the spontaneous determinate activity of the whole self, empirical and metaphysical, as an undivided unity.

It seems, therefore, that religion has no need to fear either the ghostly determinism of the Hegelian school, which reduces us all to foci or centres of the

Eternal Consciousness, or the determinism of the old naturalism of the nineteenth century, or the new naturalism of the New Psychology. We claim the support of physics, biology, ethics and religious experience, as well as common sense, for our defence of self-determination against determinism. I have an impression, also, that the angels are on our side, although their contribution to our subject we can only appreciate if, and when, we meet them.

ERNEST G. BRAHAM.

TO DULCE.

DULCE, little Dulce,
Happy laughing little maiden,
Cheeks and lips of rose and cherry,
Eyes that dance with fun and gladness,
Will your mirth be everlasting?
Would you laugh and still be merry
If you knew how heavy-laden
Was another's heart with sorrow?
Would your joy be turned to fasting,
Would you grieve a little, Dulce?
Just a moment's tearful sadness
From an alien grief you'd borrow;
But you'd laugh again to-morrow,
Dulce, little Dulce.
Yes, you'd laugh again to-morrow.

'Dulce' (not 'Dulcie')—the charming daughter of a distinguished Wykehamist, who, when he became a father, remembered '*Dulce Domum*.'

REGINALD IRVING.

A SOLITARY WOMAN: MADAME ACKERMANN.

GERALDINE HODGSON, M.A., Litt.D.

PERHAPS every generation in possession needs reminding that it is not this old world's first intelligent lessee. To recover the past for its own sake is a form of luxury; to recover it for a salient fact, or a mood not so remote as to be incomprehensible, or a thought still living if only for error's purposes, is not necessarily offering Newcastle coals. After all, among to-day's ideas that of synthesis is alive; thinking people realize that events are not just chance beads on a string. Further, to keep our balance—rather seriously threatened—we need to interpret individuality rightly, on the point of its intrinsic value. The subject of this discussion was both philosophical and singular.

Louise-Victorine Choquet, later Madame Ackermann, lived in the formative years 1812 to 1890. Her father, '*Voltairien de vieille roche*,' as she said, died when she was 25, leaving her not an ugly—for even in old age her portrait has charm—but a most disquieting duckling to a bewildered mother and sisters, who could nowise fit her into the daily '*tran-tran*' of small receptions and visits, in which they found complete and sober content. Soon, she escaped to the Schubarts in Berlin, to philosophic studies, and to meet Paul Ackermann, who having relinquished the Protestant ministry for a literary life, incidentally fell in love with her. She acquiesced: "*Je n'eus pas le courage de*

le repousser. Je me mariai donc, mais sans entraînement aucun." Suddenly, out of this spiritless admission, flash the words, "*Le mariage ne pouvait être pour moi qu'exquis ou détestable: il fut exquis.*" Entering wholly into his interests, she hid from him—though more than once Victor Hugo had praised it—the verse-writing which had solaced her from her school-days, because "*la femme qui rime est toujours plus ou moins ridicule.*"

Fate betrayed her twice. First, after two years of fleckless happiness, Paul Ackermann, in 1846, died. "*Ma douleur fut immense.*" There she says all. Secondly, after a short stay with her married sister at Nice, she bought and retired to a small disused Dominican property. Adding a tower, which one way faced 'a blue gulf,' and the other the mountains of Piedmont, she lived there for twenty-eight years, becoming a distinguished '*femme qui rime*,' though without "exciting ridicule" among the few friends she admitted ('*les femmes instinctives*,' her devastating phrase, being rigorously excluded), or among the public, whom she did not receive. However, she followed that outer world's inner life:

Du fond de ma retraite, je suivais avec un intérêt intense les travaux de la science moderne. . . . J'y trouvais la solution naturelle des problèmes qui me préoccupaient depuis longtemps.

Lemerre's edition, in all only 183 small pages, contains her *Autobiographie*, her *Premières Poésies*, written between 1832 and 1874, and *Poésies philosophiques*, belonging to her years at Nice, all published first in 1874. Rebutting the charge that she borrowed her pessimism from German philosophy, particularly from Schopenhauer, she wrote:

Mes vues sur la destinée humaine remontent, hélas ! bien plus haut et me sont tout à fait personnelles ;

which she essays to prove by quoting from school-girl verses :

Sous le poids de tes maux ton corps usé succombe,
Et goutant de la nuit le calme avant-coureur,
Ton œil se ferme enfin du sommeil de la tombe :
Réjouis-toi vieillard, c'est ton premier bonheur.

Seemingly, she cared most for her 'philosophical' poems; to them she prefixed a *pièce justificative*, containing these lines :

prévoyant bientôt le naufrage et la mort,
Au risque d'encourir l'anathème ou le blâme
A deux mains j'ai saisi ce livre de mon âme,
Et l'ai lancé par-dessus bord.

C'est mon trésor unique, amassé page à page.
A le laisser au fond d'une mer sans rivage
Disparaître avec moi je n'ai pu consentir.

If, contrary to her own pleas and assertions, the source of her philosophy existed outside her temperament—

Ma vie peut elle-même se résumer toute entière en quelques mots : une enfance engourdie et triste, une jeunesse qui n'en fut pas une, deux courtes années d'union heureuse, vingt-quatre ans de solitude voluntaire. Cela n'est pas précisément gai, mais on n'y découvre cependant rien qui justifie mes plaintes et mes imprécations—

it is, apparently, undiscoverable. Of religious life she had none. "*Il me glissa du Voltaire entre mes mains*," she remarks of her father, while she was at school ; but little mark was made. A young seminarist, related to her head-mistress, more zealous than experienced, desiring to solidify the devotion of an admittedly brilliant girl of seventeen, lent her some of his theological

notes: "*Ces dogmes,*" she writes, "*m'apparurent tout à coup dans leur monstreuse absurdité. Je ne pus que les repousser en bloc*"; which is rather severely final even for seventeen. In her Autobiography, she sums up her general attitude to life:

Le genre humain m'apparaissait comme le héros d'un drame lamentable qui se joue dans un coin perdu de l'univers. . . . L'explication que le christianisme s'est imaginé d'en donner n'a apporté à l'humanité qu'un surcroît de ténèbres, de luttes et de tortures.

So did she curtly judge theology with a total misapprehension of its foundations, pleas and conclusions, a method she would have disdained in any other region of human experience.

Though she read philosophic books, a little Plato, Schopenhauer, together with Buffon, Goethe, Schiller, Rousseau, not omitting Shakespeare and Byron, these too, leave little visible trace; she expressly disclaims Schopenhauer's influence. Nowhere does she hint at any knowledge of contemporary English philosophers; indeed, one weakness of the Utilitarians was their 'provincialism,' not redeemable by even Mill's wider outlook. Perhaps a one-sided grasp of Kant affected her indirectly. Unfortunately, his *Critique of the Pure Reason*, with its relentless exposition of the incomprehensibility by reason alone of the 'three metaphysical ideas,' was far more widely read, and therefore influential, than his subsequent *Critique of the Practical Reason*, which, to express it popularly, restored through ethics what epistemology relinquished. For agnosticism seized not a few intelligent minds from too exclusive attention to the earlier treatise; and since men's minds often recoil from continued indecision, many slipped from nescience to

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denial. Though Kant died in 1804, his influence persisted; therefore it is conceivable that Louise Choquet met a diluted Kantism in Berlin, even before her marriage.

Perhaps she read *Werther* and Sénancour's *Obermann* (Amiel's *Journal Intime* was not published till 1882). These, with Byron, however little she appreciated him, might give her literary ground for intellectual and spiritual unsettlement, but will not explain what she justly calls "*mes plaintes et mes imprécations*," and "*mes cris de révolte.*" Nor did Anatole France solve this problem, when, less unerringly than usual, he wrote:

La récluse de Nice a gémi comme une sainte d'athéisme sur les misères qu'elle n'éprouvait pas, sur les souffrances de l'humanité toute entière.

Perhaps her mistake was taking her own sentiments and doubts to be representatively human:

C'est au nom de l'homme collectif que j'ai élevé la voix.

If she looked thus 'universally' at what, in fact, was not there, at least she felt it all with a personal sharpness not gainsayable, a sharpness unalleviated by such aid as wit and humour can bring; for these she lacked. We are then thrown back on temperament, even if ascription of facts to it may be explaining the unknown by the still less known. Anyhow the Autobiography suggests a strain of 'unusualness' in her. Many a small child has been lonely; but one who, sheltering in withdrawn garden corners, deliberately prefers woodlice to dancing gnats, is not only lonely, but abnormal, surely. No right-minded child worries about possibly poisonous bites when the gauzy things flit and dance in a shaft of sunlight, or did not

in the old days before microbic tales had made cowards of so many. Whatever may be the virtues of woodlice, they seem, like their French name, *cloportes*, heavy. Childhood, certainly, would never reject them for their messy ways, their preference for grubby crevices and damp undersides; but would any quite normal child like them just because they can 'curl up into themselves'?

After her husband's death in 1846, she returned to her youthful verse-writing, under a sort of inspiration:

Voici qu'un beau matin, au moment où j'y pensais le moins, j'entendis tout à coup des rimes bourdonner à mes oreilles.

A little later, her pleasure in this resumption disquieted her:

Mon talent de fraîche date me fait l'effet de ces enfants survenus tard et sur lesquels on ne comptait pas. Ils dérangent terriblement les projets et menacent de troubler le repos des vieux jours.

As she was incapable of jesting, this, from her *Journal*, is a pathetic admission that her peace, hardly won by some unpredictable blend of synthetic philosophy with scientific evolution, was suddenly undermined and flung into emotional revolt by an inexplicable poetic obsession. She had recently read Greek lyrics. Is that the key? To their influence she attributes '*quelques pièces*,' not saying which. She attaches more importance to 'a great Indian poem,' whose conjugal raptures so enchanted her that, unconsciously, she turned these pearls of speech into French verse. The influence of neither is obvious.

So much then—and how little it is—for the source of her poetry. The form, polished, often beautiful, is singularly effective. Borne along, in early youth, on

the full tide of romanticism, she lived long enough to watch the rise of Parnassianism; for though its notable challenge was sounded in 1866, the early fifties saw some of the masterpieces of Gautier, Banville and Leconte de Lisle. Within the compass of her younger contemporary Sully Prudhomme's famous poem, are contained the principal elements of French poetry in the latter half of last century. Therein, though on his purely artistic side he was Parnassian, he became, because he was so much besides, a symbol, a vibrating expression of the unquiet, sensitive 'self' he shared with his generation.

Le vase où meurt cette verveine
D'un coup d'éventail fut fêlé;
Le coup dut effleurer à peine,
Aucun bruit ne l'a révélé.

Mais la légère meurtrissure,
Mordant le cristal chaque jour,
D'une marche invisible et sûre
En a fait lentement le tour.

. . . .

Toujours intact aux yeux du monde,
Il sent croître et pleurer tout bas
Sa blessure fine et profonde.
Il est brisé, n'y touchez pas.

So could the *Parnassien-Symboliste*, by no 'pathetic fallacy,' but in subtler fashion, convey his era's sense of irrevocable damage in the human spirit, though seemingly unstruck and entire. Madame Ackermann shared this consciousness of irreparable injury, of inescapable deception, but—witness '*mes imprécations*,' '*mes cris de révolte*,'—she had nothing of Prudhomme's poignant acquiescence in the universal mischance. All her unsatisfied, because insatiable, desire, escaped in her later of two poems called *L'Homme:*

Tout m'y cerne et m'y borne,
Il me faut l'au-delà !—

an exclamation not wholly spiritual.

Throughout life, conflicting desires tore her; the *cloportes* wish 'to curl up' into herself, and her longing for 'far distances' to pass all limits. Her mental atmosphere was sceptical, perhaps, in the old sense, 'wilful,' as appears in the fiasco over the Abbé Daubrée's loan of notes; and more rootedly in *Elan mystique*, of the year 1832:

Humble et fragile enfant, cachant en moi ma flamme,
J'ai tout interrogé dans les choses de l'âme.

. . . . .

Mais pour moi sur la terre, où l'âme s'est ternie,
Tout s'impregnait d'un goût d'amertume infinie.

The prayer closing this poem, an appeal to '*le Seigneur*' to save her from herself—

Prends-moi !
Prends-moi, car j'ai besoin, par delà toute chose,
D'un grand et saint espoir, où mon cœur se repose,
D'une idée où mon âme, à qui l'avenir ment
S'enferme et trouve enfin un terme à son tourment,—

could not be granted. The price she would not pay, then or elsewhen, the surrender of that complete self-confidence—"*j'ai tout interrogé*"—an amazing exploit for a child of fifteen,—a sacrifice she never dreamed of then or at any age, of the self-confidence which shut doors against her all her life long. She had not even the philosopher's patience, an essential to wisdom, even if she had a sort all her own.

This quality came near to being monstrous through the solitude she chose and guarded so carefully. Could any mortal, even one so determined as she, healthily

live, as she planned from 1846 to 1874, a life almost as isolated as the monastic, but without its support and stimulus springing from a reasoned ideal of self-sacrifice for a tremendous end, and the control of a protective 'Rule' originally planned, and through long ages tested, by men and women not only of experience, but of manifest good sense and sometimes of commanding gifts?

Her reason for withdrawal never appears; perhaps there was none, only an impulse. Perhaps just that emptiness, where a great ideal, a real 'goad of love,' might have saved her, fed the unappeasable, wholly vague unrest which permeated her life and work.

That loneliness was an obsession is shewn in her youthful farewell to Poetry,—a farewell broken as often as said:

L'être qui souffre est un mystère
Parmi ses frères ici-bas;
Il faut qu'il aille solitaire
S'asseoir aux portes du trépas.

Actually, a mortal who never suffered would be a far greater mystery; but that, no length of days or experience taught her.

The lines, the first after her husband's death, written at Painswick in Gloucestershire, are remembrable as a rare instance of her sharing in common feelings: she was troubled by being

Seule où nous étions deux, triste où j'étais joyeuse,
Pleurante où j'ai souri.

Her mood is seldom so simple, for conflicting desires rent all her purposes. She may in *Le Départ*, written in 1838, six years before her marriage, declare:

Pourtant, Dieu m'est témoin, j'aurais voulu sur terre
Rassembler tout mon cœur autour d'un grand amour,
Joindre à quelque destin mon destin solitaire
Me donner sans regret, sans crainte, sans retour.

But, in 1841, though, in *Renoncement*, she is still dreaming of

le choix irrévocable et l'éternel amour,

yet, her ruling self-centredness returns with fatal finality—

Non, non ! Restons plutôt dans notre indifférence.

When this temperamentally tormented woman had achieved '*le choix*,' then, lamentably, her husband's early death forced on her a '*retour*' which proved disastrous; for then, the dominant strand in her, the somewhat *farouche* inclination for total withdrawal, asserted itself. In her grief, which her reticence shows cut down to the roots of life, in the disillusionment, proportioned to the intensity of her unexpected happiness—"*il fut exquis*"—in those two years, she had no strength to resist her life-long tendency to copy the *cloportes*. Thenceforward, for twenty-eight years, in her sea-side tower, she devoured the day's learning and scientific discoveries, pursuing her self-appointed studies, slowly spinning that mingled tissue of longing and loneliness, of speculation and bitter disenchantment, whose twenty poems are perhaps the most remarkable revelation of a woman's intellectual and ethical life which the nineteenth century,—Marie Bashkirtseff's,—nor it only, can offer; not on the side of form, excellent though her technique is, but, in spite of Brunetière's assertion that her poems were '*trop vantés*,' for their sincere, desolating matter.

Certainly, she is of her age, that age of cultivated

melancholy, doubt, defiance, angry questioning and uncharted exploration, which began with the philosophers, continued in the poets, spread to the essayists and critics, and at last to the journalists. Yet, she missed the poor aid even of that to-be-shared environment, remaining stiffly herself. Whether she knew him or not, her diatribes are as fierce as Shelley's fiercest; her poem *Prométhée* suggests that they both drew from Æschylus. She lacks Shelley's background of Platonic idealism, which at his most violent moments saved him from spiritual aridity. A desert dryness parched her soul; her mordant bitterness, springing from a different root, is as terrifying as ever Baudelaire's could be:

La doulour qui me navre est certes moins cruelle
Que votre affreux espoir.

Sénancour's and Matthew Arnold's melancholy dwindle by such furious misery. It would be hard to find in England or France, during her period, another poem so charged with determination to yield to no sort of consolation as *Les Malheureux*, or as the subtler and still more uncompromising *L'Amour et la Mort.*

The sway in her of intellectuality over emotion should be observed. When John Locke pleaded for the supreme value of Truth:

Truth is the proper object,—the proper riches and furniture of the mind, and according as his stock of this is, so is the difference and value of one man above another;

he probably had not women in his mind; yet he who also wrote:

For all this, we may truly say that there are very few lovers of Truth for Truth's sake,

might have been pleasantly surprised by her 'Envoy' to her Poems:

> J'IGNORE! *un mot, le seul, par lequel je réponde*
> *Aux questions sans fin de mon esprit décu;*
> *Aussi quand je me plains en partant de ce monde*
> *C'est moins d'avoir souffert que de n'avoir rien su.*

And 'suffer,' *pace* Anatole France, she undoubtedly did.

Even in idealism she saw no inspiration; nothing but an implacable force luring men and women to shipwreck:

> *Le supplice fut double et double la défaite,*
> . . . . .
> *Car tu ne repais point; tu ne veut que leurrer.*
> *Toi qui les affamais, tu leur devais pâture,*
> *Et tu ne leur donnas qu'une ombre à dévorer!*

If hope, which elsewhere she denounced as '*affreux*,' and inspiration are to be hewn ruthlessly out of life, of what value is the rest? In her poem on Pascal, she rejects his way, '*chercher en gémissant*,' substituting for it scientific research:

> *A notre appel ardent, s'empressant d'accourir*
> *La Science nous ouvre une route nouvelle,*
> *Et du voile jeté sur la face éternelle*
> *Sa main lève les plis.*

What, on her own premises, is '*la face éternelle*'? is it not as unproved by scientific methods as any of the 'illusions' with which she taunts Pascal?

However illogical she may seem, the note of suffering—borne with astonishing, lonely courage—sounds in every line; her sole consolation seeming to be determination to protest to the very end:

> *Eh bien! ce cri d'angoisse et d'horreur infini*
> *Je l'ai jeté: je puis sombrer!*

In the long history of human speculation, the early part of the nineteenth century provided, in Western Europe, a strange spectacle of sheer spiritual pain, not wrought by physical violence or material deprivation, but by spiritual and intellectual stripping and distress. Through industrial and social struggle and turmoil, which to us, recently subjected to still more dreadful upsets, may seem comparatively small, the way was being won to considerable external prosperity. Into that obvious enrichment, there stole increasing spiritual impoverishment, sterilizing life at its source. Coming at first almost imperceptibly, it finally grew so manifest that from those whom materialism can never satisfy, rose an 'exceeding bitter cry.' Through that plangent chorus, Madame Ackermann, wrong-headed, perhaps wilful, certainly insufficiently trained in philosophy, sent out of the desolation of her cheated heart a note of final dolour:

Quand la Mort serait là, quand l'attache invisible
Soudain se délierait qui nous retient encor,
Et quand je sentirais dans une angoisse horrible
M'échapper mon trésor,

Je ne faiblerais pas. Fort de ma douleur même
Tout entier à l'adieu qui va nous séparer,
J'aurais assez d'amour en cet instant suprême
Pour ne rien espérer.

In that notable period of widely-spread spiritual loss, the sense of consequent pain may have been more frequently admitted outside France: certainly this woman alone among women then, vied with, possibly out-distanced, men in the expression of suffering. Only in the penultimate line does she shift her ground at all. Perhaps, after all, it was Pascal, whom she rebuked, who taught her that "*le cœur a ses raisons que*

la Raison ne connaît pas." When her life was ending, the Parnassians had arrived, the Symbolists were at the door. Such cloud of defiant doubt as there was in France was lifting. The passion for beauty solaced some, dreams lulled others; inevitable reaction had overtaken the rest. By 1890, when Madame Ackermann passed beyond this stage of ignorance which hurt her so sorely, there was waiting a welcome for her contemporary Banville, whose incurable gaiety was the polar opposite of her irremediable gloom, who, realizing that, besides the world of travailing thought, there is another of 'sensible' loveliness and wholesome, natural joy, was ready with his adorable bunnies—typical of those happy mortals who are always agog for simply proffered mirth:

Les petits lapins dans le bois,
. . . .
Gris foncé, gris clair, soupe au lait,
. . . .
Nous sommes les petits lapins.
Gens étrangers à l'écriture.
. . . .
N'ayant pas lu Dostoïewski,
. . . .
En dépit de Schopenhauer,
. . . .
Vivre et savourer le doux air
Nous semble une chose fort douce,
. . . .
Nous sommes les tendres lapins
Assis sur leurs petits derrières.

GERALDINE HODGSON.

THE PROBLEM OF HAMLET.[1]

G. WILSON KNIGHT, B.A.

IN Hamlet's interview with Ophelia we are again brought up against the obvious symptoms of his spiritual atrophy. At first sight of her his love wells up instinctively.

> Nymph, in thy orisons
> Be all my sins remember'd.
>
> (III. i. 89.)

But he quickly recovers. The stupidity of love can have no place in his mind. Ophelia offers him back some old gifts. The voice of cynicism answers:

> No, not I;
> I never gave you aught.
>
> (III. i. 95.)

This is true. The Hamlet that gave those 'remembrances' is dead—dead as his father. The ghost of him alone hovers pathetically over this dialogue. His past love seems now to Hamlet a childish and absurd thing: he cannot admit he was ever so puerile as to be cheated by it. Between the 'sick soul' and the knowledge of love there are all the inter-stellar spaces that divide Hell from Heaven. For Hell and Heaven are but spatial embodiments of these two modes of the spirit. Therefore:

HAMLET: Ha, ha! are you honest?

OPHELIA: My lord?

[1] Concluded from the last number.

HAMLET: Are you fair?

OPHELIA: What means your lordship?

HAMLET: That if you be honest and fair, your honesty should admit no discourse to your beauty.

OPHELIA: Could beauty, my lord, have better commerce than with honesty?

HAMLET: Ay, truly; for the power of beauty will sooner transform honesty from what it is to a bawd than the force of honesty can translate beauty into his likeness: this was sometime a paradox, but now the time gives it proof. I did love you once.

OPHELIA: Indeed, my lord, you made me believe so.

HAMLET: You should not have believed me; for virtue cannot so inoculate our old stock but we shall relish of it: I loved you not.

(III. i. 108.)

Hamlet denies the existence of romantic values. Love, in his mind, has become synonymous with sex, and sex with uncleanness. Therefore Beauty is dangerous and unclean. Sick of the world, of man, of love, Hamlet denies the reality of his past romance: "I loved you not." This statement alone fits coherently into his diseased mind and so it is, to him, the truth. He cannot have loved, since love is unreal: if it were real, there would be meaning, passion, purpose in existence. These things are gone and love must go too. Hamlet must say this or lose any claim to sanity.[1]

Next he curses himself, accuses himself of all the crimes he can think of. This, too, is what we expect. He has seen through all things, including himself, to the foulness within. In self-hatred he cries:

[1] "The subject of melancholy is forced in spite of himself to ignore [the existence] of all good whatever: for him it may no longer have the least reality" (*The Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 145).

> What should such fellows as I do crawling between earth and heaven?
>
> (III. i. 130.)

Therefore why should Ophelia be a 'breeder of sinners'? Why should anyone carry on the stupid act of procreation? Hamlet denies the significance of humanity. There is only one course for Ophelia, whose beauty perhaps yet echoes in Hamlet's mind some faint rhythm, as from a different existence, of his old love: to cut herself off from contact with an unclean and aimless world:

> . . . Go thy ways to a nunnery.
>
> (III. i. 132.)

At this point it seems that Hamlet becomes aware of the spies behind the arras. He realizes that Ophelia is a decoy. He breaks out into uncontrollable hatred and fury. Coleridge wrote truly:

> And to be wroth with one we love
> Doth work like madness in the brain.

And Hamlet's love is perhaps not quite dead, even though he dare not recognize its existence. So he cries:

> Go to, I'll no more on't; it hath made me mad.
>
> (III. i. 153.)

His words at the end of this scene are indeed 'wild and whirling.' He quite loses control and gives voice to the loathing that is in him, the cynicism that borders on madness. He has seen through love. Ophelia—once a goddess—is a stupid doll who 'lisps,' 'ambles,' and paints her face. Unjust, no doubt. It is truth to Hamlet's mind.

Hamlet in this scene is cruel to Ophelia; so too he is cruel to his mother later. He tortures both of them, because he once loved them so well. There are

often moments when reincarnations of what must have been his former courteous and kindly nature—of which we hear, but which we only see by fits and starts—break through the bitterness of Hamlet as he appears in the play, but they do not last: cynicism and consequent cruelty, born of the burden of pain within him, blight the spontaneous gentleness that occasionally shows itself, strangle it. There is a continual process of self-murder at work in Hamlet's mind. He is cruel to Ophelia and his mother. He exults in tormenting the King by the murder of Gonzago, and when he finds him conscience-stricken, at prayer, takes a demoniac pleasure in the thought of preserving his life for a more damning death:

> Up, sword; and know thou a more horrid hent:
> When he is drunk, asleep, or in his rage,
> Or in the incestuous pleasure of his bed;
> At gaming, swearing, or about some act
> That has no relish of salvation in't;
> Then trip him, that his heels may kick at heaven,
> And that his soul may be as damn'd and black
> As hell, whereto it goes.
>
> (III. iii. 88.)

With a callousness that shocks Horatio he sends his former school-friends to an undeserved death:

> HORATIO: So Guildenstern and Rosencrantz go to 't.
> HAMLET: Why, man, they did make love to this employment;
> They are not near my conscience; their defeat
> Does by their own insinuation grow:
> 'Tis dangerous when the baser nature comes
> Between the pass and fell incensed points
> Of mighty opposites.
>
> (V. ii. 56.)

It is difficult to see the conventional courtly Prince of Denmark in these incidents. We have done ill to

The Real H. P. Blavatsky

A Study in Theosophy and a Memoir of a Great Soul.

By WILLIAM KINGSLAND.

Author of

"*Scientific Idealism*," "*Our Infinite Life*," "*Rational Mysticism*," *Etc.*

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The Author of this work was personally acquainted with Madame Blavatsky, and took an active part in the original Theosophical Movement. He discloses here the immense labour, the inflexible tenacity of purpose, the enormous sacrifices, and the great sufferings which H. P. Blavatsky exhibited and endured in carrying out the mission entrusted to her by "the Elder Brothers of the Race." All this is set out in contrast with the popular and vulgar misrepresentations and slanders with which the personality of this great Pioneer has been assailed, while at the same time the defects of that personality are freely acknowledged. It was the Great Soul behind the personality who was the Real H. P. Blavatsky; and what matters is not the personality but the teachings which she gave to the world, and which have found their justification in an enormous literature arising out of them, as well as in the hearts and lives of thousands.

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JOHN M. WATKINS,

21, CECIL COURT, CHARING CROSS ROAD, LONDON, W.C. 2.

Some Extracts from PRESS NOTICES of

The Real H. P. Blavatsky

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sentimentalize the character. We have paid for it—by failing to understand him; and, failing to understand, we have been unable to sympathize with the demon of cynicism that has Hamlet's soul in its remorseless grip. Sentiment is an easy road to an unprofitable and unreal sympathy. Hamlet is cruel—let us acknowledge it. He murders Polonius in error, and seems to take a devilish joy in the act:

> Thou wretched rash intruding fool, farewell!
> I took thee for thy better: take thy fortune;
> Thou findest to be too busy is some danger.
> (III. iv. 31.)

He proceeds from this to vile abuse of his own mother:

> HAMLET: Nay, but to live
> In the rank sweat of an enseamed bed,
> Stew'd in corruption, honeying and making love
> Over the nasty sty—
>
> QUEEN: O, speak to me no more;
> These words, like daggers, enter in mine ears;
> No more, sweet Hamlet!
> (III. iv. 91.)

At the end of his scene with his mother there is one beautiful moment when Hamlet gains possession of his soul:

> For this same lord
> I do repent: but heaven hath pleased it so
> To punish me with this, and this with me.
> (III. iv. 172.)

And his filial love wells up in:

> So, again, good-night.
> I must be cruel only to be kind,
> Thus bad begins and worse remains behind.
> (III. iv. 177.)

But it is short-lived. Next comes a long speech of the most withering, brutal, and unnecessary sarcasm:

> Let the bloat king tempt you again to bed;
> Pinch wanton on your cheek; call you his mouse. . . .
> (III. iv. 182.)

Even more horrible are his disgusting words about Polonius, whom he has unjustly killed, to the King. Even if we grant that he is simulating madness, it is still unnecessary that it should take so loathly a form:

KING: Now, Hamlet, where's Polonius?

HAMLET: At supper.

KING: At supper! where?

HAMLET: Not where he eats, but where he is eaten: a certain convocation of politic worms are e'en at him. Your worm is your only emperor for diet: we fat all creatures else to fat us, and we fat ourselves for maggots: your fat king and your lean beggar is but variable service, two dishes but to one table: that's the end.

KING: Alas, alas!

HAMLET: A man may fish with the worm that hath eat of a king, and eat of the fish that hath fed of that worm.

KING: What dost thou mean by this?

HAMLET: Nothing but to show you how a king may go a progress through the guts of a beggar.

KING: Where is Polonius?

HAMLET: In heaven; send thither to see: if your messenger find him not there, seek him i' the other place yourself. But indeed, if you find him not within this month, you shall nose him as you go up the stairs into the lobby.
(IV. iii. 17.)

A long and unpleasant quotation, I know. But it is necessary. The horror of humanity doomed to death

and decay has disintegrated Hamlet's mind. From the first scene to the last the shadow of Death broods over this play. In the exquisite prose threnody of the graveyard scene the thought of physical death is again given utterance. There its pathos, its inevitability, its moral, are emphasized: but also its hideousness. Death is indeed the theme of this play, for Hamlet's disease is mental and spiritual Death. So Hamlet concentrates on the terrors of an after-life.[1] The uninspired, devitalized intellect of an Hamlet thinks in terms of time. The body disintegrates in time: the soul persists, he fears, in time too; and both are horrible. But the intuitive faith, or love, or purpose, by which we must live if we are to remain sane, of these things, which are drawn from a timeless reality within the soul, Hamlet is unmercifully bereft. Therefore he concentrates on the foul and filthy things of sex, the hideous decay of flesh, the deceit of beauty either of the spirit or the body, the torments of eternity if eternity exist. The universe is an 'unweeded garden,' or a 'prison,' the canopy of the sky but a 'pestilent congregation of vapours,' and man but a 'quintessence of dust,' waiting for the worms of death.

It may be said that I have concentrated on the unpleasant parts of the play. Which is true. But I have concentrated also on the most significant parts. I have tried by various quotations and by suggestive phrases to indicate this sickness which eats into Hamlet's soul. To those who have not known it, it must remain vague. To some it will be vivid enough. To point its nature further I would suggest two com-

[1] It is to be noted that to Hamlet an after-life, if there is an after-life, must necessarily be Hell. His consciousness only functions in terms of evil.

parisons: first, the Chapter entitled 'The Sick Soul' in James's *Varieties;* second, the sense of disillusion, the horror of sentiment, the cynicism and pain that rings in the significant literature of to-day. We are sick of Hamlet's disease. Now by emphasizing these elements in the figure of Hamlet I have essayed to pluck out the heart of his mystery. And it will be clear that those elements which I have emphasized, are just the ones which for different reasons have baffled past commentators: the questions of Hamlet's madness, his patent cruelty, his coarse humour, his strange dialogue with Ophelia, his inability to avenge his father's death. All these are equally related to the same sickness within. The coherence of these elements in the play must be evident. Creative, or even destructive, action; love; passion—all these can find no home in Hamlet's paralysed mind or soul. Before the action of the play, Hamlet was, no doubt,

> The glass of fashion and the mould of form.

But that is over—or nearly over—when Ophelia speaks her lovely words. When we first meet Hamlet the poison has started its disintegrating work. During the rest of the play the outstanding characteristics of him are his bitterness, his disillusionment, his utter loss of purpose: and many of his humorous speeches which are often performed as pleasant witticisms, or as playful mock-madness, would be more truly rendered with the scornful stare and grating voice of cynicism.

The impression of the play, as a whole, is not so morbid as the main theme: if it were, it would not have been so popular. There are many individual scenes of action, passion, humour and beauty that take our thoughts from the essentially morbid impact of

the Hamlet-theme. Hamlet himself at times recovers something of his old instinctive friendliness and gentleness. We can guess what he was like before. At the same time, Hamlet's disease is a universal one, and that is also in part the reason of the play's popularity. But the matter of the disease-theme in relation to the rest of the play raises the question of the curious technique here obtaining: that I cannot discuss at length now. It will be sufficient to say that the total impression, the imaginative impact of the whole, leaves us with a sense of gaiety, health, superficiality and colour, against which is silhouetted the pale black-robed figure of Hamlet, who has seen what lies behind the smiles of benevolence, who has broken free of the folly of love because he has found its inward tawdriness and deceit, who knows that King and beggar alike are bound for the same disgusting 'convocation of worms,' and that even an 'indifferent honest' man is too vile to be 'crawling between heaven and earth.'

There is no fallacy in Hamlet's reasoning. We cannot pick on this or that of his most bitter words, and prove them false. The solitary and inactive figure of Hamlet is contrasted with the bustle and the glitter of the court, the cancer of cynicism in his mind, himself a discordant and destructive thing whose very presence is a poison and a menace to the happiness and health of Denmark, fulfilling to the letter the devilish command of the Ghost:

> Adieu, adieu! Hamlet, remember me.

Hamlet does not neglect his father's final behest—he obeys it, not wisely but only too well. Hamlet remembers—not alone his father's ghost, but all the Death of which it is a symbol. What would have been

the use of killing Claudius? Would that have saved his mother's honour, have brought life to his father's mouldering body, have enabled Hamlet himself, who had so long lived in Death, to have found again childish joy in the kisses of Ophelia? Would that have altered the Universal Scheme? To Hamlet, the universe smells of mortality; therefore nothing is worth while. And there is no fault in his reasoning. Therein lies the problem of this play.

G. WILSON KNIGHT.

THE BALLAD OF JUDAS ISCARIOT.

To reverent hush the strains had come
That fill the courts above,
And round the flame-veiled Throne stood dumb
The hosts of Light and Love.

For Heaven, now wrought to ecstasy,
Hushing its myriad stir,
Waited the face of God to see,
And His great Name to hear.

But when with awful splendour shone,
Slowly revealed to sight,
The Throne of God with God thereon,
And Christ upon His right,

Faint, pitiful, in that breathless hush
That waited for the Word,
As a stream in a silent place may gush,
A sad far cry was heard;

While that which should to speech have come—
The Name, the wondrous Name—
Fell on the point of utterance dumb
Like a wind-extinguished flame.

Lord Christ thereat with pleading eyes
His Father thus bespake:
"Give ear to me All-Good and Wise,
For Thy great mercy sake!

"That cry of pain which crept forlorn
Through gloom that no wings fan
To find Thy pitying ears, was born
In the sad heart of man;

"In the sad heart of him for whom
Through Thee I fain would win
His soul's redemption from the doom
Of death awaiting sin."

Benignly then the Almighty made
Reply to His dear Son:
"This thou would'st do can but," He said,
"At countless cost be done.

"To conquer death thou need'st must die
Calling in vain on Me
When men shall lift thee up on high
Nailed to the shameful tree."

"Yea, that I know," Christ mildly said,
"And, too, Thy love I know,
For in the tomb when I lie dead
Thou wilt not leave me so."

He ceasing, once again the wail
Of grief from such as pray
Yet fear their prayers can nought avail,
Came up from far away.

Then, by that cry, it seemed, unmoved,
God spake: "Ere this can be,
I needs must know thee so beloved
That of this host for thee

"One shall renounce his high estate,
Take earthly form and then
Become a thing of scorn and hate,
Accursed by sinful men."

This having heard, the Saviour turned
And thus appealing cried:
"Ye hosts, in sorrow all unlearned,
Unvexed by hate and pride!

"Men groan in bonds of sin and I
Alone can set them free,
Yet for their sakes I may not die
Save one for love of me

" Departing from these courts of light
Shall, lured by mean reward,
Do a black deed in love's despite
That men may know their Lord.

" And he must needs of his free-will
And love this offering make,
And never as man recall that still
He suffers for my sake."

He ceasing, glittering Seraphim
And Splendours standing near,
Sore-troubled turned away from him,
Their glory dimmed by fear ;

The hosts through space as though by spell
Grew still, all sounds had died,
Ere silvery on the silence fell
A voice that thus replied :

" Not one of us, Lord Christ, who know
And do but live and move
To praise thy power, is worthy so
To share thy work of love.

" But since, ere thou so sacrificed
Canst conquer Death, for thee
Must proof of love be shown, dear Christ,
Do what thou wilt with me."

This said, came forth from his high place
Amidst the Seraphim
A radiant form with gentle face
And eyes with pity dim.

A golden crown was on his head,
His great wings rippling shone,
As by the Almighty summonéd
He knelt before the Throne.

Before the Throne of God he knelt—
That central glory whence
Refulgent splendours pass and melt
Into the far immense.

And as he laid his golden crown
Beside him, bending meek,
With pitying gaze Lord Christ looked down
And thus to him did speak:

"For love of me thou choosest, then
This grievous part to take,
That I may bear the sins of men
And suffer for their sake.

"And that great privilege whereby
Joy is assured to thee;
The sight and knowledge of the Most High,
Whereof now art thou free;

"Thy glory drawn from founts divine;
Thy crown of peace unpriced:
These all for me wilt thou resign?"
He answered: "Yea, Lord Christ."

The Lord Christ gave him heed and then
Addressed him pityingly:
"Judas, though much I grieve for men,
Still more I grieve for thee;

"For love and joy thy portion now,
Thy peace that knows no fret,
My Father, me, these glories, thou
Must utterly forget,

"To live man's life upon the earth
Stricken with loathsome greed,
For never could one of mortal birth
Do the black thing I need.

"And though in darkness shall be done
This deed in love's despite,
Thine the remorse must be of one
Who sinned in fullest light.

"And none in truth shall loathe thee more
When thou with shame art clothed
Than thou, with men's despising sore,
Shalt by thyself be loathed."

And then to tears Lord Jesus moved,
No more thereof could speak,
But came to him who so much loved
And kissed him on the cheek.

Which seeing, the hosts with reverence bowed,
And the Powers of Love and Light,
Then lifting eyes, behold, the cloud
Once more hid God from sight.

For Lord Christ, too, they looked in vain,
But gray as an ancient stone
On a hillside worn by frost and rain,
Stood Judas all alone:

A shrunken form scarce recognized,
Uncrowned, of glory shorn,
Self-doomed to be by men despised
And held for ever in scorn.

Then all the hosts with wondering gaze
Beheld him earthward go,
Past glittering Saints and Powers ablaze,
With painful steps and slow;

Content to change the realms of light
Where God was in his ken,
For nameless woes and hideous night
That Christ might die for men.

W. G. Hole.

COMICAL WORD SWIRLS.

My esteemed friend W. E. Foster, so well and favourably known for his exceptional psychical endowment as a healer, trance-speaker and intermediary, has a delightful other-side helper and comrade of North American Indian ancestry. I have known him intimately, through W. E. F.'s good services, for years, and have a very high opinion of his honesty and a sincere affection for his warm-hearted, cheerful and humorous personality. His English is in general far from impeccable, and is frequently punctuated with strange vocables that leave the uninitiated guessing. There is, however, somewhat of a method in this madness; and it may, therefore, be of interest to put on record a selection from a mass of his comical word-wrecks. His native name is well known to many interested in psychical matters; but here, as we are dealing, so to say, with the small fry caught in the wide flowing net of his mediumistic industry, I will append to the following list of psychically inverted *barbara nomina* an easily recognizable pseudonym for those who know him.—Ed.

Fluffled moors	=	Muffled oars
Callmese malt	=	Maltese cross
Creumatic pushion	=	Pneumatic cushion
Tigglyvatering	=	Initiating
Tipianthis	=	Antithesis
Ossicuty	=	Curiosity
Potheriso	=	Hypothesis
Toberoc	=	October
Viviobs	=	Obvious
Craterant	=	Autocrat
Roiservates	=	Reservoirs
Fetamorically	=	Metaphorically
Sueto	=	Pseudo
Comurial	=	Mercurial
Calteration	=	Altercation
Ficialarty	=	Artificial

Slimybul	=	Sublime
Cofisky	=	Fiasco
Bolikisym	=	Symbolical
Ropered leaves	=	Eavesdropper
Cedarboa	=	Boadicea
Plomadip	=	Diploma
Sontingconting	=	Concentrating
Picrocosmy	=	Microscope
Kelpimist	=	Alchemist
Caterexted	=	Extricated
Dermery	=	Remedy
Shombell	=	Bombshell
Conilex	=	Lexicon
Sedeantes	=	Antecedents
Ossiticue	=	Curiosity
Jocotels	=	Projectiles
Greedyenters	=	Ingredients
Doggy cattery	=	Category
Fonticis	=	Confidence
Scrimumaps	=	Manuscripts
Sonsequently	=	Consequently
Pathasompy	=	Sympathy
Conderorbar	=	Hors de combat
Shrimeparister	=	Prime Minister
Teceandents	=	Antecedents
Sledgewidge	=	Language
Plomadicity	=	Diplomacy
Tissianty	=	Antithesis
Gibblyobtion	=	Obligation
Quopiddy	=	Quid-pro-quo
Fiseremp	=	Emphasize
Protoappaty	=	Appropriately
Dotiants	=	Antidotes
Stastacatic	=	Staccato
Finnybitions	=	Inhibitions
Fettermixes	=	Metaphysics
Oilbrucated	=	Lubricated
Undercrumb	=	Conundrum
Catynition	=	Indication
Sympramids	=	Pyramids
Sillyossifer	=	Philosopher

BLANCHAILLE.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

(Unsigned Reviews or Notices are by the Editor.)

STUDIES AND TEXTS.

In Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archæology. With 14 Plates and 5 Illustrations. Collected and Reprinted by Moses Gaster, Ph.D. London (Maggs); Vols. I. and II.—'Studies,' pp. 1,856; Vol. III.—'Texts,' pp. 278; 63s.

IN addition to the large output of very valuable substantive works from the pen of Dr. Gaster, there stands to the credit of this distinguished and highly endowed scholar a mass of shorter studies, which he has published during the last 50 years in journals and learned periodicals, both in this country and on the Continent, in a number of languages. Most of these are now collected together and reproduced in the pages of these three impressive volumes. They are specially arresting, not only owing to the wealth of learning and patient research that is so manifest throughout, but because of the pioneering spirit that leads Dr. Gaster into many a successful quest after rare documents and MSS., some of them absolutely unique, and with prospecting expeditions that leave all beaten paths far behind.

His labours in the little-tilled field of Samaritan literature and archæology are of outstanding importance, and indeed indispensable to all Biblical scholars, none of whom has enjoyed the rare opportunities which have fallen to Dr. Gaster's lot in getting new material. He stands forth as the great friend and patron of the Samaritan community still existing at Nablus, the minute residue of an ancient and famous race. They have supplied him, during long years of intercourse, with a unique collection of their documents, with copies of many a rare MS. previously inaccessible or even unknown. Into the wide ramifications of Hebrew apocrypha and apocalypse, Dr. Gaster is an indefatigable searcher, bringing out new points of interest. He is specially keen on

unearthing any fragment of the Hebrew original texts of documents which have otherwise reached us only in translation, and in general helps us to a better understanding of the rise and development of this very important body of literature that bridges the period between the Old and New Testament. There is also, as might be expected, a number of contributions of special interest to students of Talmudic and later Rabbinical literature. To the study of folk-lore and folk-tales, Dr. Gaster has devoted long years of research: his survey of the subject is very far-ranged; for he is not content to restrict it to Europe, where he is specially interested in its Eastern lands, but pursues his enquiries into the further Orient, tracing connections and revealing fundamental form-similarities. To the very difficult task of searching for the underlying principles of this new scientific discipline, our author applies himself with assiduity, and he is continually warning enthusiasts against the dangers of over-hasty generalizations. The fascinating problems of mediæval romance literature also engages Dr. Gaster's attention, and he has no little to say on a number of those famous cycles of story that so deeply influenced our forefathers. But the most out-of-the-way topic on which our versatile scholar exercises his pen, plunges us into the incomprehensibilities of magic. It is a mind-baffling pursuit, as everyone knows who is acquainted, for instance, with the chaos of the magical papyri and the attempts of scholars of the highest distinction to unravel some of the tangles. Dr. Gaster pays special attention to the broken-down remains of magical names, and shows how, when found in a Jewish environment, they may sometimes consist of letters that severally stand for whole names or even for whole phrases or texts. On the subject of spells and amulets he has much to say, and here the interest is increased because he is chiefly dealing at first-hand with unique MSS. and a collection of original charm-documents, which have found their way into his famous library of *rariora*.

Finally, our prolific author is known as a high authority on Roumanian literature, both religious and secular. He has been instrumental in introducing us to the wealth of folk-lore and folk-custom which abound in that country, including quaint and beautiful legends of romantic Christianity which still delight its people. One of these, the legend of the Lady Mary, is given us in a fine and sympathetic English rendering.

The above is but a rough summary of the sort of subjects the reader may expect to find in this rich and varied collection.

I fear, however, that it gives a very inadequate idea of the uncommon nature of most of the papers and of the strange by-ways of research which its distinguished author has pursued with so much industry, enthusiasm and ability.

SUPERSTITIONS OF SAILORS.

By Dr. Angelo S. Rappoport. Illustrated. London (Stanley Paul); pp. 287; 15s. net.

EMPIRICAL connection between two independent facts which happen to be repeated, lies at the basis of popular superstition and of the belief in omens for telling future events. The untutored mind of the people sees in the repetition of these two facts not a mere coincidence but a direct relation, which it translates into cause and effect. No sooner will one thing happen than the other is sure to come to pass. Health, life and food are the driving forces. The uncertainty of the future lies over it all and, therefore, people are only too anxious to obtain some indication as to what that unknown future has in store for them. It will tell them either to avoid some undertaking or to precipitate some action. In the case of the former it would point to an unfavourable outcome or in the latter to foretelling success. This rule may be considered to be of universal application. It refers to the individual as well as to a class or a mass, for each craft has developed a certain system of its own by which one can determine the result of its undertakings no less than for an individual, and the greater the danger of the undertaking, the more doubtful the result of the undertaking, the more a man becomes prone to turn to all these forebodings and all the premonitory signs.

Dr. Rappoport has collected in this book a vast mass of superstitious beliefs and practices touching the sea among the sailors of the civilized world. The sea, with its unfathomable depth and with the grave dangers which beset its voyagers, is ever an object of awe, and yet at the same time a means of obtaining great success and great joy and pleasure by long voyages to unknown worlds. No wonder, therefore, that from ancient times mariners, who risked their lives in riding its waves and going far away in search of adventure, should turn anxiously to the study of all these signs.

The author of this book has ransacked old and modern literature, and especially that of the sea-faring nations, and has given us here a vast collection, thus far the most complete, of all

the beliefs and superstitions as well as the rites and practices used by sailors for averting danger, the avoiding of certain days, the objects to be carried and to be left out of the boat, and a large number of legends connected with the origin of the sea, the inhabitants of the sea, the origin of the salty taste, and many more curious and out-of-the-way beliefs and rites in connection with launching ships, setting sail and many other practices of the sea-faring craft. It is curious to notice how many of these beliefs and practices recorded from ancient times find their parallel in modern life. Not a few of these have, of course, lost their original significance and it is, therefore, not very easy to trace them to their real origin. What lies at the back of many of these practices should now be the object of very careful investigation. It would be of great service to ascertain also: how many of these have been carried from nation to nation by the very sailors who always delight in spinning yarns; how many of those of foreign origin have been assimilated to local conditions; and where is the origin to be found of some which seem to have a native character.

In this book, for the most part, we have the material carefully and sedulously accumulated by the author, who does not fail to indicate the source from which he has taken every item contained in his work. A scientific investigation will now have to proceed to separate this material into its historical and geographical sequence; and then, perhaps, we shall be able to obtain the psychological basis for the origin of these curious beliefs and superstitions. The author must be thanked for having gathered up so rich a material.

M. GASTER.

THE VAMPIRE IN EUROPE.

By Montague Summers. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 330; 15s. net.

THERE is no limit to human credulity, and there are always men who pander to the craving for the horrible and for the darker side of human nature. Among those is the author of the present volume. His predilection for satanism and devilry, his belief in the reality of witchcraft and dark powers is exhibited in a number of his books. One can feel everywhere the undertone of the old inquisitor hunting out the wretched witches and preparing them for the stake. We cannot deny to the author of the present book wide reading and indefatigable energy in collecting all the facts that fit into his programme.

The present volume is a sequel to the preceding one in which the author discusses the Vampire and his kith and kin through the ages. In this book he has limited himself to collecting all the facts, legends, tales and superstitions prevalent in Europe. He is thoroughly convinced of the return of the dead to molest the living, and he does his very best to convince his readers of the reality of such extraordinary phenomena. It is not a pleasant book to read as it carries us back to the darkest period of the Middle Ages. It is curious that if such facts should really have existed, they should now practically have perished altogether, unless we may assume with the author that they are still haunting the living in our very days.

A large number of documents, duly signed and confirmed by eye-witnesses, are adduced in order to prove the real existence of such vampires who rise from the grave to suck the blood of the living and cause them untimely death. The documents are genuine, but they are the evidence of the blind prejudice and superstition of those who drew them up as well as of their profound ignorance of the real facts. They have precisely the same value as the acts of accusation and the alleged confessions of witches drawn up at the tribunal, which did not hesitate to send the victims to the stake on such evidence as was extracted from them by the rack.

If the author would not try to drive home the lesson which he has at heart, namely the reality of vampires and vampirism, one would feel more grateful for this vast accumulation of material, which could be used for a much better purpose from the point of view of mental pathology, and those peculiar phenomena of hallucination and other mental aberrations which are the object of investigation by the student of modern psychology and physiology.

There is one point which I should like to mention. It may be true that bodies interred for some time have been found afterwards not yet decomposed. The case in Szolnok which has just been tried by the Hungarian Courts might throw some light on this peculiar phenomenon. It is well known that the bodies of persons who have died of arsenical poisoning, have often been slow to disintegrate; therefore some of Mr. S.'s 'vampires' may be nothing but the bodies of arsenically poisoned persons. The fully preserved bodies at Meduna need hardly have been the vampires who caused the deaths of the population, but both they and the rapidly dying population may rather have been victims of arsenical poisoning, as in the modern instance of Szolnok. This would

dispose entirely of the vampirism believed in by the credulous and ignorant populace. The book, unfortunately, is written with the distinct bias which runs through all such publications of the author.

M. GASTER.

MRS. EDDY.

The Biography of a Virginal Mind. By Edwin Franden Dakin. London (Scribner's); pp. 553; £1 1s. net.

WE are pleased to call the attention of our readers to this full and amply-documented Life of that very mixed and complex character, the foundress of the 'Christian Science' movement; though why it should be subtitled 'The Biography of a Virginal Mind' we have not been able to discover. Mr. Dakin has done his work thoroughly, and supplied the student with a methodically arranged wealth of material from which he may gain an insight into the mind of the originator of one of the most characteristic and flourishing '*petites religions*' of modern times. It is, and for long should remain, the most indispensable source-manual on the subject. Our space-limits do not allow us to review the work, even in outline, tempting as it might be to do so; but we recommend it very heartily to those who would learn the inner history of the beginnings and development of a most remarkable faithist manifestation, that has procured its undeniable healing results by what outsiders regard as an irrational denial of patent facts of existence. Mrs. Eddy claimed that the two witnesses to truth were the life of Jesus in the past and her own continuously altered and revised book *Science and Health*, in our own day; and she seems really to have believed it. But the most striking commentary on this claim is that the authoress, who took the saner elements of her teaching from that unpretentious and self-sacrificing psychical healer Phineas P. Quimby, was herself so poor an example of this health doctrine. She seems never to have been in really good health, and often a prey to painful and distressing phobias, a strangely alternating personality, now, for the most part, in the depths, then rising to the surface in spasms of nervous activity which imposed its will ruthlessly on her followers. Her *bête noire* was what she termed 'malicious animal magnetism,' familiarly known to the faithful as 'M. A. M.' Quimby, whom she claims to have 'cured' her, when she had previously been a physical and nervous wreck, used not only suggestion but also 'magnetic' manipulations. She became his

grateful and enthusiastic pupil for some years afterwards; but gradually developed a high sense of her own greatness, and the superiority of her 'science' over Quimby's mixed method. Concomitantly 'magnetism,' not only 'manipulative' but in every form, became for her unqualifiedly evil. It was this bogey, this 'black magic,' as similar victims of fear-complexes would have called it, that she made the scape-goat of all her ills. She was, she claimed, well, perfectly well always 'in science'; the continual outward signs of 'spells' and crises, which were jealously kept as much as possible hidden from all but a few intimates, she declared, were simply symptoms of her perpetual fight, not only with her outside enemies, but with even more malicious foes within her own household. Not only so, but she had in addition, she asserted, to take on vicariously the 'errors' of her followers. Thus Mrs. Eddy would persuade her puzzled faithful that she was for ever vicariously suffering from the attacks of principalities and powers, and wearing down the enemy *en masse*. And so day and night she had to be sustained by a guard and watch of specially chosen disciples, who 'demonstrated' against the undesignated foes in general, and against the named practitioners of 'M. A. M.' in particular, that beset her. The defensive treatment extended to other groups and included, we are told, a picturing of the enemy wilting away. But this is only one item on which one could comment critically. Those, however, who would learn more must turn to Mr. Dakin's informative pages, containing, as they do, so much that is difficult to procure elsewhere, owing to the exceedingly well-organized and business-like campaign of suppression, carried on by 'Scientists,' which has put similar prior *exposés* on a minor scale out of action by very devious means, and which, we learn, is now very busy about the present volume.

Pagan Regeneration.

A Study of Mystery Initiations in the Græco-Roman World. By Harold R. Willoughby, Associate Professor of New Testament Literature, the University of Chicago. Chicago (The University Press); pp. 307; 13s. 6d. net.

Close on the heels of Dr. Angus's liberal-minded study, *Religious Quests of the Græco-Roman World*, which we have already warmly welcomed, comes Prof. H. R. Willoughby's excellent forthsetting

of the various types of the wide-spread salvation-cults of Pagan antiquity, the keynote of which was the notion of re-birth in the sense of regeneration. Our author writes with enthusiasm for his subject, bringing out the chief features of the leading initiatory institutions on a background of scholarly research. Here again we have cordially to praise the same liberal and sympathetic spirit which distinguished Dr. Angus's work, and even more warmly to commend the present study because Prof. Willoughby has not found himself obliged in any way to offset his exposition by apologetically singing the praises of the superior virtues of Christianity over against what its predecessors and contemporaries had to offer. What he is chiefly at pains to show is that those institutions, cults and communities have been grievously misunderstood and undervalued, owing mainly to the attitude of Patristic writers who, with rarest exceptions, could see no virtue of any sort whatever in them, and were as a body animated with a fierce *jalousie de métier*. Owing to the painstaking researches of recent years much light has been thrown on the doctrines and history of the welter of religions and religio-philosophical endeavours in the Græco-Roman world in the first centuries of our era, when the restricted Orient and Occident of that period met very intimately in friendly congress, and syncretism and eclecticism was the order of the day. Professor Willoughby has arranged the sequence of his subject-matter very ably and has, so to say, graded it, working up to a truly spiritual climax. This may be seen by reciting the chapter headings, which are as follows: (i.) Pagan Piety in the Græco-Roman World; (ii.) The Greater Mysteries at Eleusis; (iii.) Dionysian Excesses; (iv.) Orphic Reform; (v.) The Regenerative Rites of the Great Mother; (vi.) Death and Re-birth in Mithraism; (vii.) Isiac Initiation; (viii.) The New Birth Experience in Hermeticism; (ix.) The Mysticism of Philo; (x.) The Social Significance of Mystery Initiation. It is a rich feast and an excellently served repast that is offered to us. We cannot, as usual, go into details, owing to the self-denying ordinance that limited space imposes on us. But what is of chief importance in the whole matter is the enlightened spirit of the enquiry, and the absence of that deadening atmosphere of *parti pris*, if not of *odium theologicum*, which only too frequently has characterized the writers on the subject, who are unable to shake themselves free from the traditional apologetic attitude. Fortunately we are beginning at last to win towards a more generous and healthy and helpful point of view, and can

survey these deeply interesting religious strivings of the past in a saner and truer perspective. We, therefore, recommend without reservation to our readers Professor Willoughby's able dissertation as a most praiseworthy step in the right direction.

THE IMPORTANCE OF TERTULLIAN IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN DOGMA.

By the Rev. James Morgan, M.A., B.D. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 297; 7s. 6d. net.

THE author of this careful study demonstrates his thesis with ability. Tertullian was the founder and father of Latin theology. We know practically nothing of Latin Christianity till his day—some decades either side of 200 A.D. The language of the Church at Rome had hitherto been Greek, not Latin. It is Tertullian, whose centre of activity was at Carthage, who provided the Latin Christianity of his day, and subsequently Western theology, with a precise dogmatic terminology. Highly skilled in Roman law, he imposed a strictly legalistic and juristic spirit on the Christian Occident. A rigid disciplinarian, of strictly ascetical tendencies, a hater of philosophy, curiously materialistic in his psychology, a noted heresy-hunter, defending the integrity of what he believed to be the Apostolic tradition, which he desired to impose upon the Church as a rigid rule of faith that must be held always, everywhere, and by all at peril of utter loss,—he handed on to future generations a temper of mind that restricted and restrained, that formularized and would be uniformative. That any liberal-minded student of the history of dogma can approve, now-a-days, of this busy industry which more and more diverted Christianity from the liberty of its true spirit, is difficult to believe. And here comes in the strange contradiction and inner struggle in Tertullian's own character. Having done his utmost in his first period to impose without appeal the authority of the Church, viewed as a law-making and law-maintaining entity, on every member of the faithful, in the second period of his life he learned to know that there was still a free working of the spirit abroad, and became an enthusiastic Montanist, believing fully in continual vision and inspiration. He must, indeed, thereafter have been a very unhappy man, when he confronted himself with much he had so zealously poured forth in his rampantly dogmatic days, and which he could no

longer reconcile with the vistas of a freer spiritual outlook which was opening up before him. He would, doubtless, have been far more unhappy if he had been able to foresee the results of his earlier work. He died a schismatic; but the dogmatic foundation he had laid, was so in keeping with the general temper of the future Western Church, that Latin theology ever after regarded him as a pillar of orthodoxy in spite of what it condemned in him as his lapse.

Mr. Morgan does not encourage his readers to make this inference. But it cannot be avoided by those of us who regard the dogmatism of Tertullian as a mill-stone hung round the neck of Western theology for so many long centuries, from which so many strenuous efforts are being made in our days to set it free.

As the author is a good scholar, it is surprising to find the proof-reading of his Latin anything but careful.

TU-FU: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CHINESE POET, A.D. 712-770.

Including an Historical Year Record, a Biographical Index, and a Topographical Note, as well as Maps, Plans and Illustrations. Arranged from his Poems and Translated by Florence Ayscough. London (Cape); pp. 450; 21s. net.

THIS is a beautifully turned-out and illustrated volume, and it is evidently the result of years of patient and loving labour. Chinese poetry is admittedly, on all hands, a very difficult field of culture for any but a Chinese or Japanese to work in. Dr. Florence Ayscough's reputation as a Sinologist and lover of Chinese literature, folklore and picturesque customs is already well known to our readers. Her present volume is a veritable *tour de force*, as it is the most considerable study of any Chinese poet that has so far been attempted. Tu-Fu is considered to be the most famous poet of China; his poems are of great value as graphically depicting the life and times of his day, which was so full of stirring events. The genius of Chinese poetry lies in the simplicity and economy of the verbal sketching of a scene or event; it, so to say, strikes a note or chord which the reader has imaginatively to develop for himself. Dr. Ayscough has elaborated a method of spacing out whereby every Chinese word is represented either by a single English equivalent or by a phrase; and this typographical device should be very helpful for those who can compare her translation with the original. Her work has been already praised

highly by competent scholars. No one but a knower of Chinese can really appreciate the æsthetic value of Tu-Fu's verse, which is so famous in his own land; but Dr. Ayscough has striven valiantly to let outsiders into the secret. The poet's love and praise of wine and his flattery of the Court remind us somewhat of a Horace rather than of a 'Umr Khayyām; but, in general, we do not personally find much to admire in his character and miss any strain of real philosophy in his make-up.

THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

Interpreted in its Relation to Contemporaneous Religious Currents in Palestine and the Hellenistic-Oriental world. By Hugo Odeberg, B.D., Ph.D., Lecturer in Exegesis in the University of Upsala. Pt. I. 'The Discourses,' Jn. 1[19] to 12. Uppsala och Stockholm (Almqvist & Wiksell); pp. 336; Kr. 10.

THIS is Pt. I. of a Commentary that is to be followed by Pts. II. and III.,—respectively a study on Jn. 18-20 and an investigation of the narrative portions and of the prologue and epilogue. Dr. Odeberg is already favourably known to our readers by his work on the Hebrew Enoch (*III. Enoch*). His excursion into Fourth Gospel exegesis is very welcome as linking up with the work of such distinguished scholars as Walter Bauer and Rudolph Bultmann, who have unearthed a new background for Fourth Gospel research,—formulated previously by the latter as the recovery of strong traces of a Pre-Christian Saviour-myth in early mystical and gnostical literature, with very numerous parallels to the conceptions and language of the famous 'Johannine' document. Among these source-traces the earliest deposits of the Mandæan literature bulk largely. The results of this new line of approach are already impressive and are familiar to readers of THE QUEST. In the last number of the *Hibbert Journal*, Dr. Vincent Taylor summarizes the present question in regard to Mandæan studies, and offsets Prof. Burkitt's extra-vagant views. Dr. Odeberg's work is very fully documented and on sound scholarly lines; he is specially strong on traces of Jewish religious and mystical currents alongside of Rabbinism proper. In our own pages, the Fourth Gospel studies of our distinguished colleague Dr. Robert Eisler, while fully cognizant of the new researches, set forth an entirely new orientation of the whole problem of

'Johannine' origins, in which the Oriental and both the East- and the West-Hellenistic elements may be viewed in a perspective that is both illuminating and consistent.

The Nature of Consciousness.

By E. R. Rost, Lt.-Col., I.M.S. Ret., O.B.E., K.i.H., M.R.C.S. Eng., L.R.C.P. Lond. London (Williams & Norgate); pp. 159; 12s. 6d. net.

This closely-packed volume is insufficiently titled. It is practically a treatise on traditional Buddhist psychology, chiefly as exposed in certain treatises of the Abhidhamma canon. This is prefaced by a score of pages setting forth, on the data of modern research and theory, extended schemes of measurements—covering physical, biochemical and physiological phenomena—from the macroscopical maximal distances of extragalactic systems to the microscopical minimal diameter of an electron. It includes other tables, principally a theoretical spectrum of 71 octaves, which Dr. Rost continues beyond the γ-rays to octaves of 'consciousness.' This last extension has all the appearance of a purely mechanical evolutionary world-system, where 'consciousness' does not 'emerge,' but is continuous with the non-conscious. Our author has been a very diligent student of the most highly elaborated traditional psychology of the East, and is a competent exponent of its complexities. His knowledge of Pali, and his friendship with numerous learned Burmese scholars of Theravada Buddhism, together with his own medical and psychological studies on Western lines, make what he has to say worthy of careful consideration; and the very numerous tables of formal classifications of elements of consciousness, according to this system, their permutations and combinations, are distinctly useful. It must, however, be understood that Col. Rost accepts the whole of this mass of Buddhist scholasticism without criticism. He is a whole-hearted believer in it, and claims that it is throughout strictly scientific, and awaits its justification on the widest scale when at last the psychologists of the West have the decency to study it. We wish we had space to go into the *pro's* and *con's* of the whole matter. It is distinctly of great interest and importance in many ways; but that it has all the virtues Dr. Rost claims for it, we have grave reasons for doubting. Otherwise, like himself, we should be a professed Buddhist and not simply a student of the vast constructs erected by the millions of minds who have elaborated the doctrines and dogmas of the Dhamma.

POSSESSION.

Demoniacal and Other, among Primitive Races, in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and Modern Times. By T. K. Oesterreich, Professor at the University of Tübingen. Authorized Translation by D. Ibberson, M.A. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 400; 21s. net.

THIS is a very wide and well-documented survey of the history of Possession from the earliest recorded times to the present day. Possession is distinguished from Obsession according as to whether the patient is unconscious or conscious of the alienation. Prof. Oesterreich attributes the belief in demoniacal possession to fear and ignorance; science has abolished demons. The pathological phenomena falling under this heading are discussed from the point of view of modern psychiatry, and much is said of the dissociation and reintegration of the psychē. Our author will not admit the possibility of possession arising from deceased human personalities, and takes nō notice of the interesting and important experiments that have been carried out on these lines for years in the U.S.A. by Drs. Wickland and Titus Bull. Dr. Oesterreich, however, thinks that as the phenomena of psychical research are submitted to more precise scientific observation, greater light will be thrown on this very difficult subject; meantime he regards all mediumship—artificial or voluntary possession—as sufficiently accounted for on the theory of dissociation. In our humble opinion this requires credulity of a very robust order.

ARACHNE.

Poems by Amos Niven Wilder. (Yale University Press); pp. 85.

THIS book contains many fine and some powerful poems, including four that have already appeared in THE QUEST. Those on the War are perhaps the most striking, the one entitled 'Armageddon' being a powerful description (unfortunately too long to quote) of the night march and attack on the German Marne salient at dawn on July 18, 1918. The poems suggest the outlook of the philosopher and visionary rather perhaps than that of the creative artist. In the following beautiful verses, however, quoted from the poem entitled 'From the Terrace of the Madonna Della Bacciola,' the visionary seems to have become artist and presents a picture that holds the imagination as with a spell.

"I stood and watched the eternal dreamer work,
Traced his creative act from hour to hour,
Whose canvases no rebel mediums irk,
Whose dawning thoughts upon the instant flower.

"I saw the Alpine bastions ebb and flow,
And these so solid-seeming hills in rain
And sunlight, mist and glare, now gloom, now glow,
Melt and dissolve, reform and shape again.

"Calmness grown visible, the balm of sight,
The element's self of sheer tranquillity,
The burnished mere—a filigree of light—
Ravelled its shining hems perennially."

S. E. HALL.

MAHĀ MĀYĀ.

The World as Power: Power as Consciousness. By Sir John Woodroffe and P. N. Mukhyopādhyāya. Madras (Ganesh); pp. 239; Rs. 5 (10s.).

WITH unremitting assiduity Sir John Woodroffe continues his labours on the Tantra texts and doctrines; to him, *hors concours*, we owe a knowledge of the strange and complex practices and ceremonies, the doctrines and philosophy, of Shakti-vādism and the Tāntrik mysteries, that have fascinated and still fascinate many millions in India. This last contribution under notice is a strictly metaphysical treatise, and displays an uncommon insight into what the Germans call the *Wesen* of the whole matter. In this rare atmosphere of thought Sir John and his colleague move with conspicuous ability. They present and defend what is a new conception of Consciousness and Mind for Western students, over against the more familiar controversies of the Vedāntic schools, and set forth what is claimed to be a synthetic view, which is also a positivistic doctrine of the Supreme Reality, viewed as the activity of the Great Mother, that Mahā Māyā, or Creative Consciousness, which is the antipodes of the Shankarist 'Illusionist' school. The long years of painstaking work that Sir John has expended on a potent and widespread phase of cult and ritual, which before his time was almost entirely neglected, owing largely to its lower magical-erotical elements, make it impossible for students of Indian religio-philosophy any longer to neglect this subject without incurring the reproach of unjustifiable ignorance.

LIBERATION.

By Stanley Alfred Mellor. With an introduction by J. Middleton Murry. London (Constable); pp. 335; 10s. net.

THIS is the general title of a collection of thirty-seven addresses delivered by the late Dr. S. A. Mellor, during his ministry at the Unitarian Hope Street Church, Liverpool (formerly Martineau's). Mellor was educated at Hertford and Manchester Colleges, Oxford, studied in Germany and took his Ph.D. degree at Harvard, where he was a pupil of William James. It is a long time since I have read so stirring a batch of 'sermons.' They are the utterances of a highly cultured and delicately sensitive mind. Mellor was a fearless seeker, for ever facing the facts, and probing into the depths of the great problems of life and faith. He never temporized, never apologized, stripped himself naked before his congregation, and revealed the soul of a strenuous striver after truth and reality, who refused to be put off with any of the traditional formulæ. His critical acumen was remarkable, and his insight into spiritual values and the mystical verities of religion quite uncommon. It is with great pleasure that we cordially recommend this valuable volume to our readers, who will find in it on well nigh every page something that will be of special interest to themselves. They will recognise in the spirit that was so alive and so abundantly inworking in Stanley Alfred Mellor that of a fellow seeker, a comrade, a friend and a speeder on the way.

THE REAL RHYTHM IN ENGLISH POETRY.

By Katharine M. Wilson, M.A., Ph.D. Aberdeen (The University Press); pp. 178; 7s. 6d.

IT has long been realized by lovers of poetry that there is something sadly amiss in our accepted scansions of English verse. Even the valuable prosodies of Professor Saintsbury and others are largely apologetic in tone. Miss Wilson (an occasional contributor to our pages) has certainly not apologized for any of our poets, for she feels that true poetry is greater than the laws by which men would have her imprisoned; that art will always triumph over man-made decrees. Drawing her illustration from Bach's violin concerto, she shows us how, in music as in poetry, free rhythms may arise, due to emotional stress. Following up the analogy, Miss Wilson proceeds to make use of musical symbols

of time-values for her scansion of English verse. For the most part, her theory may be said to work, and in many instances it serves as a valuable commentary on the text, revealing a rhythmic balance of thought that is frequently missed by our more orthodox prosodians. As the author herself states, she has made no attempt to formalize her theory as yet, but she holds the key to a truth, and it remains for others to give it its place in English prosody. H. M. S.

Tongues of Fire.

A Bible of Sacred Scriptures of the Pagan World. Compiled by Grace H. Turnbull. New York (Macmillan); pp. 416; 15s. net.

Under this Pentecostal title we have a very useful collection of selections from the extra-Biblical great scriptures and writings of the world. It is difficult to assemble in proper proportion from such a vast literature a representative volume; but Mrs. Turnbull has done well and has been very successful in obtaining permission to make use of the texts of a very large number of distinguished translators. The more of such anthologies in circulation the better, and we can cordially recommend the present collection as one of the best of them.

Life, Death and Destiny.

A Layman's Quest for Enlightenment. By Robert Alexander. London (Daniel); pp. 288; 10s. 6d. net.

The title of this book is a poor indication of its contents. From the standpoint of an intelligent and observant layman, living a quiet and retiring life, Mr. Alexander writes his impressions of the present very unsatisfactory state of the Christian religion in this country; he then gives a sketch of the history—the deplorable history—of the deeds of the Church once it had succeeded to the throne of the Cæsars; he would that we could return to the primitive simplicities of the faith, centring on the moral values of the teachings of the Founder. As a contribution towards that return, he finds much that is helpful in the better side of the wide-spread movement so generally referred to as 'spiritualism,' the history of which he has followed with attention, familiarizing himself also with its practical side and being in general agreement with its main contentions.

THE BOOK OF SPIRITUAL WISDOM.

By 'Cuno.' London (The Pure Thought Press); pp. 129; 6s. net.

THE author, who styles himself 'Cuno,' purports to be a monk who lived in Italy 884-461 A.D., the automatist being Mr. Frederick H. Haines, F.C.I.B. Though it is not easy to assess the value of such a book, seeing that it must vary in its appeal according to the mentality and outlook of the reader, in general there are numerous ideas in it which will repay study by almost anyone who retains an open mind. Particularly interesting is the section on reincarnation. Like so many works of its type, however, it is in places naïvely patronizing in its style. For example,—dealing with the creation by each soul for itself of its own heaven or hell, 'Cuno' adds: "To tell you this were but to confound your intellects with suggestions beyond your comprehensions." It is curious how out of touch with modern conceptions many of these communicators seem to be.

E. J. L. G.

CHRIST IN ISLAM.

THE REV. JAMES ROBSON, author of this interesting work, which was reviewed in our last issue, protests that he has omitted none of the Koranic passages relevant to Jesus, and wishes to have the references on which the Ahmadiyya base their contention that Jesus did not die on the cross. Maulvi Farzand Ali, Imam of the London Mosque, who is a member of the sect, informs us that they rely chiefly on iv. 157, iii. 55 and xxiii. 51.

EXCHANGES.

On the receipt of this final issue, periodicals on our exchange list are requested kindly to discontinue our name from their list. For their past courtesy we thank them.—ED.

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